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FACULTY OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

A study of indigenous medical knowledge on the treatment of stroke in Chipinge District 1980-2015.

BY

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A dissertation submitted to the Department of History , Midlands State University in

Partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Bachelor of Arts In History Honours Degree.

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I Alister Tonderai Chipanje R124 589N do hereby declare that this study represents my own work ,and that it is submitted for the first time to the University and that it has never been submitted to any other University for the purpose of obtaining a degree .

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to my parents Mr and Mrs Chipanje for their unwavering support and to my siblings .

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List of Acronyms

IKM	Indigenous Medical Knowledge
IKS	Indigenous Knowledge System
ZINATHA	Zimbabwe National Traditional Healers Association
WHO	World Health Organization

Abstract

The study analyzed the contribution of IMK in treating stroke since 1980 to 2015 in Chipinge District. The objectives of the study were to locate the importance of IMK in providing primary health care to the rural people. Factors that encourage people to continue using IMK were also uncovered in the study. Different causes of ailments were also discussed in depth in the study and these causes include witchcraft, bad spirits and diseases that are natural those that are caused by natural agents. The study also revealed that people seek the services of traditional healers due to some ailments such as stroke which are believed to be caused by witchcraft and can-not be easily healed, while others in the area IMK it is their only source of seeking medicine as they cannot afford western medicine. An investigation on the challenges that face IMK were also revealed in the study. The researcher used both primary sources and secondary sources to gather information for the study. IMK is relied on in Chipinge District for treatment of stroke and other ailments.

Introductory Chapter

This chapter focuses on the introduction of study , statement of the problem, background of study, research questions, objectives of study, significance of the study, research methodology of the study and ethical considerations,

1.0 Introduction

Flora and fauna have always and continue to be the best source of food and best source of medicine to the African people .African countries depend mostly on indigenous medical knowledge for their health care needs . Indigenous medical knowledge and traditional healers especially in rural Zimbabwe have played and are still playing a pivotal role in providing the health care needs to scores of people in their diversified nature . It is important to note that Indigenous medical knowledge is cheaply acquired or acquired at no cost at all and it is knowledge passed from one generation to another through the word of mouth . In exploring the contribution of indigenous medical knowledge and ZINATHA in Africa in the provision of health care the study will show the role of indigenous medical knowledge in combating and curing of different ailments that people have suffered from. It is important to note that there are other ways which contribute to primary health care to the people of Zimbabwe beside traditional medicines . The indigenous medical knowledge and the ZINATHA have been and is still being demonized , despised and looked down upon in contemporary Zimbabwe although there is a diversified population of people who rely on traditional medicines , faith healers and western medicines .

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Death and sickness have been natural things that people have encountered on daily basis in their survival . People have had a financial challenge so that they seek western medication . Modern health facilities have been characterized by high prices , shortage of staff and facilities being out of reach for many people . The government of Zimbabwe and the international donors have played a crucial role in a bid to provide health facilities across the country. The Zimbabwean government has suffered due economic meltdown and political turbulences that have prevailed in the country . The situation forced specialists to seek greener pastures elsewhere in other countries , leaving a critical situation even in the health sector .

Therefore people have resorted to indigenous medical knowledge in order to address various health problems which people have encountered . People are consulting traditional healers and are making use of traditional medicines in curing different ailments that they are suffering from . The study intends to outline the impacts of indigenous medical knowledge and ZINATHA in society and the challenges faced.

1.2 Background of Study

According to Chavhunduka 80% the entire African population relies on indigenous medical knowledge for their health care .¹ The percentage also includes Southern Africa where Zimbabwe is located . A larger population of the Zimbabwean population mainly depend on traditional medicine as a source of primary health care in curing ailments .

Chipinge District is located in Manicaland Province in the Eastern parts of Zimbabwe . Chipinge is heavily populated by the Ndaou speaking people. The area is very rich in herbs since the area is a savannah type .Due to the availability of such valuable herbs in the area it has helped the less privileged since they will and have always relied basically on collecting and using traditional medicinal plants .² The District is well known for its traditional medicinal prowess in the country of Zimbabwe . According to Zimbabwe Ministry of Health and Child welfare about 80% of the population in developing countries rely on traditional medicines .³With the percentage of poverty in Zimbabwe according to Zimstats being estimated to be at 78%.⁴ The majority of people in rural Zimbabwe cannot afford to acquire western medicines which would have been prescribed to them to purchase at the health facilities.

Females in rural Chipinge stays far away from maternity facilities hence they resort to indigenous midwifery , in as much as there are no maternity fees which are required to be paid in all these rural clinics and health facilities . Most women still shun away from these health facilities due to the long distance which they would have to travel . The clinics which are there in rural Chipinge are not easily accessible to pregnant women , the roads are bad and transport is expensive for most living in abject poverty thus African midwifery is still a celebrated and welcome idea . Indigenous medical knowledge is being used to the advantage of people who are poor .

ZINATHA is the largest and officially recognized professional association . It is due to their resilience that soon after attaining independence they were formally recognized⁷. Traditional healers were obliged to be formally registered with ZINATHA so that they could render their services .

With the brain drain which the country experienced from the year 2000, a legion of professionals went overseas and in other neighboring countries to search for greener pastures.⁵ The health sector was not spared from the exodus of its staff to search for greener pastures. This grossly affected many people in Chipinge as they were driven back to their traditional medicines. It was during this economic crisis that shortages of crucial western medicines were experienced and most people in Chipinge due to its diversified traditional medicinal acquired the herbs which they knew to cure the ailments which they were suffering from.⁶ Some people who had given up on using traditional medicines with the introduction of western medicine trekked their steps back into traditional medicines.

A combination African medicines, western medicines and Christianity have been used by the people of Chipinge to address their different predicaments in health matters.⁷ Despite ZINATHAS contribution in the health sector in form of indigenous medical knowledge, and their knowhow in herbs they have been sidelined in national and formal incorporation and most of their contribution have been demonized and the practice was stigmatized, traditional healers were persecuted by the missionaries and church leaders.⁸

1.5 Research Objectives

The research intends to achieve the following

- To locate the role of indigenous medical knowledge in contemporary Zimbabwe.
- To assess the impacts of traditional medicines, in curbing various ailments that are prevalent.
- To identify the challenges that are associated with indigenous medical knowledge in contemporary urban and rural Chipinge.

1.6 Research questions

- ✓ What are factors influencing people to engage in indigenous medical knowledge ?
- ✓ Has traditional medicine and ZINATHA actually helped to solve the health problems people face?
- ✓ What are the major challenges facing indigenous medical knowledge in contemporary Zimbabwe ?

What are the traditional methods of treating ailments such as stroke .

1.7 Significance of Study

The study will be important to the administration of Zimbabwe Ministry of Health and Child Welfare , as they will find ways on how to collaborate with ZINATHA in finding treatment for various ailments . Government policy makers and policy implementers will benefit as they will know laws to enact that protect the environment for the benefit of people .

.1.8 Literature Review

Masocha articulates that indigenous medical knowledge is the sum of total knowledge that people in a given geographical area have developed over time an continue to develop . It is based on experience and adopted to local culture and environment. The knowledge is in form of skills , beliefs , values , system and concepts that are passed from one generation to the other verbally.⁹

According to Githens in Africa there are over 14000 drug plants , which are in turn vanishing at an alarming rate.¹⁰ The study highlights the importance of indigenous medical knowledge and how people appreciates the medicine . However the link between poverty and indigenous medical knowledge is not brought out . That most people who use indigenous or traditional medicine it is due to poverty as western medicine which would have been prescribed in hospitals they cannot afford . The wealthy families have also consulted traditional healers and herbalist through other family members it is not the poor who consult traditional healers

According to Mudimbe historic assumptions are still being made concerning African traditional healing in association with “ witchcraft” .¹¹ Traditional medicines have been closely linked to witchcraft and traditional healers have become demonized and condemned for associating themselves with such practices . Despite the fact that in Zimbabwe soon after attaining Independence in 1980 traditional healers became recognized with the formation of Zimbabwe national traditional healers association . The formalization and recognition of traditional healers have not solved some of the problems that the association has faced . Stigma and demonization have been the things that the traditional healing been characterized with . These traditional leaders have been marginalized in many ways which include not being asked for their opinion regarding certain subjects. In local clinics instead of coopting and work with a traditional healer they have preferred or resorted to training and employing VHW who in most cases do not have African medicinal knowledge .

Chavhunduka share the view that Africans have been caste as “ others “ and have not been coopted to work full time with the Ministry of health in providing health care problems which they would be facing.¹² There is a thin line between witchcraft and traditional healing and the two are separable .

Zimbabwe’s Ministry of Health and Child health care largely collude with the marginalization of traditional healers and traditional medicines in form of herbs .Traditional healers have not been accepted as useful practitioners and indigenous medical knowledge has not been supported as a legitimate system.¹³ During the year 2000 with the trekking of nurses and doctors to other areas in search of greener pastures Chipinge District was affected by shortage of trained personnel to deal with the health problems that people were facing . The economic crisis drove people back to their practices of traditional medicines and relied on them . Most people could not afford Western medicines thus they resorted to traditional medicines due to poverty in treating various problems and ailments . Exorbitant fees on modern drugs have forced people especially in rural Zimbabwe to engage in traditional medicines .¹⁴

Negative and positive impacts of indigenous medical knowledge in contemporary society will be explored in detail. The contribution of ZINATHA in curbing various infections , diseases , helping social problems and economic problems . Lack of recognition to traditional healers , there is no more that self-respect.

1.10 Research Methodology

The research study has been conducted through a number of ways which have helped in data collection. Primary and secondary sources have been consulted on the issues pertaining the study undertaken to fully unravel the data.

1.10.1 Research strategy

Qualitative research is vital in this study due to the complex of the study, it has helped to interpret and make the researcher have a better understanding on the study.

1.10.2 Interviews

An interview is an open conversation between two people, the interviewer and the interviewee. The interviewer asked a set of relevant and direct question to the interviewee. Interviews were conducted at personal level in order to get full details on the subject from the participants, victims and practitioners. The interview have helped the researcher to get valuable information due to personal interaction and it has helped in widening up the researcher's horizon on the research.

1.10.3 Observation and participation

The researcher managed to participate in some of the activities for instance seeing people consulting the traditional healers as they were seeking for treatment and solutions for different problems. Participation of the researcher in traditional healing was done in cases which were relevant. Participation and observation was of great significance as it enabled the researcher to have unbiased and no single sided stories. The researcher managed to have first-hand information on the subject. The information gathered was analyzed and reordered and it played a pivotal role.

1.10.4 Questionnaire

These were structured questions which were written down numbering to six, and fill in spaces were provided for an answer or response. The questions were short and precise. The types of questions were open ended as it helped the researcher to get other views of people without limiting the response and mind of the people answering the questions. Questionnaire are not time consuming as only a limited time will be allocated to them.

1.10.5 Target population

A population which had some of the elderly people in the community who practice, participate in traditional healing were the targeted group of people. The most targeted area in this case was rural Chipinge as it contains members of the community who participate direct and indirect in indigenous medical knowledge practices.¹⁵ The target population included the participants of traditional healers, victims and traditional healers practitioners.

1.10.6 Sampling strategy

The researcher used the technique of sampling because of its advantages of being manageable as the people were in small numbers and above all results were achieved. Sampling strategy was employed by the researcher in the study as it is vital, for purposes of time management and avoiding generalization of the whole area of Manicaland, Chipinge district in ward 4 was the case study. Sampling as a strategy allowed the conversation between those that are known to be participants and the traditional healers to give the researcher more information regarding the study.

1.10.7 Primary data collection

The research was based on primary data collection, the data was collected from the field this was achieved through interviews, questionnaires as well as observation. The study used primary data collection because the relevant information came directly from the active participants.

1.12 Ethical considerations.

Ethical considerations were also observed by the researcher especially those familiar in the qualitative research these included the 3 core principles which are respect of communities, justice as well as respect of persons regardless of age, ethnicity will be most researchers priority during the research. Citations were made to avoid academic offence of plagiarism as well as confidentiality and anonymity were maintained as no information was revealed concerning the participants.

1.13Conclusions

This study focused on the introduction of study, statement of the problem, background of study, research questions, objectives of study, significance of the study, research methodology limitations of the study, ethical considerations

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Chapter 1

A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF INDIGENIOUS MEDICAL KNOWLEDGE AND ZINATHA

1.0. Introduction

The chapter focuses on various ways on how indigenous medical knowledge and traditional healers helped people who were suffering from various ailments recover . The chapter also looks at how traditional medicines were used at different times . The aim of the chapter is to emphasize that people have relied on indigenous medical knowledge or traditional medicines in addressing various health challenges that they have encountered in their lives .

1.1 Definition of Indigenous Medical Knowledge

Indigenous medical knowledge is also referred to as traditional medicine . It is also unique to a given geographical area and culture . According to Masocha indigenous medical knowledge , is the knowledge that people in a particular geographical area have developed over time and continue to develop ¹. The knowledge is based on one's experience and it is adopted to the local culture and environments , it is in the form of skills , beliefs , value systems and concepts that are passed verbally from one generation to another . It is like inheritance due to the fact that those that are left are the ones who continue to possess the knowledge ² . Indigenous medical knowledge is part and parcel of the people who live in both urban and rural areas.

To a greater extent the livelihood of both urban and rural folks depend mainly on traditional medicinal that is at their disposal . Traditional medicine is indeed, locally found and it plays a very important role in providing health to people . Therefore one may say that indigenous medical knowledge is the form of knowledge that people started using before colonialism which is important in their lives of people .

1.2. The pre-colonial experiences.

African people have relied on indigenous medicinal or traditional medicines for their survival on a daily basis before colonialism . Traditional medicines have been part of the lives of African people for a long time . Hence such knowledge and traditional medicines have helped many African people in providing solutions to the ailments they have been suffering from . Bhebhe notes that before the African conquest by Europe ,Africans had built up a pool of knowledge and technology which they used to boost and sustain their agriculture , health and in caring out different activities ⁶ . About 80% of Africa's population still depend on traditional medicines for its primary health needs ⁷ .The role that has been played by indigenous medical knowledge and traditional healers in treating stroke should not be taken for granted .

Different ailments or diseases in this case stroke which broke out during the pre – colonial era in Zimbabwe were easily addressed by the use of traditional medicines in the form of roots , tree bark and leaves. In pre –colonial Zimbabwe there was a strong reliance on traditional medicines by the chiefs , kings and the army before it was sent for an expedition to attack other armies ⁸ . Traditional herbs were not only meant for treatment of

ailments which affected people in general but also for their property in the form of animals which they owned .

Some ailments such as stroke and mental illness became new challenges to the society as they were aligned to witchcraft . Traditional healers and the availability of traditional medicines and the knowledge which people possessed helped among communities to minimize the risk of premature death in human beings and also played a pivotal role in the upkeep of their animals which they possessed which amounted to a lot of wealth .

Traditional medicine in form of herbs were mixed and given to soldiers before an expedition the process was for strengthening the soldiers , so that they may be strong compared to their enemies⁹. A traditional healer gave the medicine to the soldiers before and after the expedition . And in return the traditional healer was rewarded handsomely by the cattle which they would have taken from the enemies or neighboring states .

Indigenous medical knowledge was also used when women were delivering children . During the pre- colonial period there were no modern maternity wards which were there , people resorted to indigenous medicine or the indigenous way of giving birth. Old women who had gained the experience of African midwifery helped and became midwives in facilitating the safe birth of a child and the wellness of the mother as well. It is the knowledge they gained from the generations which have lived before them and it had become an inheritance . Such knowledge became important and in the lives of people .

In pre -colonial Africa traditional medicines were used by both the wealthy and poor , rulers and ruled , kings and subjects . The use of traditional medicines was not based on

gender or age as it was used by children , women and man in their society . According to Mudenge within the Mutapa royal courts there were diviners , (n'angas) traditional healers and herbalist to keep the royal family out of spells and misfortunes¹⁰. Indigenous medical knowledge was vital during the pre - colonial era in sustaining the king on power and in treating various ailments and preventing evil spells. The presence of the traditional healer within the Munhumutapa royal courts was necessary in curbing diseases and prevention of misfortune which could have fallen on the royal family . Certain herbs were believed to protect the royal family from both internal and external enemies spiritually . Traditional medicines is even used by even the wealthy people not because it is their only source of health care need but some ailments which are linked to witchcraft need an African solution as the ailment cannot easily be healed using modern medicines .

The duty of the traditional healer as indicated was important in providing protection in form of diseases and misfortunes in the royal family . Thus indigenous medical knowledge was vital within the various states . The Ndebele kings Lobengula and Mzilikazi strongly believed in witchcraft which had the capacity to cause diseases , misfortune and even deaths . In order to cope with the afore mentioned problems the knowledge of a diviner or traditional healer with the use of traditional medicines were used . The services of a traditional healer were sought and used .

In order for a king , chief or a leader to reign for a longer time they went through a process which is called kusimbisa or ukuqinisa which can be translated to make one strong¹¹ . Traditional medicines were made and mixed with other herbs and were given to that

particular king or chief to use . The medicines were meant to fortify , make them brave , strong and make them rule courageously for a longer period without the fear of misfortunes and evil spells which would have casted upon them . Thus it becomes evidence that politics and traditional medicines were intertwined .

Before going into battles the warriors were doctored by these diviners or traditional healers ¹² . Within the Zulu state soldiers were fortified , made to be brave through the use of traditional herbs which would be given to them . In the Ndebele State the same process was used of consulting the services of a traditional healer in seeking power over their enemies and emerge as victors . Within the Mutapa State warriors were feed with meat which was mixed with traditional herbs ,when they were going for battles . The process is commonly known as sunga (tsunga) which means tying . Traditional healers awarded handsomely with large herds of cattle after the return of soldiers . Indigenous medical knowledge was of importance in re affirming the power of leaders .

The livelihood of pre-colonial people depended entirely on indigenous medical knowledge in solving various health , social and political problems which they encountered .

The services of traditional healers were not free but people were charged to pay cattle or goods . Yet it is vital to note that the poor or commoners could afford the services of traditional healers but some -how they were cured if they suffered life threatening ailments such as stroke . Among the commoners during the pre-colonial era the majority of problems which needed attention included misfortune , sickness and evil spirits . Traditional medicines acted as a source of security or defense against evil doers which would have

been directed to various families by their enemies . It is paramount to note that indigenous medical knowledge was important to the livelihoods of ordinary people as they relied on it in curing ailments that were believed to have been caused by the creator , those that were believed to have been caused by evil spirits and largely those that were caused by witchcraft which include stroke .

1.3 .Indigenous medical knowledge during the colonial period in Zimbabwe.

On the advent of colonialism in Africa , the majority of people who had relied on traditional medicines some were forced to abandon it as it was demonized and persecuted . However the use of traditional medicines had become a culture which could not just be uprooted within the African Society . Colonialism also made the African people with particular reference to the Zimbabwean people depend more on traditional medicines and the prevailing situations encouraged people to seek the services of traditional healers problems . The hospitals and clinics which were there were expensive and a lot of these workers in mines and industries could not manage the services of the hospitals thus they had to rely on traditional medicines to cure the sexual transmitted infections .

Apartheid policies which were deliberately set by the colonial government encouraged people to practice indigenous medical knowledge ¹⁴. Hospitals were segregated according to race , the hospitals that catered for blacks were poorly equipped . The only medicine found in hospitals that were meant for blacks was a pain easy tablet in mine hospitals¹⁵ . While on the other side the hospitals which were meant for whites had all the equipment

and medication. Workers who were poor sought alternative medicine which is traditional medicines and consulted the knowledge of traditional healers. The use of traditional medicines was either by voluntary means or by forced circumstances in the colonial period. Hence traditional medicines remain important to the lives of Africans.

General lack of trust by the black people on the western medicines made them to continue use traditional medicine which they trusted. The colonizers treated the blacks or colonized cruel, thus that became a clear indication that they could not trust the whites even their services which were offered to them through western medicines. During the colonial period the colonized relied on traditional herbs and diviners, traditional healers to cast away misfortune and evil spells which had been cast on them in the form of the colonizers.

The services of traditional healers and the use of traditional medicines was used during the liberation war which was fought especially in Zimbabwe. The services of spirit mediums during the first chimurenga were important¹⁶. Spirit mediums such as sekuru Kaguvi, Mukwati, mbuya Nehanda were important in uniting people to fight for a common cause during the first chimurenga. While shrines such as Njelele and Matojeni where spirit mediums resided were visited frequently by nationalist leaders as they sought ways of escaping out of the bondage of colonialism¹⁷. Even during the second chimurenga nationalist leaders sought the services of traditional healers, diviners and spirit mediums. Colonialism made the Africans to rely more on indigenous medicines more as it provided them with solutions to the problems they were facing.

1.4 Indigenous medical knowledge in post-colonial period

The use of traditional medicines , herbs and consultation of traditional healers did not end during the fight for the liberation struggle in many African countries . Many of the African people seek the services of traditional healers in post- independence Zimbabwe despite the construction of hospitals . World Health Organization notes that 80% of the African population use traditional medicines¹⁸ .Indigenous medical knowledge and the use of traditional medicines has remained as a practice in independent Africa as primary health care . Women, men and children use traditional medicines in post independent Africa either due to scarcity of drugs in modern hospitals or high prices .

Western medicines in independent Africa is expensive and not everyone can manage to go the modern hospitals and health facilities . For treating various ailments that most Africans especially in Zimbabwe that people are suffering from they seek traditional medicines . Medicines for treating abdominal pains , sexual transmitted infections , infertility , suppression of symptoms of HIV , for cancer for all these diseases there are African traditional medicines that people are using in order to cure or suppress the disease¹⁹ . The money which they are charged or which they pay to the herbalist or traditional healer is cheaper and sometimes pay in goods . Yet a contrast with the Western medical health facilities they charge exorbitant fees for consultation and purchasing of medicines . Thus many Zimbabwean's cannot afford to pay such huge money to these health facilities due to the fact there are unemployed and cannot afford such huge sums of money .

Shortage of trained personnel in these health institutions have forced people to resort to the use of traditional medicines and the knowledge of traditional healers and diviners .

The economic meltdown that has faced Zimbabwe has forced doctors and nurses of Zimbabwe to actually embark on an exodus in search of greener pastures in diaspora . This exodus or brain drain has grossly affected the health system of Zimbabwe and it has drove many people into using traditional medicines and made them to consult traditional healers and herbalist so that they could be treated for stroke . The distance that people have to travel in order to seek medication are long thereby make people to resort to traditional medicines. Traditional medicines have remained important in post independent Zimbabwe for treating ailments such as stroke which is believed to be caused witchcraft. Stroke has been a life threatening ailment which has affected any people , the ailment has also been linked to witchcraft and as such in most instances it will only require the expertise of traditional healers to cure it .

1.5. conclusion

The chapter looked at the various ways which traditional medicines were used during the pre-colonial era , the chapter also explored how traditional herbs and practices of diviners and spirit mediums which benefited the nationalist leaders during the liberation wars . The reasons on how people continue to use traditional medicine in post – independent has been unraveled in the chapter. Some ailments which are believed to be linked to witchcraft which can only be cured by traditional means and cannot be cured by modern medicines such as stroke and mental illness .

End Notes.

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Chapter 2

An investigation on the factors that are encouraging people to use IMK and challenges faced by IMK.

2.1 Introduction

The chapter looks at the factors that have made the people of Chipinge to seek the services of traditional healers . The chapter assess the negative and positive impacts of indigenous medical knowledge in treatment of stroke . Indigenous medical knowledge has also been marred with controversy or challenges thus they will also be looked at as well in the chapter . The main emphasis is that although people of Chipinge use traditional medicines for treating stroke and other diseases traditional medicines also have some challenges that have been associated with it .

2.2 Factors that have pushed people to continue using indigenous medical knowledge .

Indigenous medical knowledge which encompasses skills , and knowledge pertaining the treatment of ailments have played a pivotal role in providing health care to the people of Chipinge . Traditional medicines is the ancient form of health care system that have survived for many years . It has remained the main source of medical care for the entire Chipinge rural population . The main driving factor towards the use of traditional medicines and consultation of traditional healers has been failure to access modern medicines .¹ People in ward 4 Chipinge West rely on traditional medicines for their health care needs due to the fact that they cannot easily access health care facilities that issue out modern medicines . Distance is a huge barrier that has hindered people to seek modern medicines from clinics that are located far away from them² . Thus in cases of

stroke and other life threatening ailments people seek the services of traditional healers who are within their vicinity and who have a good reputation in treating ailments .

People have to travel long distances in order to seek the services of modern health facilities as there are far away from some people . Stroke as is it is a life threatening ailment which needs urgent treatment people usually seek the services of traditional healers . The fact that stroke is believed to be intertwined with witchcraft thus it requires urgency in order to chase away the agents of withes which would have been sent to cause harm to the affected people . People therefore first consult the services of traditional healers and then they proceed to seek the help of modern health facilities . If they also realize that modern medicine is not helping as per their expectation's they go back and seek the services of traditional medicine .² People in Chipinge embrace both modes of seeking medicines as their first choice however being traditional medicine as it is available to them more easily than modern facilities which are far away from them .

Poverty has also attributed to a larger percentage of the population using traditional medicines . The majority of people in Chipinge cannot manage to pay for even the services that are rendered by the modern facilities . Stroke as an ailment is very expensive to cure and later on to manage after the patient had been discharged from the clinic .³ The charges that are charged by modern health facilities chase away the majority of people who cannot manage to pay for medication as they are poor . The majority of people in Ward 4 of Chipinge are unemployed and their lives are characterized by abject poverty making it hard for them to seek for money to pay for modern medicines .while if they go to traditional healers they are charged a few goods and less money compared to western medicines which charge exorbitant fees . Thus poverty has contributed and has

made people to seek the services of traditional healers as they cannot afford to pay for the services rendered .

Culture has played a major role in making people to continue seek the services of traditional healers . Indigenous medical knowledge has been passed from one generation to another , Chavunduka likens it to inheritance which has been left to the survival to benefit from . Traditional medicines has been and continue to be important to the people of Chipinge .⁴ It has been part of their culture and their lives as well thus it has been practiced for so many years and it has worked for them . Such practices have worked for them and traditional healers they gained trust from people who know them and people around them . If some has been beaten by zvikwambo or has stroke and supposedly they seek the services of a traditional healers and they get healed . It becomes the norm that if anyone encounters a similar problem they will seek the services of that particular traditional healer . Culture has been a major contributing factor on people using traditional medicines as their health care facility . In Chipinge traditional healers have and re still enjoying the high prestige within their own community , thus they are playing a huge role in the provision of health care .

The traditional healers are well vexed with the people and how the community of that particular person functions thus it becomes easy to find the cause and what might be needed to cure that ailment such as stroke . The relationship that exist between the healer and the patient is very important within the society as it can contribute to the healing of a patient . Traditional healers remain discreet about what would they would have discussed with their customers .⁵ Confidentiality remains important between these people

thus the traditional healer and patient . In treatment of the ailment they work on the body and mind to treat the ailment .

The use of traditional medicines does not mean that it is due to the fact that it is not expensive , but it has to be highlighted that some diseases do not simply heal from modern medicines . Modern medicines have failed or taken long to cure some ailments that include stroke thus people tend to consult traditional healers to provide solutions . Problems such as jeko severe period pain , nhova do not easily heal from modern medicines in order to fully address the situation of such ailments the expertise of traditional healers is sought .⁷

Fear of witchcraft is also considered as one of the driving forces behind people consulting traditional healers . Beside seeking treatment to treat various ailments that are incurable by modern medicines people seek or ailments that take long to be treated by modern medicines . Many people simply consult traditional healers to seek immunity from sickness especially which is caused by agents of witchcraft such as zvikwambo . Thus their houses are protected by burying medicines that are meant to chase away or act as deterrent medicines against witchcraft and its spirits which cause ailments such as stroke. Various people of all gender consult traditional healers because of the various problems.

2.3 Impacts of indigenous medical knowledge in treatment of stroke .

Indigenous medical knowledge has played a pivotal role in combating ailments such as stroke in Chipinge . Traditional medicines and indigenous knowledge have proved to work in treating patients with stroke . This has enabled people to seek early treatment

from the traditional healers to help cure the ailment which had been linked to witchcraft . Indigenous medical knowledge is not static but it revolves and change with time , and according to the ailment which is being treated . As stroke was mainly perceived as an ailment which was solely caused by agents of witchcraft which include zvikwambo , due to changing times so does the indigenous medical knowledge change as well .

Through the consultation of traditional healers and use of various medicinal which include chifumuro the perception of stroke being strongly linked to witchcraft has changed . People in most rural parts of Chipinge especially in ward 4 did realize that stroke was an ailment which could happen to anyone . The ailment affects the poor , wealthy and in most cases the old in the society thereby the ailment universally affect people regardless of what they own .

Traditional medicines are cost effective , people tend to cut expenses by not going to modern health facilities . They no longer have to travel long distances to the modern health facilities as they can seek help within their vicinity . Traditional healers have played a pivotal role in providing primary health care to the people of rural Chipinge those that live in areas that are far away seek the services of traditional healers .

2.4 Indigenous ways of preventing stroke .

People who are usually affected by stroke are the old in the society however no exceptions have to be given to the young ones especially the youths they may suffer from stroke . To the old people stroke is caused by hypertension and to the males it is caused by alcohol abuse and smoking . In the district of Chipinge in ward 3 and 4 the majority of men who suffered from stroke were alcohol abusers and some of them they

had been chain smokers for so many years .Hence such realization have been made and therefore the majority of people have started demystifying stroke as an ailment which is there and that it is caused by a lot reasons .⁸ The fact that witchcraft and stroke are intertwined that particular belief haven't died yet in the minds of the majority of people . Thus some elders have remained rooted in the old belief that stroke is caused by witchcraft . The abuse of sope which is a traditional beer locally brewed has been discouraged so that people may not increase the chances of being affected by stroke⁸ . The abuse of either alcohol and smoking either chimonera tobacco , cigarettes and marijuana has been discouraged as these practices increase the chances of suffering from stroke .

Eating healthy foods has been encouraged as it encourages and promote good health amongst people . People have been urged to eat healthy foods and change their lifestyle , however these healthy foods do not have to be purchased from far - away places but it is found locally in their gardens and in their fields . Foodstuffs such as matamba , munyi , groundnuts and many other locally available fruits if eaten may reduce the risk of being affected by stroke . As stroke is caused by other factors that are far away from witchcraft .⁹

A lot of people now understand that stroke is caused not only by witchcraft as viewed by other people . In order to avoid stroke the majority of people have been encouraged to eat healthy traditional foods which have low cholesterol so that they may not become obese and increase the chances of causing stroke . Healthy living gospel have been preached by and the knowledge has been transferred , vegetables such as mutsine or

black jack is being eaten so that people may not become prone to be attacked by stroke in the area of ward 4 . Having a healthy diet can also help in preventing stroke .

As stroke it is linked to witchcraft and it is believed that it comes as a result of witchcraft . The majority of people have resorted or it is believed in the area of Chisumbanje that people should have good relations with their neighbors and family members as they are capable of sending agents of witchcraft to come and attack people with stroke . The best way of preventing stroke or kurohwa nezvinhu it is believed that people should not quarrel or make their neighbors angry . The aspect of living in peace and harmony is valued in Chisumbanje and if one neighbor slaughter a goat or cow he shares with his other neighbors and relatives so that they may not be hated and be bewitched .¹⁰

2.5 Non Indigenous ways of preventing stroke.

Stroke as an ailment can be prevented or the risk may be reduced . People are encouraged to engage in a quite a number of activities , such as exercise of the body . The body and mind have to exercise in order to be both physical and mentally fit . Stress have been the major contributor of stroke and as such people are encouraged to seek spiritual help in terms of supplication and prayers . Those that are obese have to go to and work out in gyms so that they may cut and reduce their fats .

2.6 General challenges that are facing indigenous medical knowledge .

Indigenous medical knowledge have faced a lot of challenges in its implementation in the society of Chisumbanje . The fact that people who seek the help of traditional healers travel secretly and they do not want to be known by the society that they consult

traditional healers . Day it is associated with light and at night it is associated with darkness and evil thus . People who seek the help of traditional healers at night are associated with darkness that on its own is a major challenge as people do not feel free to consult traditional healers at day . Mazvima notes that people fear stigma if they seek help of traditional healers at day , so they go at night . It is also referred to as ' kufamba ' to walk and not visiting as compared to what it is called by people who go to modern medicine centers.¹¹ Seeking help from traditional healers the people who would have gone to the traditional healers keep it a secret even to some of the family members .

The other problem is that it is mythicized and it is linked with witchcraft . Thus traditional medicines are kept as a secret , the herbs that heal ailments that are believed to be associated with witchcraft and some which are problematic are not known by many people . Traditional medicines are kept as secret to the entire public domain , Bourdillion noted that keeping the traditional medicine as a secret it is a way which allows them to get money as many people who would have suffered from that ailment will consult the services of traditional healers.¹² The knowledge of traditional medicines that particularly heal stroke remain unknown to other members of the society as it is kept a secret . Thus it becomes a challenge to the entire people as the knowledge remains a mystery . This act hinders the implementation of indigenous medical knowledge to full capacity and will make sure that some ailments that can be easily cured to be complicated and will result in some people dying as they will not be knowing the herb which treat the ailment . Some people will also lose their lives as it will take time for them to reach traditional healers .

Shortages of botanical gardens in the area is also a major challenge which have affected the lives of people in Chisumbanje and other wards such as ward 4 and 5 . The traditional medicines are lost and are not preserved vast knowledge is not kept . Botanical gardens are important in preserving the important herbs that help people in providing primary health care . The challenges on shortages of botanical gardens have led to the shortages of important herbs being found in the area thus the majority of people , traditional healers have to travel long distance to seek other important herbs which are used . Shortages of traditional medicines in the area have been a major crisis . Knowledge should be invested in botanical garden's so as to ensure that it remains a heritage which should be conserved .

The vast of knowledge and experiences that have been gained by the old people of the society of Chipinge is being lost at an alarming rate . This knowledge regarding traditional healers is being lost through lack of documentation as this knowledge is transmitted from one generation to another through word of mouth . Thus the knowledge is kept in the minds of people and such knowledge may be easily distorted or lost as it is subject to change depending on how the person may wish to say it to some people . Lack of proper documentation illegalize traditional medicines and it is not taken seriously although it helps people to a greater extent in treating ailments such as stroke .

IMK has also been regarded as unscientific by some health workers and people in the area have been discouraged from seeking help from such traditional healers as their work is not taken seriously and is taken for granted . Their medicines are not tested in laboratories and therefore viewed as a joke . Traditional medicines are disrespected in the

area of Chisumbanje although people still continue to use it in curing ailments such as stroke which are seen to be problematic in the area as there are linked with witchcraft .

Hence for IMK to be fully appreciated by scores of people in the area of Chipinge , the government should make sure that they co-operate traditional medicines and modern medicines these should be made to work together regardless of their differences . The goal is to provide primary health care which is cheap to people and heal ailments that are breaking out and those are persisting .

2.7 Conclusion

Indigenous medical knowledge has played an important role in providing primary health care to people who are suffering from stroke . The chapter looked at various ways factors that include social and economic factors that have pushed people to use traditional medicines . Skyrocketed prices in seeking modern medicines have pushed people especially in rural areas to trust traditional medicines . The chapter also looked the impacts that have been made by traditional medicines in healing people . Indigenous ways of preventing stroke have also been highlighted in the chapter as well as non-indigenous medical knowledge ways which are used to prevent stroke have been mentioned in the chapter . The chapter went on to look at the various challenges which IMK has encountered in its implementation and which has made it impossible to be successful in treating ailments such as stroke .

ENDNOTES

1. M.F.C Bourdillon ; Where are the ancestors? Changing culture in Zimbabwe; (UZ Publications p. 23
- 2 .Interview with local pastor Chawurura of AFM (Ward 6) 10 September 2016.
- 3 .Interview with community clinic sister Phiri (ward 7) 12 September 2016.
4. G.L Chavunduka Traditional Medicine in Modern Zimbabwe , University of Zimbabwe Publications , Harare 1994 P.7
- 5.Ibid p.12
- 6.Interview with Ambuya Khosi traditional healer (ward 4) 11 September 2016.
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Chapter 3

Indigenous medical knowledge and the treatment of stroke in Chipinge District 1980 – 2015.

3.0 Introduction

The chapter focuses on what people in Chipinge perceive to be the cause stroke . The chapter also explores on the findings of various indigenous medical knowledge system that have been used to heal stroke . The aim is to emphasize how indigenous medical knowledge system or traditional medicines have been used to treat stroke in rural Chipinge .

3.1 Causation Of Ailments as perceived by Ndau .

Diseases that are affecting people their causation is categorized into three main branches thus diseases that are caused by God (zvirwere zvaMwari) . The Ndau people believes that some ailments are natural and as such there are sent by God who is the creator . These diseases come as a punishment from the creator and they are meant to make people repent and conform from their wrongdoing . Such ailments are not associated with any harm and examples range from cough , abdominal pains¹ . Chavunduka said that some ailments result from defying the rules of nature such as engaging in sexual intercourse with your wife while she is on her menstrual cycle² . Culturally it is believed that she will be unclean and hence by engaging in sexual activities will result in men suffering ailment .

There also diseases which are as a result of evil spirits or (zvirwere zvemweya) , these ailments are associated with evil and are stigmatized by society ailments such as tuberculosis is viewed as a disease which is a result of spirits . Thirdly the last class of diseases which the Ndau people believe in are diseases which are caused by witchcraft . These ailments are not easy to understand in terms of their cause and symptoms that are associated with the ailment . If the symptoms are

not easily understood by the majority of the elders of the population the ailment become classified under witchcraft (uroyi) and also if the ailment is new to the environment. Witches are believed to use goblins (zvikiwambo), traditional medicines and many other objects that include barks of trees and roots, to attack their targets. In most cases people are attacked by landmines (zvitsinga) which are placed either on roads or sent directly to the targets home. Stroke as an ailment was classified and categorized under witchcraft by many Ndaou people as the ailment was unknown and new to the area, the cause of the diseases was strongly aligned to witchcraft uroyi.

Stroke is not a new phenomenon in Chipinge area, it is an ailment which many people have suffered from before the advent of colonialism even into colonialism and post colonialism. Traditional medicines have played a role in providing help to the affected people before the introduction of clinics. In contemporary Zimbabwe the high prices that are charged by health institutions have forced many people who are already languishing in poverty to seek alternative medicines in the form of traditional medicines in treating stroke³. Various myths have been aligned as the cause of stroke by many rural people during the early days of attaining independence in Zimbabwe. Stroke has been closely linked to witchcraft by many people in Chipinge area.

Stroke is an ailment caused by failure of the blood to flow from the rest of the body to the brain containing oxygen. The blood vessels that would have burst create clots thereby making it difficult for the blood containing oxygen to flow and reach the brain and it causes brain damage. Like many other ailments that people have suffered from, stroke as an ailment has been strongly linked to witchcraft as the cause of the ailment. Agents of witchcraft are believed to be the main agents of causing the ailment. In Chipinge District stroke is not divorced from the works of witchcraft.

People that suffer from stroke usually lose control of the other side of their bodies , for instance the other half of the body may become paralyzed and cease to function .The ailment was new to the people of Chipinge district either its origins or causes have been understood by people in that particular area . Many people who witnessed their relatives or suffered from strokes said that they had suffered that ailment as a result of zvikwambo which had been sent to them ‘ kurohwa nezvinhu’ to be hit by things which are unseen .To make things worse the victims of the ailment suffer deformity on their bodies , numb bodies some are unable to walk , mental problems also arise due to stroke and this become associated with witchcraft as people will be regarded as vakutopenga and will be perceived as results of witchcraft which will be directly or indirectly caused by witches due to jealousy by members of the society or close relatives who would not be happy due to some developments and progress that the particular person would have made⁴. As a result it stirs anger and jealousy within a given community and it results in the manifestations of evil thoughts .Sekuru Godobo said he perceives stroke to be a an ailment sent by the devil himself and that it is witchcraft⁵ .

The disease is characterized by loss of speech thus the affected people fail to communicate with their relatives . The patients even fail to utter a single word .Some begin to talk like children with words that make no sense at all . Loss of words is also intertwined with mental oriented problems that may cause one to act like they are not mental well .This ailment reduces a big and grown man to talk like a child .These are the works of witchcraft and nothing else it reduces a man to become like a small born child⁶. Stroke as a disease that people suffer from have been attributed to witchcraft due to its symptoms that become visible .

Relatives of those people that have nursed people who have suffered from stroke indicate that people just fell .Mbuya Mugobo cites that she just heard something falling , when she checked she realized that it was her son who was in a form of a trance who had fell and was not talking .She reiterate that the first thing she did was to take coarse salt which is strongly believed

that it can send away any witchcraft . She says that her son was bewitched by jealous relatives as he had passed his tertiary education and graduated from the University of Zimbabwe .If cases of people who suffer from the same ailment occur the Ndaus explain the scenario as the rise of witchcraft within the area⁷ .

3.2 The treatment of stroke .

Local problems require local solutions . The people in Chisumbanje rely on traditional medicines for the ailments that they suffer from . The expertise of traditional healers are sought to treat ailments such as stroke kurohwa nezvikwabo which are linked to witchcraft . The people of have traditionally relied on the traditional healers to provide solutions to the ailments that become rife in the area . People say that during distant past , pasichigare their forefathers sought the services of traditional healers to address the issues pertaining health . Stroke or kurohwa nezvikwambo as it was associated with witchcraft by the people in the area the ailment needed the traditional healers intervention in order to find the cause , heal the ailment and find protect the ailment from reoccurring .

Various forms of healing are employed by the traditional healer . The Ndaus believe that the traditional healing approach used is holistic as it seek to address not only the causes but it goes a step further and heal the pain that would be felt by the patient . Traditional healing looks at both the physical and metaphysical world⁸ . The traditional healer uses variety of approaches in dealing with ailments such as stroke . There is the use hakata and these are small yet vital tools for the traditional healers . The hakata are made by materials such as pieces of bones and wood and each and every piece has a different symbol and it carries a certain image that it represent . When a patient suffering from

stroke is brought to the traditional healer bones or hakata is cast down by the traditional healer it gives various interpretation pertaining the cause and the medicines to be given to the person . The hakata depending on the way they fall the bones have different meanings and should be interpreted as they fall by the traditional healer⁹.

The traditional healer may also use other methods such as cutting incisions and put traditional herbs mixed with other roots to treat the ailment . As witchcraft is believed to be the product of envy , hatred , quarreling and competition for status in the community or amongst the relatives . In cases of quarreling with either neighbors or people show their anger and hatred and they insinuate statements such as handinzwaro ini uchandiona you cannot do that to me . The Ndau people do not take lightly such statements as “uchandiona ” within the Ndau community these statements are pregnant with hidden meaning and people usually harm each some people face misfortune other after these words had been said .

The medicine may be administered to the patient by means or process kwon as kuruma biting . When the patient approaches a traditional healer seeking help for treating stroke different approaches may be used including kuruma . This is whereby a traditional healer through the healing spirit which would be in him at that particular time bite were the pain is said to be as a way of healing the body part which is affected . The process is also known as extraction and the mouth and teeth are used to extract some ailments are believed that they can only leave the body through extracting the root cause . In many instances the extracted thing is not showed the patient for purpose that they may not recover from stroke when they see the extracted object or that the object may cause blindness to the same person¹⁰ .

Another form of healing used is the of blowing smoke , a clay pot is filled with herbs which are meant to chase away the bad spirits which may be the cause of stroke . The room is closed , doors are shut as well as windows and the herbs in a clay pot hari are lit . The smoke which is produced is the medicine which is meant to heal the person from stroke . Evil and bad spirits which would have been sent by enemies or witches are meant to vacate from the body of the person as these are the causes of diseases . Blowing of smoke heals holistically as it chases away the evil spirits and leave the person as they free the person from the disease .

The healer may also get to know the medicines which they are supposed to use in the treatment of ailments through dreaming . While they are sleeping they get to know various forms of herbs their names and their location and the ailment which they can treat . There are spirits that visit the traditional healer and show them the antidote for treating various ailments including stroke .The traditional healer may also know the various herbs which are used for treating stroke through apprenticeship , were by a at a tender age they learn about certain herbs which are used by travelling with traditional healers practitioner as they will be looking for their various medicinal . Thus the young boy is taught the name and which part of the plant is used to treat the disease , it becomes knowledge that he possess and he grows up with it and may heal ailment

When a patient visit a traditional healer and the disease is unknown to the traditional healer . The traditional healer comes to know of the disease that the person may be suffering from through a spirit which visit which is known as svikiro . When the spirit visit it communicates through the body of the host . The body becomes the vessel in which the svikiro communicates its message through . The svikiro may state the cause of

the ailment , it may also state the person who may be behind the causation of the ailment and it will show the traditional healer the antidote or medicine which is required to cure the ailment¹⁰ . The traditional healer acts on the instruction that he would have received from the spirit in order to heal the patient .

Some of the traditional medicines for treating stroke which were prepared by the traditional healers include body wash . The herbs or medicine would be prepared , using crushed roots , stems , leaves and bark of certain herbs . Traditional healing its approaches is holistic as it look at the causes and it heals the ailment . Hence body wash remedy is suggested and recommended to the affected people of stroke as the ailment can be washed away through bathing using the body wash . Stroke is an ailment which is believed to be caused by agents of witchcraft zvikwambo thus as way of chasing the zvikwambo away there is need for bathing using the traditional medicines as a way of healing and deterring further attacks from the zvikwabo again . Bathing using the body wash is viewed as a way of purifying the whole body of the affected person .

The ailment is also believed that it enters the body through kudyiswa by agents of witchcraft such as zvikwambo . People who end up affected by witchcraft which will manifest as stroke confess that they had dreams feasting on the most delicious dishes in their dreams in form of meat and other dishes . By eating in their dreams they are being bewitched . The antidote for being fed food by bad spirits is through emetic or being given vomiting mixtures will require the person to consume . Through vomiting the person becomes whole and well again .

Ailments and witchcraft are also linked to the environment , as spirits can enter the homes and cause ailments . As stroke is linked to witchcraft people seek the help of traditional healers to protect homes . Traditional medicines are planted around the homes as way of deterring against the witchcraft and evil spirits usually traditional medicines put the medicine in a horn known as gona . The medicines which are planted around the house as means of protection .

. The traditional medicines are meant to cleanse the blood . When ailments enter the body they enter into the bloodstream as well thus it will require the services of a traditional healer to cleanse the blood . The blood is cleaned through purges or cutting incision known as nyora . When a nyora is cut traditional medicine is applied over rubbing the medicine into the cutting or kukwizira . Some of the medicine is also administered to them through eating food which would have been mixed with traditional medicines meant to heal the ailment and cleanse the blood .

In most cases after such words have been evoked such as uchandiona most of the people say surely they saw the repercussions and they witnessed or saw what the person meant . other people that have suffered from stroke have also been victims or they had been threatened by the words such as uchandiona and they attributed it to witchcraft . When people say uchandiona they usually send their zvikwambo to render punishment to the victim and stroke becomes the ailment which they suffer from as the zvikwambo are believed that they can beat up a person and leave them unable to walk , with deformity , having their mouths on the side . Despite the fact that the affected person had suffered stroke or that it had not yet manifested itself prior to the words which were said thus what is believed are the words when the person becomes paralyzed with stroke .

Disagreements quarrels may lead to people sending each other zvikwambo to harm each other .

Status competition may also become something that a witch may bewitch a certain individual who has progressed or attained a specific asset . People who may attain a car especially in Chisumbanje while others do not have such people are prone to be bewitched by witches . Attaining certain material things such as having many heads of cows , having children who support their parents while they are in either south Africa , Botswana and Mozambique can be a good invitation to the witches . Zvikwambo may be sent even by failing to give your neighbor a cup of sugar when they had asked for it¹² . Thus there are members of the society who are suspected to be witches but it is not part of their human nature to call one a witch or wizard as at times there is lack of proof . Thus in order to cure ailments which during the pre-colonial times was considered to be caused by agents of witchcraft the ideology also did not end during colonialism but it spread like veld fire among people . The end of colonialism did not end the tag name of stroke being associated with witchcraft . People who suffered stroke consulted traditional healers to get help in treating the ailment . Indigenous medical knowledge played a pivotal role in the provision of treatment for stroke .

In terms of payment people were made to pay after their patient had shown some sign of recovery . Payment especially of ailments which needed the chikwambo to be extracted from the patient were paid with livestock

The people in Chisumbanje area when they suffer or their relatives suffer from stroke they visit the traditional healer and get access to the traditional medicines and they

continue to visit the modern health facilities to seek help . After visiting the modern health facilities they even visit traditional healer again in order to consolidate and make sure that the given medicine work¹³ .

3.3 Conclusion

Conclusively the chapter's thrust was to look at the different ways that cause ailments in the Ndau context . The chapter indicated that there are three main ways that the people in the area consider to be the main cause of ailments which include ailments that are caused by God *zvirewe zvaMwari* or natural ailments that happen because the creator allowed them . There are those that are caused by dirty spirits or *mweya yetsvina* these ailments are contagious and are stigmatized by the society and there are those that are caused by witchcraft in this category stroke is also believed to be the product . The chapter also looked at how stroke is healed or treated in the area . Various forms of treatment which include casting *hakata* , cleansing of blood , planting medicine around the house , vomiting mixture , body wash , extraction of the ailment through cutting *nyora* and incision . The chapter also gave an overview of how stroke as an ailment is linked to witchcraft in Chipinge . The main emphasis of the chapter was to look at different methodologies that are used by the traditional healer to treat the disease .

ENDNOTES

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- 5.Interview with community traditional healer Godobo (ward 5) 24 August 2016 .
6. Interview with community member (ward 5) 26 August 2016 .
7. Interview with Sub Headman Moyana (ward 5) 26 August 2016.
8. Interview with traditional healer Marowa (ward 5) 26 August
- 9.Ibid .26 August 2016.
- 10.Ibid 26 August 2016.
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CONCLUSION

It becomes difficult for one to separate ailments from the lives of people. Many people in Zimbabwe have and still depend on IMK for treating various ailments that affect them in their daily livelihood's. A lot of people in rural Zimbabwe face a host of challenges in trying to seek health care needs. Sometimes these livelihoods of these people are threatened by various ailments that breakout, stroke has been an ailment which has posed great danger and threat to the lives of people. The researcher had to look at the use of IMK in Chipinge District in treating stroke.

Many people in Chipinge District rely on traditional medicines and they consult traditional healers who provide antidotes for the various ailments they will be suffering from. Modern medicines although it was introduced in Zimbabwe generally still many people consult traditional healers and greatly rely on indigenous medical knowledge and skills which they gained in treating ailments that are varied. People in the area have not lost contact with their indigenous ways of living or treatment of ailments.

The study reveal that the people in the area of Chipinge especially in Chisumbanje, ward 4 and ward 5 strongly believe that the causation of disease is in three forms or categories, thus ailments that are caused by God which are perceived to be natural ailments. There are those that are viewed to be caused by bad spirits *zvirewe* *zvemweya*. These ailments are stigmatized and are highly contagious ailments such as tuberculosis are associated with this category. Then the last category being those that are caused by witchcraft *uroyi*. These ailments are caused by agents of witchcraft and the ailments are dangerous as they are intended to cause harm and killing as well. Stroke is an ailment is strongly linked to witchcraft in the area of Chipinge District. The main

cause of stroke is believed to be witchcraft by either close relatives or other members of the society and neighbors who are jealous .

The study gave an insight of the historical perspective on the use of IMK in Zimbabwe before colonialism during colonialism and how it has been used even in post - colonial era to combat ailments that are linked to witchcraft such as stroke . It was also highlighted that during pre-colonial times IMK was used by all social classes which include the rich and the poor , kings and subjects , young and old and masters and their slaves . Traditional medicines were universally used by all the people in the society . During the colonial era it was demonized as the colonialist sought to promote their religion which is Christianity at expense of the local religion . Outbreaks of ailments such as stroke made people who had abandoned their African religion to embrace it as they sought solutions to cure witchcraft related ailments . So during the post -colonial period people have found no problem in seeking medication from traditional healers and from modern health facilities as well .

The study went further to look at the various IMK methods that are used by traditional healers to cure stroke . Traditional healer employ various methods in treating people and preventing people to be attacked by witchcraft which cause ailments . Methods such as cutting incision , kuruma biting or extraction which is the use of mouth and teeth to bite off the ailment from the body of the person suffering from the ailment . Hakata is also used by these traditional healers which should be interpreted and meaning should be given according to what the bones will be saying , there is also the purification of blood of the person as people who are beaten or hit zvikwambo they suffer from some deformity . Smoking or kufungaidza is also another method which is used and which is

meant to chase away evil spirits which are sent by witches to cause stroke . Traditional medicines help in combating or providing cure to stroke as the traditional medicines seek to heal the mind , body and soul as it is holistic in its approach . The IMK does not deal with only the symptom but it penetrates deeper and look at the cause and it cures and cure the mind which would have been damaged as well .

Jealous is the root of witchcraft as people tend to hate and wish bad things towards those that would have succeeded in life or would have achieved certain goals . People in fear of witchcraft seek the services of traditional healers who protect their homes with special medicines which are renewed yearly . The researcher noted that stroke as ailment has been linked or said to be the works of the devil as it is believed that it is caused by witchcraft , fear has caused people to consult the services of traditional healers . IMK has been the thrust of many people and it has helped to cure ailments of so many people .

However the study reveals that there also non indigenous methods that are used to treat stroke , as the ailment has been demonized and been said to be caused by witchcraft alone . However there many factors which are uncontrollable which cause stroke amongst people .

The study also highlighted various ways or factors which have pushed people to consult traditional healers , factors such as poverty , long distance have also pushed people to seek traditional medicines which are locally found . The economic meltdown which occurred in Zimbabwe affected people even in Chipinge District as the few nurses who were deployed in the places , moved from their workplaces and ran away to seek for

greener pastures outside the country . Shortages of staff especially in these health institutions forced people to seek alternative medicines which includes skills and knowledge .

However IMK is associated with a lot of challenges which include the fact that it not documented , it lacks documentation . The information is orally passed from one generation to another through the word of mouth and people tend to doubt and disrespect the profession of traditional healers despite the fact that they are registered with the ZINATHA . The other challenge is said that it lacks scientific proof or research which is laboratory proven thus it is considered unscientific and perceived as magic . A lot of valuable medicinal trees are cut down and leading to shortages of medicines within their vicinity of area . Traditional healers are now forced to travel long distances in search of traditional herbs that can provide with medicines that combat ailments such as stroke . Hence there is the need to have botanical gardens in which people can plant their valuable trees and harvest later on .

The majority of people rely on IMK for their survival and in combating various ailments which are affecting people relentlessly ailments such as stroke which are linked to witchcraft . The factors which include non- documentation , overexploitation of these traditional medicines have made it difficult for the effectiveness of IMK and treatment of ailments . People in the area rely on IMK but in some cases they also seek modern health facilities to treat ailments that would have seemed problematic and complicated .

IMK should be promoted as it help those that are poor and it also help to cure ailments that are not easily cured by modern medicines . It is not the poor only that seek the

services of traditional healers but there are the wealthy that consult traditional healers due to some ailments that cannot be easily healed by modern medicines . People first use traditional medicines and afterwards they visit to the clinic and afterwards they go to the traditional healers to seek traditional medicines . For ailments that are related to witchcraft people consult traditional healers than modern health facilities .

APPENDIX

My name is Alister Chipanje . I am a student from the Midlands State University , studying Bachelors of Arts Honors Degree in History . I am researching on Indigenous medical knowledge in treating stroke in Chipinge District .

NB ; The information gathered will be treated with confidentiality and it will be used for the solely purpose of the study only .

Interview Questions

1. Do you consult traditional healers and why ?
2. Do you believe in witchcraft ?
3. To what extent do you rely on IMK and traditional healers ?
4. Is IMK effective in healing stroke and other stroke related ailments ?
5. What are the challenges that people who consult traditional healers face ?
6. What are the advantages of using IMK in treating ailments such as stroke?

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