Intangible Cultural Heritage Project

Inventorying Intangible Cultural Heritage Assets affected by Cyclone Idai in Chimanimani, Chipinge and Buhera Districts in Zimbabwe

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MARONDERA UNIVERSITY
OF AGRICULTURAL SCIENCES AND TECHNOLOGY

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Chinhoyi University
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FINAL PROJECT REPORT

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Nomalanga Mpofu-Hamadziripi[1], Lesley Macheka[1], Jacob Mapara[2], Vimbanaishe Prisca Dembedza[1], Pamela Mushangazhike[1]

[1] Marondera University of Agricultural Sciences and Technology
[2] Chinhoyi University of Technology

Vimbainashe Dembedza - Project Assistant

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Headman Mabvuregudo

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Preamble

The world populace has been experiencing the effects of climate change induced natural disasters in the form of floods, typhoons and cyclones. Zimbabwe suffered the devastating effects of Cyclone Idai in 2019 when lives were lost, homes destroyed and livelihoods severely affected. The devastation and loss caused by Cyclone Idai in Zimbabwe also affected the intangible cultural heritage (ICH) assets of the communities in the Chimanimani, Chipinge and Buhera districts of Zimbabwe. These ICH assets include oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, indigenous rituals, kinship systems. The overall aim of the project is the recovery or restoration of the intangible cultural heritage of the Cyclone Idai affected communities through inventorying the ICH assets. Three institutions, namely, Marondera University of Agricultural Sciences and Technology, Chinhoyi University and Technology and Abertay University, were awarded a research grant by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) under the DCMS cohort to carry out a research project titled, Inventorying Intangible Cultural Heritage Assets affected by Cyclone Idai in Chimanimani, Chipinge and Buhera Districts in Zimbabwe, Project Ref.: AH/V006436/1.

Research objectives

The project was informed by the following five research objectives:
  i. To train government officials involved in data collection and analysis with the aim to capacitate them on the inclusion of cultural heritage in risk reduction and resilience building during disaster risk management
 ii. To assess the threat to ICH in the form of African traditional beliefs, culture, kinship systems and traditional food systems caused by Cyclone Idai;
iii. To document the viewpoints and narratives of the affected communities and local leadership on culturally respectable strategies of recovering and restoring their ICH;
iv. To address local challenges related to and the psycho-social impact of climate-induced disasters through the targeted training of local leadership and communities and build capacity in government agencies in the recovery and restoration of ICH;
 v. To inform policy on a disaster risk reduction framework that recognises the links between different aspects of culture, risk reduction, and resilience.

Key findings

The findings reveal that Cyclone Idai caused considerable impact on ICH, including indigenous food systems and livelihoods. The impacts on ICH are categorized according to the five domains of ICH, namely, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe, traditional craftmanship, oral traditions and expressions, performing arts and finally social practices, rituals and festive events. What came out strongly from the narratives was that people attribute the cyclone to belief systems and not to science, that is, they believe that this was a spiritual occurrence and do not link it to climate change. The other findings were that burial practices were breached as well as mourning the bereaved and the associated rituals, social relationships

were strained and, in some cases, irreversibly so. The findings also revealed that while there was considerable impact on ICH, there were some practices that were already waning before the cyclone and what the cyclone simply did was to accelerate their loss. Another interesting finding was that the cyclone has caused some 'forgotten' practices to re-emerge, for example, the aspect of indigenous early warning systems, the practice of performing traditional rituals before the onset of the rain. The latter finding was buttressed in the narratives where people strongly believe that the shunning of traditional practices can be the reason why the misfortune struck. Key respondents brought out the psycho-social issues caused by the trauma and its aftermath and the lack of psycho-social counseling for the bereaved and first responders, an issue that will require follow-up.

Conclusions

A number of conclusions were drawn from the research. Firstly, there is a need to mainstream ICH into disaster risk management so that culturally sensitive issues can be observed in the event of a similar disaster. Secondly, the role of traditional leaders requires strengthening in emergency response protocols to enable their participation in decision-making protocols. Third, the revision of the law that a person can only be declared to have been deceased after eight years should be considered as this prolongs psychological trauma and lack of closure and healing. This project paved the way for further research in the long-term post-traumatic stress for survivors and first responders as well as the efficacy of the utilization of social media in early warning systems.

1.0 Introduction

This research project titled Inventorying Intangible Cultural Heritage Assets affected by Cyclone Idai in Chimanimani, Chipinge and Buhera Districts in Zimbabwe was a one-year project funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) under the DCMS-AHRC Cultural Heritage in a Changing Climate cohort. The project investigated the impacts of natural disasters and climate change on cultural heritage. In March 2019, floods due to Cyclone Idai left Zimbabwe hard hit and devastated in terms of loss to human life and livestock as well as damage to property (UN Report, 2019). In Zimbabwe, Chimanimani was the epicentre of the cyclone. The Government of Zimbabwe (GoZ) and its development partners (international and local NGOs) have been on the forefront assisting the affected communities in Manicaland district with humanitarian aid and with relocating and reconstructing affected communities, especially in Chimanimani, Chipinge and Buhera districts. The aims of the project resonate with the Heritage-based Doctrine Education 5.0 as espoused by the Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education, Innovation, Science and Technology Development. Education 5.0 is based on the heritage-based philosophy in that science and technology development will exploit the natural resources and environment, local knowledge and culture. Further, the project is also in sync with the mandate of the Ministry of Youth, Sport, Arts and Recreation of implementing the 2003 UNESCO Convention on Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage in Zimbabwe.

Climate change induced disasters, such as Cyclone Idai, pose a severe threat to cultural heritage. Cultural heritage plays an important role as a reflection of cultural, historical, and social values. It is also valuable to national and community identities, and it links to the past, and ongoing social cohesion. However, the adverse effects of climate change induced natural disasters on cultural heritage tend to be considered primarily in connection with tangible or physical cultural properties, such as buildings, monuments, or archeological sites, and less in connection with Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, indigenous rituals, kinship systems, as well as food systems. Hence, this study was aimed at providing evidence-based information on the intangible cultural heritage of these affected communities that is useful for sustainable resilience, reconstruction and relocation of the affected communities.

The impact of climate change induced disasters, such as cyclones, affect intangible cultural heritage assets including food production with subsequent impact on food security, i.e., decreased food availability, accessibility, utilization, and stability. Cyclones also affect indigenous food systems, making indigenous populations vulnerable to food and nutritional insecurity. Indigenous food systems refer to systems of cultivation, processing, storage, trade, and consumption, which are specific to particular geographic regions, and whose origins generally pre-date large-scale industrial agriculture (Keleman *et al.*, 2016). Skinner *et al.* (2016) defined an indigenous food system as 'all food within a particular culture available from local natural resources and culturally accepted. It also includes sociocultural meanings, acquisition/processing techniques, use, composition and nutritional consequences for the people using the food'. In this sense, "indigenous food systems" would include systems relying

primarily on minor and/or endemic food crops (including native or underutilized species), or farmer-saved varieties of major food staples.

Reference will be made to incorporation of cultural heritage in disaster resilience, as highlighted in the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015–2030 (UNISDR 2015b). Lack of maintenance and loss of traditional knowledge have increased the vulnerability of cultural heritage assets in many regions of the world.

2.0 Background

There have been earlier works being published for quite some time on cyclones in the Indian Ocean area such as the *Indian Ocean Tropical Cyclones and Climate Change* (Charabi [Ed], 2010) and *Monitoring and Prediction of Tropical Cyclones in the Indian Ocean and Climate Change* (Mohanty et al., [Eds], 2014). However, several papers and even some books have been written on Cyclone Idai and the impact it has had on Zimbabwe and the neighbouring countries of Malawi and Mozambique. For example, Nhamo and Chikodzi (2021) have in their book discussed the impact that Cyclone Idai has had on countries in Southern Africa. The duo has in one of the book's chapters presented a summary of key findings and they have made recommendations to enhance the building and building back better (B4) model in disaster risk reduction (DRR) and management in Zimbabwe. With a focus on Mozambique, Charrua, et al. (2021) have discussed pre- and post-cyclone Idai Landsat satellite images to analyze temporal changes in Land Use and Land Cover (LULC) across the Sofala Province. Other researchers have focused on gendered dimensions to the climate induced disasters like Cyclone Idai, for instance, Chitongo et al., (2019). On the health front, Mukwenha et al. (2021) argue that Zimbabwe is in a state of unpreparedness when it comes to health delivery when it comes to disaster situations such as those caused by cyclones and tropical storms. Their letter to the editor is informed by the events that unfolded mainly in the aftermath of Cyclone Idai, but also pointing at the state of unpreparedness that characterized the country's responses over the years going back to Cyclone Eline and other tropical storms and cyclones coming right down to 2021. Earlier on in 2019, Chatiza discussed policy implications for post-disaster institutional development to strengthen disaster risk management in Zimbabwe.

While all the above scholars and others have cast their lenses on technical and other aspects around the impact of the cyclone, none of these works have discussed the impact of Idai on the affected people's cultural practices save for Dembedza et al. and Mushangazhike et al. (both under review). In their paper Dembedza et al. discourse on the impact that the cyclone has had on food ways and practices around food production, preparation and consumption from an intangible cultural heritage perspective (for a more detailed discussion see Annex on Literature Review). In a related paper, Mushangazhike et al. discuss the impact that Cyclone Idai has had on intangible cultural heritage in the most affected districts of Buhera, Chimanimani and Chipinge (for a more detailed discussion see Annex on Literature Review).

What is cyclone Idai, what was affected, double pandemic of cyclone and Covid 19?
Cyclone Idai goes down in history as one of the foulest tropical cyclones on record that affected Africa and the Southern Hemisphere, which includes the Australian, South Pacific, and South Atlantic basins (Yuhas, 2019). It affected close to 2.2 million people in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and Malawi (World Vision, 2019). The cyclone caused calamitous damage, and a humanitarian crisis that left more than 1,300 people dead and many more missing. Idai is on record as the deadliest tropical cyclone in the South-West Indian Ocean basin. It ranks as the second-deadliest tropical cyclone on record only after the 1973 Cyclone Flores that killed 1,650 off the coast of Indonesia (Masters, 2019; Funes, 2019). In Zimbabwe, the worst affected districts were Chimanimani, Chipinge and Buhera, with Chimanimani being the hardest hit in terms of human casualties. Nevertheless, the actual number of people that perished because of Cyclone Idai remains unknown. However, according to the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), 172 deaths were reported and 327 people were reported as missing. The deceased include "Fifty students, the headmaster and three teachers died when the Cyclone ravaged their village, located near Copa [sic] Growth Point" and one boy who died at St Charles Lwanga Secondary School (UNICEF, 2019). Education for most learners was disrupted due to damage to schools as well as because of loss of parents and guardians. Others who were HIV positive were also forced to default since their medication was washed away in the floods and landslides that resulted from the rains.

In the immediate aftermath of Cyclone Idai emerged the contagion Covid-19. Its impact was harsher especially on communities that were still trying to pick up pieces and reconstruct their lives after the devastating violent tempest mainly on matters relating to their cultural practices that to a large extent informed their everyday lives.

The Cyclone has affected people in their cultural practices, and this has derailed potential for the full realization of the National Development Strategy 1: 2021-2025 (NDS1)[1], Education 5.0[2] and Vision 2030 as far as the contribution of culture and heritage to development is concerned. There is therefore a need to inventory some of the affected ICH of the areas and recommend a plan of action as regards inventorying activities.

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[1] The NDS1 is a 5 year medium term plan which is aimed at attaining the country's vision of becoming an empowered and prosperous upper middle income society by 2030. https://veritaszim.net/node/4583.
[2] This is an education philosophy which is anchored on 5 pillars, namely, teaching, research, community service, innovation and industrialization.

Professor Jacob Mapara presenting on domains of ICH

3.0 Methodology

3.1 Brief outline of the Study Area

The study was conducted in three districts in Manicaland Province, namely, Chimanimani, Chipinge and Buhera. Chimanimani district is situated at 19.8032° S, 32.8733° E coordinates and has an area of 3,450.14 km^2. The district has a population of 134,939 (Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency, 2012). Chimanimani District was the epicentre of the cyclone and it bore the greatest magnitude of destruction, loss and death, with some people being reported missing. Roads, bridges, houses and fields were washed away by the Cyclone induced floods. Due to the destruction of houses, many people were moved to temporary shelter in the form of tents. In some cases, children were orphaned and were put under the care of neighbors or relatives. Chipinge district covers an area of 5,220 km^2 and is located at 20.1938° S, 32.6206° E. Chipinge was also affected by the cyclone though the magnitude of destruction was less in comparison to Chimanimani district. Roads, houses, granaries and bridges were destroyed. Not much displacement was experienced in this district. Buhera district was the least affected among the three districts. It is located at 19° 19' 57.00"S, 31° 26' 6.00"E. The most affected in Buhera was an area around Marovanyati Dam where some houses were submerged in water.

3.2 Sample Size and Sampling Methods

In the project proposal the sample size for household interviews was 240 households for all the three districts which is 80 households per district, and 60 Focus group discussions in the three districts giving us 20 Focus Group Discussions per district. The project team deviated from what had been originally proposed and did 164 households in Chimanimani, 209 Households in Chipinge and 229 households in Buhera, totalling 602 households. The focus group discussions proved to be difficult to set up because of the circumstances, hence more interviews at household level were scheduled instead. Nonetheless, seven (7) focus group discussions ere conducted for all the 3 districts.

Purposive and random sampling methods were used. Purposive sampling was used to identify the most affected wards. Identification of wards was done during the workshop with the key stakeholders. The targeted study sites were those most affected by the Cyclone. For the identification of the households, random sampling was used. In each ward, village or camp, random sampling of households was done by the data collectors.

Table 1: Study sites

District	Wards	Villages	
Chimanimani	7, 12, 13, 15	Runyararo Ngangu Nyamatanda camp Pfumo A Manase	Dombera Charleswood Ngorima Garikai
Chipinge	3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 18, 19	Muwango Chivhunze Welderfred Ndiadzo Mandaa Chipita	Mugiyo Paidamoyo Madzinga Mutikwanda Singizi Rusitu
Buhera	7, 8, 13, 15	Ngavaite Mukute Mujere Mutudza Mukamba	Chipadza Gombiro Mutirwara Matsveru Mugombe

Destruction caused by Cyclone Idai at Kopa in Chimanimani

3.3 Data Collection Methods and Tools

The study used a mixed methods approach that combined qualitative and quantitative methods. Semi-structured and structured tools were developed for the qualitative and quantitative methods respectively. The research tools were discussed and pre-tested with the assistance of the key stakeholders during the stakeholder sensitization meetings. Training of data collectors in each district was carried out for a day in each district. After training, data collection was conducted over four days. Two groups were formed out of the 10 data collectors, with each group comprising five members. The ten data collectors were chosen from the Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing, the Ministry of Health and Child Care (at least 2 nutritionists), the Ministry of Youth, Sport, Arts and Recreation (at least 2 Culture officers) as well as the Office of the President and Cabinet. Each group had a leader who coordinated the activities of the group, from arranging meeting points, going to the respective wards, villages or camps. The leader was also responsible for making sure everyone submitted their recordings in the KOBO collect application at the end of the day so that the data would be saved on the server. The research team also organized themselves into two groups for the supervision of the teams of data collectors. In addition, the research team conducted the key informant interviews and focus group discussions with the local leadership, headmasters and teachers.

Key Informant Interview with Headman Mabvuregudo

Focus Group Discussion

Table 2: Training and Data Collection Dates

District	Training dates	Data collection dates
Chimanimani	Monday 11 October 2021	Tuesday 12 - Friday 15 October 2021
Chipinge	Monday 25 October 2021	Tuesday 26 - Friday 29 October 2021
Buhera	Monday 8 November 2021	Tuesday 9 - Friday 12 November 2021

3.3.1 Qualitative Research Tools and Methods

A semi-structured questionnaire was developed. The interview guide was originally written in English then translated into Shona. The responses were given mostly in Shona or Ndau as Chipinge and Chimanimani are Ndau-speaking areas. The questionnaire contained six sections, viz., the domains of ICH, the correlation between Cyclone Idai, ICH and climate change, the impact of the cyclone on ICH, livelihoods and food systems and the psycho-social impacts of Cyclone Idai on both the affected and non-affected communities. The questionnaire was loaded onto KOBO collect and audio files were generated. These audio files were then transcribed before the data analysis process.

3.3.2 Quantitative Research Tools and Methods

Quantitative data was collected using a questionnaire adopted from the Zimbabwe Vulnerability Assessment Committee (ZimVAC, 2020). This questionnaire consisted of the following sections: Household demographics, child nutrition, WASH practices, minimum dietary diversity for women 15-49 years and food consumption score, household dietary diversity score and non-timber food products. Data was captured on the KOBO collect application. Households were selected from twenty wards which had been selected purposely based on the impact of Cyclone Idai through chiefs, headmen and key stakeholder meetings. These wards were made up of 34 villages.

Table 3: Areas of data collection

District	Wards	Villages	Sampled population
Chimanimani	4	10	125
Chipinge	4	13	172
Buhera	6	10	238
Total	**14**	**33**	**535**

Mr Magabaza - Leader of the Traditional Healers Association, Chipinge

4.0 Key Findings

4.1 Correlating Cyclone Idai, ICH and Climate Change

4.1.1 Other cyclones observed before

Some respondents had no recollection of previous cyclones, particularly younger respondents in their 20s. The other respondents had a general idea of other cyclones that had affected their area from 2000. They identified only three previous cyclones that caused minor to moderate damage before Cyclone Idai, namely, Cyclone Eline, Cyclone Japhet, and Cyclone Chalane. The respondents acknowledged that Cyclone Idai is the one that caused immense damage and loss of life to humans and animals. The correlation between these cyclones and climate change was expressed directly by only one of the respondents. One other respondent made an indirect reference to issues of climate change by suggesting that communities should plant trees, meaning that they linked the cyclone to issues of environmental degradation. Some of the respondents acknowledged that cyclones are becoming prevalent because people have disregarded traditional practices. The sentiments expressed included that:

- *"Cyclone yakauya nekuti hatichaiti chivanhu"* (The cyclone came because we are no longer observing our traditional practices).
- *"… vakuru vekare vaibika doro asi mazuvano hazvichaitwa saka nyika yafumuka. Vanhu havachakoshesa nzvimbo dzinoera"* (… the elders carried out traditional rituals but nowadays people are no longer doing it that is why the country is vulnerable. People no longer respect sacred places).

One of the most referred to practices is the traditional ritual which includes the brewing of beer (*doro remakoto*) once every year before the onset of the rain season to ask the ancestors for a good season and for protection against the elements. This beer is brewed by elderly women and the beer would be poured into a river. One respondent from Chimanimani mentioned that this ritual was performed after the cyclone hit, implying that in this instance it was performed but only as an afterthought after people had been jolted into action by the damage caused by the cyclone. The respondent states that:

> *"Taifanira takabika doro kuti vadzimu vatichengete. Takazoita hedu pakauya masoldiers vaiva vauya kuzovaka mabridge. Mambo Muusha and Mambo Dzingire vaivapo"* (We were supposed to have performed traditional rituals so that the ancestors would look after us. We did it later when the soldiers came to reconstruct the bridges. Chief Muusha and Chief Dzingire were present).

The other respondents, due to the prevalence of Christianity in the communities, linked the issue of cyclones to their religious beliefs and attributed the incident to the will of God. The study communities do not appreciate the fact that there is climate change which is due to human interference. Rather, they are attributing the incidences of cyclones to the

supernatural. Some were pointing out that cyclones were occurring because of the anger of the ancestors as a result of them having turned away from traditional practices; are angry with them; with others stating that cyclones were the will of God. The study communities are thus highly spiritual and less scientific.

4.1.2 What should have been done to prevent the impact of Cyclone Idai?

From a cultural perspective, the communities believe that there are rituals that should have been performed that prevent incidences of destruction from natural disasters such as cyclones. Most of the responses cited the issue of going back to traditional ways (*kuita chinyakare/chivanhu*). One elderly respondent mentioned that he accompanied one of the chiefs to perform a ritual after the cyclone had devastated the district, and he echoed the sentiments of the other respondents that had this been done before the onset of the rains, the destruction could have been less. This issue is expressed through statements such as:

- *"Taifanira kunge takabika doro kuti vadzimu vatichengete"*
  (We should have brewed beer and performed the traditional rituals to ask for protection from our ancestors).
- *"… asharukwa dai akabika doro zvaigona kuuya zvakadzikira"*
  (…had the elders performed traditional rituals, the impact may have been less).

4.1.3 What needs to be done in the future?

The question of what needs to be done in future to mitigate against the devastation such as that caused by Cyclone Idai elicited a number of mixed responses. The majority of the responses mentioned the importance of reviving traditional practices and rituals, and that these be performed before the onset of the rains. One poignant response was that, "*Patsika dzedu zvinogona kumiswa*" (These incidences can be stopped through traditional practices). Other respondents mentioned the issue of early warning and the movement of people before a cyclone to avoid the loss of life. The settling of people on sloppy areas was also highlighted as something that should be avoided to mitigate against future catastrophes. The other cited mitigatory strategy is the environmental conservation of trees and the protection of sacred areas.

4.2 Impact of Cyclone Idai on ICH

The findings reveal that there was considerable impact on ICH which was caused by Cyclone Idai. *Ipso facto*, there was a breach of ICH in burial practices, rituals, mourning, places affected, notification of chiefs (traditional protocols) and social relationships. Table 4 highlights how practices within the five domains of ICH were negatively affected by the cyclone.

Table 4: Negative impacts on the five domains of ICH

Knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe	Traditional craftsmanship
- Religious ceremonies like rain requesting spaces were affected e.g., in some parts of Buhera, *mihacha* trees. - Sacred pools were exposed since trees and other flora around them was swept away in floods e.g., Chimanimani. - Some trees that were used for crafts were washed away e.g., Buhera. - Loss of cultural artifacts especially those with significance for households. - Loss of sacred trees used for traditional rituals (kupira).	- Craftsmanship affected by unavailability of resources such as trees and reeds washed away. - Death of practitioners leading to lost skills and practices e.g., rain requesting religious ceremonies. - Loss of undocumented skills and practices.
Oral traditions and expressions	**Performing arts**
- Loss of transmitters of ICH including story tellers and people with knowledge of communities. - Relocation of communities leads to the loss of ICH transmitters to other communities.	- Disruption of community activities utilized for the transmission of ICH e.g., traditional ceremonies. - Disruption of festival and traditional dance festivities held in communities annually leading to loss of community cohesion and transmission of ICH. - Loss of skills in traditional dances.

Social practices, rituals and festive events
- Burial practices e.g., corpses interred two or three to a grave. However, while traditional leaders insisted that more than the remains of one person were buried in one sepulcher, a development that was necessitated by the advanced decomposition of some corpses; government officials views were to the contrary, with them pointing out that this was never the case. - Funeral rituals were affected and could not be observed e.g., *kubata maoko*. - Traditional practice of informing chiefs when there are new settlers coming to his area were affected. - Social distance between in-laws collapsed e.g., standing in the same queue to receive handouts. - Marriage rites and practices e.g., *kuperekwa* (accompanying new bride to her husband's family) waning away.

- Kinship and family set up e.g., son-in-law accused of murdering his wife by wife's family because of the suddenness of her death caused an irreversible rapture in kinship.
- Social spaces e.g., bathing places for men and women; Chiefs' meeting places, privacy required by parents.
- Traditional practices e.g., rituals and other ceremonies

4.2.1 Burial practices

With reference to burial practices, corpses were interred two or three in a grave with no relatives present to perform the rite of passage of *kutema rukarwa* (marking out the grave), no speeches were given at the gravesides and mourning was deferred as some people still have no closure given the mandatory moratorium on declaring people dead until after eight years as per government stipulation/law. There was never really the *kubatana maoko* (commiseration with the bereaved) rite of passage which culturally serves to bring people together so that they comfort the bereaved. This practice was sort of put on hold due to the overwhelming deaths that overcame the community, especially that of the Kopa area and Peacock settlement to some extent those in Nga'ngu in Chimanimani. The traditional system of bereavement where the community comes together to send off a loved one who has passed away was affected by the large numbers of death and the emergency situation that demanded swift burials. There was no time for ceremonies and various related funeral rites, including waiting for family from other parts of the country or outside the country to come and attend the burials. Burial practices in the aftermath of the cyclone perpetuated psychosocial trauma for most survivors. Research[3] has highlighted the importance of funeral rituals in managing grief and loss. The practices were criticised for lacking respect, cultural sensitivity and the need for closure for the survivors. These practices included:

- Burial of more than one body in a grave. This was corroborated by the traditional leaders who were among the first responders. This will have continued impacts as families will find it difficult to conduct follow up funeral rites such as *kurova guva*. The failure to perform such ceremonies will have lasting psychosocial impacts beyond Cyclone Idai.
- Burial without family or loved ones present thus for most survivors this meant there was no process of grieving. The failure to attend the burial of loved ones has thus a negative impact on mental health.[4]
- Burial without participation of traditional authorities who could have been instrumental in ensuring that all protocols are observed.

4.2.2 Social capital and community cohesion

Respondents highlighted how at the height of the emergency in Chimanimani in particular, communities assisted those affected by the cyclone. A respondent noted, '*Pakauya cyclone vamwe vaitopa hembe nepekugara kune avo vaive vasina'* (In the aftermath of the cyclone some people helped those affected with clothes and shelter). There was a certain brotherhood

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[3] Mitima-Verloop, H.B., Mooren, T.T., Boelen, P.A. 2019. Facilitating grief: An exploration of the function of funerals and rituals in relation to grief reactions. *Death Studies.*, 1–11. doi:10.1080/07481187.2019.1686090

[4] Burrell, A. and Selman, L.E., 2020. How do Funeral practices impact bereaved relatives' mental health, grief and bereavement? a mixed methods review with implications for COVID-19. *OMEGA-Journal of Death and Dying*, p.0030222820941296.

that developed from the initial responses; a relationship that was forged by the trauma. In some instances, the community may become untrusting of outsiders because of the unfulfilled promises by outsiders. Also, community fractures emerged with the coming in of assistance from civil society organisations that concentrated on displaced people living in the temporary shelters. Narratives from the field highlight how there is a level of envy for people living in the tents because of the goods they received. There were stories of people who had been relocated maintaining presence in the tents to secure access to aid coming with donor organisations. Some community members who used to receive aid before the cyclone but were not receiving anything because they were not in the tents were also disappointed. The other fracture was between in-laws. Social distance between in-laws collapsed because the situation in the camps was such that in-laws who should culturally not be within the same space, were now forced to stand in the same queue to receive handouts, and also between parents and their children as they stayed in one roomed tents.

4.2.3 Relationships/Kinships

While some people got closer because of the disaster, there is the case already referred to above where a boy who lost all his parents is staying alone. No relative has taken him in. Matters relating to social distance have already been referred to. The interruption of kinship systems and social cohesion resulted in the forced relocation of some victims who were then resettled. These were termed strangers, due to lack of relationships built over long periods of time. Social relationships were also affected, in some cases irreversibly since some people were accused of having murdered their spouses by their in-laws because of the lack of acceptance that a disaster had occurred unexpectedly. A case in point was where a son-in-law was accused of having murdered his wife by his in-laws.

4.2.4 Vertical and horizontal space (power/authority)

The traditional practice of informing chiefs when there are new settlers coming to his area were also affected. When people were relocated from the camps to Runyararo, the protocol of informing the traditional leadership was not taken into consideration. Hence, people were resettled without the involvement of the chief.

4.2.5 Religious ceremonies

Religious ceremonies like rain requesting spaces were affected. In some parts of Buhera, *mihacha* trees which are used as religious spaces for indigenous religious practices were washed away. This has affected the performances of rain requesting rituals because the spaces are no longer there. It means that the people of the specific area have to wait until some small trees have bloomed into bigger ones for ceremonies to resume. There is fear that the practice may die since there may be a long break before the ritual commences again. In Chimanimani, some sacred pools were exposed since trees and other flora around them were swept away in floods. This has also affected religious rituals around rain requesting. The religious practice of *kurova guva* (ritual of inviting back the spirit of the deceased into the home) has also been put on hold for most people, not just because of the law but also because culturally, such a ceremony can

only be held if there is a grave that relatives can accept and attest that the remains buried there are indeed those of their relative.

4.2.6 Craftsmanship

In Buhera district, some trees that were used for crafts were washed away, and the result is that currently the practices around craft making are on the back burner. The consequence is that there is no passing on of skills around this practice, and there is a high risk that these practices may die.

4.2.7 Harnessing local knowledge

The first person to indicate a road to Kopa was a local who knew the area and used his vehicle to provide a way to the area that had been closed off to the outside world. The use of backroads to other areas was critical in ensuring assistance reached survivors.

Table 5: Cyclone Idai impact on ICH

Waning Practices	Practices Affected by cyclone	(R)emerging Practices post cyclone
- *Kuperekwa* (accompanying new bride to her husband's family) - General respect for traditional leaders - *Kupira* (traditional rituals) - Integrated family unit	- Hidden bathing areas for both women and men destroyed - Food related taboos challenged e.g., eating of *mhunga, double embedded bananas* - Emergence of normlessness in temporary shelters - Commiserating with the bereaved - Family cohesion	- Taboo around not drinking water from Rusitu River - Round huts/houses in Buhera because they are more resistant to windy and persistent slanting rains - Animals' behavior and/as early disaster warning systems

Table 5 above outlines practices that were already waning, those affected by the cyclone and practices that are (re)emerging post cyclone (People now do not drink water from Rusitu River). Such practices are elaborated in more detail below:
- While Idai may not have caused some ICH practices to die, it has accelerated their demise. For instance, the practice *yekuperekwa* (accompaniment of a bride by her paternal aunt) was already on the decline and Idai only worsened it.
- The practice of respect for traditional leaders is also on the decline, and the burials as well as the search and rescue activities where some chiefs were only informed during or after the rescue operations had commenced are clear indicators of this.
- In Chimanimani, which was the hardest hit of the three districts, the practice of having hidden bathing places along riverbanks has been affected. Bushes and some trees used to hide such spaces from the prying eyes of the public and also from the males who would

usually have their own bathing space downstream from women. Now that the bushes are gone, the privacy provided by these is gone and people have for now (and may be permanently) been forced to abandon a practice whose main aspect was the sharing of a bathing space for members of the same sex.

● The idea of an integrated family unit where several nuclear families recognize themselves as one unit is on the decline as some people are no longer prepared to assist even close relatives, especially orphans (the case the orphan who is living alone needs further follow-up).

● The taboo that *mhunga* (pearl millet *sadza*) is not allowed because a certain chief (*mutape)* died after eating *sadza* prepared from it has now been set aside because people want food on their tables. They can also not cultivate most of their own crops because most fields had their topsoil washed away. This development has forced people to eat what was forbidden although there were confessions that people only eat this grain in the privacy of their homes.

  - There is also the taboo that doubly embedded bananas should not be eaten by women, especially those of childbearing age because there could be complications that would arise during pregnancy. Due to food shortages, this taboo appears to have been set aside.

  - The same is true of the taboo that bananas from a tree/banana plant that would have fallen on its own cannot be eaten by women. Desperation led people to break this refrain law as they prioritized survival.

● Although some practices are on the wane, there are others that are emerging and re-emerging.

  - Emerging practices include, for example, the taboo around not drinking water from the Rusitu River. This taboo was already in practice but with specific reference to the Nyahode River where, especially the Hode people/ whose clan is Ngorima, do not drink water from this source. It was said that their ancestors had been killed in that river and the dark colour of the river's waters is believed to be of the blood of their long-departed ancestors who died there.

  - The taboo has now been extended to the Rusitu River where people are now saying that the water from that waterway cannot be drunk because their relatives perished there as a result of the 2019 inundation.

  - Appreciation of round huts/houses in Buhera appears to be emerging since it was noted that such houses deflect winds and thus are more resistant to the strong winds and rains that are usually associated with cyclones and storms.

4.2.8 Indigenous disaster early warning systems

These appear to be gaining appreciation even though the affected only got to see their value after the disaster. These occurrences, according to Shona belief systems and what is obtained in the data, are *zvishamiso* (omens) or what can best be referred to as *mashura* (bad omens). Examples of these indigenous early warning systems that were observed in Chimanimani district include the following:

Table 6: Indigenous disaster early warning systems in Chimanimani district

Animal	Strange occurrence or behaviour
Baboons (makudo)	Crying all night, two nights before the Cyclone hit, and they disappeared
Hippos (mvuu)	Were seen on Rusitu River but they later disappeared
Jackal (gava)	A howling jackal that barked around Nga'angu – indigenous beliefs say that when a dog or jackal howls in a certain way, it is a sign that there will be mourning in the neighbourhood
Crows (makunguwo)	Case of a horde or murder of crows that gathered on the hill overlooking Kopa settlement and then disappeared.
Mupengo (mentally deranged person)	A psychiatric patient is said to have warned people of the impending cyclone, and he advised them to move away to safer places but people did not take heed.
Dark clouds and unusually quiet period	In Buhera, the heavy and incessant rains were preceded by a cloud and an unusually quiet and cloudy period. This lull was interpreted to mean that danger was in the offing
Spirit mediums (masvikiro)	Spirit mediums foretold of the impending cyclone but either the information was not conveyed to the chiefs, or no one took the warning seriously.

The locals now believe that nature was communicating the issue of the impending disaster, that now with the benefit of hindsight they wish they had taken heed and found safer places for refuge. In Buhera, the heavy and incessant rains were preceded by a cloud and unusually quiet and cloudy period, which was interpreted to mean that danger was in the offing, but again as in the case of the Chimanimani residents of Kopa, the lesson was only learnt after disaster had struck. The other occurrence was that all the animals disappeared from the areas in which they had been sighted just before the cyclone made landfall. In hindsight, these strange animal sightings, the crying and the disappearing of the animals just before the cyclone made landfall were indigenous signs that foretold danger; they were a warning through nature. Unfortunately, no one read the signs or no one understood what this meant. One respondent acknowledged this fact when she said, "*hapana chatakaona kutoshaya ruzivo nazvo*" (we did not see anything and we are not knowledgeable about it).

There is also a spiritual side to the whole issue of indigenous disaster early warning systems. In this case, it is the belief that a mad person can play a prophetic role by warning people to run away from danger. In Chipinge (just the other side of Kopa), there was a story that a psychiatric patient warned people of the impending cyclone, and he advised them to move away to safer places but people did not take heed because his 'prophecy' was probably received as the

rantings of a deranged person. The man is said to have appeared a few days after the disaster with a sort of an 'I told you so' glee. Spirit mediums (*masvikiro*) also play a vital role in early warning among the Shona communities. The responses from some of the interviewees highlight that spirit mediums foretold of the impending cyclone but either the information was not conveyed to the chiefs or no one took the warning seriously. Such responses included the following:

- "*Takanzwa nesvikiro kuti kuri kuuya dutumupengo vakaudza madzimambo kuti vabike doro vadire chikare asi hapana akazviteerera*"
(We heard from the spirit medium that a cyclone would make landfall in the area, and they advised chiefs to brew beer and perform the traditional rituals, but no one took heed).
- "*Masvikiro emvura aititaurira kuti gore rino kuchanaya mvura yakawanda asi zvakavharwa nemadzimambo vave kusiya chivanhu*"
(Rain spirit mediums informed us that there would be a lot of rain this year, but this was blocked by the chiefs who are now practicing Christianity).

4.2.9 Experiences of women and marginalised groups

ICH related to women and marginalised groups was also affected in the aftermath of the cyclone. In most instances, the knowledge and experiences of such groups are often neglected or excluded yet the people are also severely affected by the cyclone. Marginalised groups have been defined as populations outside of "mainstream society" and highly vulnerable populations that are systematically excluded from national or international policy making forums such as the elderly, youths in particular girls, persons with disabilities and child headed households. For women there are specific practices and rituals in which they had influence over which were affected. Rituals like those for rain requesting are usually presided over by the elderly men in an area. The fact that they cannot preside over these means that their religious role is diminished. The same is equally true when it comes to the elderly women. Some of the spaces that were washed away, for instance in Chimanimani, are locations such as pools, where millet for preparing the malt for the *makoto* ceremony were deposited to germinate. Now that these spaces are no longer there, it is not only the religious practices that have been affected but also the training of successors and the indigenous division of labour when it comes to religious matters. In Chimanimani, the temporary shelters and initial responses did not take into consideration the needs of people with disabilities. The donations from across the world largely excluded specific materials required for diverse disabilities including people with mobility challenges. One respondent in Chimanimani highlighted that, "*Zvakangofanana nechembere nevanorarama neurema pavakaenda kumatende umwe hugaro hwacho hwunonetsa nekuti zvaunotarisira kuwana zuva nezuva unogona kuzvishaya.*" (For instance, when the elderly and the differently abled were relocated to the camps/tents, the living conditions were not suitable for them). Schools were destroyed. All the books and stationery were destroyed. Children's education was affected and later with COVID 19 enforced school closures, there was further impact especially for girl children as many ended up in early and child marriages.

Professor Nomalanga Mpofu-Hamadziripi: Project Leader

4.3 Impact of Cyclone Idai on Indigenous Food Systems and Livelihoods

4.3.1 ICH within indigenous food systems

Cultural heritage within food systems includes the tangible items like traditional dishes, landscape and tools as well as intangible items such as sensory awareness, ideology, cuisines, preparation, knowledge and health. Based on a traditional literature review, the identified ICH were grouped into six domains which are: (i) food traditions and customs, (ii) food production, processing, and storage, (iii) dietary culture, (iv) eating and social practices, (v) culinary, and (vi) geographical indicators (Table 7). These proposed domains were created based on the similarity of the characteristics of the ICH elements identified in literature.
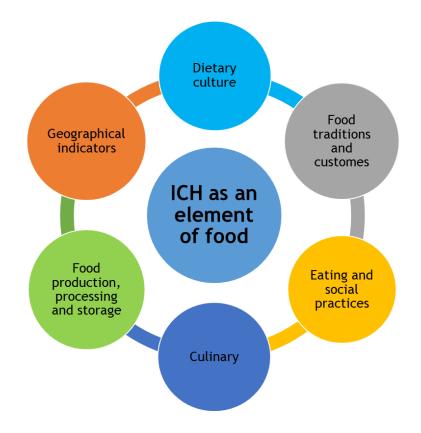

Figure 1. Domains of ICH elements related to food (*Dembedza et al. under review*).

4.3.2 Impact of Cyclone Idai on ICH within indigenous food systems

Based on the established domains of ICH elements related to indigenous food systems depicted in Figure 1, the impact of Cyclone Idai on the ICH domains related to indigenous food systems are shown in Table 7 below.

Table 7: Impact of Cyclone Idai on ICH domains related to indigenous food systems

ICH domain	Impact of Cyclone Idai
Food production, harvesting, processing and storage	▪ Production, processing and storage practices associated with some crops were affected: - Practices associated with traditional grains finger (millet, pearl millet and sorghum) e.g., cultivation, *nhimbe*, *humwe*/*hoka*. - Some indigenous fruit trees and vegetable varieties were washed away by the mudslides. - All the fertile topsoil was washed away and in some areas soil fertility was affected and no crops can now grow in these areas.
Geographical indicators	▪ Some food plant/crops that are specific to some of the affected districts were eroded by the floods and lost for good. Especially indigenous fruits associated with riverbanks
Eating and social practices	▪ In areas extremely affected by the Cyclone, social practices during eating, such as eating together as a family were affected. This can also be attributed to limited availability of food such that family members are given their own portion/plate of food.
Culinary practices	▪ Affected families living in camps were greatly affected as some lost the utensils they used to prepare some of their unique or traditional recipes; they are no longer able to do this due to the limited space in camps.
Dietary culture	▪ Loss of some traditional foods and even changes in dietary patterns due to loss of livestock was experienced in the affected communities.
Food traditions and customs	▪ Indigenous food systems are a representation of ritual, cultural and social expressions of a community and Cyclone Idai affected several food traditions and customs: - Some food taboos, e.g., consumption of finger millet being a taboo, were no longer being observed due to limited food availability resulting in people eating tabooed foods.

Processing of traditional grain (mapfunde/sorghum

4.4 Psycho-social impact of climate-induced disasters

The psycho-social dimensions of Cyclone Idai in the three areas are linked to the loss of lives, homes and communities. The respondents in this research highlighted diverse experiences in relation to the mental health impacts of Cyclone Idai. The research focused on understanding the intangible cultural heritage dimensions of the individual and collective trauma caused by the cyclone. Literature[5] highlights various stories of anguish and pain related to the trauma of loss post Cylone Idai. This study highlights similar experiences and discusses the psychosocial impacts of the cyclone in the ensuing section.

4.4.1 Psycho-social impacts of Cyclone Idai

In Chimanimani, survivors remain traumatized due to the devastating impacts of the cyclone. Some survivors witnessed people close to them being drowned by the floods. Stories of anguish and continued trauma were recorded; and for some respondents the trauma is now also triggered by any sign of rain. The psychological trauma has been deeply embedded in the minds of affected survivors.[6] In past cyclone related disasters such as Cyclone Eline, post-traumatic stress has been reported amongst survivors.[7] A respondent noted how there are children who

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[5] https://www.unicef.org/zimbabwe/stories/helping-chimanimani-children-survive-cyclone-idai-trauma; https://blogs.msf.org/bloggers/elizabeth/mental-health-treating-psychological-trauma-after-cyclone-idai

[6] https://blogs.msf.org/bloggers/elizabeth/mental-health-treating-psychological-trauma-after-cyclone-idai

[7] Agritex-NEWU-Ministry of Agriculture of Zimbabwe, USAID/Famine Early Warning System, World Food Programme Zimbabwe and FAO/Sub-Regional Office for Southern and East Africa, "Assessment of the Impact of

lost their parents and homes and as orphans face multiple psychosocial challenges. The research sought to understand how Cyclone Idai affected traditional systems of psychosocial support utilised by communities.   This includes practices around burial and funeral rites discussed earlier in this report. According to a key respondent, *"Pane family yakapedza week ichichera kuti tingawane hama. Hama ikanzi yatorwa nemvura yaenda, ukaiwana and moviga zvinopera but now hauzivi kuti akaenda kana kuti akafushirwa ipapo. Izvozvo hazvipere"* (There is a family that spent a week digging in the hope that they would find the body of their relative. The relative could have washed away or buried underneath boulders, no one knows. There is no closure in such circumstances). Failure to bury loved ones can have long term psychological trauma. The many people who assisted in the initial phases of the response require psychosocial support. The activities they undertook led to trauma through finding dead bodies and destruction of homes.

The police and army who were digging for bodies need assistance with psychological support. Post traumatic support was missing in the initial aftermath of the cyclone. A key informant noted, "People were not normal in that situation. *Panga pasina zvekubatana maoko. Vanhu vainge vakuita sevarasa pfungwa"* (There was no time to commiserate. People were now behaving as if they were mad). Both the first responders and survivors were negatively affected…People have not healed…People will look at you and say *hauna mbonje* (you have no visible scars) but inside you have not healed…we suffered trauma as first responders." The many people who assisted in the initial phases of the response require psychosocial support. The police and army who were digging for bodies need assistance with psychological support because post-traumatic support was missing in the initial aftermath of the cyclone. In Chipinge a respondent further noted, *"Tichiri kutya. Zvino kana mvura yacho ikauya futi tinopona here. Kana dzimba dzatinogara idzi hatizi safe…zimhepo riya rikadzokazve tinopona here? Ko vana vanopona here?"* (We are still scared. Will we survive another incident of such heavy rains? Even the houses we're currently living in are not safe … if the winds return will we be safe? How about the children, will they survive?) No counseling was provided for people in Chipinge though some participants (teachers in particular) reported going to a workshop to be trained on psychosocial support. Members of the community did not receive any such support.

4.4.2 Religious gatherings

Churches were instrumental as first responders, in supporting government and community efforts to rescue and provide basic assistance to survivors. With support from private companies and donations, the churches were instrumental in providing support such as foodstuffs, clothes, blankets, and other materials. Respondents highlighted how the double pandemics of Cyclone Idai and COVID-19 affected their communities. Cyclone Idai affected religious gatherings by destroying places and spaces of worship. Beyond that, COVID-19 led to the banning of all gatherings at a time when religious gatherings were critical as a means of providing psychosocial

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Cyclone Eline (February 2000) on the Food, Agriculture and Natural Resource Sector in Zimbabwe", April 2000, https://fews.net/sites/default/files/documents/reports/1000050.pdf.

support. Many respondents indicated how the failure of meeting in religious settings led to social isolation at a time of grieving. Social isolation is known to exacerbate psychological illness in bereavement as a lack of social support affects the ability to process loss.[8]

4.4.3 Dislocation of place

One of the mental health impacts of the cyclone is how communities, households and people were dislocated in terms of place (homes, livelihoods, friends) and space (social isolation, belonging and identity). There are various narratives emerging out of the research that highlight how the dislocation of place is affecting survivors who are in the temporary shelters or have been relocated to Runyararo. The narrative highlights how loss of home, livelihoods and community has also added to the trauma and mental anguish of the survivors in Chimanimani. A respondent in Chimanimani noted that, "*vanhu vakatamiswa vanosiya misha yavo nehama dzavo, zvakangofanana nekutanga upenyu hutsva saka vamwe zvinovaremera*" (people who were moved left their homes and relatives. It was like starting a new life and this can take a toll on others). Homes were destroyed and some people lost everything. In Chipinge, another respondent highlighted that "*ukama hwakavhiringidzwa sezvo vanyarikani takambogara pamwe chete dzimba dzaputsika*" (relations were affected as in-laws who normally should not stay together were forced to live in proximity to each other since homes had been destroyed). In Chipinge, because some houses were destroyed, families were forced into a situation where parents had to sleep in the same room with their children which is culturally unacceptable and for most respondents such actions have many repercussions on children.

4.4.4 Dislocation of space

The movement of people into temporary shelters led to a dislocation of community and respondents highlighted the emergence of negative social mores and norms within this space. *Kumatende* (at the tents) as the temporary shelters were known, was variously described as a space of loose morals including sex work, early and child marriages, sexual and gender-based violence. For example, a respondent noted, "*vana vadiki vakutokura vasina tsika vakuita hunhu hwekumatende*" (children are growing up without good morals. They have been corrupted by the bad morals in the tents). Another respondent noted that another change is how '*vana vakumhanyira kuroorwa*' (the children are rushing into early marriages). *Kumatende* thus represents a space of normlessness which can be explained by how people are continuing to find ways to cope with the post-traumatic stress and the impermanence of living in temporary shelters which do not offer privacy or dignity. A respondent noted, "*vanhu vaishandisa tent one saka panenge pasisina privacy vana chaivo vaizoitwa abuse*" (families were using one tent thus there was no privacy. This also exposed children to abuse). Another respondent further elaborated, "*anongoda anopinda ikoko* [at the tents] *saka umbavha huriko and vanasikana vanogona kubatwa chibharo*" (the tents are not secure. There are many cases of thefts and girl

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children are at risk of sexual abuse). Traditional leaders also highlighted how people within this space were not receptive to traditional authorities and mores.

Spaces reserved for certain groups of people were also decimated. For example, elderly women (chembere) had the role of brewing traditional beer for ritual ceremonies. The destruction of their homes and the subsequent relocation to other places also caused a dislocation of this space that has caused loss of dignity, respect, recognition and stature. This space that was theirs previously is no longer there in the new areas in which they were resettled.

5.0 Project Outputs, Outcomes and Impact

The outputs, outcomes and impact as outlined in Table 8 are expected.

Table 8: Outputs, outcomes and impacts of the project

	Work package	Outputs	Outcomes	Impact
1	Building capacity in data collection and the inclusion of cultural heritage in risk reduction and resilience-building	– Trained cultural officers, local leaders, and members of Civil Protection Unit – Three post-graduate students	– Improved knowledge on ICH government, officers, and local leaders – Capacitated local leaders who are actively involved ICH activities	
2	Inventorying traditional beliefs and culture	– List of ICH affected by Cyclone Idai – List of early warning indigenous indicators – Scientific publications – Policy Briefs – Webinars	– Improved knowledge on ICH affected by Cyclone Idai – Curriculum review in education (greening the curriculum) – Adaption of early warning indigenous indicators	1. Preservation of ICH/ restoration/ safeguarding 2. Updated and new policies on ICH 3. Localised and improved ICH-informed Sendai Framework
3	Psycho-social support for the disruption to kinship and social cohesion	– Psycho-social needs – Space for pouring out grief caused by being first responder	– Improved knowledge on issues of psycho-social needs. – The need to have a long-term psycho-social support system for emergencies	
4	Enhancing resilience, livelihoods and traditional food systems	– Scientific publications	– Improved traditional food systems – Resilient households and communities	

6.0 Recommendations

Policy	• *Mainstreaming ICH in disaster risk management and response protocols*: The government needs to mainstream ICH in disaster response protocols in Zimbabwe that focuses on supporting culturally sensitive actions based on context specific needs of communities. This means going beyond representation of traditional leaders in the committees but also utilization of indigenous knowledge and providing platforms for communities to report, collect and utilize local knowledge in disaster management. • *Strengthen the role of local leaders in emergency response protocols*: Whilst traditional leaders are included in the emergency response protocols, their roles and responsibilities remain vague especially in contexts where national disasters are declared. The top-down nature of the response protocols often means local leaders are excluded at the very top of the decision-making structures. • *Revise mandatory moratorium on declaring death for emergency contexts*: The current government stipulation/law of waiting for eight years does not allow for closure and healing for survivors. • *Develop a* resource manual on safeguarding and mobilising ICH in disaster contexts: Government and its partners must provide a guidance note that promotes the safeguarding of ICH during disasters. • *Develop a national policy framework on human settlements:* This policy should spell out that wetlands and sacred places should not be allocated for settlement. • The same policy should also clearly spell out that river confluences, as informed by indigenous knowledge, should never be settled.[9] • *Craft a national housing policy:* some of the houses which were destroyed by the cyclone were mud houses. There is need to look at the types of houses that should be constructed in the rural areas that can withstand the harsh effects of climate change.

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[9] It was observed that most people perished at Kopa and Peacock settlement because these places are/were at river confluences. At Kopa, three rivers converge, while at what was Peacock, two rivers have their confluence.

Programming	- Psychosocial support should be prioritized for different groups of people who were directly or indirectly affected by Cylcone Idai, i.e., the victims themselves, the first responders including traditional leaders. Host communities also need psychosocial support so that they understand that those being relocated in their spaces. *Initiate resettlement programmes early:* There is a need to have a clear resettlement programme that focuses on taking people out of temporary camps within the shortest period. The research has shown the challenges faced by people living in temporary shelters over an extended period. Government and its partners must aim to have affected households resettled within a six-month period. *Increase awareness of ICH in disaster risk management institutions*: More training is required for both government and non-government actors on the need to mainstream ICH in disaster risk management. *Implement an inclusive beneficiary selection system post emergency*: The targeting of beneficiaries was shown to cause divisions and conflicts in communities between those in villages and in temporary shelters. Assistance should target everyone with a need regardless of where they are located. *Emergency programming and funding must include ICH related activities*: In emergency situations the ICH needs are often ignored yet they require special attention including funding. - Afforestation programmes to curb the effects of the wanton destruction of the environment
Further Research	*Long term post-traumatic stress for survivors and first responders*: There is need for more research focused on analysing the long-term experiences and impacts of post-traumatic stress. This also includes strengthening both clinical and traditional systems of psychosocial support. *Internally Displaced Persons and refugees*: Often the plight of IDPs and refugees is ignored in emergency situations. Research needs to focus on the lived experiences of these marginalised groups *Social media, disaster reduction and ICH:* There is need to have research that explores the efficacy of utilising social media in raising awareness around disaster reduction and ICH.

7.0 List of affected ICH

Knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe	Traditional craftsmanship	Oral traditions and expressions	Performing arts	Social practices, rituals and festive events
− Kutema rukarwa − Passing on of skills and practices around rain requesting religious ceremonies − Food taboos e. g. around mhunga kuti haidyiwi; Around bananas − Miti yaipirirwa i.e., mihacha − Nzvimbo dzinoera − Nzvimbo dzaikosheswa munzvimbo yega yega e.g., dombo raMutema which was the meeting place of Chief Muusha and Chief Ngorima in Chimanimani	− Passing on of skills for making crafts – Buhera	− Kusuma mambo/mutape when coming to stay in his area − Kuparara kwechinyarikani pakati paambuya nemukuwasha for example.	− Mitambo yevana vadiki vese − Mitambo yaiitwa nevasikana − Mitambo yaiitwa nevakomana − Mitambo yevanhu vakuru e.g., chembere	− Kutaura to the deceased when burying her/him − Kubatana maoko nekunyaradza afirwa − Kuba mvura/kurova gata − Kurova guva − Kukoshesa ukama − Kuperekwa kwemusikana pakuroorwa − Kusungirwa kwemunhukadzi ane pamuviri pekutanga − Kubika makoto/doro rekukumbira mvura − Chiremera chemadzimambo − Chiremera chevabereki nevanyarikani − Ukama − Ruzivo maererano nedzinde redzinza (family tree) − Ruzivo rwezvaitevedzwa pakubika madoro emakoto, mikwerera

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Appendix: List of Key Stakeholders in Buhera, Chimanimani and Chipinge Districts

BUHERA DISTRICT ICH PARTICIPANTS LIST

Name	Designation
Zvabva Priscilla	District Development Officer
Rukoni Rainoro	Arts and Culture Officer
Chief Nyashanu - Chemwi R Kandenga	Chief
Chief Makumbe - Shepherd Chengeta	Chief
Chief Chitauro - Leonard Manyuka	Chief
Misheck Mabvuregudo	Headman
Mavhiza Freeman	District Development Coordinator
Dhinda Patience	Senior Administration Officer –DDC's Office
Chibvongodze Emily	CEO Buhera Rural District Council
Mutomba Tirivanhu	District Schools Inspector
Muyambo Judy	District Forestry Officer
Chirinda Cosmas	Social Development Officer
Musakaruka Ngoni	Council Chairperson
Makombe Shepherd	Environmental Management Agency
Makumi Tangisayi C	Officer Commanding District (DISPol), Zimbabwe Republic Police
Matono Tobias	Officer in Charge, Office of the President and Cabinet
Muposhi Ordial	District Information Officer
Tafadzwa Maripfonde	District Women Affairs Officer
Mr Misi	District Environmental Health Technician
Dr Chiduku	Veterinary Services Officer

Chimanimani

Name	Designation
Manyurapasi Joseph	DDC Ministry of Local Government
Nengomasha Tawona	Assistant DDC, Ministry of Local Government
Chief Ngorima Paineas	Chief
Magijani Loyd	District Development Officer, Ministry of Youth, Sport, Arts and Recreation
Brian Muchinapo	IT, Chimanimani Rural District Council
Joroma Bright	World Life Officer, World life and National Parks
Muyocha Alice	Schools Inspector, Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education
Kaneta Prosper	District Environmental Officer, Environment Management Agency
Chirodza Amos	District Information Officer, Ministry of Information
Marange Rudo	District Development Officer, Ministry of Women's Affairs
Nkomazana Robert	DR RG
Inspector Mukanganwa	Officer in Charge, Zimbabwe Republic Police
Mr Muusha	Chief

Mr Chiuya	Officer in Charge, Office of the President and Cabinet
Mr Forichi	DCW Ministry of War Veterans
Saurombe Raymond	Chief
Mwandiyamba Rodger	Headman

Chipinge

Name	Designation
Chief Musikavanhu Vhusani	Chief
Chief Gwenzi Ezekiya	Chief
Chief Samhutsa Captain	Chief
Chivhunze Chemunoda D.	Headman
Mashava William	District Development Coordinator
Gore Richard	District Development Officer
Chisandure Adele E.	Arts and Culture Officer
Chauruka Wilbert	District Education Officer
Magabaza Richard	District Schools Inspector
Dube Zaine	District Information Officer
Zongoro Raphel	Social Development Officer
Zaranyika Marshall	Officer
Kusasa Phillip	Ndau Festival of the Arts (NDAFA)
Gabaza James	Indigenous Health Practitioner
Kufanenyasha Lucky	CS
Simango Praise	CDC
Makondo Irene	Zimbabwe Republic Police