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Special Issue on Intangible Cultural Heritage

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EDITORIAL POLICY

The editorial thrust for this journal is on the publication of articles that focus on the *teaching* and *learning* of social science subjects and communication. Related to and closely linked to this objective, is the need to aim to ensure that the academic discipline(s) cater for the needs of all students in the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities and other students from other faculties who will read it.

It is therefore intended that other related disciplines that enhance the development of Social Sciences and Humanities constitute these essential publication content of this journal.

The main objectives of this journal, therefore, revolve around analyzing and reporting strategies, problems, theories and research findings for teaching and learning how to:

- communicate, through English, academic as well as social information in written or spoken form.
- disseminate research-based information obtained from various subject disciplines in social sciences and communication.

The DANDE Journal of Social Sciences and Communication also aims to:

- publish and disseminate information related to educational theories, teaching methods, research strategies and results of critical analyses of teaching/learning strategies or practices employed in various academic as well as other practice-based learning situations.
- provide a forum for critically analyzing and discussing teaching/learning theories and practices in various subject disciplines and the role played by language, English in particular, to facilitate students' understanding and application of such concepts in desired educational or professional disciplines.

Articles in this journal may also critically analyses certain current pedagogical strategies but the publishing committee generally regards views, attitudes and criticisms expressed in such presentations as personal observations and views of writers which do not necessarily represent the beliefs and attitudes of Bindura University of Science Education but would be sanctioned for publication if found publishable for the purpose of disseminating information intended to educate members of Bindura University and Science Education as well as other Universities and communities.

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Editorial: Special Issue on Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH)

Intangible cultural heritage (ICH) also known as living heritage refers to practices, representations, expressions, knowledge and skills that UNESCO considers to be part of communities, a group of people or individuals' cultural heritage. This is so because as the preceding sentence reveals, cultural heritage does not end at monuments, sites and collections of objects. ICH in fact, is considered as very important that in 2003 UNESCO came up with the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, that many states (175 as of 2017) have since ratified. Since April 2006 when the Convention came into force, UNESCO has been on a crusade to promote the appreciation of both the Convention and ICH itself. These activities, funded by UNESCO directly, or by funds-in-trust have seen communities, governments and higher education institutions working together in inventorying activities as well as in awareness-raising ones. One of the seeds of these activities, with the blessings of the UNESCO Regional Office for Southern Africa (UNESCO-ROSA), the Government of Zimbabwe and the Chinhoyi University of Technology (CUT) administration, sprouted at CUT as the Southern African Intangible Cultural Heritage (SAICH) Platform and was coordinated by Prof. Herbert Chimhundu. The SAICH Platform's activities were funded by the Flanders Government of Belgium from 2015 to 2019. At a workshop in Harare in 2018, representative associates from the Platform's member states of Botswana, Eswatini, Lesotho, Malawi, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe agreed that for sustainability, there was need for an association that would continue carrying the flame of activities related to and on ICH awareness-raising, inventorying and safeguarding. The result of this was the Southern African Intangible Cultural Heritage Academic Network (SAICHA-Net). In 2020, SAICHA-Net held its first conference. This was online because of the COVID-19 pandemic, and it is out of this event that these papers issue from.

The papers in this volume speak to intangible cultural heritage and are written by both academics and ICH practitioners as well as employees-cum-activists in the area of living heritage. They focus on and place emphasis on different ICH matters anchored on skills, practices and expressions, but not physical material which is tangible heritage. It is these practices, skills and expressions that give communities their identities. The articles in this issue celebrate ICH as manifested and informed by the different authors' backgrounds.

In the first article Tshireletso Modikwa argues that while UNESCO encourages communities and owners of ICH to safeguard and promote it through safeguarding and documentation, there is need for owners to go beyond this act. He posits that it is important that communities value-add their ICH through for instance, some benefit-sharing schemes, but this has to be within the parameters of their local intellectual property rights.

While Modikwa highlights the importance of value addition to ICH, this can only be possible if those passing on the information and skills are adequately trained and experienced. This is especially so in ICH that results in food and other condiments. It is therefore, common knowledge that the partaking of some culinary delights is some type of ritual in that there are practices associated with it. Such delights can however be enjoyed if prepared to the highest standard and in environments that are conducive. This is the essence of Ndlovu, Mapara and Chiweshe in their paper where they point out the impact that the COVID-19 pandemic has had on the preparation and serving of a traditional Kalanga dish, *hadza lezembgwe.* They further note that the situation is worsened by the fact that prior to the COVID-19 contagion, the crop whose grain is used has not been of good quality due to incessant droughts in the area.

COVID-19, also known as SARS-CoV-2 is also dealt with in Victoria Phiri Chitungu's article. In it she discusses several indigenous ways of combating pandemics that the Gwembe Tonga of Zambia and their neighbours have deployed since most of their rural communities are far away from urban centres. In addition, a majority of them cannot afford to buy masks and hand sanitisers. These practices include the use of *idyango* and related skills that are required in the construction of the appropriate shelters. She also highlights the actuality that the use of lockdowns is not something that her subjects of study are unaccustomed to given the fact that *chihumu* has been practiced

largely in the past in caring for those afflicted by highly contagious diseases or had travelled to faraway places and had come back, whether ill or not, to avoid the spread of unknown ailments.

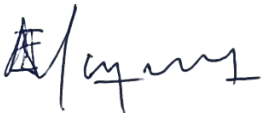
While Modikwa in his paper has focused on the need to value add African ICH by focusing on Botswana, Moyo is of the strong opinion that ICH is of great significance to the development of the African continent. In his paper Moyo asserts that Africa has the potential to unshackle herself from the mantle of being tagged the least developed continent on Planet Earth. He argues that the continent needs to exploit her rich cultural heritage, something that countries like China and Japan have done. He concludes his paper by recommending that there is need for Africa to change, and that serious and real change can only be realized if she deliberately changes systems by way of revisiting the existing contemporary structures such as modern-day leadership, and schooling systems among others. This, Moyo notes, will enable Africa to refocus on her living heritage and use its philosophies to give an impetus to a development agenda that will be of immense benefit to her people.

One of the challenges that is faced in safeguarding ICH occurs in sites such as Matobo Hills Cultural Landscape. This place has a lot of living heritage, but it is threatened by varying contestations among 'authentic' owners of the concerned ICH. This is the issue that Tendai Fortune Muringa grapples with in her paper. She also laments the fact that there is a high risk of losing the living heritage that characterizes the Matobo Hills landscape due to the area's changing environment partly caused by human agency through encroachment and veldt fires among other factors.

We live in a world that is erroneously labelled a global village. This is so because colonialism and racial superiority and arrogance have conspired to undermine Africa and her children by casting her as an insignificant Other. It is in light of this that Bridget Chinouriri, Reggemore Marongedze and Tsitsi Roselene Bwetenga protest at the undermining of Africa's exceptional cultural creations and inventiveness that they argue "have been grossly misperceived, condemned, vilified and misused." They lament not just the fact that there are mistranslations and mispronunciations for example, of the names of African musical instruments, but also that due to the epistemologies of the Global North, culturally brainwashed Africans have embraced the denigration of their

own continent's creativity. In the process they have contributed to the othering of their rich intangible cultural heritage and promoted what the authors label the 'intellectual arrogance and hegemonic impositions' of the West.

In the last article, Jacob Mapara, discusses Shona, specifically Manyika anthroponyms asserting that they are an important living heritage aspect that serves as an identity tag that each human being is conferred with, at birth and throughout the passage of life's odyssey. He locates these names (surnames) in a context where the namers use them as expressives that are a means of chastising those who embark on loathsome behaviour. Mapara points out that these names are used as a vehicle through which youngsters are called out to avoid pitfalls that are likely to befall them if they plunge into unacceptable conduct as some of the discussed names reveal. The author thus notes that the act of naming is a critical one because it is an important indigenous way of communicating values mainly to youngsters although adults will also learn from the naming and shaming that is embedded in the practice and the expression that each name carries.



Jacob Mapara
(Guest Editor)

Charles Pfukwa
(Editor-in-Chief)

Beyond Inventorying: The Potential of Commercialisation of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) in Botswana.

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Ministry of Youth Empowerment, Sport and Culture Development, Botswana

Abstract

This paper explores the socio-economic potential of intangible cultural heritage (ICH), which includes oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe or knowledge and skills to produce traditional craft. Furthermore, it interrogates various ways in which this living heritage can be realised through deliberate commercialization efforts that leverage on an effective national, regional and international Intellectual Property Rights system. By design the paper draws heavily from Botswana's ICH efforts and experiences as well as interrogating the adequacy or lack thereof of the Intellectual Property regime and legal system in protecting ICH and facilitating its commercialization. In this era of increased rural-urban migration and high unemployment rates, ICH inspired commercialization, cultural tourism, industrialization and innovation can unleash ICH socio-economic potential. The paper in addition highlights some of the possible challenges from a legal, cultural and administrative perspective that may arise in the quest for ICH commercialization. It therefore argues that ICH inventorying should not be an end in itself but give room for commercial exploitation. The methodology used includes interrogating research documents, media reports, government and UNESCO official reports. The paper concludes with recommendations aimed at local communities, public authorities and relevant organisations to consider in leveraging on the socio-economic potential of ICH in this era of high unemployment rates, increased rural-urban migration and poverty.

Keywords: intangible cultural heritage, community, commercialization, intellectual property

Introduction

Since the ratification of the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage on the 1st of April 2010, Botswana has inscribed three elements and all of them are under the Urgent Safeguarding List. These elements include earthenware pottery-making skills in Botswana's Kgatleng District which was inscribed in 2012. Additionally, the Dikopelo folk music of *Bakgatla ba Kgafela* in Kgatleng District was inscribed in 2017, *Seperu* folkdance in Chobe District and associated practices was inscribed in 2019. All these inscriptions are reflective of the value that Botswana places on its ICH.

The above elements were identified for inscription from an extensive inventory of ICH essentials that resulted from community-based research and documentation exercises carried out across Botswana's four districts of Kgatleng, North East, Gantsi and Chobe. According to the UNESCO's 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, intangible cultural heritage (ICH) also known as living heritage, manifest in five broad domains namely: oral traditions and expressions including language as a vehicle of the ICH; performing arts; social practices; rituals and festive events; knowledge and practices concerning the nature and the universe and traditional craftsmanship. Botswana is rich in all the five domains. These elements raise an important question: What next after inventorying? A possible course of action seems to come from Shankar and Swamy (2013) who observe in their research that inventorying should result in publication and should stimulate action; and if it does not do that it fails to serve its purpose.

The above mentioned various communities with a wide array of commercially viable products for their socio-economic and cultural development in this economically challenging era. As a result, the commercial exploitation of ICH has gathered pace over the years as "this has been attributed by development of a lucrative local and international trade in indigenous heritage, which has seen most of the economic benefits diverted to non-indigenous personnel and institutions" (Mohammed, 2004, p. 1). This sad reality needs redress, and it can only be done with active community and government involvement in enriching and repackaging the country's rich and diverse ICH.

Economic Potential of ICH

Botswana, as already noted in the foregoing paragraphs is like most of the developing counties in Africa in that it has rich ICH across its diverse ethnic groups. As a lived heritage, most of such ICH serves as a socio-economic benefit that can be further explored commercially and exploited for the benefit of the host indigenous communities in particular and the larger Botswana society in general. According to Ameechi (2014), such exploitation

will enhance not only their assimilation into the mainstream of the economy, but also help in motivating efforts towards the conservation of the knowledge and related practices, acts that are very critical in the safeguarding and promotion of ICH.

Through a cocktail of instruments from the local laws, UNESCO and the World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO), local communities can be able to take measures to protect their cultural heritage, which is also their intellectual property. This can be attained by getting directly involved in the production process either as host communities, or through striking Access and Benefit Sharing Agreements (ABSAs) with entities interested in commercialising and exploiting their cultural heritage. This idea is further buttressed by Nyakuri, Sikoyo and Wakhungu (2006) argue that indigenous knowledge, which is an ICH aspect, is an important aspect of innovation systems in developing countries worthy of commercial exploitation. It is interesting to note that towards this end, in Botswana there have been some efforts to commercialise aspects of ICH such as the *Sengaparile* and *Mosukujane*.

The *Sengaparile* Conundrum

The Devil's Claws that is also known as "*Sengaparile*" in Setswana is mostly found on the western semi-arid parts of Botswana mainly in the Kgalagadi and Kweneng Districts. Malapisane and Malope (2006) state that *Sengaparile* (*Harpagophytum procumbens*) is a tuber that is known for its medicinal characteristics and is available on the international markets. Because of this visibility it therefore has great potential for exploitation as an income source for the benefit of the country's host rural communities.

According to Tewart (2005), the bulk of the world's supply of *Sengaparile* comes from Namibia, with lesser amounts from South Africa and Botswana. It is reported that the year 2002 was the peak export season. In 2002, a total of 1018 tonnes of dried *Sengaparile* from Southern Africa, which really represents the harvest of millions of plants were exported. Additionally, in 2001, *Sengaparile* sales in German were estimated at 30 million Euros in total, accounting for 74% of the prescriptions for rheumatism. This presents adequate evidence that Germany is immensely benefiting from the knowledge of the local communities of Botswana, South Africa and Namibia. The problem though is that the host communities are exporting the plants raw and in their dried form without adding value through acts like processing and proper packaging aimed at enticing external consumers.

The above challenge reveals that these countries, especially the host communities have failed to recognise the potential of their ICH and associated indigenous knowledge and thus take measures "by tracking, preserving, promoting, documenting, and digitising indigenous

knowledge in a manner that is easily accessible" (Chisembu, 2020, p. 17). Such a move will go a long way in determining and tracing prior art to the indigenous communities whenever patents whose foundations are based on indigenous knowledge are being lodged. These efforts can assist in defensive protection against undue commercial exploitation and can create room for synergistic relationships where partnerships can be set up with those who are willing to be licensed to produce local ICH based products while the host communities set up shop.

Mosukujane Ice Tea: The Game Changer

Mayori (2016) states that *Mosukujane* (*Lappia javanica)* herbal tea has evolved over the years from medicinal tea decoctions or infusions to non-medical uses, where the herbal tea is now drank for recreation and enjoyment. Worth observing is the fact that a Botswana local company, called Native Foods has joined the ice tea market through the commercial exploitation of *Mosukujane*. Native Foods got financial assistance from Citizen Entrepreneurial Agency (CEDA) to kick-start the production of *Mosukujane* ice tea after the research, testing and quality assurance was done (Citizen Entrepreneurial Agency [CEDA], 2013-2021).

As CEDA (2013-2021) has observed, there is value in local ICH. This is echoed by the Native Foods Director, Mr Zulu Gokatweng, who stated that "when communities start to benefit from their resources, they start to take care of them as there is an economic value, they are deriving from them" (CEDA, 2013-2021). He further emphasised that in producing their product they go out and buy *Mosukujane* from women in rural areas, who have come to appreciate its value and are now rooting for it to be preserved at all cost. Mr. Gokatweng's observation is critical in that it highlights the value of commercialisation, as one of the sure ways of ensuring the survival of ICH.

As the above paragraph has revealed, the commercialisation of *Mosukujane* tea as well as its performance in the open market through a local company justifies the needs and urgency to explore ways of bringing ICH related products to the market. Such initiatives would go a long way in creating employment as well as making sure that the value addition and production is done locally.

The Rooibos Watershed Moment

If there is one product that has caused conflict between business and communities, it is rooibos. This a product that is found in South Africa. Wynberg (2016: n.p) notes that:

> There are political, environmental and social controversies associated with that most delectable of South African beverages: rooibos tea. The industry is based upon *Aspalathus linearis*, a leguminous plant from the *Fabaceae* family that occurs only in South Africa's fynbos region. The debate enfolds both the plant itself and the traditional use and knowledge that fostered the growth of this lucrative industry.

These words are very critical in that they point towards matters relating to ownership and right of exploitation of one's heritage, especially when one considers the fact that the region that is referred to here is one that is home to the Khoi-San communities. This is also particularly so when it can be noted that, "Rooibos was first commercialised at the turn of the 20th century …" (Wynberg, 2016, np). Despite its being a big employer, and a multi-million-dollar industry that trades up to 15,000 tonnes a year, it is an industry that is built on "dispossession and adversity stretching back over centuries through colonialism and then apartheid when the government imposed a 40-year monopoly on rooibos" (Wynberg, 2016, np).

Although as observed above there have been conflicts around rooibos, these appear to have been resolved. According to Natural Justice (n.d.), working with the National KhoiSan Council, the San and Khoikhoi communities have managed to negotiate a Rooibos Benefit Sharing Agreement (RBSA) with the South African Rooibos industry. Natural Justice (n.d.) further noted that the RBSA was motivated by findings which concluded that the South African commercial rooibos industry simply leveraged on the San and Khoi's existing knowledge and industrialised it. This is a watershed moment for indigenous communities whose ICH was being commercially exploited by outsiders who were doing this without their consent, and which they were not benefitting from. It further shows that it is possible for Botswana's indigenous communities to negotiate with big companies and be able to enjoy monetary and non-monetary profits that accrue from benefit sharing agreements similar to the rooibos one.

Traditional Crafts

Rife in Botswana's indigenous communities, are skilled craftsmen and women who utilise skills transmitted to them over generations and locally available materials. Most of these craftspeople are socially and culturally revered mainly for crafts which are not just aesthetically appealing but are also useful. This usefulness underscores the fact that Africans do not embark on art or craft for art/craft's sake (Achebe, 1975). They undertake artistic and craft works that are beneficial to their markets as well as to themselves. Some of these artistic and craft works are realized in the traditional basketry and pottery that they produce and are

quite in abundance in sub-Saharan Africa, with some civilizations having been marked by their presence (Wilmsen et al., 2009). They are therefore practices that have persisted despite the impact of colonialism.

As already noted, traditional basketry and pottery are common crafts in all Botswana, but those from Okavango and pottery from Manaledi are outstanding. They are some of the traditional crafts that have shown greater potential on the domestic and international markets. In fact, DeMotts (2017) recognised the commercial potential of basketry as a commodity that carries a historically situated notion of 'traditional, rural Botswana' into the broader economy. In addition, basketry now represents access to cash in rural areas, places that are usually perceived as marginalised and where women who normally have no other options for earning income are resident, and in some instances relegated. Because of the emerging value of these traditional crafts, Intellectual Property tools such as Geographical Indications and collective marks are relevant to explore efforts towards protecting, promoting and the trading of these traditional crafts among other products.

However, Keitumetse and Nthoi (2009) urge caution in the commercialisation of traditional crafts as it likely to transform local crafts production from a socio-cultural activity to an economic one, which can have a negative effect on the quantity and form of an element of ICH. The pressure to respond to the dictates of the market and drive up sales can end up with arts and crafts products that are not representative of their ICH. This can result in distortion of the traditional art form as the activities surrounding craft production processes have therefore evolved in ways that affect the authenticity and integrity of the indigenous knowledge that informs that craft's production (Keitumetse & Nthoi, 2009).

The Legal and Administrative Climate

Nyakuri et al., (2006) focus on the challenges that former colonies face when it comes to intellectual property laws with a focus on Kenya. They argue that the intellectual property laws in Kenya, like most other laws, are a colonial heritage. The three posit that the British imported their intellectual property laws into colonised countries to advance imperialist interests at the time they were introduced. Botswana, a former British colony like Kenya finds herself in a similar predicament in that she adopted a British legal system with the accompanying IPR regime. This has resulted in a legal and administrative system that is western oriented and does little to respond to the realities of the local culture, thus leaving most of the local ICH at high risk of misappropriation from well-resourced commercial and to some extent well-connected political interests. Nyakuri et al., (2006), however opine that under the Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS), there is flexibility

to enable developing countries institute *sui generis systems* of IP protection for traditional knowledge.

Botswana National Policy on Culture

The Botswana National Policy on Culture (BNPC) of 2002 gives strategic direction on matters that concern culture in the country. One of these areas is the commercialisation of what was later defined as ICH in 2003 that is addressed in section B, Item 6.5 titled "Employment, Trade and Industries." This is presented as, "These entail the utilisation of citizen skills to produce cultural goods and services which can be exchanged for cash." These words are significant because they highlight the value that lies unexplored and unexploited in the local ICH.

It is encouraging to note that the BNPC has been in existence since 2002 but the commercial potential of culture and in extension ICH was recognised during its development. One of the strategies of the BNPC is to "strengthen the cultural industry base for the production and marketing of handicrafts, paintings, sculptures and other cultural commodities". The BNPC Section 6.5 further recognises the role of Intellectual Property as a tool to ensure protection and facilitation of trade in cultural goods. The policy calls for the conduct of vigorous marketing and continued production of intellectual property of literary works, music among others while reinforcing measures to ensure copyright protection.

Botswana's Copyright and Neighbouring Rights Act of 2006

One area that has faced challenges especially for the formerly colonized relates to the theft of indigenous communities' folklore. Having observed this threat, the Government of Botswana came up with the Copyright and Neighbouring Rights Act of 2006. Section 4 of the Botswana Copyright and Neighbouring Rights Act of 2006 does make reference to the protection and treatment of folklore as follows:

1) The following derivative works shall be protected as works-

    a. Translations, adaptations, arrangements and other transformations or modifications of works; and

    b. Collections of works, collections of mere data (databases), whether in machine readable or other form, and collections of expressions of folklore provided that such collections are original by reason of selection, coordination or arrangement of their contents.

2) The protection of any work referred to in subsection (1) shall be without prejudice to any protection of folklore incorporated in or utilized for the making of a work.

Despite its good intentions, it can be noted that the above Act effectively does not extend copyright protection to indigenous practitioners of ICH but rather to those who are engaged in the production of derivative works based on ICH. Similarly, Cross (2010) stresses that the current intellectual property system is rooted in the western concept of individualism and concentrates almost entirely on discrete production of new knowledge by a particular author or inventor. As a result, most indigenous practitioners of ICH are legally ignored as right holders and/or creators hence denied economic and moral rights over their community's creation. The situation is worsened by the fact that most of the local communities that are endowed with rich commercially exploitable forms of ICH are from disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds and thus do not have neither the means, skills, nor did the motivation to get involved in derivatives productions.

This has led to a situation where many of the contemporary traditional musicians are freely and commercially exploiting the rich indigenous traditional songs and dances without paying any royalties or compensation to host communities who are the custodians of such repertoire. This scenario exposes the gaps that exist in the current intellectual property regime. The intellectual property system should also respond accordingly and give them legal rights over such culturally imposed limitations whilst respecting their cultural limitations and flexibilities. Although Polymenopoulou (2017) posits that the copyright system is meant to essentially enable fair and balanced commercial exploitation of creative works, the reality on the ground however, is that the Botswana Copyright and Neighbouring Rights Act exacerbates exploitation of local ICH by non-host people and communities by failing to protect the economic and moral rights of local communities and ICH practitioners. In fact, as Cross (2010) observes, the existing intellectual property regime is rooted in the western concept of individualism and capitalism. As a result, it tends to focus almost wholly on isolated invention of new knowledge by a specific author or originator.

The Swakopmund Protocol on the Protection of Traditional Knowledge and Expression of Folklore (2010)

Some member states on the African continent have realized that Africa is losing a lot of her intellectual property because of legislation that focuses on individuals as innovators, yet there are creations that are community owned. It is this door that has been exploited by most western organizations as well as local artists who have seen in local ICH room for the

exploitation of such heritage for their own benefit. The result of this observation by member states culminated in the Swakopmund Protocol on the Protection of Traditional Knowledge and Expression of Folklore that was adopted on 9 August 2010 at Swakopmund in Namibia. This was as a follow-up to what had been earlier on agreed on in Maseru, Lesotho through the Legal Instrument for the Protection of Traditional Knowledge and Expressions of Folklore at the Eleventh Session of the ARIPO Council of Ministers on 23 November 2007. Botswana as a member of the Africa Regional Intellectual Property Organisation (ARIPO) became a party to the Swakopmund Protocol on the Protection of Traditional Knowledge and Expressions of Folklore on the 28th of March, 2012. It was a demonstration of how serious Botswana is in advancing the interests of ICH and the concerned local communities by being the first ARIPO member to become a party to the Swakopmund protocol.

What is of great significance when it comes to the Swakopmund Protocol is its clarity especially when one looks at its purpose. It is worth quoting the whole Section 1 of the Protocol that is titled "Purpose of Protocol":

> 1.1. The purpose of this Protocol is:
>
> (a) to protect traditional knowledge holders against any infringement of their rights as recognized by this Protocol; and
>
> (b) to protect expressions of folklore against misappropriation, misuse and unlawful exploitation beyond their traditional context.
>
> 1.2. This Protocol shall not be interpreted as limiting or tending to define the very diverse holistic conceptions of:
>
> (a) traditional knowledge; or
>
> (b) cultural and artistic expressions,
>
> in the traditional context.
>
> 1.3. This Protocol shall be interpreted and enforced taking into account the dynamic and evolving nature of traditional knowledge and the characteristic of traditional knowledge systems as frameworks of ongoing innovation.

It is worth noting that this Protocol is forward looking. It puts a mechanism in place to ensure that even when there are modifications to traditional knowledge (ICH), credit is still due to the host community, and ownership is resident within that community. This has the effect of ensuring that local ICH cannot be exploited without the consent of the host community. The fact that the Botswana Government saw it fit to ratify the protocol is also clear testimony to its realization that the Copyright and Neighbouring Rights Act (2006) has its shortcomings

and these can be addressed and arrested by the Swakopmund Protocol among other instrument that are currently in place or those that may come up in future.

Even though 1.1 (a) does not explicitly state that the Protocol refers to communities, it is common knowledge that most traditional knowledge is owned by host communities. The Protocol also helps to safeguard against the misappropriation, misuse and unlawful exploitation of ICH beyond its traditional context. This means that all exploitation and use have to be ethical and legal, and the best people who can do that are the host communities themselves.

The Swakopmund Protocol is also explicit in its treatment of traditional knowledge as an intellectual property as espoused in Section 6 which deals with the beneficiaries of protection of traditional knowledge. The section clearly states that, "… the owners of the rights shall be holders of traditional knowledge, namely the indigenous or local communities." What is clear is the issue of ownership of traditional knowledge as intellectual property that is owned by communities. This protocol, therefore does not speak against commercialisation of ICH but rather states that any such exploitation by any interested parties should be done with the lawful consent in place from the local communities.

Section 7 of the Swakopmund Protocol deals specifically with rights conferred to holders of traditional knowledge with subsection 7.2 emphasising that, "owners shall have the right to prevent anyone from exploiting their traditional knowledge without their informed consent." This section encourages commercialisation of ICH while also providing local communities with legal rights over their ICH assets with the freedom to allow anyone to exploit it under agreed terms and conditions. This is significant in that it empowers local communities so that they cannot just watch and mourn hopelessly while their ICH is exploited without their consent.

Conclusion

This paper has noted that the commercialisation of ICH will go a long way in adding value to ICH products, something that can economically empower and benefit host communities. It has also observed that ICH has the potential to realise domestic and international recognition to local cultural products, and this realization can be tapped into for the financial benefit of host communities. In this vein, it has the potential to positively impact the rural economy, creating the much-needed jobs and stemming the rural-urban migration. This also has the potential to offer ICH practitioners and their community some form of independence from 'charity' funds to maintain their ICH as they will be able to generate their own income from their resources and skills.

The commercialisation of ICH can also result in the distortion of elements of ICH as commercial interests take precedence. This was noted by Keitumetse and Nthoi (2009) who found out that the mass production of craftworks by the local communities at Tsodilo was now being mainly done for the purpose of selling them rather than for traditional purposes as it was in the past. The result of such a development has been realised in the loss of cultural authenticity. It also has a negative impact on the traditional modes of skills and knowledge transmission as the communities prioritise making craftworks for profits over their cultural heritage (Keitumetse & Nthoi, 2009).

The paper has in addition noted that Botswana has over the years invested heavily in research and development institutions such as the Botswana Institute for Technology Research and Innovation (BITRI), Botswana University of Agriculture and Natural Resources (BUAN), Botswana International University of Science and Technology (BIUST), and the University of Botswana (UB). In light of this realization these institutions can assist in establishing enforceable quality assurance mechanisms in the production and marketing of ICH goods. It is also high time that these institutions focus some of their research and development initiatives on ICH and the body of cultural heritage to tap on its commercial and industrial potential. Leveraging on these institutions' technical expertise and resources will make the task of ICH commercialisation and marketing easier.

Be that as it may, the paper has also noted that commercialisation of ICH makes it vulnerable and open to all sorts of manipulations by outsiders mainly due to the speed and advancement of technology. Most of the indigenous communities are mostly from poor backgrounds and have no benefit of advanced technological knowledge and resources. Kearney et al., (2018) on their assessment of the Indigenous Australian Arts and Cultural Knowledge found that consequently, indigenous cultural heritage is often distorted for commercial gain. Indeed, the commercialization of Indigenous Intellectual and Cultural Property (ICIP) is often carried out without respecting, seeking consent and benefit sharing agreements with indigenous host communities. These authors have recognized the dire situation in which the indigenous Australian communities find themselves in when faced with lack of an enforceable Intellectual Property regime. Given that the Botswana tourism sector's dependence on the visitor economy has wilted due to COVID-19 imposed travel restrictions, diversifying to commercialization of ICH using local cultural materials and knowledge would go a long way in mitigating the economic impacts of COVID-19 and increase the socio-economic resilience of local communities into the future.

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COVID-19 on Gastronomic Intangible Cultural Heritage Elements: A look into the effects of the pandemic on the processing and preparation of pearl millet *hadza.*

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Abstract

This study analyses how the COVID-19 pandemic affected the process of preparing *hadza lezembgwe* (pearl millet thick porridge) as practiced by the Kalanga people. The Kalanga people are very particular with the way this cuisine is prepared. The study classifies the cuisine as an intangible cultural heritage (ICH) element, and therefore, also touches on how the pandemic affected community-based inventorying of ICH elements in communities. Information for the study was gathered using in-depth interviews with key informants and non-participant observation. The analysis was done within an Afrocentric framework, where it was established that the practice is done following certain traditions that are a part of their heritage. The paper details how the WHO guidelines for curbing the spread of COVID-19 disrupted the traditional and preferred way of processing this gastronomic element. The study also shows how other factors that preceded the pandemic such as drought contributed to worsening the livelihoods of the concerned communities. Recommendations are made to the government to work with other agricultural institutions to boost depleted seed resources for these communities in order to avoid post COVID-19 years of a vicious cycle of meagre harvests, malnutrition and poverty.

Keywords: pearl millet *hadza*, intangible cultural heritage, COVID-19

Introduction

According to Hessen (2020), in December 2019, China notified the World Health Organisation (WHO) of several cases of a troubling human respiratory illness at that particular time had no nomenclature. This illness is now called the Coronavirus Infectious Diseases of 2019 (COVID-19). The virus quickly spread to other countries, with Zimbabwe reporting its first case of the virus on 20/21 March 2020 (Maulani, et al., 2020, np; Chamunogwa & Zimbabwe Peace Project [ZPP], April 2021, p. 1). It was soon apparent to everyone that the virus was heading towards being a global pandemic. This forced different countries in the world to take action and in the process they effected various levels of lockdowns in a bid to restrict and contain the spread of the virus. As a response to this ravaging disease, on 27 March 2021, the Zimbabwean Government declared COVID-19 a national disaster. This was subsequently followed by the declaration of a national lockdown on March 30 in line with other countries in the region. This lockdown which was meant to last for 21 day was extended by a further 14 days on May 1. The lockdown was later on slightly eased but extended on what was then termed an indefinite period on May 16. The nation imposed travel restrictions except for essential services. This was the pinnacle of a series of measures that the World Health Organisation (WHO) advised as one of the ways of curbing the spread of the virus. Other measures included social distancing, masking and avoiding contact with another person since the virus was easily transmitted through contact with an infected person. There was also the encouragement that people use hand sanitizers for disinfecting their hands. The numbers permitted for gatherings like funerals were reduced. Yet it is essential to observe that human beings, especially Africans are social beings; they enjoy spending quality time together as family and friends and, above all, shaking hands when greeting each other. In the rural areas, Africans/Kalanga share most of their tools and utensils, as they live a communal life. Enforcing social distancing meant dismantling such practices which define who they are. This paper discusses how this turn of events has affected the processing of *hadza lezembgwe* (pearl millet thick porridge) amongst the Kalanga people of Zimbabwe. Covid-19 also known as SARS-CoV-2 has disrupted lives and livelihoods the world over. UNESCO echoes these disruptions when it states:

> Physical distancing and lockdown measures led to the cancellation or postponement of many important events and restricted access to the spaces, places, objects, and materials necessary for the practice of living heritage (UNESCO, 2021, p. 13).

These words are a clear point to the far-reaching consequences that have been brought onto the world because of this pandemic. It is in the context that this research sought to establish how it has disrupted some socio-cultural practices among some Bantu communities in Zimbabwe, specifically the production and processing of pearl millet *hadza lezembgwe* among the Kalanga of Western Zimbabwe.

It is also important to note from the onset that there is very little literature that is available on Zimbabwean gastronomy and other intangible cultural heritage (ICH) elements. While there has been some significant research on food science and technology in Zimbabwe; very little has been done in terms of research on the celebrated indigenous ways of preparing traditional foods, and the meanings carried by such preparation activities. Most researches have been done on the nutritional value and content of Zimbabwean foods. However, there is still a gap on the indigenous methods of making such foods. These traditional methods are accepted within the community as markers of a genuine muKalanga, especially when it comes to a young woman who is transitioning from maidenhood to marriage. These methods and skills of making local cuisines and processing gastronomic elements are also part of what makes the ICH of Zimbabwean dishes. There is therefore need for clear recipes and food preparation methods because such knowledge is in danger of being lost due to Western influence and the education system that teaches students to prepare Western and other foreign foods, and not indigenous Zimbabwean ones. These forces such as globalisation, westernisation and, more recently, Zimbabwe's Look East Policy (Ojakorotu & Kamidza, 2018; Youde, 2013) are thwarting the traditional ways of passing on such indigenous knowledge from one generation to the next. Pandemics such as Covid-19 are further worsening the problem by coming at a time when indigenous knowledge is already facing threats from the above-mentioned forces in that movement has been curtailed by lockdowns as well as contact between people being reduced. It is therefore against this background that this research was carried out to determine the extent to which the pandemic has affected the revered traditional method of preparing pearl millet *hadza*. The researchers chose to focus on *hadza* because it is the staple food for most communities in Southern Africa and that makes it an important element, that has been enlisted by UNESCO in Malawi. In Zimbabwe, maize has surpassed the other cereals to become the cereal of choice for most communities, although its being accepted was more a result of colonial imposition than of choice. The Kalanga community is one such society that has impacted by this unsolicited grain choice. However, despite this onslaught of maize, some of the Kalanga people, especially the elderly and those that have travelled to other lands where people celebrate their indigenous cuisine, still want *hadza* from pearl millet which has been a part of their heritage for centuries. This gave the researchers an impetus to focus on this type of *hadza* as it seems to be special to the Kalanga people.

Theoretical Framework

This research is done within the framework of Afrocentricity. This is a theory that "questions your approach to every conceivable human enterprise. It questions the approach you make to reading, writing, jogging, running, eating, keeping healthy, seeing, studying, loving, struggling, and working" (Asante, 1988, p. 45). This definition shows that this is a philosophy which puts the African at the centre of every aspect that is under study at any given time. The analysis of any phenomena that involves Africans (including those in the Diaspora like African Americans) must be done from the point of view of the Africans themselves. Using Western modelled forms of analysis may not do justice or may not give a true reflection of the phenomena understudy because such frameworks maybe totally delinked from those phenomena that they seek to analyse and investigate. The understanding of the African worldview through the eyes of the colonisers of viewing Africans as the colonised, vanquished and underdogs are the notions that are challenged by Afrocentricity. Mazama (2001) laments most Africans' loss of direction and sense of self-worth. She asserts that the problem with Africans is the way they adopt European ways of doing things, lifestyles and culture either consciously or unconsciously and adopting them and naturalising this alien way of doing things and living as if it were theirs. Following on this observation, it becomes clear that there is need to seriously take Achebe's words which he said to a Nigerian magazine, when he stated, "We are like the man in the Igbo proverb who does not know where the rain began to beat him and so cannot say where he dried his body" (Ogbaa, 1999, p. 1). In this article, we look at how COVID-19 has disrupted a certain section of Africans, the Kalanga, in their way of processing pearl millet and training of young Africans to master this valuable cultural process that has a bearing on marriage relations, especially for young women. We therefore, saw it fit to do this analysis within a framework that puts the African at the centre of analysis as the phenomenon that is the subject of the study is practiced by Africans.

Methodology

Data for this study was gathered using in depth interviews with key informants and through non-participant observation. Primary data were collected mainly in Ndebele in order to break the language barrier between the researchers and the informants. Observations and scheduled interviews were carried out in Bulilima and Mangwe Districts. This paper follows research which was done mainly before the travel restrictions that were brought about by the COVID-19 pandemic. It was during this period that interviews and observations on the preparation of *hadza lezembgwe* were made. After the announcement of travel restrictions that were meant to curb the spread of the pandemic were made, telephone interviews were done with key informants who had been identified prior to the coming of the epidemic. The researchers

sought to find out how the lockdown measures affected what had been observed as the preferred way of preparing *hadza lezembgwe* by the Kalanga. A thematic analysis approach was utilised in this study. The researchers identified the codes that came out of the interview notes and used these to come up with the themes that were followed in the discussion below.

Hadza lezembgwe as an Intangible Cultural Heritage Element

The researchers noted that *hadza lezembgwe* is part of Zimbabwe's living heritage because its successful preparation is based on skills and practices that are passed down through generations. In fact, intangible cultural heritage is defined as:

> the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This Intangible Cultural Heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity (UNESCO, 2003).

The first sentence in the above definition encompasses practices, knowledge and skills which include that of preparing gastronomic ICH elements such as *hadza lezembgwe*. It also includes cultural spaces, such as when and where the *hadza* is to be served. These practices are transmitted from one generation to the other in a way that is defined by the concerned community. In this article, we also look at how COVID-19 has disrupted this valued way of transmitting indigenous knowledge to future generations. This definition is contained in the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003). It is thus clear from this Convention that the aim of this convention is to protect:

> the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage' (Article 2).

The preparation of this food is thus covered in almost all the aspects that are referred to in Article 2 of the Convention that are cited above. What is equally worth noting is that Zimbabwe ratified this convention in 2006 and currently hosts the UNESCO Regional Office of Southern Africa (UNESCO-ROSA). It is therefore, as a state party, actively involved in the implementation of the convention. In this context, the way in which *hadza lezembgwe* is prepared by the Kalanga people involves use of skills and indigenous knowledge. These are

a form of ICH, which this study argues should be protected and safeguarded as dictated by the 2003 Convention. Safeguarding is being carried out through community-based inventorying in Zimbabwean Districts. This study focuses on Bulilima and Mangwe Districts where the ICH element in question is widely practised. Unfortunately, the coming of the COVID-19 pandemic has disrupted this process of inventorying and also affected the practice itself. As already alluded to, this study is mainly focusing on how the pandemic affected the practice of the element.

Discussion

Hadza lezembgwe is an important dish among the Kalanga and other ethnic groups in Zimbabwe and Southern Africa. This study sought to assess how COVID-19 disrupted the practice of processing pearl millet and cooking this dish among the Kalanga people of Bulilima and Mangwe Districts of Matabeleland South Province in Zimbabwe. During the research, it was established that in the processing of pearl millet, the Kalanga people at times have threshing parties in order to separate the pearl millet grain heads when the beating time comes. For example, one responded stated that:

> *Izikhathi ezinengi nxa sisebenza inyawuthi sibiza amalima. Lokhu kwenza umsebenzi ube lula, kusukela ekuvuneni, ekubhuleni ngitsho lasekugigeni.*
>
> (In most cases when processing pearl millet we do it as parties of many people. This makes the easier from harvesting, threshing and even when pounding).

This idea of threshing parties emanates from the traditional spirit of African communalism, which has always been a part of traditional Africa. African communalism is well captured by Mbiti in his dictum "I am because we are; and since we are therefore I am" (Mbiti, 1990, p. 141). In Setswana, the proverb is "*Motho ke motho ka batho*" or "*Motho ke motho ka batho ba bangwe*," or in Ikalanga: "*Nthu, nthu nge(ne) bangwe*," and in Xhosa: "*Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu.*" (Jensen & Gaie, 2010, p. 297). In an earlier publication, Menkiti (1984, p. 171) notes that one obvious conclusion to be drawn from this dictum is that as far as Africans are concerned, the reality of the communal world takes preference over the reality of individual life histories, whatever these may be. The communal spirit and the work parties for example, show that individualism is a foreign concept to Africans. Before colonialism, Africans believed in pluralism and flexibility. The family and eventually, community, was considered to be larger than the individual. As a result, most tasks and activities were done communally. Ikuenobe argues that, "African communalism does not necessarily see a conflict between individuals and community; they are mutually supportive, and people are required to have the moral attitude of contributing to the community for their

own well-being" (Ikuenobe, 2018). This speaks to the spirit of sharing resources, tools, knowledge and even skills. The well-being of individual members of the community meant the well-being of the whole community. According to Okolo (2002, p. 213), "it is the community which makes the individual, to the extent that without the community, the individual has no existence." This realization further cemented the need for cooperative working. Wiredu (1996 p. 129), further states that, "a person in the true sense is not just any human being, but one who has attained the status of a responsible member of society." Every individual in that particular community feels obliged to play his or her part in contributing towards the development and growth of that particular community.

This discussion from these scholars helps to define and clarify what African communalism is. Since African communalism appears to permeate every aspect of the African life, we therefore, argue here that it is a form of ICH, that is really the main overarching one, with other forms given direction and shape by it. It is against this backdrop that the Kalanga people, who are the subject of this study adopted a communal way of doing their work such as processing pearl millet and training of young children, especially females, on how pearl millet is processed and how *hadza lezembgwe* (pearl millet thick porridge) is prepared. The announcement of a lockdown by the President which became effective on March 31 2020 effectively put a stop to the movement of people and traffic. This meant that each family was compelled to stay indoors or within their home, as it became almost illegal to visit neighbours. This crippled any prospect of having a village threshing party. Further to that, WHO, announced vast measures that governed the conduct of every individual as a way of trying to curb the spread of the coronavirus. One of these measures is social distaccing. This literally implies that each individual must keep a distance of two metres with the next person.

It was established that the actual cooking process is what matters the most. The production of pearl millet flour, which is locally known as *gwisa*, is key in the whole process. As one responded said:

> *Abantu abanengi bacabanga ukuthi isitshwala esimnandi siphuma nxa umuntu esepheka kuphela. Hatshi, indaba isekulungiseni impuphu yakhona. Kumele ugige ukhuphe impuphu yohlonzi lwaphezulu ukuze wenelise ukupheka isitshala esimnandi.*
>
> (Most people think a good *hadza* dish is a result of skillfull cooking only. No, the trick is in producing *gwisa*. One has to pound and process pearl millet into high quality *gwisa* in order to be able to cook and produce good *hadza*).

The skills and the training of the cook may not compensate for the poorly prepared *gwisa*. The preparation of *gwisa* goes through certain stages which have to be religiously followed and these steps go back to even the harvesting period. After harvesting, the next step in the processing of pearl millet is threshing. The informants stated that at this stage, villagers usually invite other local residents to form a threshing party. This lightens the task that will be at hand as there will be more people to do the work. It also promotes the spirit of African communalism which is celebrated by the Kalanga as well. The lockdown conditions that were announced by the government regrettably and significantly affected this practice in that everyone was expected to stay at his or her home.

After threshing, the grain is then stored in granaries. These are first coated or dusted with ash, mainly from the iron wood tree. Storage is important for the reason that it has to be done properly. If not, the grain will mold, which will then affect the quality and taste of the *hadza*. The next stage will be to convert the grain into *gwisa*. It was established during the research outreach that some people, who are fond of taking short-cuts simply take the grain, raw as it is, to the nearest diesel or electric-powered grinding mill. This, according to the Kalanga, is wrong. It will not give one good *gwisa* although it is fast. The correct and culturally accepted process is to grind the grain using a pestle and mortar. The process begins with *kuhokola*, which marks the beginning of the dehulling stage. *Kuhokola* means removing the tips of the grain. The grain is poured into the mortar and a small amount of water is added. The grain is then lightly pounded through the process of *kuhokola*. This is an important stage as the tips of the grain may spoil the *gwisa* quality. *Kuhokola* is the first stage of a process called decortication, which involves the removal of the pericarp of the pearl millet grain. It has to be done skillfully, in a way that will not crush the grain, otherwise there will be big losses in the process. When the person who is doing the pounding is satisfied that the grain has been adequately pound, it is emptied into a round basket. This is followed by winnowing. Winnowing is done to separate the grain from the tips, which would have formed pearl millet bran. The remaining grain is then examined to see if all the pericarp has been removed. If not, the pounding process is repeated again until the grain has a shiny greyish colour. The larger grain particles are called *hogwana* and these are also reworked.

The *hogwana* are then put back into the mortar and at that point the real grinding begins. The grinding is done through pounding too, but this time, no water is added. The pounded product is again poured into a round basket and then winnowing begins yet again. The purpose of winnowing this time is to separate three products. These three are the *gwisa*, the *setje* and the *hogwana*. The larger particles of the pounded product are the *hogwana*, while the smaller ones are called *setje*, and then the fine flour is what is called the *gwisa*. The *hogwana* is then put back into the mortar and more pounding is done. The process is repeated until the cook is satisfied that she has prepared enough *gwisa* and *setje* for the day; for that

is the practice – to prepare only for specific day and meal, to avoid spoiling due to the effects of the weather. The remaining *hogwana* is stored for future use, while the *setje* and *gwisa* are the taken to be used to cook the *hadza* for the day.

The process of converting pearl millet grain into *hogwana* and *gwisa* can also be done communally. A few ladies from nearby homesteads may choose a day on which they will all bring their paraphernalia, in the form of pestles and mortars to have a pounding party. They may bring their *mahewu* or other traditional food that they will be eating whilst they are doing the pounding. For example, during this research in the pre-Covid-19 days, several informants and experts in processing pearl millet chose to go and gather at one of the informants' homesteads and demonstrated how they do these pounding parties. They do this whilst singing and sharing jokes and stories. This makes their work easier and as some of the informants said, it provides an opportunity for others to learn how to do these processes properly. It was observed also during the research that the communal way of pounding the grain also acts a teaching school for young girls. One of the informants stated that young girls are given smaller pestles and mortars where they do their practice. These will be tailor made indigenous grinding tools that will enable young girls from the age of ten to start practicing or doing a form of apprentice on how to process pearl millet into *hadza*. Besides pounding by the ladies, the researchers noted that such gatherings were another platform for teachings about life or anything that the elderly thought the younger ladies needed to know. They would not only concentrate on pounding but the elderly women would take advantage of the platform and teach the girls, for example, how to maintain stamina or even try new entertaining ways of pounding.

The pronouncement of the Covid-19 infection prevention and control measures impacted negatively on the whole pearl millet processing process. The need for social distancing meant that there are no more threshing parties. As one respondent said:

> *Kasisakwazi ukubuthana sihlangane sisenza amalima ngenxa yomkhuhlane lo osukhona. Abezempilakahle kanye labathungameli besigaba bayasiqonqonsela ukuthi akuselakuhambelana emizini yathu. Ngolowo lalowo kahlale lemuli yakhe. Kodwa-ke kunzima ngoba kuyinto entsha konke lokho kithi.*
>
> (We are no longer able to gather and do work parties because of this new disease. Health workers and our community leaders emphasize that we should no longer visit each other's homesteads unnecessarily. Everyone must stay with his/her family. But then, it is hard because this is totally new to us).

What the above respondent said was also repeated by other informants. What makes it more painful to the villagers is that each family has to thresh its grain heads on its own in its homestead. It also meant that there were no more pounding parties. The joys of women coming together from nearby homesteads to do the pounding together all of a sudden, due to a Presidential decree, was now a thing of the past. This meant each cook would have to face the task alone in their homestead, without sharing the burden with another one. This implied that there were no more opportunities to learn from others other than those in one's family. The institution of lockdowns across Zimbabwe which were meant to confine the movement of people in an endeavour to flatten the transmission curve disrupted the social order of many African societies including the Kalanga people. It meant that they could no longer come together to boost productivity and strengthen each other socially and skilfully through sharing ideas and resources in the spirit of African communalism. The African proverb which was discussed above permeates every aspect of an African as he or she is growing up. This includes trainings, rites of passage and initiation schools. The Xhosa for example, run initiation schools which involve circumcision of young boys as they graduate into adulthood. These schools are a form of communal training where everyone who would have reached the required age would join the school. In actual sense, the raising up of an African child is a responsibility for the whole community. It is never a responsibility of the biological parents alone. In light of this, the restrictions that were brought about by the COVID-19 lockdowns disrupted this African way of training their future generations. In this case, the skills and knowledge of producing a good African cuisine such as pearl millet *hadza* could not be passed on to the younger girls in the usual way.

Villagers engage in close contact activities during most of their activities to make the work easier. They also share farm equipment, utensils, food items such as mealie-meal and other services. This increases their ability to conquer the environment and survive. The disruption of these networks through lockdowns, quarantines, and restrictions of movement in response to COVID-19 rendered villagers very vulnerable to sustained food agricultural underperformance and disrupted livelihoods. The national lockdowns in many Southern Africa countries and the infection aversion measures put into place by governments, both local and national, have led to a steep decline in trading activities, within communities and across borders. The closure of roads across the country in response to COVID-19 further constrained livelihoods development of the concerned villagers. In previous pandemics, such as those that were Ebola and SARS-induced, the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) observed that quarantines, roadblocks, and the shutting down of markets almost universally inflated market prices, which led to a reduction in the quantities of some market items, and also led to a significant decrease in the number of customers for farmers and the volumes they purchased, due to serious declines in purchasing power (FAO, 2014). It is therefore, not surprising that, given the severe drought that this part of Zimbabwe was already suffering

from before the outbreak of COVID-19, most Kalanga villagers struggled to source grain for food. The price of a pearl millet bucket went up and most traders were charging above R100 (USD6.50) per 20-litre bucket. This had a bearing on the number of meals that a family could afford per day. In some instances, this was however mitigated by the fact that almost every homestead in Bulilima and Mangwe Districts has a family member or relative who works in South Africa. These family members and relatives send their loved ones back home groceries and money through cross-border transporters locally known as *omalayitsha*. Despite the efforts of relatives and family members, the lockdown caused all Southern African countries to shut down borders. This grounded most of these transporters which meant that most of these villagers could no longer receive money from South Africa. This was another major disruption which was caused by the COVID-19 pandemic to the livelihoods of villagers in these two districts, and contributed to the disruption of the practices around the impartation of skills around preparation of *hadza lezembgwe* and the prior activities.

Hunger and related food shortages at times force villagers to think in other terms, such as using up resources that are reserved for future use or other purposes. The Kalanga have a tradition where seeds for the future season are carefully chosen by women during harvest. It was also established during the research that the Kalanga prefer a certain variety of pearl millet. This sort is called the *Tsholotsho bearded variety*. Villagers ensure the sustainability and continued availability of this variety through selecting and reserving certain seeds depending on their size and quality. When food deprivation bites, villagers end up being forced to resort into converting the grain that is meant for seeds into food. This leads to the depletion and disappearance of that particular variety, forcing the villagers to plant imported types that the villagers may not like. This observation was also made by Ojiewo and Pillard (2020) who assert that disastrous factors such as climate change are not only hurting the current crop, but disrupting the supply of quality seed for future harvests. Floods, drought, devastating diseases such as maize lethal necrosis, and pests such as fall armyworm and desert locusts have long weakened food supplies for many African societies even before the COVID-19 pandemic and lockdown measures (Ojiewo & Pillandi, 2020). The Government of Zimbabwe is therefore, called upon to come up with mechanisms that will avail local seed varieties to the farmers to alleviate what the pandemic has put them through. Failure to do this, means that the farmers are likely to resort to sowing ordinary low-quality grain that was originally intended as food, not seed. To the naked and untrained eye, grain for consumption and high-quality seed for next year's harvest may look the same. A farmer may only know the difference days or weeks after planting, and sometimes not until it is harvest time. Many African farmers struggled to access quality seeds even before the pandemic due to high costs and limited supply in general. This will then imply that the effects could last for years post COVID-19 in the form of a vicious cycle of meagre harvests, malnutrition and poverty.

In times of limited food supplies, another compromise is experienced in the form of the quality of the food. As discussed above, in the preparation of pearl millet *hadza* the grain is subjected to a rigorous process of decortication. As observed by the researchers, during this process, a significant amount which forms a part of the grain is removed and forms pearl millet bran. This reduces the quantity of the grain that remains for grinding into *gwisa* and *sejte*. The pericarp has to be removed as it contains tannin which gives the food a bitter taste. Then the resultant bran is used to feed chickens. Research has also been carried out previously on the effects of dehulling on the nutrition content of pearl millet. For example, Serna-Saldivar, Clegg and Rooney (1994) argued that decortication done up to 17.5 per cent level showed considerable improvement in protein and dry matter digestibility. However, a study that was done later by El Hag, El-Tinay and Yousif (2002) showed that protein, polyphenols as well as phytic acid contents of both varieties reduced considerably after dehulling which was due to removal of outer layers. To a person faced with limited grain quantities and starvation, removing 17.5% of the grain through decortication may be a luxury. In some cases, it can be done by up to 30% depending on the size of the grain. This therefore, forces some villagers to compromise on this and look for other means of dealing with the bitterness of the *hadza*. One way in which they deal with it is to try and dilute it through mixing the pearl millet grain with maize. Then the mixture is taken to a nearby diesel or electric-powered grinding mill. This method is heavily despised in the villages and the people who resort to it do it after putting their pride aside. As the saying goes, *hala inodlisa hambwa* (hunger or starvation forces one to eat rubbish).

Conclusion

This article sought to assess how COVID-19 affected the pearl millet processing methods used by the Kalanga to produce pearl millet *hadza*. It showed that the pandemic and measures that were put in place to curb it grossly disrupted this process and the concerned communities are yet to find ways of copying in the face of the pandemic. Celebrated and cherished practices that are involved when processing pearl millet have had to be varied from the way they have been traditionally done and in extreme cases, some of the practices have been stopped altogether. Since these are pandemic induced changes, it means they are emergency induced changes and most villagers have not had enough time to come up with alternative ways. It therefore, calls for the villagers to come together and find ways which can allow them to continue enjoying their cherished cuisine in an era of a pandemic.

In other countries such as Nigeria, the government and ICRISAT (International Crops Research Institute for the Semi-Arid Tropics) are distributing seed to 10,000 farmers to shield them from the impact of COVID-19 and lockdown measures (CGIAR, 2020). There is ICRISAT in the province which houses the districts under study. The organization may

be challenged to replicate the same for Bulilima and Mangwe Districts in Zimbabwe. There is need for a better cooperation between development agencies, seed institutions – private, public and community. Cooperation should also be pursued with research organizations and seed institutions as these can help relief agencies access high-quality seed sources. It can also tackle another challenge: helping farmers plant the most suitable crops for long-term food security. Some African communities are now fond of abandoning crops that have done well in their areas in favour of other crops. A good example is that of repeated efforts by some farmers in low rainfall areas such as Bulilima and Mangwe to grow maize, which does not do well in these areas. Such farmers should be encouraged to stick to those African cereals such as sorghum, finger millet and pearl millet, and legumes such as groundnut, chickpea, common bean, cowpea and pigeon pea, can help tackle any threat to food and nutrition security in one go. Agriculture research institutions can help relief agencies promote the right crop and the right variety in the right place, all the way to supporting the best post-harvest management practices such as conditioning, cleaning, drying, storing, and processing the crops.

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Idyango and other forms of ICH: A response to the Covid-19 pandemic in the Southern Province of Zambia[1].

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Abstract

The Southern Province of Zambia is home to the Tonga, and related peoples, whose economies are mainly driven by agriculture and cattle rearing. When Covid-19 broke out, the Zambian Government started wide spread sensitization programs on its dangers and on ways and means to avoid its spread such as use of face masks, social distancing, using of sanitizers and isolation of those that are ill. While people in urban areas had easy access to the tools for prevention and avoidance of the spread of Corona virus, most people in the rural areas of most parts of Zambia faced limited access to some resources such as masks and sanitizers due to lack of money and availability of such things in their areas. In the southern province, villages in the outskirts of the main towns such as Choma, Monze and Sinazongwe, turned to intangible cultural heritage (ICH) in order to save themselves from the pandemic. Older people in the villages remembered times when they were hit by pandemics that required some ICH measures that were similar to those being undertaken to stop the spread of the Coronavirus. As such, they resorted to employ these measures in response to the spread of the Coronavirus and curb the Covid-19 pandemic. ICH measures like traditional medicines, forms of isolation and *idyango* as a form of keeping clean, are being used to safeguard their communities against Covid-19. This paper explores the various ICH methods that the rural communities of the Southern Province have summoned in the shadow of Covid-19.

Keywords: *idyango,* intangible cultural heritage, *chihumu*, *kafwungo*

[1] This article is largely based on material that the author submitted to UNESCO in October 2020.

Introduction

In many a rural village, the news of the outbreak of Covid-19 was heard from the local radio stations like Byta FM. In the discussions that the writer had with Clara Muyombo (72 years old), Josephine Chiyobe (70 years old) and 74-year-old Pauline Mweene of Mainza village in Monze district, the news relating to the pandemic was neither strange nor was it received with much concern. As far as these septuagenarians were concerned, the symptoms of the disease were similar to those that characterized local flues and colds that were common among the villagers and local medicines for such symptoms were plentiful in the village. However, as more information came in, it became worrying because of the deaths that were being registered as resulting from the new disease and more so the prescribed measures to be undertaken to halt or minimize the spread of this ailment were not so easily conceivable in rural set ups like Mainza village because of the social relations that are deeply entrenched, and where being a community that is united by common practices is the main fabric (Muyombe, personal interview, July 7, 2020). The biggest challenge as the three ladies noted had to do with the lack of soap for handwashing, sanitizers for disinfection and handwashing as well as masks.

The Soap, Sanitizer and Mask Crisis

The three elderly women explained that the prescribed hand sanitizers, soap for hand washing and face masks were not available in the village and could only be obtained 20 kilometres away in Monze town. Even though there are those who managed to get to Monze town (mainly on foot), it was not a given that one could easily obtain these items as the question of the costs also made it difficult for some to acquire them. What was even more worrying was the traditional practices of some of the people like the Tonga that relate to the management of grave illnesses and deaths. Generally, the practice, as in most Bantu communities in Southern Africa demand that those that reside in cities are compelled by tradition to take those that are terminally ill to the rural villages to recuperate or die. If they recuperate, they go back to the urban centres. On the other hand, those that die in the cities are also taken to their villages to be buried near their families and ancestors. In the case of Covid-19, it meant that the villages were in for difficult times as it was obvious that both the sick and the dead from Covid-19 would find their way to the villages just as in other cases of illnesses and/or deaths. This became a serious threat to the rural communities, where most could not afford soap, sanitizers and masks. There is a serious risk of contagion. Therefore, this situation called for a serious, quick and readily available remedy to protect the communities from being infected and potentially wiped out by the pandemic. The community resorted to some indigenous practices, that are a critical element of the local society's living heritage. In the case of local communities such as those in Monza, the best

way was for them to resort to age old cleansing tradition of *idyango* that had been depended on in previous pandemics and other health challenges. Such practices are not peculiar to this group as evidence from countries like India show that the use of herbals as sanitizers is an old tradition that is also part of that country's Ayuverdic medicine (Malabadi et al., 2021).

Idyango: The Place of Cleansing

Idyango is a term that literally means an "entrance" or "doorway" to some space or room. In practice it refers to a traditional cleansing point at the entrance to every village or in some cases into households. This is the label that concisely captures a practice that was at one time in the old pre-colonial and early colonial days used to be a must to avoid the spread of diseases especially from those who had been hunting in the forests, trading trips that involved meeting people from unknown climes and from strangers who would have come from faraway places. In the case of the emergence and threats posed by Covid-19, this seemed to be one of the readily available solutions that could easily be employed by the local people without any serious costs accruing to them since the raw materials were readily obtainable and the practice was fairly common and accepted. The use of *idyango* was therefore some type of return to the basics, and it is these that had ensured community survival in those years and centuries gone by.

The history relating to the *idyango* is that it was created for persons that could have come in contact with potentially harmful substances and highly contagious ailments that could bring to human beings either spiritually or physically. These persons were therefore required to cleanse themselves before they entered the village or a homestead. It was mostly associated with hunters as the forests were believed to be harboured by different spirits and ailments that were harmful to humans or domesticated animals such as cattle. For this reason and for example, every time a hunter returned from his errands, he was expected to go to the *idyango* where he was to wash his head, face, hands and feet in water mixed with herbs that would cleanse him from the spiritual and physical harmful substances of the forest. Only after this ritual washing would he enter the village.

In addition, at every hunter's homestead another personal *idyango* was created. At this one, the hunter would now bath his entire body and leave his hunting attire and gear at the *idyango* and wear home clothing before he entered his homestead. His hunting attire and implements were considered impure to enter his home as they could be carrying the harmful substances of the forest. This practice was extended to visitors that came from faraway places that were considered too far to be familiar with the local people. Such visitors were expected to undergo the rituals of *idyango* before they could even be greeted or welcomed by the hosts. In the case where a homestead did not have a personal *idyango,* one was temporarily created for such a purpose when there was need.

Idyango was also used whenever a person visited a place that was considered as "unclean" such as a graveyard after burial or after visiting a terminally ill patient. A temporary *idyango* was either created at the house where the funeral was being held, where all mourners coming back from the burial grounds would find water mixed in cleansing herbs for washing their hands and feet before entering the homestead. In the case of visiting a terminally ill patient, a household would create an *idyango* for the family member who had made such a visit to wash themselves before they entered their homestead. This practice, it can be observed was meant to minimize the impact of highly contagious and infectious ailments from affecting people. It means also that in an effort to ensure community survival in the face of bleak health prospects, cleansing and management processes had to be tightened.

Sadly, this practice has slowly disappeared and it is no longer commonly used, due to western influences and the spread of some Christian belief systems. However, where the demands of keeping Covid-19 at bay have been difficult to obtain, the recreation of an *idyango* has become the answer. Villages and homesteads alike have recreated a cleansing point before one enters a village or a home. In this way it is hoped the spread of the disease will be curbed (Ndaba, personal interview, July 10, 2020).

Covid-19 despite its huge death toll has given some communities room to bask in the glory of what were at one time their despised practices. UNESCO (2021, p. 41) notes this when it states, "Many people are turning to their living heritage linked to local systems of food production, agriculture and health care as a way of strengthening networks of mutual aid and support." These words echo what is found in the case of *idyango* since it can be noted that communities like the one in Monze district have drawn on their living heritage as a source of community resilience and survival.

Historical Background of *Idyango*

The concept of *idyango* is an ancient practice among the Tonga and Tonga related peoples. Among the Toka-Leya of Livingstone in the Southern province of Zambia, the concept was institutionalized in the office of a High Priestess and co-ruler of the Mukuni Dynasty called *Be-Dyango*, which means belonging to the door way or entrance (Lewis, 2002). Her major roles include performing cleansing rituals to avert disasters such as pandemics. During times of war, she used to perform cleansing rituals for warriors returning back from war to avert any spiritual or physical contamination to the village that would have been brought back by the warriors. In the same way, if the kingdom had experienced any contagious diseases that could easily spread from one individual to another, she presided over the cleansing rituals that would ensure that the disease was contained. These rituals included among other things actual body bathing, isolation of diseased persons, social distancing and restricted

movements of people and mass administering of preventive medicines for those that participated in group activities that had the potential of contaminating the participants. *Be-Dyango* also presided over death and birth rites as these critical *rites de passage* are also considered as highly contagious points among the Tonga and Tonga-related people. As such they are traditionally associated with rituals and rites that are supposed to curb the spread of disease. These activities which are common among the Tonga and related peoples have been practiced in times of pandemics at village and homestead levels (Muntemba, 1970). What is worth observing is that this practice appears to be common among most Bantu people in Southern Africa in countries like Zimbabwe where the post-burial ritual of handwashing is common, although to most people the sense and reason behind it may be lost (Goldade, 2017).

Chihumu: Total Household Lockdown

Another practice that the Covid-19 pandemic has rekindled is that of lockdowns. What is of significance in the case of Zambia's Tonga (and presumably those in Zimbabwe as well, since they were only separated by the construction of Lake Kariba), is the issue of lockdowns that is already part of their cultural practices. They did not learn of enforced lockdowns for the first time because of Covid-19. Among these people, and presumably related Zambezian ones is what is called in Tonga *chihumu*.

Chihumu is a type of lockdown that is enforced at household level in the case of a domiciliary having a person that is afflicted with a disease that can easily be spread to others or when the occupants of the homestead are susceptible to infections due to their conditions. In this case entry or exit to such a household is restricted or prohibited. Normally a bright string or piece of cloth is tied a few meters away from the household or space to warn people from approaching such a space. This is almost like the case of the biblical ten lepers whose story is told in the Gospel of Luke (17: 12-19). People that are confined in such spaces are not allowed to go out to other households and also other persons are in turn not allowed to come in to their space. It is only a restricted number of people that are allowed to enter such spaces, especially to nurse or feed the confined people. This practice used to happen in times of contagious diseases like smallpox, infectious cough related illnesses and child birth (to protect the new baby from contracting diseases before it is strong enough). In the current situation, the practice of *chihumu* is being encouraged by those that suspect that they could have the coronavirus or who are nursing a Covid-19 patient in their homesteads. They are encouraged to isolate their homesteads and put *chihumu* signs to alert outsiders of the dangers within their spaces as well as to keep away unwarranted visitors (Ndaba, personal interview, July 10, 2020).

Kafwungo: Extreme isolation within and among family members.

Kafwungo is related to *chihumu*. It is however different in that it was isolation from close family members within a homestead. It was practiced to avoid contamination within a family when one member or some members of the family were believed to be contaminated by an ailment or spirit that was supposed to be confined or arrested within the person/s while treatment to remove the contamination was being applied. The contaminated person was isolated in a particular space within the household. They were not supposed to come in any contact with any family members; as such they ate and bathed in isolation. Whatever they came into contact with was not supposed to be shared or touched by other members of the family. Things or items to be avoided included those such as eating and bathing utensils, clothes or indeed anything that they had used or touched.

This ritual was allowed in cases of activities that were considered highly contagious such as abortion, still birth, death and some forms of contagious diseases such as some highly transmissible coughs, diarrhoea, measles and smallpox. Abortion or miscarriage was considered to transmit highly contagious diseases or spiritual affliction that could be fatal to family members and the affected woman was isolated while purification medication was administered. In the same way close relatives of the dead such as the spouse or parents who could have possibly nursed the dead, were feared to have the potential of transmitting the disease or spirit that killed the dead person. As such during and after the funeral rites these close members were extremely isolated until the purification rituals were performed. The same applied to those afflicted with contagious diseases as above. They were isolated while receiving medication until they were pronounced free of the affliction (Mukanzubo, 1996).

With the advent of Covid-19, the researcher has noted that the *kafwungo* ritual is being prescribed to those that have contracted the SARS-CoV-2 and are receiving treatment from home. Total isolation from family members is advised including what they come into contact within during treatment, until they are certified free of the virus (Ndaba, Personal Interview, July 10, 2020).

Chigogo or *ku gogoloka*: The cleansing rites after the *kafwungo* rites.

One interesting practice that was also observed that echoes of recommendations around how those who would have been suffering from Covid-19 need to do. The practices really tie in with some Tonga living heritage ones as is reflected in *chigogo*. *Chigogo* was the cleansing ritual performed by the person after the extreme isolation observed during *kafwungo*. After being certified free of the affliction, whatever the person was using during the afflicted period was burnt to destroy any remnants of the contamination on the used objects. Things like eating utensils, clothes and even structures like the temporary structures of isolation

were burnt down. The person was also ritually washed in cleansing medication (Mukanzubo, 1996).

As already highlighted above with regards to today's practices around Covid-19 patients, in the same manner Covid-19 recovered patients are advised to perform *chigogo* after they are healed by getting rid of all the things that they were using during illness and disinfecting the places they were using before others could be allowed to use them. *Chigogo* is important in preventing the spread of the virus from the things and spaces that were exposed to it through the affected person during illness. This is because, while the person may be free from spreading the virus, the things that they came into contact with during sickness may have a high potential of spreading the virus to others (Ndaba, Personal interview, July 10, 2020).

Treatment of the ailments that present symptoms similar to Covid-19.

Problem bugs have always come up and these have as usual had a knock on humanity. In an effort to mitigate the effects of such flues and colds, local indigenous communities have developed ways and means of minimising their effects. Such efforts, as this study noted are also being implemented at local community level with the focus group of this study, the Tonga, and their related groups have gone back to relying on some of their indigenous ways of healing where they have in the past used their local knowledge to heal ailments that present with symptoms similar to those of Covid-19. These communities have identified some of the symptoms associated with Covid-19 such as high fever, difficulty in breathing, bodily weakness, headache and a loss of taste and smell. Through the use of traditional herbal medicines that have been used in the past to address similar illnesses that present similar symptoms such as malaria, the common flu, T.B. and asthma, the communities are treating most people that have them as a first aid measure before and during the time of receiving medical attention, through some of the practices that are discussed in the segments that follow:

Chivuto and *Kujikwa*: Herbal Steaming

One of the commonest practices is *kujikwa.* Through the use of this method, patients that have difficulties in breathing receive steaming treatment by putting them under a heavy cloth such as a blanket which cannot easily let steam out and placing a bowl or pot of steaming water infused with herbal medicines that help to open up air pathways such as the mouth, throat and lungs to improve breathing. The patient is encouraged to open their mouth and eyes while inhaling the steam. The heat from the steam is also expected to make the patient heavily sweat out, which is also encouraged as it is seen as a sign of purging out the disease. If the infected is a young person or one who is viewed as one who fears the heat that will

issue out, relatives and other close people attending to her/him will help to keep the heavy cloth down.

One other practice that is important and is linked to *kujikwa* is *chivuto. Chivuto* is very much similar to *kujikwa* that is discussed in the above paragraph. The only difference is that only a hot stone is used instead of water. In this case a stone is heated and some herbs placed on it. The patient then covers her/himself with a thick cloth and occasionally sprinkles water on the hot stone which releases hot steam that the patient inhales. In the case of Covid-19 patients, *chivuto* and *kujikwa* steaming processes are encouraged to help open the patient's airways and in turn improve her/his breathing (Ndaba, Personal Interview, July 10, 2020).

Chihula matanga: Mass Prevention from Contamination

Chihula matanga is a term that literally means a "crowded cattle kraal", and it is used in reference to a group(s) of people that are treated en masse. *Chihula matanga* is a mitigatory strategy that is used to minimize high chances of a pandemic's spread. This is a method that targets groups of people such as families or gatherings. When a pandemic breaks out, common drinking and eating spaces are treated with herbal medicines to either purify the food or the water or destroy ingested bacteria and or virus. In this case water from which a family drinks or mealie meal from which a family or a group of people prepare their meals is mixed with medicines that prevent contamination. The most commonly used herb in water and mealie meal is charcoal. There is also another herb that is called *munyeu*, which is a local tuber that is placed in the water container or in the mealie meal bin to prevent contamination and spreading of the disease.

The presence of Covid-19 has called for all possible means of reducing any form of contamination and spread of the pandemic. Therefore, families are encouraged to treat their drinking water and main mealie meal with *munyeu* or charcoal to prevent any form of infection that can weaken people's immunity systems and possibly lead to death or illness (Ndaba, Personal Interview, July 10, 2020).

Common herbs and foods to treat common flu related symptoms.

The African Union (AU), recognizes the importance of herbal medicines and states that, "Herbal-based traditional medicines or phytomedicines play a significant role in disease management in Africa and are widely used as alternative medicines" (AU, 2020, np). Although it refers to indigenous herbal medicines as alternative medicine, to most people in poor urban and rural Africa, this is the only medicine that is available to them. This sad reality is also realized in Zambia among the Tonga where several plant-based medicines are used. It is therefore worth pointing out that with the presence of Covid-19, community

members presenting with flu like symptoms are treated with local herbs some of which are discussed below and are generally known among the inhabitants of the area.

Some of the common herbal plants that are used are *Mubanga (Pericopsis angolensis*), *muntanga mbabala* and *muwama*. The others that are also important are the *nyungu* (pumpkin seeds) as well as *mundambi (Hibiscus sabdariffa L*). The efficacy of these plants in the treatment of colds and flus has been proven through use of the centuries and the practice and skills of their use have been passed down through the generations.

When it comes to the *mubanga* it has to be observed that it is the bark and leaves of the tree are used to make herbal medicine that treats headaches. According to an informant, the *mubanga* has been used in treating minor as well as serious headaches since time immemorial. It is because of its importance that it is a taboo to cut down such a tree within the Tonga society. In fact, it is a punishable offence if one is found to have cut it down (Ndaba, Personal Interview, July 10, 2020).

Another important flora element that is part of the Tonga's ICH that contributes to the treatment of chest pains and shortness of breath is the *muntanga mbabala*. Treatment is by the administering of the roots of this tree to the patient. Just like the *muntanga mbabala,* the *muwama* tree that has a scent that is fresh and can be compared to that of Vicks VapoRub, a product of the Vicks brand. The roots of this tree are used in the *chivuto* or *kujikwa* steaming process to help open breathing airways.

The *nyungu* are pumpkin seeds that are roasted and given to patients that present with bodily weakness to help them regain their strength. Like the *nyungu,* that is eaten or chewed, the *mundambi (Hibiscus sabdariffa L)* that is a species of hibiscus of the Malvaceous family that is native to Zambia is also consumed as a common traditional vegetable that is taken as relish with *nsima*. *Mundambi* is believed to induce appetite and therefore patients that have no craving for food are encouraged to eat *mundambi* to induce their appetites.

Old traditions as new innovations: *Ingazi* – the airy and isolated sleeping quarters.

The Tonga of the Gwembe Valley in the Zambezi River basin, on the shores of Lake Kariba, traditionally construct elevated sleeping quarters known as *ingazi*, made of poles only that naturally leave out spaces in between the poles. The houses are so constructed to allow air circulation which is very important in the hot valley. Of importance to note is also the reality that the elevation acts as a protection from wild animals such as lions that are common in

these areas. Unfortunately, over the years these types of houses have become less common as most people in an effort to tell the world that they are now modern, are this day and age in favour of western style houses that are perceived as signs of development. However, with the outbreak of Covid-19, some households are re-constructing them so that they can be used by those afflicted because these structures are thought to be a health solution if a family has a Covid-19 patient. This is because the sleeping quarters are airy and can be constructed away from other houses in the homestead, in the process applying the isolation recommendations of WHO, thus reducing the contagiousness of the disease as can be presented in a modern house set up that may not have as much ventilation (Siabalede, personal interview, October 15, 2020).

Reactions of the Zambian Government to indigenous responses to the Covid-19 pandemic.

Shortly after Zambia reported its first cases of COVID-19 in March 2020, the country's National Public Health Institute realized that hospital capacity, especially in high-risk population areas such as border towns, was not capacitated to handle so many patients at a time. For example, Nakonde, a rural town on the border with Tanzania, with a high rate of cross-border movement of people reported a spike in COVID-19 cases, threatening to overwhelm the local health system. To curb the situation, the Ministry of Health in Zambia reached out for a new strategy – a home management program of infected patients was urgently put in place to take the burden off the healthcare system. The program had been envisaged in the national response plan and it became operational in May 2020 (WHO Zambia, 2020).

Under the home-based care system, asymptomatic and mildly symptomatic COVID-19 patients under 50 years as well as without underlying conditions or co-morbidities are to be cared for at home by families with the support of community-based volunteers. Only patients with moderate or severe symptoms are admitted to a health facility. To ensure effective care at home, an environmental health official assesses key aspects such as the number of people sharing a house, whether the patient can have a room to self-isolate and whether there is anyone with co-morbidities who could be at risk. Of the 941 active cases as of 17 August 2020, 786 (83.5%) were being cared for at home. The home-based care pioneered in Nakonde has now been adopted across the whole country. A careful look at this issue reflects some of the issues that are indigenous that have been discussed in the foregoing paragraphs and is reiterated in the ones that come after this one (WHO Zambia, 2020).

With the introduction of a home based-care program for Covid-19 patients, it has become apparent that the concept of *idyango* can be incorporated in modern homes, where the main

entrance to every home or house should reserve a space with facilities for people to be able to cleanse themselves before and after entering it. Also worth considering is the possibility of some aspects of *chihumu* (total household lockdown), *kafwungo* (isolation of family members) and *chigogo* (cleansing ritual at the end of isolation period) being considered for incorporation in the home-based care program to ensure that there is an effective management system of the Covid-19 cases handled at home. Where possible, traditional architecture such as *ingazi* should be encouraged and adopted to reduce the infectious rate of Covid-19 in home set up.

The institutionalization of the home-based care program in the management of the Covid-19 pandemic has influenced the demand for home-based care solutions. It also has to be noted that the demand for traditional remedies used in the mitigation of the pandemic has increased during this period (*Xinhua*, January 20, 2020). In the case of Zambia, the increase in the use of indigenous remedies has also been attributed to former Republican President Edgar Lungu's encouragement of citizens to use home-based solutions to prevent the spread of the virus. (Xinhua, January 20, 2020). He particularly promoted the use of *kujikwa* (Herbal steaming). This was supported by former Minister of Health Jonas Chanda, who said that indigenous remedies should be used as a supplement to the conventional methods provided by health experts. (Xinhua, January 20, 2020)

On the other hand, some medical experts are against the use of such remedies. They express misgivings on the effectiveness of steaming in the prevention of Covid-19. However, some users of alternative home-based solutions are happy with the results. To encourage citizens to use the indigenous method, some civic leaders such as former Lusaka City Mayor Miles Sampa posted pictures of themselves applying these remedies. The Traditional Health Practitioners Association of Zambia (THPAZ) also supports the remedies saying that indigenous methods of managing sickness such as steaming have been proven to work in flu like ailments. Steaming is considered to be key to the treatment as it kills viruses in the respiratory system and depends on the concoction of the herbs used (*Xinhua*, January 20, 2020).

Musambachime (n.d), confirms that indigenous methods have been used before to treat symptoms of similar illnesses such as influenza. He points out that during the 1918 influenza pandemic, most Africans in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland resorted to the use of local herbs to treat symptoms associated with the infection such as high temperature, chills, cold, headaches, muscular pains and cough. He states that African's herbalists *(ng'angas)* possessed and still possess knowledge of a wide-ranging pharmacopoeia which they use(d) to treat these symptoms with varying success. Musambachime also notes the use of *kujikwa* in treating influenza when he describes how the patient would cover himself with a blanket while sitting close to a steaming pot, infused with herbs. This enables the body to sweat, and

that many patients report feeling better after this treatment. He also mentions the use of "a variety of rituals to 'clean' or 'expel' the disease from the body and their surroundings" (Musambachime, n.d., p. 28).

What the above paragraph has shown is that history is instructive if people are prepared to learn from it. In the 1980s to the early 2000s, there were projections that Africa's populations would largely be wiped out by AIDS (Gregson et al., 2007), but the reality on the ground is that the continent's population that was viewed as going into negative growth has really increased beyond the expectations of the doom prophets. What has caused the population to grow and the cases of infection to stabilize has been public education and health campaigns. But more importantly as in the case of Ebola and other ailments, people have resorted to the use of indigenous herbal medicines.

A look at the above shows that experiences of current epidemics such as AIDS and Ebola have demonstrated how indigenous health practices have significantly contributed in curbing the spread of the two diseases. In the case of AIDS, Africa has had more than its share of the AIDS pandemic that by 2018, 68% of the total global HIV-positive population were in Africa. The 1980s and the 1990s was the time that the virus spread rapidly across the continent. However, it was the inclusion of citizens and their initiatives in the management of the virus that proved to be a formidable weapon against the epidemic. Many studies show how the working solutions in curbing the spread of the virus came from the experiences outside the clinic, in families and in public spaces (Niehaus, 2018). Uganda presents a good example, where the involvement of the local people in the treatment of the disease played a big role in drastically reducing the spread of the epidemic (Iliffe, 1998).

In the case of the 2014 and 2015 Ebola pandemic's outbreak, these countries Guinea, Sierra Leone and Liberia are good examples. At the start of the epidemic western experts predicted a major disaster, but they were soon proven wrong. In a major study, anthropologist Paul Richards demonstrates how the involvement of the local population in what he calls, "people's science", was crucial in the eradication of the disease as compared to instances where foreign teams acted alone (Richards, 2016). Maybe as in the case of Ebola, Africans realized that they were not the world's priority and they therefore chose to resort to their own ways and not wait for the West to come to the rescue.

It was disheartening to note that in the wake of Covid 19, similar predictions such as those relating to AIDS and Ebola were made, where certain sectors of the European community felt that the impact of Covid-19 would lead to massive deaths in Africa and that streets would be littered with corpses (https://edition.cnn.com/world/line-news/coronavitus-pandemic-04-10-20/h-ofdd34e7c008910-ca58fec62faeo49f6), because Africa is considered vulnerable due to lack of masks, treatments, and intensive care units (Sibille, 2020). Perhaps it is too

early to judge how Covid-19 will affect Africa, nevertheless, what is discouraging is the way Africa is still stereotyped as a continent that is under-medicalized.

Perhaps what is important at this point is to learn from what history and anthropology has shown over the years - that exchange of knowledge and experiences and the importance of local understandings and strategies of the medical knowledge of Africans, have proved more effective than the old colonial approach that relegates Africa's bio medics to mere superstition, witchcraft and ignorance. This paper therefore wishes to draw attention to the local responses of Covid-19 in some African communities that governments and the medical profession can not only buy into, but encourage in order to reduce the effects of Covid-19 in Africa as was the case with AIDS and Ebola before it. This comes in light of the WHO traditional medicine strategy 2014-2023 which was developed and launched in response to the World Health Assembly resolution on traditional medicine (WHA62.13). The strategy which aims at supporting Member States in developing proactive policies and implementing action plans that strengthen the role traditional medicine plays in keeping populations healthy is timely in this era of Covid-19 pandemic. The strategy devotes more attention than its predecessor to prioritizing health services and systems, including traditional and complementary medicine products, practices and practitioners.

Africa in general and Zambia in particular can learn from the post-colonial Myanmar government. This government did not only recognize the importance of traditional medicine and the ICH therein, but also established a Department of Traditional Medicine. Among other objectives, the department aims to provide comprehensive traditional medicinal services, develop standardized methods for traditional therapies, conduct research on traditional medicines and provide training for traditional practitioners. The Myanmar government supports a national network of clinics as well as the University of Traditional Medicine. It has also enacted a Traditional Medicine Law, a Traditional Medical Council Law, and since 2007, has distributed traditional medicine first-aid kits in rural areas. Such medicine is produced both on mass scale by public and private sectors as well as by families themselves through home remedies such as herbal concoctions (https://www.mmitimes.com/special-features/208-health-2015/15164-taking-stock-of-traditiona-med.html). In the wake of Covid-19 such an approach would be beneficial not only to the people affected but to the whole health system in Zambia that has clearly shown that it needs supplementary efforts to address the pandemic before the knowledge in the ICH associated with medicine is completely lost.

Conclusion

This paper has shown through the case of the Tonga and related groups discussed here, that history demonstrates that Africa has been exposed to pandemics, epidemics and endemic

diseases for a long time, even way before she was colonized (African Arguments. 2020, https://africanarguments.org/category/covid-19-in-africa). It has as well highlighted that the continent's (especially sub-Saharan Africa) responses to these situations without the interference of western medicines demonstrates Africa's knowledge and experience in biomedicine that has been effective enough to contain pandemics. Through this, the paper has revealed that these approaches can be employed even in modern times (Janzen & Arkinstall, 1978). Although the paper has demonstrated Africa's capability to tap into her indigenous knowledge resources to deal with the pandemic, it laments the fact that the colonization of Africa halted the continent's biomedical development in a number of ways. Colonization and colonialism especially through western education and the Christian faith led to the demonization of local knowledge bodies of medicines. These were not only attacked; there was also the destruction of the technologies that were used and there was in addition the disruption of genealogical continuity and collective health practices. There was the criminalization of healers by some governments' authorities with the relegation of indigenous herbal medicines to the status of unsafe health practices or at worst the experts in indigenous herbal medicines and related practices were labelled practitioners of witchcraft, with the practitioners given the label witchdoctors. These perceptions forced local forms of knowledge that were previously publicly available and endorsed by their communities to go underground and be performed in secrecy (Feierman & Janzen, 1992).

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Independent States without Cultural Awareness? In Defence of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Africa.

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Abstract

The aim of this study was to show the relevance of intangible cultural heritage (ICH) to the development process of nations, particularly in Africa which has the distinction of being the least developed in the world, especially when it comes to the sub-Saharan part of the continent. The study examined the cultural status of Africa and noted that the continent's cultural atmosphere exhibited a lack of appreciation of the landmass' cultural heritage. It was however noted that there was need for the continent to appreciate its cultural heritage for the reason that it is the basis for all meaningful development in society as examples of China and Japan bear testimony. The study finally proposed that there should be deliberate changing of systems by revisiting the current modern schemes such as contemporary leadership and education among others in order for Africa to refocus on its intangible cultural heritage and use its principles to drive the developmental agenda of the people.

Key words: independent states, cultural awareness, intangible cultural heritage

Introduction

UNESCO's 2003 Convention on the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) (2018) observes that through ICH, humans are guaranteed of sustainable development apart from the cultural diversity. It notes that ICH brings human beings closer to one another and this contributes to helping them understand each other. Thus, it appears that ICH plays a huge role in reducing conflict among human beings through making the world a socially, and by extension politically stable place to live in.

The Convention further observes:

> Intangible Cultural Heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. For the purposes of this Convention, consideration will be given solely to such intangible cultural heritage as is compatible with existing international human rights instruments, as well as with the requirements of mutual respect among communities, groups and individuals, and of sustainable development (UNESCO, 2003 p. 5).

The above quotation is important because through it, it can be noted therefore that it follows that by paying close attention to its ICH without disregarding the human rights of its people, a nation is more likely to grow into prosperity. Underscored in the same vein is the fact that failure to embrace cultural diversity may lead to skirmishes, and prosperity usually eludes communities that are plagued by conflict, a good example being that Syria has deteriorated because of its unending challenges. It is however, worth mentioning that there is a clear declaration of the recreation of this ICH in relation to the people's contact with their nature and their history as they also respond to their environment. It is important that the people's interaction with their nature be understood since it is key to ensuring that this ICH responds to their needs and may ultimately leads to their sustainable development.

It should be noted from the above observation, that intangible cultural heritage is a changing phenomenon. However, this changing nature of ICH does not take away the fact that it is a historical product building upon what has already been and is being practiced. ICH is, therefore, never divorced from the people's growth hence, changing reality while its roots are still deeply seated in the people's history. It could be for the same reason that Bortolotto (2007) notes that ICH should be seen from the perspective of time and usage. He observes that ICH is continuously changing and that the cultural expressions are not limited to aesthetic qualities (only). This is a very important view as it recognizes the fact that the cultural expressions in question change with time; they are not static as changes with time and the environment could also suggest changes in people's responses to them. It also follows that the seemingly artistic cultural expressions have their value not restricted to their artistic quality but to their utility value since in Africa, there is never art for art's sake (Achebe, 1975). The expressions are meant to develop people's lives. This therefore leads to a conclusion that cultural expressions in this case are, indeed, intended to develop communities, groups and individuals. They amuse and entertain people as they develop societies, clusters and persons.

As much as that is the view, it is important to interrogate the extent to which African societies have not only embraced their cultural expressions but also developed from the same. For a better understanding of this aspect of African communities; a review of cultural appreciation in the face of globalization will be conducted. This will be followed by the definition of development from an African perspective and ultimately an examination of the same development process and also status of the African world.

Culture in Africa

Writing on culture, cultural identity and multiculturalism; Gruen (2016) seems to erroneously argue that there should never be a case of individuals complaining of theft of cultural heritage. His view is that when people steal or copy the culture of others, the owners of that culture do not lose anything hence there is no cultural poverty. In his argument, he forgets that when other cultures claim ownership of a culture; particularly its origins and portray the rightful owners of such a culture as not owning and originating it, it follows that such a cultural group loses the basis for heritage and therefore a break in the transmission of a chain of the inheritance. The current study wishes to argue that while Gruen is arguing for multiculturalism, he is oblivious to the reality that multiculturalism takes away someone's identity deprives them of a basis for their progress as they lack a philosophy that is needed for such a one to base their development on. It is seemingly in opposition to such a view that Henries (1977) points out the fact that while today black Africa is seen in relation to South of the Sahara, black Africans were known to live in North Africa and they were of the highest and lowest of ranks of the social system. It cannot, therefore, be accepted that a stolen culture does not affect a cultural group. A stolen culture should be understood as a stolen philosophy and ultimately a stolen outlook on life which finally means a stolen means to one's accessing a means to their desired reality. It in other words is akin to today's case of stolen and cloned identities.

Further to multiculturalism, Ayoade (1989) examines the cultural problem by paying close attention to the effects of colonialism on the African. He notes that the African's culture was highly mutilated during the colonial era. It is sad to note that while France and Portugal employed assimilation to an extent of assuming that their African colonies had no culture at all, especially in the case of the French, the British still accepted the existence of culture for the sake of their ruling, and they to some extent mutilated and misrepresented the very cultures they purported to embrace and appreciate, despite protestations by the likes of Spear (2003). The result of both was that the colonies of France and Portugal lost a large amount of their culture as it was deliberately rejected by their colonisers while colonies of Britain had no need to fight for the protection of their culture as it seemingly was not threatened when in fact it was being threatened by contact with the foreign cultures. In the case of the

former Portuguese colonies; one cultural marker is their surnames. Most bear Portuguese last names as if they have their origins in Portugal. This observation appears to be one of the major problems that African cultures are suffering from. However, the problem is worsened by the fact that while culture and a fight for it was used in the contest for liberation from colonial rule, it has been difficult to use it to affirm Africa's independent status. This is because African countries are largely a melting pot of different cultural groups and nationalities that were welded together by European powers at their November 1884-February 1885 Conference at Berlin, with others being left on the other side of the border and under a different colonial power. This has made it difficult to develop a national cultural identity leading to nations choosing from the majority. This does not solve the problem as it creates another where others feel left out. African culture therefore remains a problem with the attainment of African independence.

Even though it is argued that there is a choice of a national cultural character from a majority cultural group in a nation, Henries (1977) observes that *"*the black people of Africa have lost much of their cultural identity through conflicts and domination by outside groups. This has been a dreadful tragedy and handicap to advancement," (p. 119). These outside groups referred to are mainly colonialists who, as was observed above, used culture to their own advantage either by acknowledging its validity or rejecting it altogether. She further observes that the loss of culture is almost entirely externally perpetrated as inter-tribal wars were used by the wealthy colonial nations as a loophole for accessing Africa's wealth. The worst culprit in this situation as already pointed out in the preceding paragraph remains the Scramble for Africa which saw Africa exploited due to industrialization in Europe which led to artificial boundaries already alluded to that were drawn and resulted in the separation of individuals, families and communities. While all this has happened to Africa, Henries states:

> African cultural identity cannot be isolated from the demands of modern living in a technological age. It is an integral part of consciousness as individuals prepare for, and pursue, their roles in society. It is essential in the economic struggle for upward social mobility. It is vital for self-esteem, patriotism and national and international unity. It is an asset in international relations and an imperative for the perpetuity of Africa itself (1977, p. 128).

This clearly shows that the advancement of Africa will remain a pipedream in the face of a stolen heritage. At this point it should be stated that this advancement is what should be understood to be development. Development should be understood to refer to one's advancement to their desired reality, and not as decided by outsiders.

Development and Africa

What really is development considered to be, especially by Africa? Van Lieshout and others (2010, p. 49) define it "… as a deliberate acceleration of modernization, interpreted as the synchronized fourfold transition of economy, government, political system, and society". They go on to view modernization as:

> … what has been achieved in the West since the nineteenth century: the creation of a well-developed and productive economic system embedded in international trade relations, a government apparatus that is able to provide or help provide essential services in the fields of education, healthcare, housing, and security, a political system that ensures collective decision-making processes resulting in citizens feeling connected to the outcome and each other, and a society which is sufficiently open and offers space for various individual and collective ambitions.

This definition clearly views development from a western lens. It shows that whoever does not take after the West cannot be considered developed. Based on the subject of this discussion, it becomes problematic at this point to determine the extent to which non-western countries can be said to be developed if they can only be considered so if they take after the West. This is even made worse by the fact that the West itself has put in place a mechanism that ensures that while it remains at the core; African countries are made to stay at the periphery due to recommendations that are made by the Bretton Woods institutions of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. As Wallerstein (1974, 1976) observed through his World Systems theory, the West prefers to see some countries at the periphery so that it continues to exploit them (see also Martinez Vela, 2001). This situation has been worsened by donor aid which is really un-African and does not fit within her cultural heritage.

It is interesting to also note that while Todaro and Smith (2015) agree with the idea of development as given from an exploitative and capitalist view when they argue that development is sustained economic growth through increased production of goods and services and the selling of the same. They have also argued that modernisation is another aspect of development. Despite these views, the two however ultimately see development as "The process of improving the quality of all human lives and capabilities by raising people's levels of living, self-esteem, and freedom" (p. 7). What is important is that this definition is more encompassing and is not restricted to economics. It therefore follows that with or without trade, the ultimate goal of development is a better life for all humanity. For this reason, one would argue that Todaro and Smith are cognisant of the fact that different people

have different areas of focus for their lives. It is for this reason that they have attempted to define development in both a narrow and a broad sense.

From the above view the definition of development should not be restricted to a single view; it becomes necessary that all definitions of development should therefore be culturally specific. It is in their own spaces that people should say what is meant by development. They should be able to say what a better livelihood means for them. They should determine what self-esteem and freedom means to them. This means that development is not a centrally developed phenomenon but an individually experienced aspect of all life. However, if that is the case and yet people live in a society that is multicultural with a definition of development that strongly inclines towards westernisation or modernisation, what does it mean for society? It basically implies that development ends up being an aspect that is determined by those with power as opposed to those that it is intended for. The people in whose lives change is expected to be seen become alien to the development agenda and therefore do not benefit from the process.

It is for the above reason that this paper argues against the interpretation of development in relation to western determined concepts. This paper views development as a concept highly related to culture and independence considering its focus on freedom. If it is related to independence and freedom, it follows that development should be locally defined which means that a people's cultural interpretation of the world should be at the centre of their development.

Similarly, Ilmi (2014) in his revolutionary article argues that any discussion on Africa's development that does not receive a western approach is not given attention by both Africans and Westerners. However, he notes that Africa's development cannot take place once viewed from a foreign viewpoint. His view is that Africa needs to use African philosophical standpoints to define its development. While agreeing that development should include dignity and happiness in people's lives, he still sees development as a culturally developed phenomenon. Every cultural space, in this regard, knows how to harness and modify both their resources and circumstances not only for continuity but also for better lives. This could be the reason why the World Bank (1998) and UNESCO (2018) have consistently valued and embraced IKS as a good thing stating that it should form part of Africa's development agenda (Seroto, 2014).

Africa's Development and Intangible Cultural Heritage

With the above in mind and a clear recognition of the fact that UNESCO (2003) recognises the role of ICH in development, this paper wishes to argue that ICH should be central to defining development. In every cultural space, development should be defined from the

aspect of the people's ICH. As pointed out earlier, ICH manifests in the five domains identified above and these manifestations are responsible for enabling people not only understand and interpret their world but also find ways of producing resources for their own development.

One problem already observed above is the definition of development. This problem can easily be attributed to both the education system that is not only foreign but intends to use western paradigms to explain local realities. The same can be extended to policy makers and political leaders. As Ilmi (ibid) has argued above, it is difficult for these leaders to listen to anyone who attempts to view African development from any angle that does not employ the western approach. This paper wishes to argue that the first corrective measure should be to change the whole of the current African system by beginning with the removal of the leadership organisation. The current political system needs an overhaul so that the traditional leadership takes a central point. Traditional leaders should take up their role that requires them to work within their cultural spaces with focus on their beliefs as a people. This further calls for the removal of artificial boundaries of so-called "modern" countries which have divided people across borders. It can be argued that due to requirements of passports for people to move across borders, it becomes difficult for people within a cultural group that has its roots across borders to both dialogue and realise their fullest potential. For this reason, Africa should revisit the boundaries that were created not by itself but by foreigners. The removal of boundaries will enable Africans to interact in their cultural space without the current inhibition created by passports. However, one would wonder how feasible this is. It is in the view of this paper that the African Union (AU) is central to realising this goal. Murithi and Ndinga-Muvumba (2005) have shown that from the time of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), the organisation was more interested in the political emancipation of the African. This time, as the AU, the organisation is more interested in the economic emancipation of Africa. It has been further observed that states were central to the running of the OAU which means that there was little interference of the organisation in issues taking place in states. This shows lack of consideration of cross boarder ethnic groups that are always affected by events that take place in the 'other' state. The shift to interest in economic development in African states shows a more human focused approach, without downplaying the contribution to human freedoms that were brought by the OAU.

This paper wishes to argue that the role of the AU, as shown above is more in the integration of African states for maximum economic benefit. If this is the approach being taken by the organisation, it would be the best institution to initiate this initiative. It should be noted, however, that the approach being proposed in this paper threatens the existence of the AU itself as an organisation. What is expected is for organisations and individuals to be more interested in what Africa benefits than what accrues to individuals or individual

organisations. The central position of the AU enables it to initiate massive and radical changes in Africa and ultimately lead to a more truly independent Africa.

It is important to note that the AU equally needs sensitising on the importance of taking this approach. In the event that the AU is unable to take up this mandate, private citizens of Africa can call for this through peaceful protests. As citizens, upon realising the importance of their own recognition and appreciation of who they are they will be able to call upon their individual governments and all other political institutions of leadership to develop the mechanisms of reclaiming the African heritage and values as key to the growth of Africa.

The removal of western style political leaders and artificial boundaries should lead to recreation of the African lifestyles as determined by each people's ICH. The oral heritage, performance activities, social practices and rituals, the knowledge of nature and the universe and the development of tools not just for own development but also for amusement should be given the space it deserves. Africa should only adopt practices from other cultures after its cultural practices have regained their roots.

This paper argues that all African cultural spaces shall have their dignity restored only after western influence has been removed and an earlier African conception of the world has been restored. It is therefore in this paper's interest to reject all western conceptualisations of the world until that of Africa has been reinstated.

All in all, this paper is calling for a resetting of the entire system from education, health, leadership systems, to food production, entertainment and science in Africa through reliance on the ICH of the continent which, in the writer's view, is the only way of developing Africa and declaring it truly independent. It should be mentioned that this could be something very difficult to do if not impossible. It is in the view of this paper that if this approach is attempted, if not successfully implemented, it will still lead to a more balanced approach to development (since it will also imply the redefining of 'development' to take into account the African *weltanschauung* in viewing development), and inclusion of the cultural background as central to the development agenda in developing countries.

Conclusion

This study has shown that while cultural heritage is important, Africa's cultural inheritance has suffered due to colonialism. While much of the cultural heritage has been demonised by religious fanatics, some of it has been deliberately discriminated against as it has been portrayed as backward. While that has been the situation, it has been observed that for development to be meaningful in the lives of the people, it has also to be culturally relevant in that the development should relate to the daily lives of the people. For this, all meaningful

development should be inclined to the ICH of the host communities. For this reason, the study has advocated for a wide-ranging restructuring of the system through the changing from colonial tendencies to what the people have believed in all the time. The paper has argued that ICH should be the focus of all development plans. Once that has taken place, the people will have freedom to be in charge of their lives.

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Living Heritage and the Quest for Sustainability in the Matobo Hills Cultural Landscape of Zimbabwe.

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Abstract

The concept of sustainability has been widely acclaimed and has since been mainstreamed in the management of both tangible and intangible cultural heritage in Zimbabwe and elsewhere. The intention to safeguard intangible heritage associated with cultural landscapes is noble. The major challenge however lies in the characteristics of living heritage such that its intangible qualities can be modified, transformed and sometimes eroded completely over time. When such modifications and changes are accommodated in the management of living heritage, the question is if what is sustained becomes appreciated as part of the 'authentic' cultural repertoire. More so, the interface between tangible and intangible cultural heritage entails that when the physical landscape is degraded and destroyed, the intangible values embedded within the cultural landscape are equally eroded. As such, what might remain in the future are mere tales of how the cultural landscape used to hold intangible cultural values but there will be a lack of physical evidence to show for it. This paper, therefore, discusses the complexities of managing living heritage and promoting sustainable use of Matobo Hills cultural landscape. The argument is that the nexus between living heritage and sustainability of cultural landscapes is shrouded with fragility such that both the physical and intangible values of Matobo Hills maybe lost in the face of social, economic and environmental problems. To a greater extent, when the needs of the present generation outweigh the desire to achieve sustainability, future generations may not be able to enjoy the use of living heritage sites in the same manner as previous groups. This paper, therefore, recommends that living heritage should be sustained taking into cognisance challenges that are inevitable in the local community and the nation at large.

Keywords: sustainability, living heritage, cultural landscape, tangible and intangible cultural heritage

Introduction

The management of cultural landscapes in Africa existed prior to the advent of colonisation. Most sacred areas were protected by taboos and restrictions (Ndoro, 2005) which governed human behaviour and access to places of spiritual significance. These customary laws were reinforced by the traditional leadership and custodians who had the responsibility to ensure sustainable use of heritage resources (Jopela, 2016). For example, at Great Zimbabwe World Heritage Site (WHS) children were not allowed entry to the site and permission to enter was given by the traditional leadership using specific entry points (Mahachi & Kamuhangire, 2008). In Kenya the Kaya elders enforced rules that related to grazing, sorcery, handling of the dead, tree cutting and an acceptable attire to be worn in the Mijikenda Kaya forests (Githito, 2005). Such traditional heritage protection measures were effective in safeguarding movable and immovable heritage before the introduction of western ways of managing heritage (Mupira, 2008). This indicates that traditional management systems ensured the sustainability of tangible and intangible cultural heritage from one generation to the other.

Colonialism introduced a shift in the way heritage was perceived and managed in Africa. Early conservation approaches in the 19th and early 20th centuries viewed heritage as tangible, material and a non-renewable resource whereby humans were a threat to its existence (Paulios, 2014). Therefore, early colonial concerns for conservation saw indigenous communities as a threat to the protection of nature reserves and this contributed to the exclusion of local communities from protected areas such as parks (Fisher et al., 2008). This is the case with Matobo Hills in Zimbabwe where Europeans believed that the landscape was to be preserved rather than used and as such, the idea to create a national park materialised in 1926 (Ranger, 1999). Preservationist approaches which prevented access to protected areas insinuated that human beings, especially the colonized Africans, had a limited sense of responsibility to care for mother earth. The reality as reflected in the deployment of taboos shows that this was not always the case (Kanene, 2016; Mabvurira et al., 2021).

In the 20th century, built heritage especially from Europe dominated the international heritage list as an icon of modernity and civilisation (Deacon et al., 2004). Nature and culture were considered as two separate entities such that cultural heritage in Africa was not given due attention and was in most cases ignored in the listing of World Heritage properties. Essential to note is the actuality that in most African countries there is no clear distinction between nature and culture and an array of topographic features including trees, forests and mountains are considered part and parcel of human life (Ndoro, 2005; Munjeri, 2008). As such Eurocentric worldviews that guided the listing of World Heritage (WH) gave preference to tangible forms of patrimony thereby excluding the spiritual and cultural

significance of African heritage (Eboreime, 2008). Globalisation and colonialism necessitated the widespread of such Eurocentric worldviews to other parts of the globe including Southern Africa (Ndoro & Chirikure, 2009). However, there have been major shifts in the designation of WHS since 1972 and as a result, representation of the World Heritage List has since improved (Jimura, 2019). The widening of the interpretation of 'combined works of nature and man' by the World Heritage Committee made provision for the inclusion of cultural landscapes on the World Heritage List (Mitchell et al., 2009). Such landscapes are a result of the interface between human beings, nature and culture. These cultural landscapes are significant for the reason that they carry tangible and intangible heritage elements which provide a window into the lifestyles of past, present and future communities (Roe & Taylor, 2014; Taylor et al., 2015). This paper takes interest in the intangible values that are embedded in Matobo Hills cultural landscape.

Interest in intangible heritage came to be pronounced in the late 20th century amidst fears on the effects of globalisation such that rural and traditional communities became the focal point in the search for new identities (Deacon et al., 2004). In 1998 in Stockholm, the Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development suggested that the world's intangible heritage was at risk and needed to be properly managed and safeguarded as part of the development agenda (Deacon et al., 2004). This awakening meant that intangible heritage needed to be protected and has to contribute meaningfully to the development of human societies. As such the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage became a milestone achievement with principles and measures to safeguard intangible cultural heritage at an international scale. This Convention considers the "deep seated interdependence between the intangible cultural heritage and the tangible cultural and natural heritage" (UNESCO, 2003, p. 1). The interdependence between tangible and intangible heritage implies that both forms of heritage need to be managed in a sustainable way since what happens to one form of heritage inevitably affects the other. This paper, therefore, analyses the complexities around safeguarding tangible and intangible heritage in Matobo Hills especially when local communities make use of the cultural landscape to sustain their livelihoods and keep themselves spiritually connected to their long-departed progenitors. The argument is that the intangible heritage of Matobo Hills is part and parcel of lifestyles of local communities' such that human activities within the cultural landscape impact on the sustainability of both the tangible and intangible cultural heritage forms.

Defining the concept of living heritage.

Intangible cultural heritage (ICH) includes "practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills - as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces

associated therewith- that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage" (UNESCO, 2003, p. 2). This definition implies that intangible cultural heritage is embodied in material creations and gains relevance through recognition by individuals, groups and communities. As such this heritage can only be viewed as heritage if it is understood within the context of the social and cultural values which are in fact intangible (Smith & Kagawa, 2009), and are part of a group, community or nation's everyday life. It is this aspect of its being constantly practiced by living communities that gives it the other name – living heritage. Deacon et al., (2004) refer to intangible cultural heritage as encompassing oral traditions, memories, languages, traditional performing arts or rituals, knowledge systems, values and know how that need to be safeguarded and passed on to future generations. The idea of safeguarding intangible heritage for the benefit of future generations introduces an intergenerational element which is important in sustainability thinking.

As already indicated above, intangible cultural heritage is often equated with living heritage. For intangible cultural heritage to be regarded as living, it has to be alive, ongoing and part and parcel of practices of daily life (Makuvaza, 2016). As such living, heritage has to be in active use by local communities. The 'livingness' of intangible cultural heritage is emphasised in the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage which highlights that "intangible cultural heritage is transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity" (UNESCO, 2003, p. 2). The constant recreation of intangible cultural heritage implies that ICH is far from being static. The surrounding environment which includes nature, culture and history continue to shape its form as is the case of Matobo Hills.

The concept of living heritage can be equally applied to cultural landscapes. Roe (2017, p. 344) attests that people are both producers and products of the landscape. People's interactions with natural processes contribute to the development of meanings and associations which make landscapes more than a functional place to inhabit. This reality is realized in the case of Matobo Hills. These hills have a dual characteristic in that they are a living heritage site inhabited by local people and exhibits some of the traditions of past and present communities. A living heritage site is one that has maintained its original function and exhibits a form of continuity within a community's past and present traditions (Poulios, 2011). This explains why the importance of the living dimension of heritage sites has now been greatly emphasised at an international scale (Poulios, 2014). An approach that views landscapes as part of a dynamic living system makes it possible to embrace tangible and intangible forms of the landscape that need to be sustained for the benefit of future

generations (Roe, 2017). The intangible heritage of Matobo Hills is embedded in rock art sites, shrines, graves, woodlands, forests, mountains and rivers that need to be protected and sustained for the benefit of future generations. In this regard, the landscape is more than a physical space since it carries meanings and identities linked to a people's culture. It does not just speak to the past but to the present as well.

Conceptual Framework

Sustainability as enshrined in the principle of intergenerational equity has always been at the heart of the 1972 World Heritage Convention where States Parties are encouraged to protect World Heritage for the benefit of future generations (Labadi, 2013). The 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage equally holds intergenerational concerns regarding the protection and presentation of intangible cultural heritage to future generations. Intergenerationality advocates for rights of future generations and is couched in sustainable development which integrates environmental concerns with development strategies (Ramlogan, 2011). The understanding is that "the human species hold the natural environment of our planet in common with other species, other people, and with past, present and future generations" (Weiss, 1992, p. 20). As such there are intra-generational and inter-generational concerns to consider when making use of the tangible and intangible cultural heritage of Matobo Hills. Present generations ought to leave a legacy that would allow future generations to make their own preferences and choices in a similar sense to present generations (Rao, 2000). This suggests that one has a choice to protect or destroy the living heritage of Matobo Hills. Barrow (2006), affirms that humans have the potential to respond consciously and appropriately to opportunities and threats. This paper makes an assessment of the foregoing views paying attention to the living heritage of Matobo Hills which needs to be safeguarded in the face of both opportunities and threats.

Methodology

This paper is an extract from findings of a wider research that the researcher undertook in Matobo Hills between 2015 and 2018. The research was qualitative in nature with the Matobo Hills World Heritage cultural landscape being the prime case study. This landscape is situated approximately 30-35 kilometres to the south of the city of Bulawayo in Matabeleland South Province. Data was mainly gathered through personal interviews, non-participant observation and document analysis. The respondents were purposefully selected from Rhodes Matopos National Park, Matobo Rural District Council and local community members residing in wards within the study area. These respondents were chosen so that they would give information on the sustainability of tangible and intangible heritage of Matobo Hills. The views of respondents included in this paper were selected from the

sampled population based on themes chosen for discussion in this article. The names of respondents were withheld as part of ethical considerations made during this research hence the use of alphabetical codes.

The living heritage of Matobo Hills cultural landscape.

The Matobo Hills cultural landscape is a craggy area that is characterised by rock domes (whalebacks), caves, rivers, forest stands, balancing rocks, grasslands, aquatic vegetation and other rock features (Walker, 1995; Nyathi & Ndiweni, 2005). Animal species in the Matobo area include reptiles, invertebrates, amphibians and mammals. The rich and diverse flora and fauna of Matobo Hills are of great use to local communities living in this area (Walker, 1995). Le Berre & Messan (1995) attest that African heritage is distinct in the sense that, unlike other places, culture draws from nature and derives authority from it. As such nature in Africa is seen in religious terms. For example, traditionally the Nyubi referred to Matobo Hills as 'Piyanedombo' or 'Dombo linetshilenga' meaning that the 'rock has life' (Nyathi, 2005). God (Mwali) was able to provide enough rain to sustain humans and animals and ensure a good agricultural output through supernatural powers (Makuvaza, 2008). This denotes that the hilly area of Matobo Hills through the intermediary role played by acolytes there, had the 'ability' to sustain local communities both physically and spiritually. As such the physical features of Matobo Hills affirm the intricate relationship between tangible and intangible heritage within the cultural landscape. This relationship is succinctly described by Ranger (1999, p. 25) who indicates that:

> The Matopos represents an original nature, but it is a nature which exists inseparably from human culture. Men and women are not just living in nature; nor are they operating on it. Nature and culture are in symbiosis in this African landscape of Matopos.

The Matobo Hills area is currently demographically occupied by people of different cultural backgrounds but these mainly include the Kalanga, Ndebele and Sotho people. The Ndebele people have however continued to exert political dominance over the Kalanga, Sotho and other previously marginalised groups in the Matobo Hills area (District Administrator, in-person interview, November 24, 2017). It is also significant to note that the Shona from as far as Buhera in Manicaland also send emissaries to Matobo Hills to request for rain. The local community makes use of indigenous conservation practices that are informed by their beliefs, customs, taboos and other forms of received wisdom to regulate human interaction with Matobo Hills and related areas (Makuvaza, 2016). It is realized that intangible expressions depict different ways of human interaction with nature and the same living heritage gives life and meaning to tangible heritage (Deacon et al., 2004; Roe, 2017). For

example, paintings, songs, stories, practices, skills and customs can act as a channel to pass on experience, beliefs and attitudes about a given landscape and its intangible associations (Roe, 2017). As such values associated with landscapes tend to be place specific. The next section deliberates on the intricate relationship of tangible and intangible heritage in the Matobo Hills area paying special attention to selected woodlands and forests, animal and plant species, shrines, rivers and burial grounds.

The spirituality of woodlands and forests in Matobo Hills.

Trees in African communities, be it woodlands or forests, were and are still given special attention since some of them are attributed spiritual significance, in what others refer to as eco-spiritualism (Mapara, 2016). Other sacred forests and woodlands in Africa were considered to be the centre of life and a place of freshness where people could regain strength (Le Berre & Messan, 1995). For example, existing literature records that local communities in Matobo Hills hold the belief that branches of such trees as *umlahlabantu* (*ziziphus mauritiana*) is associated with death and as such the tree is cut and placed on the grave after burial as a death seal. *Ichitamuzi* (*philenoptera violacea*) is another tree which is not supposed to be used as firewood since it was believed to cause conflict in families and destruction of homesteads (Makuvaza, 2016). Such a belief system does not mean that Africans worship nature, but ensured that certain trees were not collected and used as firewood thereby conserving part of the flora of Matobo Hills. The sacred woodlands around Njelele are still in existence today owing to such traditional belief systems of the local people which prohibited and still continue to proscribe the cutting down of trees in sacred areas. A similar system has ensured the sustainability of the sacred Mijikenda Kaya forests in Kenya showing the effectiveness of traditional management systems (Githitho, 2005; Githitho, 2016).

The sacred forest around Njelele stretches for about 500 metres although it used to cover a wider area in the pre-colonial period (Nyathi & Ndiweni, 2005). When the size of sacred woodlands around Njelele reduce in size, it signifies change not only in the environmental conditions but the spirituality accorded to this place. Deforestation in communal areas has remained a major challenge. Ward Councillor, A. and Ward Councillor, B. (2016, June 8). [Personal interviews] confirmed that the belief systems associated with woodlands and forests in Matobo Hills are changing alongside deviations in religious and cultural beliefs. Most of the young people have lost interest in participating in traditional ceremonies and as a result dismiss such practices as archaic. This perception is made worse by most versions of the Christian faith, but more prominently some Pentecostal ones that label these rituals as evil and ungodly. As such activities around the Njelele shrine are mainly done by the elderly, and it largely means that the future of such practices is not guaranteed. Therefore, if the

living heritage being safeguarded in Matobo Hills is not being appreciated by the young generation, what more when it is presented to recipients of the future generations? Redclift (2002) notes that human needs change and it is highly improbable that the needs of present generations would be the same with those of future ones. This implies that notions of intergenerationality and sustainability of intangible cultural heritage forms are not clearly cut out on pen and paper as well as in practice as already noted. Therefore, new strategies need to be devised to promote and safeguard ICH in a manner that suits the needs and expectations of the future inhabitants of the landscape in line with their recreated worldviews. This is of course in addition to the need to ensure that the forests are kept alive especially in a world that is getting warmer and some fauna and flora species are fast disappearing.

The environmental conditions that include uncontrolled veldt fires and deforestation can further result in the destruction of the very same tree species with spiritual significance in Matobo Hills. For example, a fire outbreak towards end of October 2016 consumed 33 km^2 of the Rhodes Matopos National Park (Zimbabwe Parks Wildlife Management Authority, 2016). Veldt fires are often caused by those with honey gathering projects, all-night prayer vigils and the clearing of vegetation for hunting and agriculture. More so, dry climatic conditions contribute to the vulnerability of the landscape to open grassland fires since less humid conditions necessitate the spread of fires through the plains (Ecologist, in-person interview, November 20, 2017). The damage caused by veldt fires can be minimised sustainably through campaigns that create awareness on the social and environmental significance of woodlands in Matobo Hills. The fire outbreaks require the making of fireguards and mapping historic fires to identify potential hotspots so as to increase fire management readiness. These efforts can ensure the sustainability of the vegetation of Matobo Hills together with the intangible values that are associated with those spaces. However, the factors causing cultural shifts among the young people may be difficult to manage in the face of modernity, and this may lead to the death of the forests and emergence of new forms of management like the use of armed patrols.

Medicinal values attached to animal and plant species.

Flora and fauna in African landscapes are commonly understood in divine terms and perceived with spiritual lenses. For example, the lion, porcupine and python are regarded as sacred animals among most indigenous communities in Africa. In the Matobo Hills zone, the fat of the African rock python is used to treat ear infections, harden the fontanelle of a child and also burnt to chase away goblins. The intestines of the porcupine are believed to boost the immune system in children and the spikes are important for stopping nose bleeding. Animal excretions such as the dung of elephants is used to treat nose bleeding and enhance

child delivery in pregnant women (Sagonda & Pegg, 2015). The use of different animal species and excretions in the treatment of various illnesses shows the richness of the indigenous knowledge in the Matobo Hills locality. Such knowledge needs to be sustained and passed on from one generation to the other in line with the demands of the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. However, extracting fat out of rock pythons and making use of the intestines of porcupines makes such species to be susceptible to poaching for medicinal reasons. This threatens their sustainability and appreciation as well as use by future generations. Such use of flora and fauna is not unique to these climes, since it can be noted that for example, in China the rhino horn is used as part of traditional Chinese medicine and is believed to function as a strong aphrodisiac (Sachs, 2015; Cheung et al., 2021). It is thus clear that an increased demand for such species can endanger such wildlife even in areas such as Matobo Hills. Therefore, the indigenous knowledge that involves the butchering of wildlife can threaten both the animals and the intangible values associated with their selected organs.

The use of herbal medicines is equally common in Matobo Hills. The herbs include *ingobamakhosi* (hard pear/ *olinia ventosa*), *isithundu samawossana* (natal plane/*ochna natalitia*), *umlomomnandi* (velvety yellow bush pea/*argyrolobium tomentosum*) and *ikhalimele (rynchosia. spp)*. Herbalists and traditional healers make use of these herbs to treat different ailments such as stomach pains, ward off witchcraft, treat migraine headaches and bring good fortune. Other herbs are meant to strengthen traditional custodians and priests at Njelele shrine and these herbs are privately administered and are not known by the general public (*Gogo* N, in-person interview, December 18, 2017). The use of wild plants as medicine attests to the existence of intangible cultural heritage in the Matobo Hills area. This knowledge has continued to be handed over from one generation to another through oral and practical means relating to for instance, harvesting skills and practices relating to medicinal plants. This research however revealed that most plant species that have medicinal value are obtained from Rhodes Matopos National Park without permission from Zimbabwe Parks and Wildlife Management Authority and these activities are deemed illegal according to the Parks and Wildlife Act (20:14). Some rock art sites have been vandalised by local communities who take flakes of paint on rock art sites for medicinal purposes (Deputy Area Manager, in-person interview, January 20, 2015). These human activities, although entrenched in the indigenous knowledge systems of local communities, threaten the natural and the cultural heritage of Matobo Hills. Brown Weiss (1992) recommends that two relationships must shape intergenerational equity. First it relates to people's relationship with their surrounding environment and the second is relationship with other generations. As such beneficiation from medicinal plants and animals should be done with concern that transcends the present generations.

Living heritage associated with the Mwali Religion in Matobo Hills.

The tradition of rain requesting ceremonies and other rituals was well established in the hills and caves way before the introduction of Mwali shrines (Ranger, 1999). The exact period when Mwali religion was introduced in the Matobo area is highly contested. Some accounts link the worship of Mwali to the Rozvi tradition in the 14th century whilst others suggest that the cult came to be well established in Matobo after a religious conflict at Great Zimbabwe which led some religious priests to move and settle in the Matobo area (Makuvaza, 2008). This historical account already shows inconsistencies in the origins of Mwali religion in the Matobo Hills. As such the transmission of such a tradition to future generations remains obscure irrespective of its long existence within the cultural landscape.

The sustainability of the Mwali religion has however made Matobo rocks to be regarded as the seat of God and home of requests submitted to ancestral spirits to Mwali in Southern Africa. It is as a result of this that some shrines such as Zhilo, Dula, Manyanga, Wirirani and Njelele are hailed as sacred places. The coming in of missionaries and other white settlers in the Matobo area interrupted the use of traditional conservation methods. Missionaries viewed the Matobo area as surrounded by unclean spirits of the Mwali cult and as such the Catholic Jesuits offered a Mass in one of the caves in the 1870s as a way of cleansing the area through Christianity (Ranger, 1999; Taylor, 2008). This kind of cleansing ceremony altered the spiritual atmosphere of Matobo Hills and marked the beginning of Christianity as a counter religion that opposed the worship of Mwali religion. Nkala (2018) reported that in July 2018 the most conspicuous Njelele shrine was bombed by unidentified suspects who used mining explosives such that traditional artefacts used for rituals were destroyed in the fire and some went missing. The loss of artefacts associated with Njelele shrine implies that the sacred area lost part of its divinity. Artefacts are part of the intangible religious reality without which religious culture becomes a facade and a body without soul (Zekrgoo & Barkeshli, 2005). Other accounts blamed members of the Christian community for the deliberate vandalism of Njelele shrine. Therefore, conflicting religious beliefs threaten the disappearance of the Mwali religion that defines the outstanding spiritual aura of Matobo Hills. The 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage encourages the respect for cultural diversity and dialogue as strategies of increasing the visibility of intangible cultural heritage locally and internationally (UNESCO, 2003). However, meaningful dialogue within a multi-ethnic community and with people of varying age groups can be a mammoth task.

Although Christianity is blamed for causing major transformations in the spirituality of the Matobo Hills communities, the wrangle between traditional custodians at Njelele Shrine is another impeding factor. The 2003 framework for Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural

Heritage encourages each State Party to ensure the participation of groups and communities to maintain, transmit and manage intangible cultural heritage (UNESCO, 2003). To date, the Njelele Shrine has remained under the custody of the local traditional leadership although custodial battles between this group and others from outside seem not to have been resolved. Traditionally, priests for Njelele came from Venda in South Africa and Kalanga families who were familiar with the Mwali cult but there have always been controversies surrounding priesthood and control of the sanctuary that have persisted even after the country obtained political independence in 1980 (Makuvaza, 2008). Gogo, N. (2017, December 18), [Personal interview] indicated that the custodians at the Njelele Shrine change time and again such that there is no continuity in the way traditional ceremonies are conducted. She further expressed concern on how these traditional custodians were now charging consultation fees for services rendered thereby bringing new practices which were not part of traditional customs. As such calamities such as persistent droughts are now attributed to such unruly behaviour.

Ward Councillor, B. (2016, June 8), [Personal interview] referred to cases where local community members make contributions towards rain requesting ceremonies, and when such contributions are deemed too little, people are made to believe that the voice from Njelele rejected the sacrifice. As a result, community members are made to add to the initial contribution until it pleases the 'ancestors'. These claims imply deceitful behaviour on the part of the traditional custodians who are making money in the name of a collective good. This waters down the authenticity of traditional practices being done at shrines in the Matobo Hills. Keitumetse and Nthoi (2009) however attest that intangible cultural heritage is faced with challenges around perceptions and value placed on things that people make and tourism is a contributing factor. In this case religious tourism can be contributing to the commercialisation of the living heritage at the Njelele Shrine.

This research however established that the Matobo community is divided in that some community members still celebrate the living heritage associated with Mwali in Matobo Hills whilst others believe the sacredness of most shrines including Njelele has long departed. The difference in opinion shows how perceptions around intangible cultural heritage tend to change over time. Roe (2017) acknowledges that there are many cases when landscape traditions and identities are lost or forgotten but the question remains on how to create new meanings in a landscape that has lost its original significance. This view registers a complexity in safeguarding the living heritage of Matobo Hills where cultural transformations are regarded as an unacceptable compromise and a counterfeit worship of the Mwali religion. As a result, notions of recreating intangible cultural heritage become a rhetoric especially when such creations cease to be acceptable in a particular community.

Intangible values attached to water sources in the Matobo Hills.

There were a number of customary laws which surround access and use of water sources in the Matobo Hills. For example, the local people believed in the existence of mermaids (*injuzu*) such that the use of soap to wash clothes or bath in cave pools was prohibited as this was believed to anger the ancestral spirits, although in reality it was noted that the use of such cleansing agents would pollute the water. More so, use of metal containers to fetch water from the rivers or pools was not permissible except the use of gourds only (Makuvaza, 2016). Similar taboos were used to safeguard sacred pools, falls and rivers in many parts of Zimbabwe. For example, Binga Hot Springs are actively used for cleansing ceremonies and other rituals associated with water from this fountain. Given the cultural shifts induced by Christianity and modernity, some of these traditional beliefs have fallen off by the wayside. The sacredness of certain rivers in the Matobo Hills area has since been dismissed as tales of the past. The pollution that was feared through the use of soap and soot from black pots has now been accelerated by artisanal mining activities. Gold mining is currently pronounced in the eastern parts of the Matobo Hills specifically along the Umzingwane River and other tributaries that feed into it such as Upper Ncema, Insiza and Inyankuni (Makuvaza, 2016). Gold mining, has also resulted in deforestation, pollution of water sources, gully formation and uncontrollable pits within and outside the Matobo Hills. Wetlands are also greatly affected by stream bank cultivation which is resulting in the siltation of rivers and dams (Environment Officer, in-person interview, November 24, 2017), something that was unheard of in precolonial times (Ranger, 1995). These human activities indicate the search for a livelihood by local communities but at the same time marking a shift in the way water sources are perceived and used by the resident people. However, intergenerational concerns and wisdom hold that each generation ought to keep the condition of the planet earth in similar conditions as when it was first received, but this unfortunately is not the case as people succumb to the glitter of gold, and the rumble of a fast life. The quality of the environment should be comparable to that enjoyed by past generations (Brown Weiss, 1992). This philosophy advocates for the conservation of natural resources even through customary laws so as to ensure the preservation and presentation of the natural resources and their intangible associations to future generations.

Spirituality, memory and the burial grounds in the Matobo Hills.

The Matobo Hills are greatly honoured for being the burial ground for King Mzilikazi who was buried in a cave within the cultural landscape after his death in 1868. In 1896 Rhodes stumbled upon Matobo Hills during his (in)famous ‘indaba’ meeting with Ndebele leadership at Old Bulawayo and identified the area as a place for his burial and this came to pass in 1902 when he was buried at World’s View. This place became a burial ground for

other white soldiers such as Allan Wilson who fell with his troop at Pupu-Shangani and a memorial to the 'Brave Men' was erected (Ranger, 1999; Taylor, 2008). Therefore, Matobo Hills carry historic significance associated with the Kalanga, Ndebele and Shona people among others. The remains of Cecil John Rhodes and his entourage are also of significance especially to the settler British community and their descendants, although they are not revered by the local indigenous communities who view them as contributing to the desecration of the place's sacredness (Bhebe, 2019). As such Matobo Hills carry both individual and collective memories enshrined in burial grounds. The presence of Mzilikazi's grave is masked in secrecy whilst the burial ground at World's View has become a favourite spot for tourists. The secrecy of Mzilikazi's grave is in line with the tradition accorded to royalty and chieftainship where access is sanctioned by the elders of the community. The limited access can ensure the sustainability of this historic site to future generations. Nyathi and Ndiweni (2005) however attest that the culture of visiting Mzilikazi's grave and attaching spiritual significance, especially after the homecoming (*umbuyiso*) ceremony, is an alien practise to the Ndebele people. The practice became common after the Ndebele people came in contact with people of other cultures. The idea of adopting new values and attaching new meanings to places conforms to the characteristics of living heritage which is recreated and shaped by the surrounding environment over time.

The burial of the remains of Cecil John Rhodes and his entourage at World's View has continued to spark great controversy. Muringaniza (2004) notes that the younger generation in post independent Zimbabwe continues to question the existence of Cecil John Rhodes' grave on a place that was once hailed as sacred by local communities. For example, the Sangano Munhumutapa group that was led by Lawrence Chakeredza called for the removal of Rhodes's grave from World's view suggesting that his remains be taken back to England or that they be thrown away into the Zambezi River. A similar incident was reported where more than 50 war veterans of Zimbabwe's liberation war sought to exhume Rhodes' remains to create room to bury their own liberation war heroes from neighbouring counties (*Herald/Chronicle* Staff Reporter, 2012). These demands are beyond seeking burial ground for fallen heroes but register resentment and the challenge of celebrating colonial heritage whose memory is regarded as unpleasant since it is a reminder of subjugation and dispossession. Deacon et al., (2004) attest that recording what we know about the past to interpret the present is crucial but there is a risk when utopian versions and damaging aspects of the past are accepted. As such heritage should not be celebrated uncritically. This is the dilemma around Rhodes's grave whose memory has remained bitter in the mouth of some fellow Zimbabweans even though it marks an irreversible history of the country.

The positioning of the remains of Cecil John Rhodes at the heart of Matobo Hills is seen as tainting the spiritual and historic significance of the entire landscape. Ward Councillor, A.

and Headman, A. (2016, June 8), [Personal interviews] raised concerns on how the climatic conditions of the entire cultural landscape have become drier over the years. This change is partially blamed on the profanity caused by Rhodes's grave such that rain requesting ceremonies are viewed as becoming less impactful because of this grave's presence. The different perceptions on meanings attached to the cultural landscape is a clear indicator that Matobo Hills is understood through multiple historic lenses and in spiritual terms rather than science (as informed by western epistemologies) alone. This background suggests that the transmission of multiple meanings embedded in a single landscape to future generations is problematic. Roe (2017) recognizes this reality that sites are uninterruptedly shifting and as such recollections and intangible cultural heritage associated with such landscapes continue to be in a state of fluidity and mutability.

Complexities of sustaining the living heritage of the Matobo Hills.

The thrust of the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage was to ensure that intangible heritage, the objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated thereof are protected, sustained and transmitted to present and future generations through variable means. The idea of safeguarding heritage is ideal seeing that tangible and intangible heritage is at risk of destruction and disappearance. In the context of safeguarding and presenting living heritage to future generations there arises intra-generational and inter-generational concerns especially in such areas as Matobo Hills where there are people of diverse backgrounds. The white settlers, the Ndebele, Kalanga and Sotho as well as the Venda people have a stake in the very same landscape. Multicultural communities have challenges of identifying "who owns a specific cultural form" in a community and "who constitutes a community" (Deacon, Dondolo, Mrubata & Prosalendis, 2004, p. 3). Therefore, in the spirit of wanting to promote dialogue and celebrate the diversity of all intangible cultural forms in the Matobo Hills area, the question arises on whose culture should be celebrated most. This becomes a challenge to ensure cultural sustainability in such a scenario. Multicultural communities are also not immune to acculturation and some traditional cultural values are left behind in favour of new ones (Bhebe, 1979). This implies that not every aspect of intangible heritage is celebrated and safeguarded in muti-ethnic communities.

Regarding the celebration of traditional forms of worship, the Matobo Hills stand out the most because of the existence and practice of the Mwali religion in the landscape. The local shrines are actively in use by the local communities showing the 'livingness' of intangible cultural heritage in the sacred hills. However, an obscure background on the origins of Mwali religion unequivocally contributes to custodial battles around the Njelele Shrine. The question remains if these people are the rightful heirs and what became of the Venda priests.

The absence of a comprehensive documentation of the past implies that there is room to reinterpret the past and create new meanings in the present. This can perpetuate the exclusion of other cultural groups in matters that concern the conservation of the Njelele Shrine. If the traditional custodians are changing due to internal conflicts it follows that consistency in performing certain rituals and ceremonies ceases or is altered. This could possibly account on why the local community feels that the traditional ceremonies at Njelele are no longer as 'authentic' as before. Therefore, the idea of advocating for the inclusion of marginalised communities in the management of intangible cultural heritage fails to hold water especially when the social fabric of that community is in tatters.

The memorialisation of colonial heritage similarly brings out another complexity in safeguarding the living heritage of Matobo Hills. The perceptions of selected groups see the remains of Cecil John Rhodes as a marker of the past oppressive colonial rule rather than an irreversible part of the Zimbabwean history (Bhebe, 2019). To some sections of the local community, the remains of Cecil John Rhodes are contributing to spiritual stagnancy and seasonal droughts within the cultural landscape. On one hand, Zimbabwe's Parks and Wildlife Authority regards World's View where Rhodes is interred as a tourist attraction but on the other hand it is being regarded as a possible burial ground for liberation war heroes in Zimbabwe. The irony is that, Mzilikazi's grave can equally be viewed as a marker of past conquest of the previous inhabitants in Zimbabwe (Bhebe, 2019), but is maybe not considered as a religious affront because of his race as well as the fact that there are no visits to his burial ground since according to local traditions such places cannot be visited. This possibly makes the call for the exhumation of Rhodes's body part of a hidden political agenda. Therefore, the divergence of opinion in reconciling the memoirs carried by the historic sites of Matobo Hills remains a major challenge despite the legal protection of the site through the National Museums and Monument Act (25:11).

As noted earlier, the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage affirms that living heritage is constantly recreated by local communities in response to their surrounding environment (UNESCO, 2003). This implies that it is possible for communities to borrow ideas and lifestyles from other places and peoples they would have come into contact with and make them part of their cultural stock. Deacon, Dondolo, Mrubata and Prosalendis (2004) affirm that, not all intangible heritage is old, rural and indigenous to a given area. This view can justify the alteration of traditional cultural practices, including custodianship, at the Njelele Shrine and the way Christianity has been embraced by the inhabitants of Matobo Hills. However, as long as the extent of recreating intangible heritage is unspecified at community level, there are bound to be conflicts when traditional cultures are revamped in line with modernity. Cultural transformations are not well received if what has been adapted, altered or recreated is contrary to the core values of a culture.

A complexity also arises with new meanings attached to rock art sites in Matobo Hills. The tradition of the hunter-gathers in Matobo Hills has since disappeared and what is remaining are rock art sites that revere their conquests and spiritual beliefs. The local communities are however making use of rock art sites to perform rain entreating ceremonies as is the case at Silozwane Cave. New meanings are also evident when rock art pigment is viewed as having medicinal effects. Pigment analysis on rock art can be useful to establish the nature of the material used in making such paintings so as to save the rock art sites from pecking. The local people may however be searching for the spirituality associated with such art rather than the physical substance and as a result, scientific research may not provide a solution to such acts of vandalism. For example, the rock art in the 'Cave of Hands' in Gwanda is equally being threatened by flaking of rock art pigment because of its spiritual significance. Therefore, new meanings attached to tangible heritage can destroy the physical landscape as people search for supernatural powers associated with the Shamanic world.

Since Matobo Hills is a living heritage site, human interaction with the cultural landscape is inevitable. The cultural landscape is part of the local community upon which people draw social, economic, and environmental benefits. On one hand, living heritage sites give room to understanding intangible cultural heritage in its original context yet on the other hand human interaction with nature can destroy the same environment upon which indigenous knowledge is founded. For example, the excessive harvest of medicinal plants with spiritual values can lead to the extinction of such tree species. An alternative can be the creation of herbal gardens where medicinal plants are grown for both personal and commercial use. Deacon, Dondolo, Mrubata and Prosalendis (2004) acknowledge that intangible heritage changes, disappears and at times becomes resilient over time. The disappearance of heritage stands in contrast to the desire of handing over living heritage to future generations hence the need to document and keep inventories of intangible cultural heritage not just related to the Matobo Hills and surrounding areas, but the entire country at large. The aspect of the resilience of intangible cultural heritage fits well in sustainability thinking and this is a quality worth striving for.

Conclusion

The objective of this paper was to debate the complexities surrounding the sustainability of the living heritage of Matobo Hills. This paper established that the intangible cultural heritage of Matobo Hills is grossly embedded in the physical features which include rivers, shrines, woodlands, forests, rock art and other faunal species. Both the physical and the intangible heritage mirrors the seen and unseen experiences of the local people. The living heritage speaks of how indigenous communities were able to tame nature for individual and collective benefits. The memoirs of the dead and the living are interwoven in this space and

are recorded in the caves and hills of Matobo. However, the sustainability of living heritage is faced with myriad challenges that include changes in religious beliefs, conflicts around memorialisation of historic sites and custodial battles at the Njelele Shrine. The physical landscape is threatened by environmental degradation as a result of human interaction with the landscape. Therefore, sustaining both the physical and intangible heritage of Matobo Hills is complex since the local people continue to modify the outlook of the physical countryside to meet social, economic and environmental needs. This paper, therefore, recommends that the management of the living heritage in Matobo Hills be interpreted and safeguarded in line with old and new meanings attached to it. The damage being done on the physical landscape requires alternative strategies such as creating herbal gardens, mapping of historic fires, creating awareness campaigns on cultural and environmental sustainability and adopting a dynamic approach of documenting the diversity of intangible cultural forms in Matobo Hills.

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Otherisation of African Intangible Heritage: A Historical Trajectory of Cultural Genocide in Musical Arts of Zimbabwe.

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Abstract

Africa's unique cultural inventions and creativity have been grossly misperceived, condemned, vilified and misused. This has resulted in the African musical arts being abandoned, misrepresented, and disrupted in the manner in which they are propagated by their own societies. Thus, the meaning, ethos and utility of all art forms especially music became denigrated and subverted by Western intellectual arrogance and hegemonic impositions. This created a temporary disruption in the practice of African musical arts and resulted in an ambivalent attitude towards them which has not been easy to eradicate. The musical arts generally had the mandate to caution, curb and purge aberrant behaviour and criminality in all aspects of social living. This derogation and stigmatisation of the African musical arts creativity and performance started at the time of contact with foreign cultures that were intolerant of the cultural beliefs, values and virtues of Others. The culturally brainwashed African peoples have in recent years regrettably applauded the castration of their musically creative minds because of egotistic reasons. This paper gives a historical trajectory of the near demise of the musical arts of Zimbabwe against the total utilitarian role they play in society. The study employed desktop research and ethnographic approaches to proffer general empirical evidence of the state of musical arts in Zimbabwe and Africa at large.

Keywords: cultural genocide, musical arts, otherisation, foreign cultures, commoditisation, misrepresentation

Introduction

Western modernism has generated more harmful than constructive experiences in Africa. It has especially perverted the sense and direction of advancing Africa's indigenous human mental practices. The West has indulged in the intellectual misrepresentation and deviation of Africa's original epistemological inventions and thus, intentionally amputating and desiccating African culture. It is with this background that the musical arts genocide of Zimbabwe needs to be thought through within the rationale of colonialism and its variables. Genocide in its simplest terms is a conspiracy or treachery aimed at the destruction or near demise of what constitutes a group by a 'superior' power. By mere mention of the term genocide what quickly comes to mind is the physical genocide which entails the physical murder of a group of people or group members. This paper zeroes in on the cultural genocide which includes the destruction of social and cultural institutions and the interruption of socio-cultural transmission (Short, 2010). The spirit or purpose of genocide is intended to completely eradicate and exterminate a group of people, in this case, their ethos, values and beliefs thus, leaving them without an identity. Mamdani (2001) presents it in a way that is hard to improve upon that modern Western colonialism presented itself as a 'civilising project' and a 'White man's burden'. The interpretation is that the coloniser and the colonised have a negative relationship where the "logic of elimination seeks to replace indigenous society with that imported by the colonisers" (Wolfe, 1994, p. 93), since they "were (are) premised on the elimination of the native societies. The split tensing reflects a determinate feature of settler colonisation. The colonizers come to stay – invasion is a structure not an event" (Wolfe, 1999, p. 3). This stay is however meant to plunder and desecrate as well as obliterate in whatever fashion. To rubber stamp, this view, Fanon (1968, p. 128) described how the native/colonised was constructed as the Other in a settler society. Colonialism violently bifurcates the African social reality so that the colonised world is an environment that is blue-pencilled into two; the zone where the colonised lives are not complementary to the precinct that is inhabited by the settlers. Thus, it was the coloniser who imposed and constructed the category of the indigenous Other or the colonised.

Although arguments continue to be raised to the effect that colonialism has a positive side to Africans in general and African musical arts, in particular (Manning, 1974; Feyrer and Sacerdote, 2006), the issue of the positivity of colonialism is effectively addressed and laid to rest by Rodney (1972, p. 44) who has it that:

> the moment that the topic of the [colonial European-African] past is raised, many individuals are concerned for various reasons to know about the existence of African 'civilizations.' Mainly, this stems from a desire to

> make comparisons with European 'civilizations.' This is not the context in which to evaluate the so-called civilizations of Europe.

This tendency is not preferred by the current paper. For this reason, the purpose of the present article is to provide a historical trajectory of the near demise of the musical arts of Zimbabwe against the total utilitarian role they play in society.

The Quintessence of Musical Arts

The musical arts are a collective and unrestricted property from the indigenous past, a heritage and a patrimony to be bequeathed to posterity. The musical arts are important as they cannot be separated from other human activities such as religion and other related *rites de passage* because they exude a spiritual ambience, thus making them a spiritual force that can produce results by non-physical and metaphysical means. Or in simple terms, musical arts have the aptitude or ability to summon the spiritual to the physical. Thus, the relationship of the musical arts with other aspects of life is another exceptional hallmark of African culture (Finnegan, 2012).

Musical arts are purpose-related and efficacious with overt and covert meanings thus, containing messages that are conveyed and confirmed in performance, listening and participation (Green, 1988). The African musical artist is not an alienated individual against a hegemonic socio-political structure. The idea of belonging and a sense of identity separate the African musical artists from Others who deliberately position themselves outside the mainstream and sometimes in opposition to the prevailing ethos. In other means, musical arts can probe social action without hard weaponry or compromise. A recent and practical example is that of Mukudzei Mukombe (aka Jah Prayzah)'s so-called de *facto* 'national anthem' song *Kutonga kwaro* [*gamba*] (The reign of a hero) (Jah Prayzah, 2017). The song in reality was sang long before the military assisted transition in the country. The military hogged the limelight during this period as most of the people of Zimbabwe resolutely marched in the streets of Harare, Zimbabwe's capital to the State House with the help of the army to make the then President Robert Mugabe formally abdicate and enthrone the supposed *gamba*/hero, Emmerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa, the then former but self-exiled vice President.

In contemporary Africa and Zimbabwe, in particular, the musical artists are not 'protected' by their societies as was before colonial subjugation. Thus, they were denied political immunity by their societies. An indigenous African maxim instructs that if an elder/authority transgresses public morality even a child should immediately don a tattered basket simulating the musical arts agency of spirit manifest/voice to publicly expose and discipline the erring elder/authority. Musical artists in indigenous Zimbabwe used to have a communal

mandate as well as protection to monitor, broadcast, enforce and sanction a breach of a society's customary rules, regulations and codes of conduct. But this was rendered powerless by colonial hegemony and dispositions. There were however some artists that spoke back to political power and among these is Thomas Mapfumo. Thomas Tafirenyika Mapfumo's contribution to the liberation struggle of Zimbabwe cannot be undervalued. He made known to the public the intention of the colonial antagonist through his protest songs but he had to pay for this by being thrown behind the bars. Some years after independence in 1980; he openly questioned and queried the Black government through song about the unprecedented increase in corruption (Eyre, 2015). He received political reprisals and had to escape and survive in exile, although another narrative purports that he ran away from his own crimes. One other fascinating musician that Africa has birthed is Nigerian Afro-beat star, Fela Anikulapo-Kuti. Fela, because of his outspokenness and loud musical mouth, has had his own fair share of state repression through jails or murder attempts (Olaniyan, 2004; Labinjoh, 1982).

Be that as it may, it is a universal right to make and have one's own musical arts. Each community is expected to respond in its own way to this right, and create a music/al art which expresses its own identity and that of its creators (Agawu, 2003). This results in a world endowed with musical arts diversity and dimensions. Nzewi (2003, p. 4) enlightens that from a practical point of view or from (concepts of applied ethnomusicology) an individual student is wise to proceed from the 'known to the unknown'. This means that one needs to prioritise own sonic environment more importantly and then explore parallels as well as divergences from other musical arts areas of Africa to the bigger musical world. It is with this knowledge that the musical artists before colonial subjugation would explore Africa's rich cultural diversity by shifting from one mode to another or developing an assorted approach that enabled one to work with various cultural alternatives.

Even from the cradle, child development in Africa had interplay with the inherent creative personality, thus, children were active participants rather than passive consumers of adult philosophies and discourses. The creation and performance of musical arts by Shona children, for instance, helped to enhance their entire development in all faculties of growth resulting in them becoming good citizens in their communities. Chinouriri (2013, p. 111) states that:

> …a young African in the African community would grow up in the musical arts of one's society by total intensity of exposure to it, and in the process acquiring the language prosodies, idiomatic expressions, ethos and philosophies and performance discourses of own culture and thus, could make expressions in and out of these.

Therefore, as Africa's heritage, musical arts were given their rightful place in the socialisation of every African child as the cultural foundation of creativity and performance. But with new approaches to 'rights' legitimised by European colonialism and perpetuated by contemporary global and economic markets, possession of music, texts, and innovations were redefined with individual ownership of compositions and arrangements superseding that of the community (Kidula, 2008). Yet in Africa, the musical arts were mandatory to every African learner's fundamental human rights to partake in in practical cum literacy learning of the prodigious psycho-social underpinnings of indigenous musical arts integrity. This is against the backdrop of the coloniser's own knowledge systems that they already culturally rationalised, approved and communally patented. The thought processes of colonialism and Christianity or from the so-called developed and learned cultures were based more in magnifying the 'individual' – 'I think, therefore, I am' (Oehrle & Emeka, 2003) while in Africa thought processes were/are based on community development hinged on unity in diversity. Thought processes out of Africa stem from the basic idea of *ubuntu* or *unhu*/humanness. It was/is this communal orientation that a group of people or a society were anchored in for their self-identity.

Musical Arts Genocide

To defend one's sublime inheritance is not aggression (Meki Nzewi, 2009).

In the musical arts genocide of Africa, the performing ethos, cultural systems, creativity and innovations were systematically amputated by the colonial powers that believed that these were pagan and animistic. For instance, Snyder, in Meyer (1995) claims that: "… dance is most significant in societies that are less literate, that is, non-literate ..., and it is least significant in societies, such as our own, which are highly literate…" The colonialists have perceived African dances as backward traditions for illiterate people while regarding themselves as a more enlightened and educated society. Gonye (2018) rubberstamps the above fact by adding that Eurocentric views cast African dance, especially female dance as more of erotic displays that demonstrate 'cultural backwardness', lasciviousness, indolence and violence. These have been colonial discourses that stereotyped in some way and gagged African traditional dances as licentious and retrogressive. As a result of the colonial incursion, African practitioners who studied dance abroad came back to Africa to teach the foreign curricula concepts, styles, vocabularies, designs and motifs without engaging in the knowledge of African dance systems (Bakare & Mans, 2003).

In Zimbabwe, the colonialists wanted to ban one of the Shona traditional dances, the *mbende* dance (courtship dance) as they thought that the dancing gestures and antics had some glaring sexual connotations according to their 'screwed' worldview. But the dance

movements were perceived as a sign of fertility, sexual relationships, and family growth by the Zezuru people of Zimbabwe. Bakare and Mans (2003, p. 228) authenticate this by informing that the sexual insinuation which focused on the waist and hips for women symbolised and depicted fertility gestures during the dance performances. The performance of this 'prohibited' dance by its owners was a psychological relief mechanism to dissipate in open dramatic action the backlashes of the strict pre-marital sexual proscriptions that are (were) characteristic of most African indigenous mores (Bakare & Mans, 2003). The Shona people in their wisdom clandestinely renamed the dance, *Jerusarema*/ Jerusalem, the 'Holy City of God'. This was a deliberate move to spite, deride and disquiet the colonialists, especially missionaries, in the process preserving their musical arts. *Jerusarema*/*mbende* traditional music and dance is one musical art that was almost stripped off its vestiges by colonialism and Christianity. But the Shona people were able to engage with adaptive resilience, resistance and innovation amidst cultural stress and inevitable changes in contemporary society.

The old age musical arts ethos embraced the adaptation of other art forms from 'other societies' by embracing and reconfiguring them to suit their own way of life. But colonialism brought about a modern 'copycat mentality' where one discards own musical heritage forms while adjusting and adapting to the new and foreign. Musicians such as Oliver Mtukudzi, Thomas Mapfumo and a few others initially began their musical careers hinged on imitating foreign musicians in order to be accepted by especially their African elite audiences. When the African national renaissance took place and African nation-states were gaining independence, they changed their musical and cultural discourse and began singing in their mother languages and African music-making patterns. This was received with humiliation and chagrin by the so-called educated elites who would scorn the 'inferiority complex' of the musicians singing in the local languages.

In terms of African drama, the characteristic of nudity and bedroom antics which by African standards are supposed to be sacred and secret are now paraded openly in the name of advancement in cultural test and technology. In Zimbabwe, bedroom antics were done secretly and sacredly between two intimate people through their own highly charged sexual eulogies. On the contrary, in modern drama/theatre/film sexual nuances are done openly and have become a cultural aberration that contradicts the African sense of sexual decorum and modesty. For instance, the 'breast' in an African body aesthetics was not perceived as an erotic organ, but rather as a source of nourishment for babies whether in private or publicly (Nzewi, 2009). Western religions and so-called modernism started sensitising sexual fantasies in the minds of Africans by promoting sex for eroticism's sake in drama and films.

The performance of musical art forms was largely dominated or was muted by the overbearing pressure of the Christian mission and the colonial culture which condemned it as anti-Christian and barbaric (Zimunya, 1993). A Gikuyu saying from Kenya instructs that, "There is no difference between a Roman Catholic Priest and a European, both are the same". Colonialism as a fore-runner of Christianity had an agenda and objectives for Africa, it sought to proselytise Africans. In colonial Ghana, music was perceived by missionaries as 'obscene' and 'diabolic', a threat to the Christian values they sought to inculcate in the African peoples (Veit Arlt, 2002). The reality therefore is that Christianity and colonialism were agents of destruction to the musical arts heritage of Africa in general and Zimbabwe in particular. Historically, Christianity failed to adequately recognise that musical arts are always linked to cultural contexts. If ever they did, they still condemned Africa's culture or simply turned a blind eye. Recognising the validity of indigenous musical arts has largely been ignored which has resulted in the wholesale rejection of them. The missionaries preached against African cultures and barred African converts from taking part in their traditional musical arts and regrettably many Africans succumbed to this. New music was introduced and reinforced and new poetic and musical forms and performance practices were required of the new converts (Kidula, 2008).

Missionaries initially banned almost all African instruments because they were considered pagan or associated with pagan rituals, or the playing and tuning styles were not conducive to what was termed Christian music that they introduced. On the other hand, the missionaries did not know how to play these instruments to recommend their use. The new African converts deemed these instruments unsuitable because they had initially been excluded in the repertoire and stylistics introduced as Christian, (Kidula, 2008). African melodic instruments and certain types of drums were prohibited from Christian worship. Instead, western instruments such as accordions, organs, and pianos were introduced and were labelled as acceptable ones for Christian worship despite the fact that none of them is linked to ancient Israel, or Palestine in the time of Jesus.

George Ballanta, an African Ghanaian musicologist as narrated by (Nketia, 1966) gave counsel and reason to the missionaries and advised that the African is a person that loves his music intensely. He underscored that one way of approaching him was to get him to sing about the love of God in his own way. For "when a people develops own hymns with both the mother tongue words and music, it is evidence that Christianity has truly taken root" (Chenoweth & Bee, 1968, p. 212). The end result was that the indigenous Africans ended up adopting and indigenising the European hymns to suit their spiritual orientations and motivations. Ballanta's advice made sense to a few men of the cloth that in Zimbabwe, a song repertoire based on African songs called *Ndwiyo dzechechi dzeivhu*/Church songs of the soil was birthed in the Methodist Church of John Wesley (*Hwisiri*). Dumisani Abraham

Maraire is one ethnomusicologist who used to attend the annual ecumenical workshops where the *ndwiyo dzechechi dzeivhu* songs began to be performed and written down. For instance, some hunting lyrics were substituted with Christian words while adopting the tunes. The popular hunting song, *yave nyama yekugocha* (good meat for braai) were replaced by Christian lyrical texts, *Tomukudza Musiki* (Let us exalt the Creator) Chinouriri (2016). In this case, it was the lyrical text and meaning which changed but the indigenous musical frames and structures remained.

Colonisation disfigured and disoriented the African people and the propagation of their musical arts. The proliferation of Western civilisation and its ideals all over the world provoked deep and irreversible distresses with consequences that have affected each and every domain of culture. The new order shattered the whole basis of Shona self-identity, namely the family, the binuclear family, which in turn were the foundations of the village, community or ethnic group. Zimunya (1993, p. 133) presents a vivid picture of how the Africans were separated from the ethos of their community:

> The new people in the city were dubiously welcome into the city for as long as they provided cheap labour with its obvious indignities. Thrown together into these urban villages African communities were forced to create their own entertainment and to live as best as they could, which was harsh, insecure and socially turbulent existence.

In other words, the entire worldview of African living, inclusive of the arts, was shattered. The indigenous musical arts, merit, integrity and simplicity were perceived as underdeveloped and limited in Western modes of expression by Europeans who have been referred to by Nzewi (2006), as ignorant experts. The Nigerian composer and performer, Fela Sowande, confesses and narrates how strong the European influences were in his youth (quoted in Kebede, 1982, p. 112):

> At the time, we were all busy trying to get ourselves brainwashed. Nothing that was Yoruba was good. Somehow anything traditional was linked to paganism, heathenism and it couldn't possibly have any good things about it. You know, we were all brainwashed, and I was, too.

The side effects and symptoms of such cultural, mental and social castration were so traumatic and somewhat permanent to people of African descent.

Colonial misrepresentation of musical arts terms.

The term 'music' itself is a total misrepresentation of the ethos and essence of musical arts in Africa. Agawu (2003, pp. 1-2) writes:

> As for the term music, we might begin noting that a number of African languages do not have a ready equivalent to the English word 'music'. There are words for song, sing, drum and play but music appears to be semantically diffuse. Now the absence of a word in a language does not mean the absence of its concepts, nor does it mean the absence of the specific behaviour designated by that concept.

For instance, in Zimbabwe, the terms 'song', 'instrument', 'singing' and others do not suffice to describe and define African music. Because it is within the music that 'visual' music that is dance, drama and other art forms are embedded. Thus, the term 'music' will never be sufficient in defining and gleaning the meaning of the sensibilities of the musical art of Africa.

The Europeans imposed their own terms and nearly destroyed the African musical arts heritage. Some musical instruments' names and terms have been 'exotised' for lack of understanding or difficulty in pronunciations by the colonisers. A solution to the challenge of terminology in ethnomusicological studies was to look at individual African languages for terms that might be made essential for analytical purposes. Some Europeans failed to pronounce some terms and thus, renamed them. In Zimbabwe, the *mbira* instrument was christened 'thumb piano' by Europeans who failed to pronounce it. This was a distortion of the nomenclature and the manner in which the sound is executed on the *mbira* instrument. In executing sound or on sound production on the *mbira* instrument the 'thumb' finger is not even used to derive sound. The Europeans who managed to pronounce the name *mbira* correctly had a problem of calling it a *mbírá* (HH), not a *mbìrà* (LL). Calling a *mbìrà*, a *mbírá* is an outdated form of syntax because a single vowel should precede any Shona word beginning with the consonant (m) or (n).

Disappointingly, owning a *mbìrà* instrument was prohibited by the colonial government and it attracted a prison sentence for anyone who defied this ban. Elsewhere in Africa, Kenya in particular, when female circumcision was banned among the Kisii people, music, which was the main marker of the stages of the initiation events and the transmitter of education for the female, was silenced. However, the presence of the initiates in their regalia brought to the minds of those who had previously participated in the rite songs fundamental to that stage in the ritual (Kidula, 2008). The African synthesis of musical arts which incorporates drama,

dance, costume and others were not just accompanying or accompanied by song but were integral in the structure of the music itself, thus, the survival.

In African organology (the study of musical instruments), some instruments are personifications of deities while others speak or say things with voices, for instance, the talking drums of West Africa. The classification systems of musical instruments, of the European world, embraced and added the musical instruments of Africa. It is lamentable to note that the imposed classifications are very 'deaf' to ideas of personifying, speaking or reaching for the supernatural that is sometimes enshrined in African instruments. This alienation mode of classifying musical instruments developed out of the need among European museum curators to bring some order to their artefacts and pretended to give it a universal status, not a specifically African one.

On the other hand, some African musical arts terms have been 'privileged' more than others. This is in the sense that only a tiny bit of a musical arts contiguous area has been used to represent a partial and provisional solution to an enduring and somewhat complex 'political' problem. For example, the term *mbìrà* has been used to represent some similar instruments on the continent. Yet each society has its own terms of describing similar instruments. Unfortunately, it has had the effect of reifying certain terms, names of ethnic groups, names of instruments and so on, thus, unwittingly elevating some groups above others in Africa's complex music-linguistic map.

The introduction of new musical instruments overshadowed the importance and use of African traditional instruments. Instruments such as the guitar, accordion and piano were introduced to the African musical arts making patterns. The instruments introduced and represented a new dispensation of individualism which was in accord with new urban life and culture. Replacing the African ensemble, a new genre of music *makwaya* (a well-known label applied to Christian choral music performed in a different vocal timbre and harmonisation) was introduced in Zimbabwe derived from the 'straight-jacket' (no room for improvisations as in Africa where composers create and recreate lyrics) European hymns which removed some of the musical arts such as dance and drama from the performances. Such hymns were also far-fetched from the sensibilities of the musical art to which the African had been accustomed to. Naturally, Africans are born dancers but in the 'new' colonial music dispensation, dance was not allowed. In some churches, dance was not allowed as it was believed that when people pray, they are supposed to be sombre before the Almighty God. It was in the same manual, the Bible brought by Christianity which narrates that King David danced before God until the wife had to scold him (II Samuel 6:14-16). Such variances have regrettably resulted in a half-baked type of Christianity that is laced with several doctrines in some African societies, inclusive of Zimbabwe.

In the music-making pattern of 'call' and 'response' countless writings have informed that this is the dominant formal principle in African musical forms. The chorus/response, when present, is the structural foundation of the composition. It conveys a basic lesson that applies to life as well as music on the importance of a structural base and order for personal negotiation of life and music (Agawu, 2008). The chorus builds the confidence of the soloist. The philosophy of a solid, reiterative and supportive chorus consolidates the metric and basic form of a piece. It further translates into the community as the formulation for a secure performance. The Europeans have named such a cyclic form of African music, call and response as repetitive and uninteresting. Yet in Africa, societies practice a high degree of repetition that guarantees memorable learning and singing. Musicologically, repetition also facilitates the singing of lengthy narratives in which repeated responses focus attention and return the group to the main theme of the song (Agawu, 2008). To the Africans, the cyclic nature of the music is the spiritual science behind the music sonic which has thoughtful spiritual implications. For instance, in rain-requesting ceremonies during the procedures, one song can be sung repetitively in order to inspire and catalyse the spirit medium to be possessed. Among the Shona, during a rain-entreating rite one 'favourite' song of the spirit medium can be sung repeatedly for a long time until the spiritual host gets possessed.

The performance of the call and response form, with its cyclic format, fosters an interdependent relationship between the lead singer/s and the responding group. The responding group becomes involved with the song and its text as the group relates with one another, often functioning as a bonding and identity-forming agent (Kidula, 2008). While there is bonding and identity-forming, worth noting is the fact that African musical arts sensibilities respect individuality in creativity and performances but this should conform with the ethos of the community.

The God-given inter-rhythms or criss-cross rhythms of Africa were described by colonisers as mere 'noise', a description that is steeped more in racial superiority than appreciation. Nzewi (1997, pp. 36-38) describes rhythm as a term that is not antithetical to African day to day living. These criss-cross rhythms which have depth in essence are derived from the African philosophy of interdependence in human relationships. The lack of depth of understanding and appreciation among colonialists is amplified by a European musicologist, A. M. Jones who viewed African musicians as only practitioners, never as theorists as he was quoted saying:

> We expect no sort of help from the African with the analysts of cross rhythms. He knows his own drum, and how to incorporate it into the whole ensemble, but he has no analytical sense whatsoever. He cannot say what is happening (Agawu, 2003, p. 7).

This was a surprisingly widespread viewpoint that was totally outrageous since it was propagated by 'outsiders' of African culture. The dominating Western discourse thus stifled and systematically amputated the performance and development of African musical arts and culture. The African analysed and understood the elements of her/his musical arts such as the criss-cross rhythms in the following manner, that the prescription of roles in traditional African musical ensembles characterised a coherent nuclear human family. This scenario of the family is analogically the same as portrayed in gendered musical instruments in Africa. Any musical instrument specie has a unique physical and sonic uniqueness. The musical instrument can co-exist with other instruments in an ensemble or pair with another, but its overall musical function/role/uniqueness is what is pertinent. In the same manner, in any human family, there are specific roles that are naturally designated and expected of certain members, as well as general roles that any member can tackle, regardless of gender and/or age. As such, in any family setup, there are different roles that each member plays with a result that benefits the nuclear family and even beyond. The Africans comprehended musical arts as an essential facet of their cultural manifestation therefore, it can/could not be properly analysed if approached as an isolated phenomenon as the Europeans did.

Commoditisation of Musical Arts

Musical arts have been rampantly commoditised in Africa and this has emanated from the colonisation of indigenous people and their displacement from their lands that served as their source of economic survival. The establishment of communications media and technology and the commercialisation of the musical arts as a commodity have had far-reaching consequences, effects which have been accelerated by the processes of change. Dube (1993, p. 160) describes this thus:

> We understand that culture is dynamic and the worldview of a global village now exists, Africa is not a closed society but still we do not condone some ways in which the musical arts are propagated and sold on the local and global market. The radio was originally introduced in Africa to serve colonists, its impact greatly expanded during World War II as a means of reaching the public with news and propaganda (Stapleton & May 1987).

The popularity of the radio and television and other technological innovations in Africa, have to an extent minimised the performance and existence of indigenous forms and expressions of musical arts. Today, the modern economy, social and political milieu has reduced musical arts performances to a 'monologue' by the performer to an unknown listener. Musical arts were a language that the performer and recipient would both understand by reciprocating performance nuances as they became co-participants, and in

some instances, co-creators. Much of Africa's musical innovations are often downplayed because of dominant cultures that tend to romanticise pagan and rural Africa – a notion rooted in the Enlightenment (Kidula, 2008). Situations have changed positively though because of developments such as access to the internet and others. Chinouriri (2013, p. 113) posits that in contemporary Zimbabwe and elsewhere in Africa, musical arts creativity and development have been directed at entertainment and self-gratification by both the creators and consumers of musical arts. The established utilitarian role of musical arts in society has been greatly reduced to mere art for art's sake. Yet indigenous knowledge systems including musical arts indispensably developed and socialised a whole society, and on this, the society's ethos and norms were based.

The *mbìrà* instrument is now made and sold in the United States of America among other places. The issue of ownership and patenting has been at stake yet it is largely a Zimbabwean instrument, with some versions in Malawi and Mozambique. The nationalistic renaissance that later took place in Africa helped in retrieving and resurrecting the musical arts which were near demise. Around the 1950s and 1960s the musical artists were caught up in a kind of ecstasy or euphoria where antidotes such as 'Africa for Africans', 'freedom', 'Whiteman go home' meant restoring old Africa, old culture and old musical arts (Zimunya, 1993). Nationalism across Africa became like a tidal wave that was irresistible to the people of Africa but threatening to the White colonial settlers, and their missionary partners. Nationalism since the 1960s initiated cultural movements to reinvigorate, invent and reinvent African musical arts (Kidula, 2008) and related practices like public recitation of poems of lament. Though the question was how to take the guitar and the gramophone and the radio back to the past and how to bring that past into the present.

Conclusion

Africa has been long overdue for an age of mental rescue and rebirth in all spheres of its humanity, particularly in the cultural/musical arts sector. For a way forward, policy and curriculum designs should be grounded in indigenous knowledge sensed musical arts epistemology in contemporary Africa and beyond. Questions worth pondering on are: Can musical arts education and performance be proactive in the mind-taming crusade of retrieving what has been distorted and plundered? Can modern musical artists in and out of academia be re-sensitised about their divine mandate to apply the musical arts to human ideals? Now, the role of contemporary musical artists should prioritise education in creative orientations, methodology and performance deployment. For a total resuscitation of musical arts, there is a need to undo the superiority complex that was imposed by imperialist hegemony and embrace those who are 'willing to unlearn' as highlighted by Agawu (2004) as regards what the misconstrued information of what they already know about Africa.

There have been great agencies of coercive change, religions, colonisation, imposed education and technological advancements; these have to a large extent castrated, undermined and threatened a total demise (genocide) but have never really been able to totally annihilate the musical arts of Africa. The African peoples managed to retain to various degrees and extent their traditional African musical arts which had been compromised, hybridised, destroyed, and syncretised with Afro-European hybrid and European musical arts. For the musical arts practitioner, the time is now to expunge the colonial influences imposed by the forces of Western education or other influences. What is needed is a deeper knowledge of the meaning of indigenous musical arts that will enable contemporary performers to navigate through contemporary influences.

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Trashing Negative Behaviour through Naming: A Case of Some *Manyika* Surnames.

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Abstract

This paper argues that anthroponyms are an important living heritage aspect that serves as an identity tag that each human being is conferred with, after birth and in the course of life's journey. These names, the paper posits, are a product of the social environment within which each being is located and exists. It additionally observes that the Shona like most sane human beings everywhere deplore bad behaviour and see it as necessary to remind possible offenders of the negative consequences of such obnoxious and nefarious deeds. Therefore, noting that names are an important part of indigenous ways of communicating values, this paper discusses some selected Manyika surnames, highlighting the values through nicknames that the identified group holds dear. It observes that through names people, especially the young ones learn and continue to acquire valuable knowledge that reminds them and entrenches the idea that acts like drunkenness, inexplicable fear and laziness were and continue to be frowned at. Through some selected names the essay unpacks each name and attempts to critically examine some meanings in some instances that may be hidden in them or where there are none, emphasize what was seen as important that led to some family heads being described through such eke names. The article concludes by pointing out that such a practice of underscoring distaste for adverse behaviour has continued up to this day and is realized even in some nicknames that those who seek public office are conferred with, especially when they resort to the use of violent means to get into political positions.

Key words: nicknames, anthroponyms, supernumerary name

Introduction

Names are in some way identity tags conferred on people, places or other living beings for the very purpose of acknowledging the uniqueness of each being or place, or as a mnemonic instrument to keep memories alive. They are therefore part of humanity's living heritage, also called Intangible Cultural Heritage. Therefore, put differently, names are either a single word or set of one or more by which a person, animal, place, or thing is known, addressed, or referred to (Mapara, 2013). Their significance lies in the fact that once apportioned, they become the main tags or badges through which the named is identified and acknowledged. Another aspect about names is that despite carrying the power to identify the targeted, they may carry or carry no meaning within them. When names carry meanings, they become from a linguistic perspective, speech acts that serve among other purposes to make declarations or express opinions on certain aspects that relate to life in general and human behaviour and relations in particular. This thus explains why among the Shona of Zimbabwe, of whom the Manyika are a sub-group, as among most people of Africa, names are not just allotted. They are apportioned in the aftermath of thoughtful reflection. It has to be noted that this careful and reflective consideration comes into play even if the names are being given to animals, things or places as well as of late after the advent of the cash economy, businesses. It is therefore essential to appreciate that the very act of naming amongst the Shona sometimes culminates in the making of statements that may be declarations or expressions of certain ideas or thoughts. Names thus become microtexts or statements in miniature (Pfukwa, 2012). Despite the fact that there are many types of names that the Shona give, this chapter as reflected in its title focuses on names or anthroponyms that are apportioned to people as descriptors of negative behaviours that the namers would be hoping will be refrained from and would also in the process serve as warning lights to the youngsters in the immediate environment of behaviours that they should steer clear of. Information relating to these names was gathered through a relatively new area in the research methods field – that of indigenous research strategies.

Research Methods

It is however significant that these names be placed within the context of anthroponyms in general so that when they finally get focused on, their significance becomes amplified, and largely so when informed by an indigenous research approach. An indigenous research method was found to be appropriate for this study because it is informed by peoples' interests, knowledge and experiences. These experiences and interests must be at the centre of meaningful research methodologies and constructions of knowledge and understanding of indigenous peoples (Rigney, 1999). The other important aspect about an indigenous

inquiry approach is that the researcher together with the informants are part of a team where there is an exchange of ideas and not just a one-sided approach where the researcher is only there to gather information and not contribute to the building of knowledge. The indigenous approach also allows for memory to come into play, and participants can be engaged not necessarily in formal environments only but even in the least expected of these like at a shopping centre for instance, when one can ask about a particular event or names that they would have heard being spoken about. It is a very flexible approach that does away with the rigidity of western-centric approaches that are straitjacketed.

One other strategy that was employed was the sharing of beverages that was part of the discussions on the significance of the names that are discussed in this paper. The sharing of beverages is anchored in the realization that this very act of food-sharing and consumption has other benefits that ensue out of it. For example, during a meal, some issues that may have been disremembered or overlooked during other discussions may crop up and may significantly contribute to the body of already collected data. The other important aspect about such a practice is that:

> It also provides a platform where other 'hanging' and hazy points may be clarified or further explored, a practice that is almost akin to the western concept of discussing some things over for instance tea or coffee (Mapara, forthcoming).

The above words amplify the significance of collectively partaking in a meal of sharing beverages because refusal to participate may be viewed negatively in indigenous communities where one maybe perceived as a misfit and as lacking *unhu*/*ubuntu* (qualities of being human/humanness). It is this humanness that is critical in the understanding of anthroponyms and a brief insight into some of their types will help in understanding how some names are coined.

Varieties of Anthroponyms

Given that an anthroponomy is a subarea of onomastics that deals primarily with the creation of personal names (Baptista et al., 2006); it is significant to appreciate that like all names among the Shona, anthroponyms communicate love, loathing, admiration and a plethora of other issues that those who name would be hoping to communicate to the outside world. Also, worth noting is the actuality that there are many types of such names and some of these, for example, bynames, are briefly discussed in the two paragraphs that follow.

A byname is a nickname that is exclusively given to someone for the sole purpose of distinguishing that individual from another who bears the same given name. Such a name may come from that person's behaviour or some other physical aspect for example, *Murefu* (The tall one) which linguistically is an adjective in Shona, but when it assumes the role of a proper name becomes itself a Class 1a noun (Fortune, 1991). Some bynames may have evolved into surnames. Another anthroponym is a nom de guerre whose origins are in the French language. It literally means "war name", and it is one which the bearer gives her/himself or is given by fellow combatants. In Shona such names are called *Chimurenga* names (Pfukwa & Barnes, 2010; Pfukwa, 2012). There are also religious names that people are given or give themselves to show that they have embraced a new faith. In Christianity, most missionaries, especially in the Catholic and Anglican churches always insisted that the newly baptised convert assume a name, preferably that of a deified late Christian designated a saint. This was however not the case with other denominations like the Dutch Reformed Church, although the new convert was also expected to assume a new name that could be indigenous that was reflective of the acceptance and conversion to the new faith. In Islam it is still common practice that one assumes an Islamic name (usually Arabic) after converting to this belief.

Other anthroponyms are the cryptonym, matronym or metronym, necronym, and patronym. A cryptonym is a clandestine forename that is used for the security of the name-bearer. This is related to the nom de guerre, but the two are necessarily the same, in that it may be given not in war situations but may be in criminal gangs. It has the potential of growing into a full-blown nickname once it becomes public knowledge. A matronym or metronym may or may not be a nickname. It is that type of anthroponym that has its origins in a female relative, while the term metronym is specifically reserved for a personal name that originates from a mother's name (Connor, 2021; Brown et al., 2014; Cross, 1910). It is common practice that people use naming as a means of remembering their dear departed relatives, especially parents. Such a name that is given as an honour to a deceased relative is called a necronym. In Shona indigenous religion such a name may be given as a result of some challenges that a family may have faced and would have been advised by spiritual leaders that a late relative would like her/his name to be given to the targeted child. It is also possible that a necronym may start off as a nickname where the namers may be observing traits that resemble those of a late relative in a child. These traits may be in the form of behaviour, voice or physical structure. These names may also be given in memory of a child whom parents would have lost (Testoni et al., 2020). Another significant anthroponym that may originate as a nickname is a patronym. This is a personal name that is apportioned to a person but has its genesis in one's father's name (Brown et al., 2013).

Purpose of Names

Names matter and every time an appellation is mentioned, hearers make a number of assumptions about that person or company or brand. A name thus helps not just in the act of identifying the named, but also functions as one's public face (Watts, 2016). "It tells customers who you are, what you do, and a little about how you do it" (Watts, 2016, np). Names at times are also reflective of the race or ethnic group of the named. That the act of naming is also cultural is not in dispute. It is for this reason that naming is an important contrivance that is used among several indigenous African cultures to convey certain messages, either to a person in his/her individual capacity, family members or a community (Machaba, 2004). Even though names can be deployed as devices that have the potential to unite communities, "they can also serve as a dividing tool in various communities" (Machaba, 2004, vii).

More essentially anthroponyms are communication tools that serve among other purposes to describe, declare, express or protest. Names as descriptives function to give more information on what the named or tagged does. For instance, the name *Murefu* that has already been given above, serves to give more information on the physical structure of the identified, in this case one who is tall. Besides being descriptives, some names can also take the role of declaratives, as in the name *Tinonetsana* (We will fight one another). The named may get this name as one who does not at all times take any challenges from even the powerful lying down. As much as they can declare the position of the named or namer, anthroponyms can also be means of expressing anger, opinion or satisfaction. The name *Tafaranashe* (We are happy in the Lord/because of the Lord) is given as an expression of joy by a couple who may have had a child after a long time. They may also name such a child to express joy at finally having a baby girl in a house that was full of boys only. In Africa, especially in countries that were under colonialism, some names were used as a way of protesting against the excesses of racism. A good example of such a name is *Takondekana* (We have really suffered) which some Tangwena people gave to their child at a time they were being kicked off their ancestral lands by the Smith regime (Mapara, 2013). One last aspect worth observing about names principally among the Shona of Zimbabwe is the fact that some names, especially nicknames can be given and used to exert pressure on the named and relatives to help a member of the family to take a more positive route as regards life orientation. It is out of such protest and descriptive as well as expressive names that some nicknames may have originated

Origins of Nicknames

A nickname is a supernumerary name that is used in place of a proper one for a person, place or thing. It is ordinarily used to express affection; it is a custom of compliment and delight, and is also called a hypocoristic name since it may carry in it undertones of love or close emotional bond. Adding his voice to what nicknames are, Ashley (1989) defines these in the same vein as eke (extra) names that are given in derision or out of affection, and further points out that they are sometimes given as informal versions of forenames or of surnames resulting in a situation where they can replace either forenames or surnames. Leslie and Skipper (1990) concur with Ashley and also describe a nickname as, "a term of familiarity which substitutes for a proper name ..." (1990, p. 273). The import of their definition is that the nickname may or may not entirely eradicate the proper name. It can therefore correspondingly be used to express defamation of personality, principally that undertaken by bullies at school or in the neighbourhood. Essential to note is that nicknames may be complimentary names, but they are not the same as pseudonyms. Their use and acceptance especially in early days, is dependent on the relationship between the namer and the named.

The word 'nickname' has its origins in Old English. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (2017), the multipart term 'ekename', which plainly means 'supplementary or additional name', has its confirmation going back to as early as 1303. Therefore, etymologically, the word has its roots in the Old English phrase 'eac' which means 'also', (*Merriam Webster Online*). The word is related to 'eacian' whose meaning is 'to increase' (*Online Etymology Dictionary*). The same dictionary states, "mid-15c., *neke name,* a misdivision of *ekename* (c. 1300), *an eke name*, 'a familiar or diminutive name,' especially one given in derision or reproach ..." The aspect on derision is interesting because in Shona, nicknames are called *mazita ekutsvinyirwa* or *mazita emadunhurirwa* which means that nicknames are given as a way of being descriptors that largely draw attention to negative attributes that are in a person and not necessarily on one's physical being although it is also one of the factors that may spur some to coin what they consider as appropriate nicknames.

In the foregoing paragraphs what comes out clearly is the fact that nicknames are given either to praise or lambast people. Leggio (2001) confirms this when she states, "In Italian-American culture nicknames, even though to others they may seem harsh and cruel, are terms of endearment and give a sense of belonging." It is thus clear that they have their genesis in how people observe character and behaviour within the community and that they are aimed at building and reinforcing positive relationships in some instances. However, despite the fact that they add colour and flavour to human life, they can also be perceived

as red flags that pinpoint behaviours that the community or nation at large may consider as despicable. An interesting attribute about them is that some may start off as epigraphs or praise names but can potentially end up being labels of derision and mockery. For instance, one may be called Dombo (Rock, stone) as a nickname in praise of solid character and being steadfast in focus. But the same name may become a means of mockery if the same person turns out to be too rigid and hard hearted. In the first instance, it is a name that is full of praise, but in the second one, the nickname assumes a more sinister and darker description of the named and identified as someone who is devoid of humanity.

Evolution of Nicknames into Names, Surnames

Nicknames, like other names have their origins in different events and characteristics that are found strewn along the thoroughfares of people's lives informed by dissimilar activities and professions. They might moreover be reflective of one's origins, ethnicity, religion or even profession like medical doctor and one ends up being called *Dhokotera* and this finally becomes a family name. These complimentary names may also be transitory, but there are some that take a claim on a person's life such that they become a permanent feature that even gets inherited by their descendants. Phillips (1990, p. 281) states that, "Some nicknames may last a lifetime; others may disappear after only one' occurrence." De Klerk and Bosch (1997, p. 102) further posit, "This fluidity allows nicknames to reflect a much closer relationship between language, society and culture than personal names can." This actuality is significant because it is largely this scenario that exists among the Shona, specifically the Manyika who are the subject of this chapter. Given the fact that there is a close-knit relationship that permeates language, society and culture, it is therefore not surprising that some nicknames have evolved into either personal names or surnames. The evolutionary process is however not smooth but may take place in a period generally not exceeding two generations. It may also occur even within a generation in most cases as a result of boasts by the named.

The first stage in the evolution of nicknames into surnames occurs through the adoption and acceptance of a nickname as a first name, or as an identity tag that flourishes as a result of common and popular use. This has nothing to do with whether the name bearer likes it or not, but because s/he resigns to the community onslaught and even ends up identifying her/himself by that sobriquet. The resignation is usually associated with nicknames that portray the bearers in negative light, while those that are positive are easily embraced and borne by their bearers as badges of honour.

Nicknames also evolve into names and surnames when children or grandchildren and even spouses of the named identify themselves as such. For example, a child may be sent to ask for a hoe in a neighbouring village. On arrival the would-be benefactor may not know who the child is, or may not know her/his parents. If the child mentions the father's surname the would-be benefactor may ask "*Makombe upi wacho?"* (Which Makombe?), to which the child may respond, *"Nyahuma"* (The one with a protruding forehead). In this case, the Makombe in question is known by an aspect relating to his physical features and in this instance the most outstanding one is the big forehead for which he is known in the area. Out of this evolutionary process comes some names that when heard may cause hearers to turn their heads. These in almost all cases are those that have a twist in them that could possibly cause the audience members to want to dig deeper into the name and unearth some reasons that may have led to such a designation. The writer of this chapter noted that most names that attract the attention of those in the audience have to do with labels that lampoon and disparage deleterious behaviour such that they may be called public forms of chastisement, as well as living lessons that others in the community can learn from.

Denouncing abominable behaviour through anthroponyms.

Most names in the indigenous medium among the Shona, and specifically the Manyika are memory retainers. They are living emblems of what is appreciated and applauded in society and what is as well generally spat at and is seen as meant for the dust-bin of moral castaways. Among the Manyika, it was observed that most nicknames that stick and that evolve into surnames are reflective of an ancestor whose deeds were considered good and positive or repulsive and was constituted of acts that the community prayed that children would not emulate. Names such as Chitepo celebrated hard work and entrepreneurship in that the bearer became identified with the basket that he moved around with bartering fish for grain or other acceptable items. On the extreme end are also those names that evolved from behaviour that the community spat at. Some of these names that stand out as public admonishments are Mukotsanjera, Nyautore, Muhlamaenza, Mutizamhepo, and Korera. These are but the only names that are analysed here and they serve to introduce some of the names that are carriers of some of the worst forms of behaviour that is not tolerated in society. The names are not necessarily analysed in alphabetical order.

The Manyika are known in Zimbabwe for their love of beer, and the statement *Mhamba ingonaka newamai* (Beer tests better with women as partners and co-consumers). This statement has generally been taken by most Zimbabweans to mean that the Manyika do not just love beer and women, but that they are hard drinkers as well. This is something that is

quite debatable. An onomastic survey appears to dispute the fact that the Manyika are hard drinkers. The name Mukotsanjera is testimony to the fact that while the Manyika may like their beer, they are not slaves to it. In fact, they frown upon those who get so immersed in beer drinking such that it becomes a pastime. Information gathered by this writer shows that some person may have been named Mukotsanjera because of a bad and hard drinking habit which ended up becoming a burden to the person, his family and the larger community.

Mukotsanjera

The name Mukotsanjera (One who hides finger millet) is derived from the verb *–kotsa* (hide) and the noun *njera* (finger millet). In precolonial times extending way beyond the sub-region's contact with the Portuguese, the main staple for the Manyika was *njera* (finger millet). So *sadza* (pap) was prepared using this grain. One who was a gormandiser could be nicknamed Mukotsanjera, an anthroponym that was given to bring to the attention of colleagues that that person had a very healthy appetite such that s/he could consume quite a lot when compared to others. Worth noting however is that while gormandising was frowned upon, it was never a reason for such a name to stick as long as one did not become a nuisance and mess after food consumption. According to informants, this name originated from a person who was so nicknamed because of hard and careless drinking. They pointed out that in Manyika, the term *njera* is not just used to refer to a grain but also to beer which is brewed from it. In fact, it was stated that when one cannot handle an alcoholic beverage after partaking it, the Manyika would say, "*Uyu angorambwa ngenjera"* (This one is rejected by *njera* – which really means this one cannot handle beer).

In light of the foregoing paragraph, the name Mukotsanjera becomes an admonition to one who misbehaves or gets involved in negative and nefarious acts after having partaken one too many. The frowned upon acts included for instance, spoiling oneself like vomiting on one's person, getting involved in brawls and public spats as well as sleeping in thoroughfares and refusal to go home preferring to go to places where more beer would be available, thus becoming a *musiyadzasukwa* (one who only leaves a drinking place after the beer pots have been cleaned) (Chakaipa, 1967). The name thus evolved and became a public reprimand and identity marker of the person who bore the nickname. With the passage of time, it has become a personality tag but more importantly, it serves as a living verbal symbol of what youngsters have to refrain from. Even if they like beer, and drink it, the youngsters, through this name are reminded that they have to take it with moderation, and not curve a bad reputation that is anchored on drunkenness that additionally degenerates into public fights and the immolation of one's character and reputation.

Nyautore

Laziness is likewise highly frowned upon among the Manyika as is the case among other Shona people. Some proverbs in fact serve to highlight how the Manyika like other Shona and Bantu groups are attached to the land and the value that derives from it. One such axiom is *Mukudzinga matiro ngemo mukuona ndimo* (It is in the act of chasing away baboons that the farmer discovers areas for the further expansion of his fields). This proverb underscores the importance of being exploratory in behaviour. What is however important that comes out of it is the value of farming land to the farmer. In fact, the importance of agricultural activity tied to tilling the land is further emphasized in another proverb, *Parima badza hapanyepiba* (The place where the hoe has dug cannot tell lies). This proverb also highlights the importance of investing in agricultural labour because positive results would accrue. It is therefore not surprising that the Manyika have always frowned upon lazy people and this act of scowling at laziness and people who are perceived as embodiments of such unacceptable behaviour have been given nicknames that speak against their perceived laziness. One such name is Nyautore.

Nyautore is a class 1a noun (designation assigned to a person as a first name) that is made up of two constituents, *nya-* which is an ownership prefix and *utore*, which is a Class 14 noun which means indolence. When combined the word is *Nyautore* and it really means owner of laziness. To be labelled an owner of laziness is to be summed up as one who is incorrigibly lethargic and slothful such that when people observe you, they will be seeing a personification of languor. This anthroponym also serves as a living example of behaviour that is publicly scorned and spat at. It is one that reminds youngsters of the vilification that visits those that are perceived as indolent and perpetually hunger plagued in their families. The name also goes beyond just being a descriptor of those who are lazy in the agricultural sphere, but also those whose levels of slothfulness even affects their personal hygiene as well the immediate environments of their homesteads. For instance, such persons are known for having unkempt home grounds and dirt may be found strewn all over. Consequently, the name Nyautore becomes some kind of Wet Gunpowder Award which is an Iranian symbolic award that is given to "ridiculous people whose chaffy character is evident to everyone and when this nature of theirs is accompanied with self-belief turns into an indefinite foolishness for them" (DBpedia, nd).

Muhlamaenza

The researcher, in his discussions with some community elders noted that naming is as much of oral performance as it is a speech act. In actuality, the very act of bestowing a

name is thus not arbitrary (Mapara & Nyota, 2017), but an action that results from careful thought and observation and through it one chooses to sum up certain behavioural traits. Names are therefore not just statements in miniature but also function to reflect upon a society's attitudes towards what is embraced as good on one side and also as abhorrent on the other. Such is the case of the name Muhlamaenza/Muhlamainza also rendered as Mutyamaenza (One who is afraid of summer) that is a lesser jagged rendition of Nyautore that has been discussed in the preceding two paragraphs. This name's equivalent rendering in other Shona dialects would be Murwarazhizha (One who falls ill in summer). Muhlamaenza is not randomly given. It is deliberately chosen as a word that speaks to unbecoming behaviour that is characterized by laziness as reflected in fear of summer traits like lightning which may cause one to get away from the fields as a way to get out of potential harm's way through strikes. The name thus becomes an indigenous way of cautioning the targeted person to refrain from avoiding working on his fields (fields are customarily owned by men who then distribute them to their wives, although they also belong to the community, through males), because of fear of lightning.

As already alluded to above, that the name Muhlamaenza also has its equivalence in Murwarazhizha, it thus also means someone who feigns illness in summer to avoid working the fields. Such a person is also described as one *akamedza mutswi* (one who swallowed a pestle). The connotation of the act of swallowing a pestle is that the person cannot bend in the fields to for instance weed the cultivated patch. This is so because a pestle is straight and it cannot bend. The only thing that can happen is that if it is forced to bend it will break. By extension then is meant that one who is called Muhlamaenza has the fear of breaking his back in the fields. This name condemns such people and is also a living example of how the Manyika do not tolerate folks like these who have a habit of 'falling' ill during the summer season but get very much alive outside that period and in fact develop very healthy appetites for food that others would have cultivated and harvested. The name Muhlamaenza, just like Nyautore and Mukotsanjera can best be understood in the context of appreciating the fact that "As all African names, nicknames do not only refer, but also convey a great deal of information" (Mashiri, 2004, p. 26).

Mutizamhepo

Cowardice is an act that many abhor. Among the Shona cowardice has been captured in idioms such as *kuva bete* (being a cockroach) and *kuva nebapu rehwai* (to have the lung of a sheep). These idioms are derived from observations that relate to the behaviour of the creatures that are deployed as imagery in the Shona wisdom sayings. In the case of the above two idioms, the flight that characterizes the creatures when they feel threatened is

what has caused the creators of these two expressions to use them to refer to people who are perceived and generally accepted as beings who quickly take to flight when they feel threatened even by the mere sound of wind rustling through the leaves of trees by the roadside. Such people exist elsewhere and among the Manyika there is such a name that reflects such palpable cowardice in the form of Mutizamhepo (One who runs away from wind). The researcher besides noting that people who bear this nickname as their surname are largely found in Nyanga District, although there are some in Mutasa district, is also related to them as his *vazukuru* (loosely translated to mean nephews and nieces, although the closeness is lost in translation).

Mutizamhepo is a complex noun that is in class 1a (Fortune, 1991) made up of *mu-* which is the noun prefix, *-tiza*, a verb stem and *mhepo* a noun that functions as a predicate. The name does not suggest that people should be carelessly brave, and in fact there are situations when cowardice is viewed as a virtue as captured in the proverb, *Makunguo zvaakatya, mapapata awo mangani?* (Since crows exhibited their cowardice [by flying away], how many carcases of theirs are there?). This proverb is emphasizing that it at times pays to take flight in the face of danger. There are however extreme cases of fear that are also not tolerated. It is these that are captured and memorialized and immortalized in the name Mutizamhepo. Such extremities in behaviour are cautioned against and young ones therefore always have to see the name bearers as living testimony of how extreme cowardice is looked at with derision. The value of such a name is best captured in Mashiri's words when he states, "Generally speaking, Shona people seem to rely most heavily on nicknaming practices for defining inappropriate or excessive behaviour, uphold cultural ideals and politely rebuking deviant behaviour or personalities" (2004, p. 34).

Korera

While the above names have focused on how much laziness and cowardice are frowned upon, it is essential to note that the Manyika also strongly detest people who are vile and cruel. One example that the researcher stumbled upon is the surname Kòrérá which happens to be the name the Manyika of the Tangwena area also give to the butcher bird (*Lanius collaris*) because of its cruel deportment towards its prey. According to Horne, (2013) the butcher bird which is also called the Fiscal Shrike is a cruel bird that is known for:

> impaling their prey on thorns, branches or barbed wire. This act is not performed reluctantly, the food item is skewered so that the sharp point of the murder weapon protrudes all the way through. If they do not eat their meal on the spot, these sharp objects are used as a "pantry" to store their food for a later snack (Horne, 2013, np).

The above words create a vivid mental image of a bird that appears to go to great lengths to inflict pain on its prey, a fact that is as well confirmed by Stoner (1939). The author further characterizes the thorns and barbed wire as 'the murder weapon' (np), an indicator of what may best be called uncalled for killing, but the reasons for this behaviour are of course explained. For the Manyika it is such behaviour as exhibited by the bird that they find despicable. They additionally state that when this bird is impaling other birds and insects onto thorns and barbed wire it will allegedly be saying, "*Korera. Mai vako vakandiitawo nezuro*" (You have to brave this. Your mother did the same to me yesterday). These words also carry undertones of vindictiveness and revenge, yet in other more positive settings the word *kukorera* means to briefly endure burning pain to allow for the cleaning of for example, a wound that can potentially turn septic if left unattended. However, when applied to this shrike fiscal bird, and then is extended to a human being, the meaning carries life threatening undertones as is discussed in the paragraph that comes below.

When the name Korera is given to a person, it is used as a descriptor of one who is known for excessive cruelty and brutality. The words, "*Korera. Mai vako vakandiitawo nezuro*" are indicative of a person who is not only unforgiving, but one who also takes revenge and vindictiveness to all who are related to a person who would have crossed swords with him. The person who is given such a name is equated to one who encourages a person in unbearable pain to be brave. The anthroponym also adequately captures the inclination of some people who just enjoy inflicting pain on others, especially the small, weak and vulnerable. The name thus serves as a living example of behaviour that is not just contemptible, but also acts that need to be avoided if one is to be accepted as a human being. In the *ubuntu/unhu* perception, among the Shona, of whom the Manyika are part, a real person should not have *mwoni unenge wenyoka inoruma chaisingadyi* (having the mind of a snake that bites what it does not eat). Through this name, youngsters, especially children are being discouraged from unnecessary killing of creatures especially those that do not form part of their food supply. When they decide to kill fauna for food, they should do this in a manner that is civil. Over and above all this, the children are discouraged from being cruel to one another or other fellow human beings in general.

Conclusion

This paper has discussed, through an analysis of five surnames that originated as nicknames, how unbecoming behaviour such as cruelty and drunkenness are frowned upon by the Manyika, a sub-group of the Shona that is found in Mutasa and Nyanga districts of Manicaland Province that borders Mozambique. It has noted that names play a significant socializing agency since they are used as tools for the dissemination of information. Some

of the information as has been observed in the above paragraphs relates to discouraging youngsters from engaging in activities that may ruin their public standing as well as affect their families and clans. The paper has also noted that the fact that these names have lived up to today means that their original bearers were used as vehicles through which such negative behaviours as reflected in these names has to be avoided. Worth noting is that while there are other negative and nefarious acts that the Manyika dislike, these names carry within them reminders of some of the vices that are viewed as most vile.

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