PEOPLE, PLACE AND STORY: CONTEXTS FOR ICH IN DISASTER MITIGATION

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Introduction

Presented on the final day of the Asia-Pacific Regional Workshop on Intangible Cultural Heritage and Natural Disasters, this paper was designed to summarise and reflect on the diversity of ideas presented by intangible cultural heritage (ICH) and disaster scholars, practitioners and policy makers who presented at this forum. It is increasingly acknowledged within disaster studies that culture (including ICH) has an important role to play in disaster risk reduction (DRR), and that it is necessary to consider how individuals and communities produce risk and respond to disasters (Bankoff et al. 2015). Recognising that risk and disaster responses are culturally embedded, this paper proposes both a theoretical and a practical framework for enabling the culture and disaster fields to work together to support the use of ICH in reduce disaster risk reduction, and to strengthen and safeguard ICH or 'living heritage' exposed to disasters.

Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) is a relatively new concept both in the public domain and in the disaster risk reduction (DRR) field, where it is seldom explicitly identified as 'ICH'. In the literature on disasters, the concepts of 'local knowledge', 'indigenous knowledge', 'traditional knowledge' and 'traditional ecological knowledge' are more widely used and understood, and serve as a synonym or proxy for ICH. There is a growing body of literature, and numerous examples and case studies, that demonstrate how local knowledge and, by extension, ICH can play a crucial role in mitigation at every step of the disaster management cycle, from preparedness through to response and recovery.

The processes whereby disasters *impact* ICH are less well understood. Currently, Post-Disaster Needs Assessments (PDNAs) provide the only formal mechanism by which impacts to ICH are measured (Selter 2017). However, PDNA impacts are largely calculated in economic terms, in the context of overall 'damage and loss' to a country's cultural sector. Such calculations might give us insight into the effect of the disaster on, for instance, the ability of a practitioner to continue practicing his or her ICH in the immediate aftermath of disaster, but generally cannot tell us whether the overall viability of an ICH element – the ability for it to continue being practiced – has been compromised.

Previous investigations of the relationship between ICH and DRR have concerned the role of ICH in disasters and the impact on ICH of disasters. The IRCI workshop

provided a forum for expanding this bipartite view, recognising that disasters have the capacity to transform landscapes and lives to the extent that ICH is created or re-created through the disaster process, reflecting the fluidity of the cultural process and its relationship to individual and communal identity formation.

In this paper I re-present the People, Place, Story (PPS) model outlined in Wilson and Ballard (2017) as one possible mechanism for understanding how disaster knowledge is culturally constituted over the long-term, and for determining how disasters impact ICH. The paper concludes with a proposal for a pilot study, bringing together communities, ICH and disaster researchers, practitioners and policy makers to generate the baseline information required for embedding ICH within DRR frameworks, and for safeguarding ICH in the context of disasters.

The Role of ICH in Disaster Risk Reduction

Over the course of the workshop and during the fieldtrip to Onagawa Town (Miyagi Prefecture), participants were exposed to numerous examples of the specific and general roles that ICH plays in disaster mitigation and the building of disaster resilience in the Asia-Pacific region. Emphasis was placed on disasters that are associated with or triggered by natural hazards. There is increasing doubt about the validity of the term 'natural disaster' as it implies an absence of human agency (Cannon 2016: 26). A disaster associated with natural hazards is often caused by risks and vulnerabilities that exist within the impacted community and the local environment.

Numerous examples of the ways in which ICH is mobilized in disaster contexts are now available (Dekens 2007; Shaw et al. 2009; Wilson and Ballard 2017). Local disaster knowledge is commonly developed, modified and refined over long periods of time, in response to the experience of successive disasters. In this volume, Soledad Dalisay discusses how places of commemoration have played a significant role in defining individual and collective responses to disasters in the Philippines. Several contributors from Japan, including Hiromichi Kubota, Ryusuke Kodani, Tomoko Ichiyanagi, and Hiroki Takakura, describe the critical role of performance and ritual in disaster recovery after the 2011 tsunami. Melaia Tikoitaga illustrates how the *iTaukei* governance system in Fiji is crucial for maintaining resilience in disaster contexts and concomitantly reducing dependence on external aid.

ICH is never static, with both subtle shifts and major transformations in ICH practices occurring following or as a result of disasters. The 2011 tsunami in Japan led to the decimation of key individuals and ICH practitioners involved in local rituals, as well as key performance locations, forcing communities to rethink how best to proceed with their ICH practices in the face of such loss. The recording and analysis of these communal decision-making processes in the post-disaster context is fundamental to learning about both the impact of disasters on ICH and how ICH figures in post-disaster recovery. In Japan's tsunami-affected regions communities gravitated towards their rituals, viewed by many as having played a substantive role in restoring a sense of daily rhythm to people's lives (see Hiroki Takakura this volume).

Understanding the processes involved in rebuilding, reconfiguring and transmitting ICH in post-disaster contexts is fundamental to supporting disaster recovery and requires interdisciplinary collaboration. It is crucial that the culture and disaster fields work collaboratively in post-disaster environments to understand how ICH, 'living heritage', contributes to the ongoing health and wellbeing of disaster affected communities.

In the same vein, we must be mindful that resilience is unevenly distributed across societies. Certain individuals or sectors of society may not be privy to ICH disaster knowledge for political, cultural, economic or other reasons. As noted by Julie Dekens (2007: 32), '[w]e are not equal regarding access to, and benefits from, knowledge and information'.

Disasters and the Emergence of ICH

In addition to highlighting the role of ICH, the Sendai workshop shone a light on instances in which new ICH emerges or is created in the context of disasters. As former cultural landscapes are physically reconfigured by disasters, human relationships to their environment are likewise transformed. Former landscapes are relegated to memories while disaster landscapes become the new reality; a tangible signature of the disaster event. While communities proactively restore or rebuild their environments as part of the recovery processes, certain disaster-made features can be purposefully retained. Following the 2004 tsunami in Banda Aceh, Indonesia, some of the boats washed inland were memorialized and converted to tourist destinations. One boat perched on the top of a house in Lampulo village is revered for having saved the lives of 59 individuals (Beverage 2014).

Trinidad Rico (2014) regards heritage that emerges through and beyond disaster events as shifting the emphasis away from a 'heritage at risk' framework, which preferences the preservation and management of pre-tsunami landscapes and heritage, to the recognition of new or emerging ICH which is mobilized by communities to support their recovery and long-term resilience. As the 2003 ICH Convention recognizes and valorises heritage creation and re-creation over time, it is particularly well suited to examining the ways in which disasters and ICH reflect one other through time and reveal the human capacity for resilience in emergency situations.

Notably, however, 'disaster heritage' does not always serve the victims of disaster. The case of the 2008 Wenchuan earthquake in China is a cautionary tale of what happens when heritage is hijacked for political or economic gain. In Beichuan County, destroyed landscapes were turned into state-led tourism relics to support economic recovery, failing to take account of the impact of the heritagization of former homes and townships on local victims struggling to recover from the pain and trauma of this disaster (Mentec and Zhang 2017). Post-disaster contexts thus provide insights into the difference between 'disaster as opportunity', whereby communities use their new circumstances to reflect on and strengthen their capacity to deal with new disasters, and 'opportunistic' uses of disasters, involving the appropriation and decontextualization of heritage for political or other purposes (see Meskell 2018 for an in-depth discussion of the politics of heritage).

In this volume, Phan Phuong Anh emphasizes how certain ICH elements from Vietnam inscribed on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity have been appropriated for performance, stripped of their context and function and made immutable. Phan described this in her presentation as the 'theatricalization of ICH practices'. While ICH can emerge or be harnessed as a disaster recovery or risk reduction measure for custodial communities (as demonstrated by Aceh's tsunami boats), it can also be repackaged and repurposed as disaster tourism, or as theatre, primarily for the gaze of outsiders. However, as Ryusuke Kodani observes in this volume, there is also a danger implicit in not listing ICH practices: listed heritage elements that have been thoroughly documented tend to be afforded greater protection in disaster contexts than those not formally recognized or registered in some way.

ICH Impacted by Disasters

As well as playing a role in disaster mitigation, the Sendai workshop provided further cases of how ICH is negatively impacted by disasters. For instance, Md. Amanullah Bin Mahmood (this volume), describes the impact of regular flooding on the richly diverse ICH of Bangladesh, exacerbated by the amplifying effects of climate change and the widescale displacement of populations. However, in other parts of the Asia-Pacific there are examples of disasters having positively impacted ICH, through the promotion and renewal of ICH practices. After the 2015 Ghorka earthquake in Nepal, and despite devastating loss to human life and extensive damage to built structures, ICH practices persisted, in some cases supporting the recovery and reconstruction process (see Yamuna Maharjan this volume; Government of Nepal 2015).

We need to be mindful that the vulnerability of ICH in disaster contexts varies depending on the type and scale of the disaster and its impact on the different components of ICH. While a disaster might destroy the tangible aspects of an ICH element, such as the location in which a ritual performance takes place, knowledge of that performance can survive a disaster unscathed. Such knowledge might be held by bearers and practitioners, or by knowledge repositories such as museums, archives, and databases. Disaster risk is not uniform for ICH, impacting its different components (people, places, and stories) in variable ways.

It is also important to be clear about what we refer to as impact, and what is claimed to be a 'disaster'. As noted by Bankoff et al. (2015: 3), '[r]isk is a result of societal perceptions, decisions and actions and, therefore, a social construct'. Vu Canh Toan illustrated this point in his presentation with respect to flooding in Vietnam. In some parts of the country seasonal flooding plays an important role in supporting local agricultural systems, and people have adapted their houses and lifestyle to accommodate flood conditions. In such cases a flood is not perceived as a 'disaster' but a vital component of the agricultural cycle.

Similarly, the director of the Vanuatu Cultural Centre, Richard Shing, spoke during the workshop about the potential benefits of ash fall on the fertility of soil and productivity of crops on the island of Ambae, recently evacuated by the Vanuatu

government due to the eruption of the Manaro Voui volcano. While the scale of the eruption has caused widespread damage to villages and gardens, many of the 11,000 evacuees from Ambae would view this as a temporary relocation until it is safe to return.

It is also important that natural hazards are considered in their broader historical context and not just as destructive events (Bankoff et al. 2015: 6). Cyclone Pam, which struck Vanuatu in 2015, provided the catalyst for the community to reflect on its own responses to the cyclone and how it might improve their outcomes next time (Ballard et al. 2019). In the Lelepa region on Efate, in the vicinity of the World Heritage area of Chief Roi Mata's Domain, the role of chiefs in recent disaster-related governance was deemed to have been extremely weak. The post-disaster period compelled the community to examine vulnerabilities in their governance systems that have escalated over time. In this instance, the effect of the disaster was to expose flaws in ICH practices, such as community governance, and to provoke reflection on possible remedies.

Current Roadblocks to the Regulated Use of ICH for DRR

While the previous discussion canvasses the inextricable and important relationship between ICH and DRR, how might this relationship be harnessed to reduce the vulnerability of communities and contribute to local, regional or national DRR programs? There are several interrelated issues, raised during the workshop and elsewhere, that have been shown to limit our ability to embed ICH within national conversations on DRR.

Preferencing the tangible

One issue is that the heritage field has directed most of its attention to the impact of disasters on tangible heritage, which is relatively easy to quantify and cost. Assessments of disaster impact on ICH are also undertaken rapidly, usually within one month after a disaster (such as during a PDNA). However, to be able to gauge whether an ICH element has been affected by disaster requires a deep knowledge of the history of the element, including how the element has been sustained, safeguarded and transmitted through time (Selter 2017).

Equally, national DRR frameworks often privilege the 'tangible' (infrastructure) and technological interventions that mitigate the impacts of disaster (Vu Canh Toan and Abner Lawangen, this volume). Such interventions provide assurance that efforts are being made to control the impact of hazards but are often invoked via top-down approaches and government-based decision-making processes. While acknowledging that technical interventions play a fundamental role in DRR, intangible community-based knowledge and decision-making processes are often ignored. However, as Howell (2003: 4) states,

> despite various systems (national warning systems, red crescent cyclone preparedness programme), household preparedness and survival potential appear to be very much dictated by economic and social circumstances.

The example of the participatory three-dimensional mapping (P3DM) project in the town of Tublay (Northern Philippines) demonstrates that there are tools at the disposal of both heritage and disaster practitioners that might allow them to harness the strengths of both tangible and intangible approaches to disaster (Lawangen this volume). If carefully applied, such approaches have the capacity to build bridges between local community and government DRR policies and practices.

DRR-defined ICH

Another limiting issue is that the disaster field tends to conceive of ICH or local knowledge in DRR terms only; specifically, the technical role that ICH plays in disaster mitigation (see for instance the breakdown of Indigenous Knowledge (IK) for DRR in Shaw et al. [2009], such as 'IK for river management, or 'IK for coastal ecosystems'). Conceived in this way, ICH runs the risk of being removed from its broader cultural context and thus potentially misunderstood.

An example is the Pacific meeting house (the Vanuatu *nakamal*, the Fijian *bure* and the Tongan *fale*) which, alongside its many other social and cultural functions often serves as an effective cyclone shelter. Yet it is becoming increasingly difficult to find these structures in the Pacific because their broader role in society is diminishing. Specialists in both the cultural heritage and disaster fields have become more aware of these structures in recent years; the cultural heritage field because they are becoming an increasingly rare feature of Pacific cultural landscapes, and the disaster field because of their role in cyclone protection. This growing awareness has kickstarted international conversations about whether vernacular architecture should be revived, particularly as a disaster mitigation measure. The materials used to build these structures tend to be local, replaceable, and sustainable, so reviving them would seem to make both practical and economic sense.

However, if we are to engage in conversations about reviving the Pacific meeting house for disaster mitigation purposes it is important to understand how these structures are embedded within broader social and political contexts. The disaster mitigation function of these structures is secondary to their role as locales for chiefly decision making and the transfer of cultural knowledge to young members of society. Moreover, the social, cultural, political and economic conditions of Pacific countries have changed in recent decades. The traditional meeting house has largely been replaced by the church – which tends not to be built using customary methods or materials – and community governance arrangements have also transformed. It is not possible to revive these structures without understanding these contexts, nor safeguard them appropriately. The revitalization of ICH for disaster mitigation purposes needs to be approached thoughtfully, recognizing that disaster knowledge is deeply embedded within broader systems of knowledge.

Likewise, if there is to be a conversation about the role of science in DRR, such as early-warning systems in the case of Mt Merapi in Central Java (see Fadjar Thufail this volume), a respect for traditional early-warning systems is essential, as these systems are often positioned within a much broader system of knowledge, connections to land and relationships to other forms of ICH. It is important that communities are central

to decision-making with respect to the introduction and adoption of new ideas, and that external organisations are aware of the impact of introduced technologies on local ICH and culture more broadly, and the cultural appropriateness of their interventions.

An absence of DRR policy relating to ICH

A further issue concerns DRR policy, particularly at the State Party level. National policies frequently acknowledge the important role that culture plays in DRR, but rarely is there a clear articulation of the functional relationship between community-led DRR, the contribution of NGOs, and national-level DRR frameworks. A frequently cited example of poor integration between these groups is when a well-meaning aid organisation provides shelter to communities that have lost housing, unwittingly replacing local vernacular architecture and, in the longer term, the underlying building knowledge. A similar point is made in Shuichi Kawashimi's paper (this volume), in which he describes how 'trial fishing' and testing by disaster agencies in Shinchi Town (Fukushima Prefecture) after the Great East Japan Earthquake failed to take account of the communal fishing knowledge of local fishermen, undermining their fishing practices and their potential to contribute to the recovery process.

As noted by Md. Amanullah Bin Mahmood (this volume), we need an alignment of procedures that integrate ICH and DRR-related policies. This integration needs to be meaningful rather than perfunctory, and ground-up rather than top-down.

ICH and globalization

Finally, global issues such as climate change pose a dilemma for ICH as a DRR measure. Some communities have discovered that their ICH toolkit is insufficient to cope with unseen climatic events (see the example of climate change impacts on cultural productivity in Anauk Phwa Saw, Myanmar [Khin this volume]). On the island of Gaua, in Vanuatu, people are perplexed by the speed at which environmental change is occurring. Along with experiencing unprecedented periods of drought, garden pests unfamiliar to the local community are destroying staple crops and there are no known local strategies for mitigating their effects (Wilson and Nojima 2018). The absence of specific ICH to deal with global climate change has been raised several times in this volume, and underscores a need to collaborate with outsiders to find global solutions to unprecedented disaster scenarios.

Finding an ICH-DRR Dialogue through *People, Place,* and *Story*

Today, the Asia-Pacific region is described as 'disaster alley' (Dunlop and Spratt 2017). It is predicted that climate-related disasters in this region will become increasingly dangerous and lead to migration on a mass scale. For ICH this is critical. As demonstrated in the case of both Vanuatu and Bangladesh, when people are extricated from their land they inevitably lose ICH, particularly that which is connected to place. However, as Hiromichi Kubota (this volume) mentions, continued practice of ICH (such as the lion dance) can play a crucial and reassuring role amongst displaced or diasporic populations as they settle away from their homelands, either temporarily or permanently. ICH has the capacity to support social integration and cultural

cohesion in the context of population displacement, and is therefore an essential DRR measure. However, if ICH is to be integrated within DRR frameworks at the national level, the ICH and DRR fields must find a shared platform for dialogue, and ways of understanding the linkages between disaster and culture.

Disaster knowledge is not easily extracted from its cultural context. Likewise, there is no discrete domain of disaster knowledge. A Pacific meeting house plays a role in disaster mitigation but has multiple other functions. One model for understanding the relationship between ICH and disaster is the People, Place and Story (PPS) framework, which emerged through conversations with the community at the World Heritage site of Chief Roi Mata's Domain in Vanuatu (Wilson and Ballard 2017).

People, place and story are three essential modes of ICH that come together in the performance and expression of an ICH element. If any one of these modes – each of which can take a different form (see Table 1) – are missing, the performance or expression of the ICH element can be substantially curtailed or compromised. The health and vitality of people, place and story are equally essential to the articulation, transmission and safeguarding of ICH, and must be factored into our understanding of the impact of disasters on ICH, as well as the role of ICH in DRR.

Figure 1 is an example of ICH-related disaster knowledge being transmitted by a knowledge-bearer, at a specific vantage point in the cultural landscape of Chief Roi Mata's Domain World Heritage property, and a potent illustration of the binding relationship between people, place and story. *Napsinfor* is a casuarina tree located on the sacred off-shore island of Artok where Chief Roi Mata was buried around 400 years ago (Republic of Vanuatu 2006). In the photograph to the left, Richard Matanik is explaining through sand drawing how cyclone events are predicted by measuring

Table 1 People, Place, Story: a framework for knowledge transmission and safeguarding

Modality	Form →	Articulation →	Transmission →	Safeguarding
People	Individuals, communities, agents, transmitters, transactors, institutions, states	Performance, expression, language, practice, mobilisation, production	**Space:** Intra-group, external, exchange, trade, theft, conquest **Time:** Inter-generational, monumental, archival, memory	Local, national, regional and international strategies to safeguard the forms, articulation and transmission of ICH
Place	Material or tangible settings, sites, environments, resources, settlements, objects, artefacts			
Story	Immaterial or intangible, knowledge, narrative, tradition			

Figure 1 Richard Matanik, Chair of the local World Heritage Management Committee, demonstrating the path of the setting sun in relation to *napsinfor*. (Source: M. Wilson)

the distance between *napsinfor* and the setting sun in November and December each year, viewed from a particular location on neighbouring Lelepa Island. It is not possible to relay information about this traditional weather prediction method at an alternative location, or by individuals not versed in this knowledge.

This is not to say that relationships between the people, places and stories of ICH remain fixed. We have seen from the various case-studies in this volume that disasters trigger substantial changes to ICH. These changes are usually negotiated, rationalized, and sanctioned by the practicing community, which has an intimate understanding of the flexibility of its own traditions – see for instance the discussion by Florence Lahournat (2017: 329) on the post-disaster 'bricolage' of the Japanese shrine festival known as *kagura*. Takakura (this volume) also describes how elastic the boundaries of ICH practices can be in his paper on structural time. However, while the viability of ICH remains healthy if its elasticity is defined and expressed by practitioners and communities, once vital links between people, place and story are broken – through processes of heritagization or decontextualization for instance – ICH is effectively removed from meaningful, community-defined contexts and its viability becomes compromised (see the discussion by Ryusuke Kodani on the 'ossification' of culture, this volume).

Change, Transmission and the ICH-Disaster Biography

A historical frame is essential for appreciating the way that the PPS components of ICH evolve and change over time, particularly in cases where traditional practices have already been impacted under the conditions of colonialism or environmental transformation (see, for instance, John Campbell [2015] who describes changes to food security over successive disaster events). Longer-term changes that impact upon and shape ICH are critical to determining the health of an ICH element entering into and emerging from a disaster event. Likewise, understanding processes of ICH transmission – how and why particular forms of ICH are passed on – is fundamental to knowing whether ICH remains viable. What are the social, economic and political conditions for

transmission and are these fundamentally threatened or enhanced by a natural hazard or other disaster?

Biographies of ICH that situate elements historically by defining their relationship to cultural and environmental change through time, and that understand the shifting mechanisms by which elements are transmitted through time and across space, are essential to developing plans or models for safeguarding ICH (Wilson and Ballard 2017). ICH and disaster discourse cannot be understood in terms of a single disaster event, separate from these broader temporal and spatial contexts.

Practical Steps for Engagement across the Disaster and ICH Fields

The set of recommendations that have emerged from the IRCI project (this volume) offer key areas of research and practice that are essential if we are to: improve safeguarding of ICH exposed to disaster; recognize the role of ICH in DRR contexts; and integrate ICH within DRR policy frameworks. A number of these recommendations could be usefully explored through a series of pilot studies that explore the relationship between categories of ICH and types and scales of disasters experienced throughout the world.

The following table outlines a possible process for undertaking pilot studies that integrate DRR and ICH with the intent of improving outcomes in the research and practice of both fields. Currently, our approach to disaster monitoring for ICH is highly reactive, occurring in the post-disaster phase and in the absence of baseline ICH inventories and safeguarding plans.

The pilot study approach outlined here proposes a pre-emptive methodology in which the baseline data is established, post-disaster assessments of ICH (people, place, story, enactment, and transmission) can be more accurately ascertained, and communities are central actors in the safeguarding of their ICH.

	Steps for a combined ICH-DRR pilot study
Pre-disaster steps	
1	Identify the criteria for the pilot studies, including a mix of disciplinary perspectives and expertise; engaged communities; hazard types (type, scale, duration, recurrence); high likelihood of imminent threat; existing historical data for ICH and disasters.
2	Select the pilot study areas and identify culture and disaster specialists based on criteria.
3	Communities prepare detailed and comprehensive ICH inventories with the support of culture and disaster specialists.
4	Communities model threats or risks (cultural and environmental) to ICH elements. Threats to the three modalities of ICH (people, place and story) are considered, as well as to the enactment/performance of elements, and their transmission.
5	Communities map appropriate methods for safeguarding ICH elements threatened by disasters based on historical, local and global safeguarding approaches.

6	ICH that plays a role in DRR is identified. ICH and DRR specialists work together to identify cross-overs between ICH and DRR categories (e.g. governance). Some ICH elements may already have been identified at Step 3.
7	Determine whether ICH elements used for DRR are still active; how they are constituted (people, place, story); when they're enacted; and the processes of transmission involved.
8	Establish safeguarding strategies for ICH elements used for DRR purposes. This might involve the inclusion of provisions in national or regional DRR and cultural policy frameworks.
Post-disaster steps	
9	At an appropriate moment post-disaster, culture and disaster specialists support communities to review and update the inventories and safeguarding plans for ICH elements based on the impacts of the disaster event.
10	Communities take ownership of the ongoing assessment of disaster impacts on their ICH and the role of ICH for DRR purposes, as reinforced through the previous steps.

Conclusion

This overview paper reflects on key points that have emerged over the course of the Asia-Pacific Regional Workshop on Intangible Cultural Heritage and Natural Disasters and throughout this volume. These points are mirrored in the workshop recommendations (see Annex 1 this volume) which propose domains of future cultural and DRR research and practice that might inform our understanding of the interconnections between these two broad fields, and improve the long-term outcomes of communities exposed to disasters.

The People, Place, Story (PPS) model offers a framework for understanding the complex biographies of ICH elements over time, and across a range of hazards and disaster cycle. Given the complexity of the lives or 'biographies' of ICH elements, understanding how they are impacted by disasters, or mobilized during disasters, requires a detailed record and appreciation of how they are embedded within socio-historical contexts and governed by processes of transmission.

The establishment of baseline inventories and safeguarding plans for ICH, particularly in places frequently exposed to disasters, is essential for ensuring that culturally informed and appropriate ICH safeguarding practices are implemented. Pilot studies that involve the integration of ICH and DRR approaches for safeguarding ICH in disaster contexts would generate sorely needed data, for assessing the health of ICH elements and for supporting targeted allocation of funding for ICH revitalization or renewal.

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