

**Safeguarding Practices for Intangible Cultural Heritage in Tanzania: National vs Local
Perspectives**

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**A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage
School of History and Cultures
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University of Birmingham
2019**

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I dedicate this work to my parents Mr and Mrs B. Nandiga

‘All that I am, I owe that to you’

ABSTRACT

Recent decades have seen a growing interest by individuals, government, and international organisations to safeguard Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH). Such efforts arose from the perceived impact of globalisation and modernisation towards this form of heritage among different communities in the world. Most of the previous research has focused on why ICH is in danger and ways that can be used to remedy the situation. Few efforts have been directed towards understanding how the local community ‘cultural practitioners’ have traditionally been safeguarding their ICH, and how such knowledge can be integrated into the present-day safeguarding initiatives. Thus, this study sought to explore how the Jita have safeguarded their traditional ceremonies and rituals (as one category of ICH) and how such information can be used in solving the challenges facing the safeguarding initiatives at the national level in Tanzania.

Data for this study was collected through observations, interviews, and documentary reviews. A total of 123 respondents were interviewed from the Antiquities Department, National Museum and House of cultural, Village Museum and Arts and culture Departments, and the Jita community in Tanzania. In general, there are different challenges that affect the safeguarding efforts at both local and national level. The study demonstrates that in order to implement an effective safeguarding practice of ICH in Tanzania, there is a need to integrate the safeguarding practices at the two levels. Such an integration should seek to use the best attributes present at each level. This act will not only improve the means used in safeguarding ICH but will also ensure active involvement of the community in the safeguarding process. Further, I argue in this study that the definition of ICH should move beyond the UNESCO discourse to include everyday practices that are valued by a community and can be used as means of identity. Also, the safeguarding of ICH should be a community-based initiative in which the cultural bearers and their safeguarding knowledge take the leading role.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The successful completion of this thesis is not due to my effort alone, but with the help and support of institutions and other individuals as well. First and foremost, I would like to thank the almighty God whose blessings have always been with me and my family.

Am also indebted to my employer the University of Dar es Salaam who granted me the study leave; and my sponsor, the Commonwealth Scholarships Commission (UK) for their financial support. Special thanks to my supervisors, Dr John Carman and Dr Helle Jørgensen. It is from their tireless instructions, technical advice, intellectual discussions, constructive criticisms, and encouragement that I was able to complete this study in a timely manner. No amount of words will be enough to convey my gratitude for their support and contributions.

Secondly, I would like to thank my family, who have all played a significant role in the accomplishment of this thesis. These include (but are not limited to) my parents Mr. and Mrs. B. Nandiga; my partner Gladness W. Mwikwabe and my two Children (Christine and Leon); and Mr. and Mrs. S Mruma. Their constant support, prayers, and words of encouragement throughout the time of my study was highly valued and appreciated.

Lastly, I would like to thank the staff from the University of Dar es Salaam's Archaeology and Heritage Studies department, and at Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage. I would also like to extend my special thanks to fellow PhD researchers from the University of Birmingham, who I interacted with throughout the course of my study; my three research assistants (Abel Mkama, Boaz Nyamkomora and Baraka Shadrack) with whom I spent a lot of time in the field; the respondents from the two ministries (Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism and the Ministry of Information, Culture, Arts and Sports) particularly National

Museum and Antiquities Department staff; Arts and Culture Department Staff; and those from Mwanza and Mara regions. I cannot mention all of you by name in this tiny space, but it is from your willingness to find time to talk to me, that enabled the smooth collection of the required data for the accomplishment of this study, I appreciate all of you. On top of that, I would like to thank all who assisted me in one way or another throughout the course of this study. It is impossible to name each one of you, all I can say is 'ASANTE SANA'.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ARM	Archaeological Resource Management
CHM	Cultural Heritage Management
CICH	Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003)
COSTECH	Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology
CRM	Cultural Resource Management
DAS	District Administrative Secretary
DED	District Executive Director
DOAG	Deutsch Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft
ICH	Intangible Cultural Heritage
ICOM	The International Council of Museums
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
ICROM	International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
IPR	Intellectual Property Rights
MNRT	Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism
MICAS	Ministry of Information, Culture, Arts and Sports
MSPs	Modern Safeguarding Practices
NBS	National Bureau of Statistics
NGO's	Non-Governmental Organizations
PA	Public Archaeology
RAS	Regional Administrative Secretary
SDA	Seventh Day Adventists
STDs	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
TSPs	Traditional Safeguarding Practices
UK	United Kingdom
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
USA	United States of America
TAMISEMI	President's office, Regional Administration and Local Government
Tshs	Tanzanian Shillings
VEO	Village Administrative Officer
WEO	Ward Executive Officer

WIPO

World Intellectual Property Convention (1967)

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Abhafumu bhainsi	Traditional land cleansing specialists
Abhagimba	Rainmakers (mgimba- singular)
Abhajita	A local way of pronouncing the Jita name
Abhalegi	Liars or fabricators who can spread false rumours
Ebhigenge	Leprosy
Ebhisalu	Waist beads
Echitambala	A piece of cloth and/or a handkerchief
Echitwe	Epilepsy
Echoto	A night fire or bonfire, enjoyed by male family members in the evenings
Ifwa/echitulo	A grave
Imbusi ye chirefu	A buck, a male goat, part of the bride price
Indongo	A dance organized by a member of the community who invites others.
Ingaso	A ceremony to celebrate heroism which involves killing wild beasts
Insi irwae	'The land is sick', a term to describe an unproductive land
Isuka	A hand hoe
Jiing'a	Cows (Ing'a or ng'a - singular)
Jimbhusi	Goats (Imbusi - singular)
Lisubha	An overnight dance one day before the wedding ceremony
Litongo	A special mixture of red ochre and cow fat used as bridal makeup
Liyamba	A piece of broken pot used to hold medicines during land cleansing rituals
Maji	A Swahili word for water
Masiga	A three-stone stove/ also used to mean the areas surrounding the kitchen where women sit when preparing and eating food
Miseke	A traditional brew prepared to be consumed during the elders' meetings
Mlulere	A name of the ritual shrine used by Abhatimba clan in Bwasi village
Mtafiti	A Researcher (Swahili)
Mwanasesere	A doll used for female initiation ceremonies among the people of central Tanzania
Ngoma	A Swahili word for a traditional dance
Obhukoma	A bow
Obhulosi'	Witchcraft

Obhwenga	Wedding ceremony
Okukura orufu	A term describing the act of informing others of a funeral occurrence
Okulolana	Loosely translates into ‘seeing each other’, a pre wedding meeting between the proposed bride and groom
Okumala orufu	The act of finalising a wedding through a cleansing ritual
Okusanda Mung’anda	A term used to describe the act of the groom visiting the bride's relatives to inform them about the desire to marry one of their daughters
Okushengera	The process of conducting ceremonies and rituals to cleanse a clan
Okusimya ebhigele	Loosely translates as ‘cleaning the footprints’, the last part of the wedding ceremony where the bride returns to her parents’ house to take her belongings
Okusindura	Inaugurating process on a third day after two days of land cleansing
Okwigosya	An act of the bride playing games with her in-laws through refusing doing things, e.g. eating and walking, until provided with gifts
Oluganda	A Jita name for a clan
Omtundusi wa lilyango	The Jita term for the aunt who will be responsible for training the bride on her wedding
Omulenga	A lazy person
Omusimu	An arrow
Omuyelo or rukonokono	The name given to a cow among those delivered as bride price that is given to the bride’s mother
Omweko	Hunger/famine
Omwesa	A person who has buried the deceased, through marking the grave dimensions
Omweshya	A cleanser, cleansing people of a death occurrence

CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Justification of the Problem

Recent decades have seen a growing interest by individuals, government, and international organizations to safeguard the disappearing tradition, practices, and expressions among communities in different parts of the world (see Ruggles & Silverman, 2009; Smith & Akagawa, 2009; Howard, 2012; Stefano et.al, 2012; Stefano & Davis, 2017; Waelde, et.al., 2018; Akagawa & Smith, 2019). These traditions, practices, and expressions have been named by UNESCO as ‘intangible cultural heritage’ (*hereafter ICH*), meaning the practices, representations, expressions, skills, instruments, objects, and cultural spaces associated with and recognized by a community, group or individuals as part of their heritage (UNESCO, 2003). The recognition of ICH as part of the international heritage discourse has broadened the definition of cultural heritage from focusing only on material ‘tangible’ aspects of culture the likes of artifacts, monuments and sites, to include immaterial ‘intangible’ aspects of culture represented in living traditions like oral traditions, rituals, performances, and systems of knowledge (Blake, 2000; Ahmad, 2006; Bouchenaki, 2007; Vecco, 2010; del Barrio, et al., 2012).

Initially, international efforts to manage cultural heritage focused on tangible heritage like highly symbolic monuments, e.g. Taj Mahal, or portable works of art, e.g. the Mona Lisa (Munjeri, 2004; Pearce, 2009). However, this has recently shifted to also include ICH, due to the growing realization that most of its forms are disappearing because of the impacts brought about by globalisation and modernisation (Nas, 2002; Jansen-Verbeke, 2009; McLaren, 2010; Boswell & O’Kane, 2011; Cheung, 2012; Aykan, 2013). Globalisation and modernisation

promote the movements and exchange of people, ideas, information, and technology from different angles of the globe, causing communities to move towards cultural processes of change in form of homogenisation, hybridisation, or retraditionalisation (Hall, 1996; McGrew, 1996; Brown, 2005; Lenzerini, 2011; Kreps, 2012). This, in turn, has prompted different parties locally and internationally to initiate and undertake different safeguarding plans and programs for such heritage.

The term safeguarding is simply defined as measures aimed at ensuring the viability of the ICH (UNESCO, 2003). Although international recognition of ICH is a recent phenomenon which has gained momentum in the past few decades, in individual countries the process precedes that (Tan, 2009; Alivizatou, 2012; Esfehiani & Albrecht, 2016). For example, as early as the 1950s and 60s, countries like Japan and Korea had well-established systems to recognize and safeguard ICH before such efforts were adopted within the UNESCO discourse (Saito, 2005; Alivizatou, 2008; Saeji, 2019). Notwithstanding the increasing need to safeguard ICH, the problem has been over the means and methods to be used in that process (Leimgruber, 2010; Harrison & Rose, 2010; Keitumetse, 2012). The UNESCO 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, one of the basic international instruments in safeguarding ICH, has provided several measures such as identification, documentation, research, promotion, protection, enhancement, transmission (through formal and informal education) and revitalization (UNESCO, 2003: Article 2.3). Similarly, scholars have also proposed measures such as creating living museums and designing apprenticeship opportunities for such practices to be used in the safeguarding process (see Kurin, 2004; Kreps, 2009; Alivizatou, 2012; Aydemir, 2017; Massing, 2018).

However, several concerns have been raised over the effectiveness, applicability, and impacts of the safeguarding efforts to the ICH and its practitioners (Kurin, 2004; Skounti, 2009; Leader-Elliott & Trimboli, 2012; Nuraini, 2016). Challenges such as weaknesses in the proposed safeguarding practices (Harrison & Rose, 2010; Leimgruber, 2010); issues with property rights (George, 2009; Keitumetse, 2016); means of community involvement in the safeguarding process (Kurin, 2004; Aikawa-Faure, 2009); and the potential impact of the ICH inventorying process (Skounti, 2009; Leader-Elliott & Trimboli, 2012; Nuraini, 2016), have all been discussed by scholars from different parts of the world. In spite of the presence of these challenges, in many places, the implemented efforts to safeguard ICH have continued to adhere to a western-influenced mode of safeguarding ICH and managing cultural heritage in general. This form of heritage management practice has proved to be less effective working alone in other contexts outside Europe, particularly in Africa, where there is another form of management system that has been often neglected and marginalized by heritage management experts and practitioners (Ndoro, 2001; Ndoro & Pwiti, 2001; Mumma, 2005; Jopela, 2011; Arazi & Thiaw, 2013; Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015).

Worldwide, different communities have their own way of perceiving, protecting and preserving different traditions and aspects of surroundings deemed valuable (Maradze, 2003; Pikirayi, 2005; Kreps, 2009). This also includes ICH, where its continued existence, despite different challenges in many places over the years, signifies the presence of a local mechanism or means to ensure its survival and transmission (Lenzerini, 2011). This local way of protecting and preserving ICH is herein referred as ‘traditional safeguarding practices’, meaning local know-how, means and safeguarding practices, as opposed to ‘modern safeguarding practices’, which means the Western-influenced practices of preserving, conserving and safeguarding heritage proposed by experts and professionals in heritage, archaeology, and the related disciplines

(Mumma, 2005; Musonda, 2005; Jopela, 2011; Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015). The safeguarding using this way is done to ensure transmission and survival of the valued practices and materials from generation to generation (Kato, 2006). In most cases, the traditional mechanism for transmitting ICH depends on oral knowledge rather than written texts (Mulokozi, 2005; Fiorio, 2006; Lugmayr, et., 2017; Schniter, et.al., 2018).

Due to the inherent nature of ICH, that is being recognized and valued as such by a particular community, group, or individuals, different scholars and international organizations have called for active involvement of the local communities in the safeguarding process (see UNESCO, 2003; Kurin, 2004; Munjeri, 2004; Aikawa-Faure, 2009; Blake, 2009; Fromm, 2016). Active community involvement means the safeguarding process should be a bottom-up approach where it is the community who dominate the process, rather than a top-down approach dominated by experts, in which the community are involved only as cultural practitioners. But regardless of the advantages of involving the local community in the safeguarding process, most of the safeguarding efforts are implemented following a top-down approach (Alivizatou, 2011; Aykan, 2013; Blake, 2014; Chan, 2017). In turn, some of the safeguarding efforts have accelerated the rate of demise for the ICH instead of safeguarding them, or cause conflict among the practitioners (Condominas, 2004; Goody, 2004; Arantes, 2012). Others are initiated with political motives behind, such as integrating minority communities into a nation or confirming ownership of contested practices, traditions, or skills (Leader-Elliott & Timboli, 2012; Aykan, 2013;2015). Also, there are those initiated and organised by outsiders, e.g. government officials and experts, whilst completely neglecting the local community in the process (Alivizatou, 2011; Lixinski, 2011; Chan, 2017; Blake, 2019).

Because of these challenges, the understanding of traditional safeguarding practices becomes crucial for the improvement of the overall process of safeguarding ICH in different parts of the world. The apprehension of such practices not only help in improving the already contested means of safeguarding ICH but will also provide potential solutions for actively involving the local community in the process. Thus, this study seeks to assess the safeguarding practices for ICH in Tanzania. Specifically looking at the challenges facing modern safeguarding practices and exploring how such challenges can be solved using traditional safeguarding practices in an integrated safeguarding approach.

1.2 Objective of the Study

This study is aimed at assessing the safeguarding practices for ICH in Tanzania. Like in many countries of the world, safeguarding of ICH in the country takes place at three levels i.e. local, national, and international. At the local level, it is the safeguarding efforts by the local community 'cultural practitioners' using local approaches and practices; at the national level it is the state or government using administrative structures (e.g. ministry departments and institutions) and legal apparatus (e.g. Acts and policies), that are supervised by officials or experts in heritage, archaeology and the related disciplines; and at the international level is the multinational organizations the likes of UNESCO and ICOM, assisted by international recognised and ratified instruments such as conventions and recommendations. Specifically, the study aims at establishing the challenges facing the safeguarding practices at national level, which are referred to in this study as 'modern safeguarding practices' (MSPs); and exploring the safeguarding practices at local level which are herein referred to as 'Traditional safeguarding practices' (TSPs) so as to determine if they can be used to curb the challenges affecting the MSPs in the country.

In order to collect data for the MSPs and TSPs, this study use the two government ministries i.e. the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT) and Ministry of Culture, Arts, and Sports (MICAS) to investigate the MSPs; and the Jita community for the TSPs. The two ministries are responsible for the general management of cultural heritage in the country. Regarding local community perspectives, Tanzania has more than 120 ethnic groups. The Jita, locally pronounced *Abhajita*, is one of the ethnic groups that is found in north-eastern part of Tanzania, predominantly in the Mara and Mwanza regions. As it will be further elaborated in chapter 3 and 4, the Jita are selected as a case study population for two reasons. The first one is the easiness of accessing the required information. Most traditions and practices that qualify as ICH are usually associated with restrictions and limitations on who can access such kind of information. Thus, I being the Jita myself, thought of using my own community so as to remove this barrier of access to information. Also, with the study aiming at establishing the continuation of traditional practices, I did not want to conduct a research on a community that was too modernised to the extent of not being able to provide information about TSP; or too excluded from the recent developments to the extent of not being affected by present-day influences such as education, religion, and contact with other communities. This is important because the focus is on how the ICH has continued being practiced among the community members despite the different changes and transformations.

The main objective is divided into three specific research objectives. These are:

- a. To determine the challenges facing modern safeguarding practices for ICH in Tanzania
- b. To identify the traditional ceremonies and rituals performed by the Jita
- c. To explore the traditional safeguarding practices for traditional ceremonies and rituals among the Jita

Further, these objectives are broken down into three research questions (RQs).

RQ₁: What are the challenges facing modern safeguarding practices for ICH in Tanzania?

RQ₂: What are the traditional ceremonies and rituals performed by the Jita?

RQ₃: How are the traditional ceremonies and rituals safeguarded among the Jita?

1.3 Overall Research Methodology

This research used a qualitative research approach to assess the safeguarding practices for ICH in Tanzania. The data collection process for this study was done into two phases. The first phase was from November 2017 to April 2018 and the second phase was between December 2018 and January 2019. In each of the phases, the data collection process was divided into two parts. The first part of data collection focused on the officials. This covered the first research question (R₁) which aimed at establishing the challenges facing the MSPs for ICH in Tanzania. The process involved conducting interviews with officials from the two ministries responsible for the safeguarding of ICH in the country i.e. the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism and Ministry of Culture, Arts, and Sports. The second part of the research addressed the two research questions (R₂) and (R₃) which focused on establishing the traditional ceremonies and rituals among the Jita and their TSPs. These two research questions were complimentary to each other. As the specific interest was to establish how the Jita safeguard their traditional ceremonies and rituals, it was important to first establish what are these traditional ceremonies and rituals performed by the community. Data for these two objectives were collected using interviews and observation. For easy access to respondents and the required information, the gatekeepers in the form of village leaders, ritual specialists, and family elders were consulted throughout the data collection process.

I employed semi-structured interviews as it was important to allow the respondents freedom to provide as much information as possible. I only had few questions that were used as guide questions or as probes to the respondents for more information. To further supplement the information collected using interviews, I employed participant observation as another data collection method. This method was important particularly in looking at the traditional ceremonies and rituals taking place among the Jita. Participant observation was employed as a means of actively participating in ceremonies and rituals to establish how they are practiced, who are the people involved, and what are the restrictions adhered to. Due to the timing of the research, it was only possible to visit a few shrines that were used for different rituals; but I managed to observe some parts of the ceremonies and the people and items involved. To supplement the information collected with interviews and observations, I also employed documentary reviews as a data collection method. This was essential in reviewing Acts, policies, regulation and other documents concerned with the safeguarding of ICH in Tanzania. All this information will be thoroughly discussed in Chapter (4) for the methodology, and (5), (6), and (7) for the traditional ceremonies and rituals, and the safeguarding practices.

1.4 Definitions of Key Terms

In continuing to introduce the research, it is important to define the key terms in this study and how they are used. These terms are ‘intangible cultural heritage’, ‘safeguarding’ and ‘safeguarding practices, and ‘traditional ceremonies and rituals’.

a) Intangible Cultural Heritage

The term ‘Intangible Cultural Heritage’ means the practice, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts, and cultural spaces associated

therewith that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage. This ICH is transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity, and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity (UNESCO, 2003:2.1). ICH is manifested in the following domains: (a) oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the ICH; (b) performing arts; (c) social practices, rituals and festive events; (d) knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; and (e) traditional craftsmanship (UNESCO, 2003: 2.2).

In this study I use a slightly different definition of intangible cultural heritage. The definition used seeks to extend the coverage of the ICH definition to include everyday practices embedded in the social and cultural lives of a community. The reason for such an extension is because of the limiting demarcations that UNESCO's definition sets over what will or will not be accepted as ICH. Following the UNESCO definition, most of the everyday practices by a community will not be recognised as ICH, but rather the recognition will be on practices that manifest certain unique characteristics. Thus, in this study, ICH is conceived as a culture that people practice grounded in everyday practices and expressions such as speaking, dancing, gesturing and communicating, and in more specialised ceremonial or ritual contexts (Brown, 2005; Harrison & Hughes, 2010). Specifically, the study uses traditional ceremonies and rituals as one form of ICH among the Jita.

b) Safeguarding and Safeguarding practices

The term 'Safeguarding' in this study is defined according to the 2003 Convention for the safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage to mean measures aimed at ensuring the viability

of the intangible cultural heritage, including the identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission, particularly through formal and non-formal education, as well as preservation of the various aspects of such heritage (UNESCO, 2003: Article 2.3). The term safeguarding was adopted in ICH, as opposed to other terms such as ‘protection’, ‘preservation’, and ‘revitalization’ that may convey different meanings to different parts of the world (Kurin, 2004; van Zanten, 2004). For the case of this study, the term ‘safeguarding’ is used to include not only the practices proposed by international organizations, governments and scholars, but also the traditional safeguarding measures used by the local community ‘cultural practitioners’ as part of their everyday life.

‘Safeguarding practices’ are the means through which the safeguarding process takes place. Scholars have categorised the safeguarding practices differently, e.g. distinguishing between traditional custodianship systems and western or state-based management systems (formal management systems) (Jopela, 2010, p. 7; 2011, p. 107); community-based systems and state-based systems (Mumma, 2004, p. 44; 2005, p. 22); or traditional management systems and modern management systems (Nodoro, 2003, p. 84). In this study, the safeguarding practices will be categorised into ‘Modern safeguarding practices (MSPs)’ and ‘Traditional safeguarding practices (TSPs)’. MSPs are forms of safeguarding practices conforming to what Smith (2006) calls ‘Authorised Heritage Discourse’, meaning a dominating system of Western-influenced safeguarding practices, operating using well formulated administrative structures in the form of either ministry departments or institutions like museums and university departments; written legislation such as Acts; and professionals or experts who are trained to undertake such activities. TSPs on the other hand are safeguarding practices embedded within the community’s way of life or everyday activities that are used for safeguarding traditions, practices, and expressions that can be categorised as ICH. This form of safeguarding practices is different

from MSPs in terms of its practitioners who are mainly the local community members; it uses unwritten rules and regulations in form of taboos and customs; and the administrative structure is not as complex and well-formulated as in the MSPs. Further, TSPs operate at the local level, while MSPs operate in the national and international levels.

c) Traditional Ceremonies and Rituals

‘Traditional ceremonies’ and ‘rituals’ are two separate terms. Traditional ceremonies mean social gatherings performed to celebrate, mark or enjoy a certain event marking an important step for a community member or the whole community; while ritual means a predefined order of performing a ceremony. For the case of this study ‘traditional ceremonies and rituals is used as one term meaning the ceremony and the associated rituals that are performed by a member or member(s) of a community to celebrate, mark or enjoy a certain event. As explained in the definition of ICH above, there are a number of traditions, practices, and expressions that can be categorised as ICH. This study investigates traditional ceremonies and rituals as one form of ICH. Following UNESCO’s definition, traditional ceremonies and rituals fit under one domain of social practices, rituals, and festive events (UNESCO, 2003:2.1). Outside the ‘UNESCO discourse’ traditional ceremonies and rituals can also be defined as ICH, meaning the everyday practices performed by a group, community or individuals that can be used as means of identity and is transmitted from one generation to another. Chapter 2 will provide an in-depth discussion of how and why traditional ceremonies and rituals can be categorised as ICH.

1.5 Significance of the Study

The main objective of this study is to assess the overall safeguarding practices for ICH in Tanzania. In doing so, the study has established the ways in which ICH is safeguarded in the

country at local (TSPs) and national (MSPs) levels. Further, the study has identified several challenges affecting the effectiveness of the existing safeguarding practices. In order to minimise these challenges, the study provide a number of recommendations all aiming at establishing an integrative safeguarding practice for ICH. This integrative approach seeks to combine the best features of both TSPs and MSPs in the safeguarding process. This information is very important for the different parties that are involved in the safeguarding of ICH. If the recommendations provided are properly implemented, it might be a good starting point for remedying the challenges facing the safeguarding of this form of heritage in the country. Similarly, this information is useful in other countries in the world that are involved and interested in safeguarding ICH.

Secondly, this study has focused on how the Jita have traditionally safeguarded their traditional ceremonies and rituals. It has been argued by scholars and international organizations in heritage and the related disciplines that that safeguarding practices for ICH are a problem in different parts of the world (for example, see Kurin, 2004; Condominas, 2004; Lenzerini, 2011; Leader-Elliott & Timboli, 2012; Aykan, 2013). Data collected has revealed that the Jita have been safeguarding their ICH using different means that are in this study termed as TSPs. These include ‘practicing’, ‘informal training’, ‘oral tradition’, and ‘apprenticeship’. In each of the ways, the study has established how they are used, what are the people and restrictions involved, and the associated challenges. This information is essential particularly on the issue of community involvement in the safeguarding process. This is because it will assist in recognising and involving the local community as active contributors to the safeguarding process rather than being cultural practitioners only. Further, the study has explored the different potential ways of using TSPs as part of the MSPs in the safeguarding process. This

information is essential in improving the safeguarding process of ICH, particularly the ways in which TSPs can be accommodated as of part of the MSPs used in different parts of the world.

Lastly, the study will serve as a source of literature for different scholars interested in ICH and cultural heritage management in general. Previous work in ICH or CHM in Tanzania did not focus on how ICH is safeguarded using the TSPs. Most research has focused on how ICH is or can be linked with tangible heritage and the associated management challenges for the MSPs (for example see: Bwasiri, 2008; Ichumbaki, 2015) or how external influences affects the ICH of a place (see Fouéré, 2007; Talemwa, 2018). Hence, this study focusing solely on ICH and TSPs will provide a good source of literature for those interested in researching ICH and its safeguarding practices in Tanzania and other parts of the world. Further, very limited research has been directed towards the Jita and their cultural heritage. While this research has focused on one of the categories of ICH, i.e. traditional ceremonies and rituals, it might also serve as a source of literature to those who will be interested to further explore the different ICH and cultural heritage in general among the community.

1.6 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into nine chapters (see figure 1.1.)

Chapter two, 'Intangible Cultural Heritage and Safeguarding practices: A Global Perspective', provides an overview of previous studies relating to intangible cultural heritage, safeguarding practices and the challenges incurred in the process. It begins by exploring the term Intangible Cultural Heritage, specifically looking at the definitions, the history behind the international recognition of this form of heritage, and the role played by multinational organizations, particularly UNESCO, in the process. This is then followed by a discussion of the intangibility of cultural heritage and elaborations on how traditional ceremonies and rituals qualify as ICH.

The last part focuses on the management of cultural heritage and the safeguarding of ICH as a specific. It begins by looking at the two existing management practices for cultural heritage and concludes by a discussion on the general challenges facing the safeguarding process of ICH globally.

Chapter three, 'Intangible Cultural Heritage and Safeguarding practices in Tanzania', provides empirical context for the study by discussing the ICH and its safeguarding practices in the Tanzanian context. In general, the safeguarding of ICH in different countries dates earlier than the recent efforts by international organizations such as UNESCO. Hence, this chapter looks at the historical development of ICH and its safeguarding practices in Tanzania. The chapter is divided into three parts: the first part presents the geographical and historical background of the country; the second part presents the nature of safeguarding practices which have existed throughout the socio-political development of the country in the precolonial, colonial and postcolonial periods; and the last part presents a discussion on ICH among the Jita which is the case study population for this study.

Chapter four, 'From the Desk to the Study Area: Methods, Data, and Respondents', discusses the methodological approaches employed in this study. It contains the description, elaboration, and discussion of the methodological choices and decisions that were made throughout the process of data collection and analysis. The chapter is divided into several subsections including the research philosophical and epistemological approaches, descriptions of the fieldwork process, the data collection and analysis methods, and ethical considerations.

Chapter 5, 6 and 7 present the findings of this study. Chapter five, 'Challenges facing Modern Safeguarding Practices for ICH in Tanzania' contains the analysis of the official responses on the challenges facing the modern safeguarding practices in Tanzania. Information presented in

this chapter relates to the first research question (RQ₁): ‘what are the challenges facing the modern safeguarding practices in Tanzania’. The chapter is divided into two parts. The first part provides an overview of the ministries, departments, institutions, officials/experts and legislation that are used as part of MSPs of ICH in the country. The second part provides the descriptive analysis of the official responses on the challenges facing the safeguarding of ICH in the country. Chapter six, ‘Traditional Ceremonies and Ritual among the Jita’ contains information about the rituals and traditional ceremonies among the Jita. It specifically answers the second research question (RQ₂): ‘What are the traditional ceremonies and rituals performed by the Jita’. The chapter is divided into sections describing the ceremonies and rituals that are performed by the Jita. Organization in this sequence starts with the general ceremonies and rituals performed by all community members such as land cleansing ceremonies; then the rite of passage ceremonies such as initiation, wedding, and burial. In each of the ceremonies and rituals, the information presented include the people, items, restrictions involved, and the existing disparities between what the respondents say they do, and what they actually do. This information was used to establish the presence of changes and transformation within the traditional ceremonies and rituals. Chapter seven, ‘Traditional Safeguarding Practices for Ritual and Traditional Ceremonies among the Jita’ addresses the third research question (RQ₃): ‘How are the traditional ceremonies and rituals safeguarded among Jita?’. The chapter analyses and discusses the local community responses on how they are safeguarding traditional ceremonies and rituals using the traditional approaches. The chapter is divided into four parts, with each part describing one approach used in safeguarding ICH at the local level.

Chapter eight, ‘Integrated Safeguarding Approach for Intangible Cultural Heritage’, contains a discussion of the research results against the study objectives and existing literature globally. The chapter begins with a discussion on the similarities and differences between MSPs and TSPs using specific examples from Tanzania. This is followed by a discussion on how the two

practices are currently used in the country and the associated challenges. The chapter then concludes by a discussion on the potential ways of addressing the challenges facing the two practices in the safeguarding process of ICH in the country. The last Chapter, (9), is a ‘Conclusion’ which addresses the wider implication of the study in terms of theoretical, policy, and practical contributions.

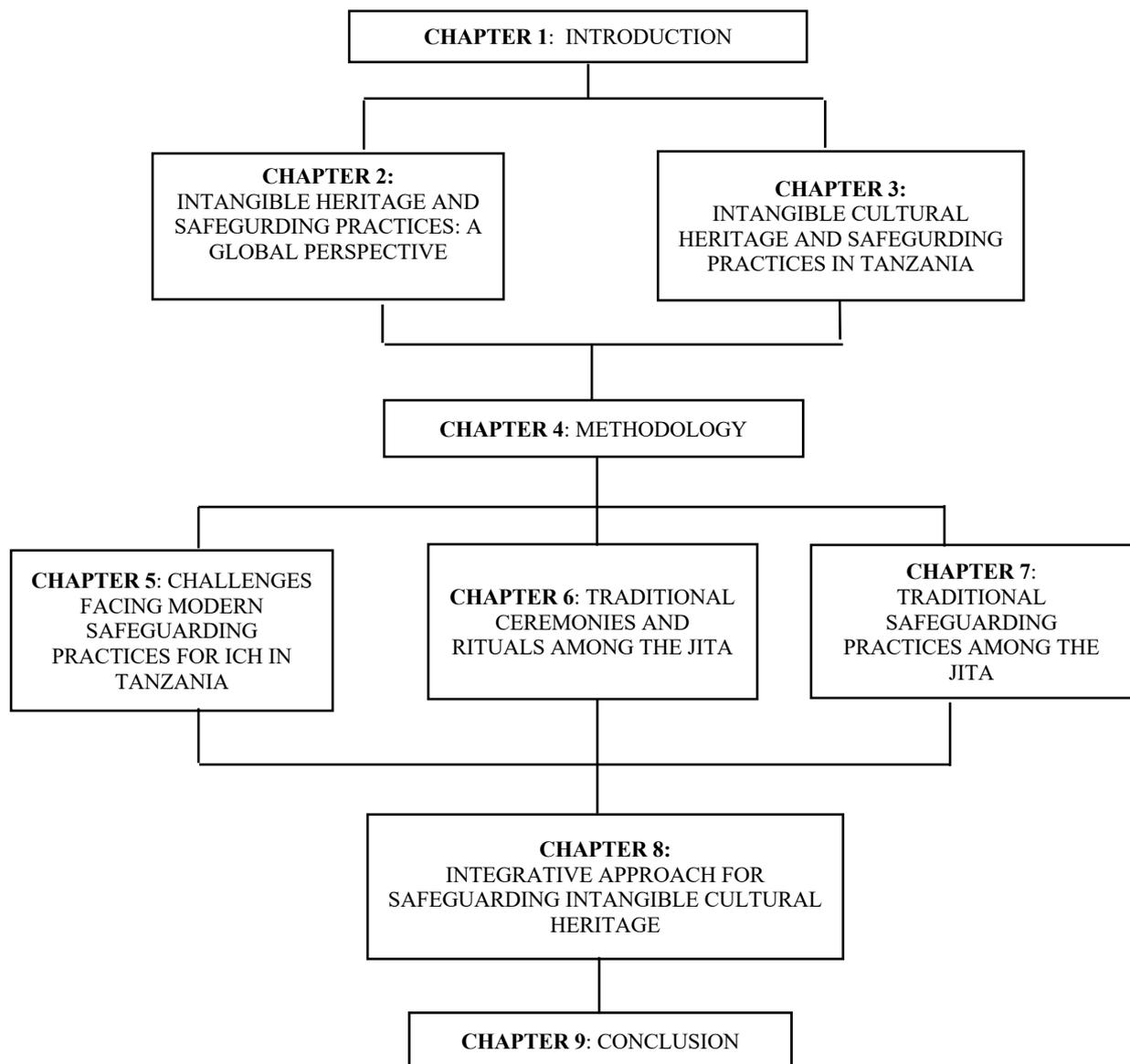


Figure 1.1: Thesis Layout

CHAPTER TWO

INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE AND SAFEGUARDING PRACTICES:

A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

2.1 Introduction

The main objective of this study is to examine the practices for safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage in Tanzania. It focuses on the challenges facing modern safeguarding practices, and how traditional safeguarding practices can be used as a means of solving those challenges. ICH has been a global concern for different parties for several decades. The concerned parties include international organizations such as UNESCO and ICOMOS, national governments, and scholars from different parts of the world. Intangible heritage is not something new, but the recognition of the term ICH is a late inclusion of the concept in the international heritage management discourse. The influence of globalisation and modernisation has caught the attention of different parties at national and international levels to initiate the safeguarding process for this form of heritage.

This chapter engages in reviewing literature relating to ICH and its safeguarding practices around the world. The chapter is divided into five parts. The first part, ‘Understanding intangible cultural heritage’ looks at the ICH as a concept by focusing on its historical development until the enactment and ratification of the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage. This part aims at showing the existence of safeguarding initiatives prior to the international recognition; and how international organizations, particularly UNESCO, have contributed to the overall process of recognition and safeguarding of ICH in the world. Further, it explains the key players and their roles in the international recognition of this form of heritage. The second part, ‘Intangibility of cultural

heritage’ focuses on the dichotomy of the two forms of heritage, ‘tangible’ and ‘intangible’ to understand the main constituents of cultural heritage. This part focuses on the existing debates over what is cultural heritage and the place of ICH as a new category. The aim of this section is to set a ground on how this study conceptualises cultural heritage, and ICH in particular.

The third part, ‘Traditional ceremonies and rituals as ICH’ aims at examining how traditional ceremonies and rituals feature as ICH. The part looks at the existing discourses in the safeguarding of ICH in terms of definition and its implication on recognition and safeguarding of such heritage in different parts of the world. Further, it seeks to elaborate on how the traditional ceremonies and rituals, a focus of this study, fit (or do not) in those definitions as one form or domain of ICH. The fourth part, ‘Management practices for cultural heritage’ discusses the existing management practices for cultural heritage globally. The focus here is on the two practices herein labelled as the Modern Cultural Heritage Management system and the Traditional Cultural Heritage Management system. The aim of this section is to support the main argument of the thesis that is cultural heritage management is divided into traditional and modern practices. Thus, the description in this section presents the distinguishing characteristics of the two practices with an emphasis on the similarities and differences while using supporting evidence from different parts of the globe. This information is essential in setting grounds for understanding the discussions in the later chapters (specifically 5 and 7) where the thesis describes and analyses the two systems and how they operate in a Tanzanian context. Further, this information enriches the discussions in chapter 8 which draws on elaborations and examples from this section to support and suggest an integrated framework for safeguarding ICH. Lastly, the chapter concludes with a part on ‘Challenges facing the safeguarding of ICH’ which contains a review of literature about the challenges facing the ICH safeguarding initiatives from different parts of the world. Indeed, each individual country has

specific challenges affecting its safeguarding initiatives. This part focuses on the common challenges that have been widely discussed by scholars, institutions, and organizations.

2.2 Understanding Intangible Cultural Heritage

International recognition of Intangible Cultural Heritage is a recent phenomenon, which gained momentum in the 1980s and 90s (Lähdesmäki, 2016, p. 768). Prior to this time, the scope of cultural heritage was limited to tangible heritage such as portable work of arts and architectural monuments (Brown, 2005; Ahmad, 2006). The highly symbolic objects like Taj Mahal, the Pyramids of Egypt, and the Mona Lisa, etc., took the centre stage at the expense of popular forms of cultural expressions (Munjeri, 2004, p. 13; Pearce, 2009, p. 18). Such categorising was eventually criticised as biased and as seeking to legitimise a western, if not a western-European, perception of heritage that focuses on materiality (Bryne, 2008, p. 230; Smith & Akagawa, 2009, p. 1); thus captured in the definitions offered by international bodies. For example, Article 1 of the 1972 UNESCO *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Natural and Cultural Heritage* (hereafter UNESCO 1972 Convention), considered cultural heritage as monuments, groups of buildings and sites (UNESCO, 1972).

The recognition of ICH as part of cultural heritage in individual countries dates to as early as the 1950s and 1960s, with countries such as Korea and Japan providing protection for some immaterial aspects of culture such as ceremonies and traditional practices deemed valuable (Tan, 2009; Alivizatou, 2012; Esfehni & Albrecht, 2016). In Japan, for example, the 1949 fire which destroyed the murals inside the *Horyuji* temple *Kondo* (Golden Hall) prompted the enactment of the law for the Protection of Cultural Properties in 1950. This law recognised ‘intangible cultural properties’ as part of cultural properties, and renewed the government’s interests in preventing the loss of Japan’s arts and crafts against threats of modernity (Saito, 2005; Alivizatou, 2008). In Korea, the protection of intangible cultural heritage at the national level began in 1962 with the enactment of the Cultural Property Protection Law, which

established a methodology of preventing the permanent loss of the country's rich performative and artistic traditions (Saeji, 2019).

The interest to recognise ICH as part of what is internationally recognised as cultural heritage started as early as the 1960s, before the adoption of the 1972 UNESCO Convention. For example, the Australian Institute for Aboriginal studies criticised the definition of heritage provided by UNESCO's (1963) 'Study of Measures for the preservation of Monuments through the Establishment of an International Fund or by any other appropriate means' as failing to apply to Aboriginal cultural expressions (Bortolotto, 2007, p. 22). After the adoption of the convention in 1973, different countries, e.g. Bolivia, voiced their dissatisfaction with the criteria used in selecting sites to be included in the World's Cultural Heritage List (Kurin, 2004; Schmitt, 2008; Lenzerini, 2011). The criteria seemed to favour the Western perspective of heritage, which defined cultural heritage in the form of material aspects such as monuments and sites; while neglecting immaterial aspects of culture represented in living traditions, which seemed to represent most of the heritages in Africa, Asia and South America (Skounti, 2009; Leimgruber, 2010; Harrison & Rose, 2010). This imbalance is clearly seen in the World Heritage list, where, by 2016, out of the 814 sites that were inscribed as cultural World Heritage sites, 424 came from Europe and North America, while the remaining 390 were from Asia and the Pacific (173); Latin America and the Caribbean (96); Arab States (73); and Africa (48).

In order to solve the challenge raised by member states towards the imbalances displayed in the World Heritage List, several initiatives were put in place to rectify this situation by different national and international organizations, with UNESCO taking the leading role. In 1982, during the World Conference on Cultural Policies, some concerns were raised by participants over the underrepresented nature of ICH (Harrison & Rose, 2010). This conference was essential, as for

the first time at an international stage, the view of culture was broadened beyond archaeological remains or artistic cultural productions to embracing ways of life, social organisations and belief systems (Blake, 2017, p. 12). Seven years later, in 1989, there was a UNESCO Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Tradition Culture and Folklore (*hereafter* 1989 Recommendation). However, the recommendation did not impose any binding obligations to member states, hence it was hardly implemented by the member states (Aikawa-Faure, 2009, p. 21; Blake, 2009, p. 45). Despite the criticism raised towards this recommendation, it formed a basis for the preparation of the 2003 UNESCO Convention for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage (*hereafter* CICH) (Aikawa-Faure, 2009; Hafstein, 2009; Alivizatou, 2012). In 1992 the World Heritage Committee introduced ‘cultural landscape’ which attempted to encompass intangible components, as a new category to be used in inscribing elements to the World Heritage List. However, this did not suffice, and the imbalance continued to exist (Aikawa-Faure, 2009, p. 15). Several other activities followed, among them was the dissemination of the *Living Human Treasure system* launched by UNESCO in 1993, and the Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity established in 1998 (Aikawa-Faure, 2009; Hafstein, 2009).

Although the long-term causes for adopting the CICH were derived from the imbalanced nature of the World Heritage List (De Cesari, 2010; Lenzerini, 2011; Jones, 2018) and the impacts brought about by globalisation and modernisation (Jansen-Verbeke, 2009, p. 70; Aykan, 2013, p. 381); the proposed plan to destroy a cultural space, “Jamaa’el-Fna” in Marrakech, Morocco, by the city authority served as an immediate cause for the rapid growth in the call to have an international instrument to safeguard the intangible/immaterial aspects of human culture (Schmitt, 2008; Aikawa-Faure, 2009; Beardslee, 2016). The Square is known for different cultural performances since the middle ages, involving different actors such as musicians,

snake charmers, seers and storytellers (Schmitt, 2008; Beardslee, 2016). The petition by the Spanish award-winning writer Juan Goytisolo towards saving this square, raised international concerns for the need to safeguard traditional practices at the brink of disappearing due to different factors but do not have a mechanism in place to protect them.

In early 2001, UNESCO at the invitation of the Italian government organised an international roundtable that aimed at clarifying the definition, scope, and terminology of ICH (Aikawa-Faure, 2009). The result of this was the expansion of the definition of ICH as used in the 2003 UNESCO Convention (Alivizatou, 2008, p. 46). The term ‘intangible cultural heritage’ was selected after a long struggle with other terms such as folklore, oral heritage, traditional culture, expressive culture, way of life, folk-life, ethnographic culture, community-based culture, customs, living cultural heritage and popular culture (Kurin, 2004, p. 67; van Zanten, 2004, p. 37). In October 2003, the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* was adopted during the UNESCO’s General meeting and came into force on 20th April 2006 (Smith & Akagawa, 2009). Article 2:1 of the Convention defines intangible cultural heritage as “practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage” (UNESCO, 2003). Further, Article 2:2 of the Convention specifies domains in which this form of heritage manifest. These include (a) Oral Tradition and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the ICH, (b) Performing arts, (c) Social practice, rituals and festive events, (d) Knowledge and practice concerning nature and the universe, and (e) Traditional craftsmanship (UNESCO, 2003). Also, the CICH established two lists i.e. the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity and the list of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding, on

which different traditions, practices, and expression can be listed (See UNESCO, 2003: Article 16 &17).

The CICH moved from the material-oriented definition which saw heritage as the physical manifestations of human interaction with the environment, to a more inclusive definition comprising the physical and non-physical aspects of human interactions with their environment as part of cultural heritage. The convention further calls for the need to safeguard different forms of ICH by individual nation states with a focus on local community participation (Kurin, 2004; van Zanten, 2004). The continued emphasis of the convention to involve local ‘cultural bearer’ communities in the safeguarding process is due to the nature of this form of heritage, which is continually evolving and is defined by a specific community, rather than outsiders (Munjeri, 2004; Aikawa-Faure, 2009; Blake, 2009).

In general, the COICH was well received by state parties as it was observed during the time of adoption and voting, where 120 countries out of the 190 member states voted yes and none against it. Some countries (e.g. New Zealand, United Kingdom, USA, and Australia) abstained from voting because of different reasons such as indigenous politics (e.g. in Australia, Canada, and USA) and lack of understanding of the concept of ICH within administrative system (e.g. in the UK) (Kurin, 2004; Blake, 2009; Smith & Akagawa, 2009; Smith & Wateron, 2009; Craith, et al., 2019). But 174 states are already parties to it sixteen years after its adoption (Stefano & Peter, 2017; Akagawa & Smith, 2019). The convention, among other things, provides the basic guidelines for the protection of ICH and offers a platform on which support and funds for the protection and safeguarding of ICH can be accessed (Kreps, 2009; Keitumetse, 2012). Further, the coming of this convention and its promotion tools have led to

a worldwide increase in terms of the number of meetings, conferences, and training events about the safeguarding of ICH (Denes, et al., 2013).

2.3 The intangibility of Cultural Heritage

Over the years, the definition of cultural heritage has broadened to not only include the material aspects such as ancient works of arts, movable antiquities, historic monuments and cultural landscapes, but also immaterial aspects or manifestations of culture like knowledge, skills, traditions, and practices (Blake, 2000; Ahmad, 2006; Bouchenaki, 2007; Vecco, 2010; del Barrio, et al., 2012). This expansion has led to a tendency within heritage management discourse and international conventions to split cultural heritage into two conceptual categories of tangible and intangible (Lähdesmäki, 2016). The term ‘intangible’ is defined to mean that which cannot be seen or touched; this is used in contrast to the term ‘tangible’, which means that which can be seen, touched, or sensed (Oxford Dictionary Online).

Tangible heritage is taken to mean all traces of human activities and interactions in our material surroundings, such as buildings and historic places; monuments; books; work of art; and artifacts (McKecher & du Cross, 2002; Harrison, 2010; Swensen, et al., 2013). A general definition of intangible heritage has proven to be elusive, hence it is explained as a list which includes aspects like practice, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills, – as well as instruments, objects, and artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals, recognize as part of their cultural heritage (see UNESCO, 2003). This form of heritage is manifested in domains such as oral traditions and expression, including language as a vehicle of the ICH; performing arts; social practices; rituals and festive events; knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe and traditional craftsmanship (see UNESCO, 2003:2.1).

This division of cultural heritage into tangible and intangible cultural heritage has been contested among scholars, as it is artificial and puzzling to accomplish in theory and practice (Munjeri, 2004; Kurin, 2004; Giaccardi & Palen, 2008; Carman, 2009a; Harrison & Rose, 2010). This is because heritage is recognised as such within certain sets of cultural or social values which are themselves intangible (Munjeri, 2004; Smith & Akagawa, 2009, p. 6). Thus, the forms of heritage that we perceive as tangible ‘material’ heritage, are considered as heritage because of the socially created value and meaning which are themselves intangible, and not due to their physical nature (Amselle, 2004; Smith, 2006; Leimgruber, 2010). Objects, collections, buildings etc., become recognised as heritage when they express the values of the society (Munjeri, 2004, p. 13). Hence, what makes heritage is the intangible qualities it possesses, rather than the physical characteristics it displays (Carman, 2009a, p. 45).

Smith and Campbell claim that the continued use of the two terms ‘*tangible*’ and ‘*intangible*’ is evidence of heritage professionals refusing to accept a different way of assessing the significance of heritage sites (Smith & Campbell, 2017, p. 26). Smith further labels the ‘old’ way of talking about heritage value as Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD), meaning the way of seeing heritage that has developed over a long period of time, which focuses on aesthetically pleasing material objects, sites, places and/or landscapes recognised by experts (Smith, 2006, p. 29; Smith & Waterton, 2009, p. 290); a model concept conceived in western countries in 19th century and exported to different non-western countries (Bryne, 2008). Within AHD, heritage is conceived as sites, objects, and structures with identifiable boundaries that can be documented and listed in national and international registers (Smith, 2006, p. 31).

Such a separation is puzzling because of the nature of both the material and immaterial aspects labelled as either tangible or intangible cultural heritage. Heritage assets categorised as tangible

are in most cases valued as such because of the intangible values attached to them. Carman (2009a) for example demonstrates the intangibility of monuments using the places used to commemorate the dead of World War I. He argues that such monuments are considered heritage not because of their physicality (being WWI tombs) but because of the meanings and memories attached which are themselves intangible (Carman, 2009a, p. 49). Smith (2006) also elaborates on the intangibility of heritage using Stonehenge as an example. Here she suggests that the site itself is just a collection of stones in the field, but what makes it heritage is the present-day cultural process and activities taking place around the site (Smith, 2006, p. 3). What these examples are depicting is the way the intangible values are contributing to the identification of the overall 'tangible' cultural heritage.

On the other hand, it is also challenging to label some forms of cultural heritage as intangible. This is so because the practices, traditions, or knowledge and skills that are identified as intangible cultural heritage are manifested through physical 'tangible' means. The knowledge and skills which are intangible are themselves used and applied to create something that is tangible (Condominas, 2004; Munjeri, 2004). Technical skills and knowledge, such as basket weaving, plaiting, metal and woodwork are manifested in terms of end products that are in the form of metal objects, wood carvings or baskets. Vanuatu Sand Drawing, which is inscribed on the UNESCO Representative List of ICH of Humanity, is a traditional practice of tracing different geometric figures in ashes, dust or sand among communities in Vanuatu (van Zanten, 2004; Alivizatou, 2012). Here, what is intangible is the overall ideas and ritual associated, but they are manifested in a secretive form of texts written down on the ground. The same issue is observed among many local and indigenous communities, where particular land, mountains, volcanoes, caves, and other tangible physical features are endowed with intangible meanings that are thought to be tied to their physicality (Kurin, 2004, p. 70). Hence, intangible heritage

is not only embodied but also inseparable from the materials and social worlds of persons (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004, p. 65).

Indeed, tangible and intangible cultural heritage are intertwined. For every tangible heritage, there is also an intangible heritage that wraps around it (Harrison, 2010, p. 10). For example, craft items such as the magnificently elaborated Lithuanian crosses that are used for different pilgrimage activities are tangible, but the knowledge and skills to create them are intangible (Kurin, 2004, p. 70). This is also the case for ICH where most of the manifestations are tangible (Munjeri, 2004; Harrison & Rose, 2010). Taking an example of skills, which is manifested in completed tools or objects, one can opine that the division between tangible and intangible is more of a political move (Kuutma, 2012). But it is also a practical one, aiming at handling the dissatisfaction over the inclusion and exclusion of cultural heritage from non-western countries in the World Heritage listing. Instead of redefining the criteria in the World Heritage List, which might have been expensive and time-consuming, UNESCO formulated another category of heritage which would improve the international recognition of heritage aspects from countries in Africa, Asia and Southern America (Giaccardi & Palen, 2008). Hence, such a separation is artificial, and it is particularly problematic to achieve in practice. While UNESCO and other international organisations seek to divide heritage into different forms, i.e. ‘tangible’ and ‘intangible’ or ‘natural’ and ‘cultural’, many societies in the world perceive heritage in an integrated fashion (Harrison & Rose, 2010). Harrison and Rose use the example of Indigenous Australians to argue that to Aborigines, heritage is not seen as tangible or even intangible, but as the relationship and connections which exists between a series of human and non-human entities in the world (Harrison & Rose, 2010, p. 268). The same is observed in Africa, where it is most challenging to discuss the tangible in absence of intangible (Abungu, 2012).

2.4 Traditional Ceremonies and Rituals as ICH

In defining what is ICH, there is more than one discourse involved. On one side, UNESCO through the CICH stipulates what is ICH, domains involved, and the requirements for a practice, tradition, expression or skill to be considered as ICH (see UNESCO, 2003; Article 2.1 and 2.2). On the other side, there are individual countries which also define what is ICH and its constituents in their context, with countries such as Korea and Japan providing evidence of earlier efforts in defining ICH (see Saito, 2005; Alivizatou, 2008; Saeji, 2019). Indeed, the role of these countries is even extended in the UNESCO discourse, as their influence can be well observed in the efforts and campaigns involved in promoting the international recognition of ICH by the organisation (Hafstein, 2009). There is a third discourse which is championed by other agents, particularly scholars who have also attempted to define ICH by moving away from the discourse promoted by international organisations such as UNESCO (see for example Harrison & Rose, 2010). This discourse is championed by a group of scholars who are against the separation of cultural heritage into tangible and intangible, i.e. they maintain that all heritage is intangible, and that the separation is meaningless and problematic in practice (for example, see Munjeri, 2004; Smith, 2006; 2017; Carman, 2009b).

The term ‘ceremony’ is taken to mean a celebration performed to commemorate a particular event or achievement in a person’s or community’s life (Janssen, 2008; Rai, 2010; Thwala, 2017). Traditional ceremonies for the case of this study are defined to mean social gathering performed to mark, celebrate or enjoy a certain event marking an important step for a community member or the whole community. This will range from those celebrating a person’s achievements such as a wedding, or burial; to those celebrated by all members of a community, such as the crowning of a new chief and any other ceremonies that are celebrated as part of the community identity (for examples see Ubong, 2010; Thwala, 2017). Conversely, the term ‘ritual’ is defined to mean a predefined order of performing a ceremony (Rai, 2010, p. 288). In

this study, the term 'Ritual' is used to mean continuous practices used by a member(s) of a community, either alone or in association with a certain ceremony which has a special meaning to those who perform it. Rituals and traditional ceremonies can exist separately, but in most instances, they are usually associated with each other, i.e. either during a traditional ceremony there are rituals that are associated with the practice, or the performance of certain rituals will be preceded by a ceremony. Shirin Rai clearly elaborates this relationship by pointing out that a ceremony is an activity infused with ritual significance, performed on a special occasion; and rituals are a prescribed order of performing a ceremonial act (Rai, 2010, pp. 288-9). This study uses the term 'traditional ceremonies and rituals' to mean a ceremony as a whole and the associated rituals.

One of the contributions of the UNESCO discourse to the safeguarding of ICH is the CICH, which among other things has provided a definition in the form of a list covering what are the practices, traditions, and expressions that can be categorised as ICH. There are a number of publications covering the UNESCO discourse, looking at what is and is not ICH, the safeguarding practices involved and the challenges affecting the process (for example, see Museum International, 2004; Smith and Akagawa, 2009; Stefano et.al., 2012; Stefano & Davis, 2017; Akagawa and Smith, 2019). Following the UNESCO discourse, using the definition offered, both ceremonies and rituals can be categorised as ICH. Specifically, they fall in the domain (c) social practices, rituals, and festive events. Out of the 470 elements inscribed in the two ICH lists, 76 are weddings; 32 are funerals; 20 are ritual dances; 18 are ritual purification; 2 are spiritual retreats; and 1 is a commemoration ceremony (UNESCO, 2019). Their inclusion is based on the fact that the definition offered by the convention is broad and vague (Marrie, 2009, p. 177; Eoin & King, 2013); allowing the inclusion of different cultural practices given they meet the restrictive criteria set in the CICH (Kurin, 2004; Marrie, 2009). Such restrictive criteria include the need to exhibit mutual respect between communities and being sustainable

and consistent with human rights (see UNESCO, 2003; Article 2.1). Although it is understandable that such criteria are set to restrict and avoid inclusion of some ceremonies and rituals among different societies in the world that might be harmful and inconsistent with human rights (see Kurin, 2004; Moghadam & Bagheritari, 2007), in practice, some of the proposed limitations are not achievable. For example, on the issue of exhibiting mutual respect between communities, the convention is being idealistic, seeing culture as generally hopeful and positive, born not of historical struggle and conflict but of the varied flowering of diverse cultural ways (Kurin, 2004). Some ceremonies, in spite of being integral to one community, will not be recognised as ICH because they do not respect another community. For example, the Irish Protestant Orange Marches with traditional routes that are deliberately designed to go through Catholic areas and create provocations will not be acceptable (Pearce, 2009). This will also apply to songs or tales that might celebrate victorious kings or alternatively resistance to perceived injustice, martyrdom, and defeat (Kurin, 2004, p. 70).

Using the same characteristics offered by the CICH, some of the traditional ceremonies and rituals, in many parts of the world, can still be categorised as ICH. For example, the convention provides that for a traditional ceremony to be an ICH, it must provide ‘the community with a sense of identity’ (UNESCO, 2003: 2.1). By being a source of identity, it means a certain group or community identify themselves through performing certain practices. This means ICH has a deep connection with the identity and the cultural distinctiveness of its creators and bearers (Lenzerini, 2011). Traditional ceremonies and rituals can be a very good source of identity, because the way the ceremony or rituals are performed, and items and restrictions involved are different from one group to another. Hence, such practices can be used as a means of identity for one group. Take for instance wedding ceremonies as an example, almost all societies in the world are engaged in some sort of wedding ceremony among the community’s rite of passage ceremonies. However, the way the wedding ceremonies are performed, the dressing styles,

rituals, and games involved are different from one society to another. Taking, for example, the two practices Uilleann piping and As-Samer, which are both inscribed as related to wedding ceremonies on UNESCO's representative list of the ICH of Humanity. Uilleann piping (inscribed in 2017) is an Irish musical practice performed by using a bagpipe known as 'uilleann', 'Irish' or 'union' pipes; while As-Samer (inscribed in 2018) is a performance involving people lining up, dancing and singing, with certain people performing specific roles in that performance (UNESCO, 2019). Looking at these two wedding practices, one can be able to identify and differentiate one group performing one practice, and the other performing the other one. Such differences can also be observed in terms of other practices that are performed in other ceremonies and rituals within a community.

Moving outside the UNESCO discourse, ICH is the culture that people practice in their daily life, embedded in the social and cultural lives of those cultural communities (Kurin, 2004; Blake, 2009). It is a form of social memory grounded in both everyday practices such as speaking, walking, gesturing, and communicating and in more specialised ceremonial or ritual context (Harrison & Rose, 2010, p. 240). Such forms can also be termed as a package that people have created and maintained in the forms of values, norms, cultural traditions, beliefs, knowledge, and range of activities that often provide meaning and substance to their life (Bacuez, 2009; Bhandari, 2011). They are subjected to modifications and changes resulting from different factors (e.g. globalisation and modernizations) (UNESCO, 2004; Nas, 2002; Jansen-Verbeke, 2009; Aykan, 2013); conforming to Giddens's theory of structuration, i.e. social life is more than random individual acts, but social structures (e.g. traditions, institutions and moral codes) that can change when ignored, replaced or reproduced differently (Giddens, 1984; Abercrombie, et al., 2006; Gauntlett, 2008). Following such a conception, traditional ceremonies and rituals are indeed qualifying as ICH. However, such a definition might also be challenged on the grounds that there are some traditions or practices performed by individuals

or groups which might fit into these definitions but are not worth safeguarding. These include those that are negatively affecting the wellbeing of a community or involve permanent body mutilation, e.g. female genital mutilation (FGM). Hence, every practice within a community can be ICH, but not every practice should be ICH. This is essential, to avoid practices or traditions that are harmful to a community as a whole or to some part of the community. However, saying this is easier in theory than accomplishing it in practice. There are some practices such as FGM or ritual *sati* (widow burning) that are indeed harmful to the community; but there are also those that are in between, for example the Muslim *chador* or *burqa*, which to foreign eyes may be seen as burdensome and oppressive, but are embraced by the wearers as a sign of faith and a rejection of western lifestyle (Ruggles & Silverman, 2009, p. 2). Thus, in the safeguarding process, the parties involved must be careful when defining ICH. This is because the definitions used will have impacts to the forms that will be included or excluded in the categorisations.

2.5 Management of Cultural Heritage: Traditional vs Modern practices

The terms Public Archaeology (PA), Archaeological Resource Management (ARM), Archaeological Heritage Management (AHM), Cultural Resources Management (CRM) and Cultural Heritage Management (CHM) have been used synonymously to mean the same thing depending on territory, i.e. CRM or PA in the United States of America (USA), AHM in Europe, CHM in Australia, and ARM in the United Kingdom (UK) (Carman, 2002; Smith, 2008). There are several definitions provided by scholars for the terms CHM and its synonyms. Ndoro defines AHM as ‘the process of care and continued developing of a place such that its significance is retained, revealed and its future secured’ (Ndoro, 2001, p. 7). Smith defines what she calls AHM as being conceived into three parts, that is (*i*) a process that fulfils the western cultural, political and ethical concerns in the conservation and curation of materials,

(ii) a process which institutionalises archaeological knowledge and ideology within state institution and discourses, and (iii) a process which is implicitly concerned with the definition of, and debates about cultural, historical, social and national identities (Smith, 2008, p. 62). Carman (2015, p. xi) defines ARM as ‘practices of recording, evaluating, preserving for future research and presenting to the public the materials of the past’. Mabulla and Bower define the term CHM as encompassing a wide range of activities aimed at using cultural resources responsibly, to ensure that they are not only conserved for future generations but also understood in depth and applied to contemporary scientific and socio-economic purposes (Mabulla & Bower, 2010, p. 42).

Although these terms are in some cases used synonymously, they do not hold the same meaning. The uses of the term ‘archaeological’ in either ARM or AHM, limits the type of heritage that will be included in that group. This is so because archaeology (the study of past human lifeways through material remains), does not concern itself with non-material aspects. Carman argues that, to some, archaeology is not about the past at all, but about the science of studying material culture (Carman, 2009b, p. 192). Hence, using such a term (i.e. ‘archaeology’) will neglect the intangible cultural heritage as part of the heritage to be managed. The use of the term ‘resource(s)’ in the CRM or ARM has also been contested as it implies that the asset being considered has an economic and extrinsic or use value that can be exploited (du Cros & Mckercher, 2015). This is also the case with the term ‘property’, which some scholars claim is too limited to encompass the wide range of cultural elements encompassing the heritage in question (Prott & O’Keefe, 1992; Blake, 2000, p. 66). Hence, this study will use the term Cultural Heritage Management (CHM) as an inclusive term encompassing both tangible and intangible aspects of culture; meaning the practices aiming at controlling the use, conservation, and protection of cultural heritage to ensure its survival for the present and future generations. In general, scholars have categorised CHM into two

management systems, i.e. Modern Cultural Heritage Management Systems and Traditional Cultural Heritage Management Systems (See Mumma, 2004; Ndoro, 2004; Mumma, 2005; Jopela, 2011).

Modern Cultural Heritage Management systems (MCHMs) is a Western-influenced form of cultural heritage management system which preserves, conserves and safeguards heritage by abiding to principles and practices proposed by international bodies such as UNESCO and ICCROM, and professionals and experts in heritage and the related disciplines (Wijesuria, 2003; Ndoro, 2004; Mumma, 2005; Bryne, 2008; Jopela, 2011). This form of cultural heritage management system is what Carman calls an international discourse adhering to certain forms of *modus operandi* that have been adopted throughout the globe (Carman, 2002, p. 203). Smith further labels this as an Authorised Heritage Discourse as it defines and approves what should constitute heritage, its nature, meaning and who should be its caretakers (Smith, 2006, p. 29). There are no exact dates on when this form of cultural heritage management systems emerged or where it did, but there is evidence on the emergence of its different features (e.g. Kristiansen, 1989, pp 25; Carman, 2015, pp. 6-8). It is generally agreed among scholars that the current MCHMs have their origin in the 19th century movements (Smith, 2006; Carman, 2015; du Cros & Mckercher, 2015).

Traditional Cultural Heritage Management Systems (TCHMs) on the other hand, is the practice of caring for the past or certain aspects of the past that has a deep history in different societies in the world. The term ‘traditional’ has been employed to differentiate these practices from the western-influenced practices for cultural heritage management (Mumma, 2005; Musonda, 2005; Jopela, 2011; Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015). However, its use has been contested concerning the implied meaning, as some scholars have associated it with backwardness, hence leading to the preference of using other terms such as ‘indigenous’ or ‘local’ instead (Mumma,

2005; Jopela, 2011). Others have challenged what is ‘tradition’ or ‘traditional’ especially in past colonies, where disruptions caused a break in transmission of past knowledge and led to the introduction of new practices considered to be tradition in some instances (Hobsbawm, 1983; Ranger, 1983; Cocks, 2006). In this study, the term ‘tradition’ will be adapted from the Oxford English dictionary (2010) to mean ‘a long-established custom or belief that has been passed on from one generation to another’; and TCHMs will be used to mean a form of heritage management system which is long established and practiced within communities aiming at controlling access, use, maintenance and transmission of material and immaterial aspects of surroundings that are important and valued by them.

Though there is no actual definition of what is meant by TCHMs, the term can be used to mean a form of cultural heritage management system that has its roots in a community’s daily practices, activities, and traditions that are directed towards protecting and conserving material and immaterial aspects of their surroundings considered important and valuable, thus transferred from one generation to another (Mumma, 2004; Ndoro, 2004; Berkes , 2005). This form of management system has long establishments, particularly in Africa and Asia, even before the introduction of Western-influenced practices that is referred to in this study as ‘formal’ or ‘Modern Cultural Heritage Management Systems (MCHMs)’. One of the long-held misconceptions is the belief that prior to the introduction of the western influenced cultural heritage management systems, there was no system for heritage management in pre-colonial Africa and Asia. Such beliefs are not accurate, especially due to the presence of sites and landscapes that were found to be in good management and preservation conditions during the arrival of colonisers (Ndoro, 2001; Ndoro & Pwiti, 2001; Arazi & Thiaw, 2013; Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015). Survival of these sites demonstrates the presence of a form of a management system that catered for them.

TCHMs were among the traditional practices that suffered severely with the advent of colonialism. This is because in many places these practices were labelled uncouth or evil and abandoned to be replaced by other systems mimicking those in the western countries (Jopela, 2011; Arazi & Thiaw, 2013). In British colonies, for example, there was the introduction of cultural heritage management systems that disregarded or abandoned the TCHMs that already existed in those parts (Wijesuria, 2003). This destruction was either due to a failure of the colonisers to understand the meaning and importance of such practices or a deliberate attempt to destroy practices that formed a basis for resistance against colonial domination (Bwasiri, 2011; Shule, 2011; Ichumbaki, 2015). This was the case for colonies in Africa and Asia, depending on the nature of colonial rule, i.e. direct, indirect and assimilation rule. The difference between the two management systems is not the terms ‘modern’ as being the results on the modernisation or ‘tradition’ being one with long roots among communities, but rather the specific features that are different among the two systems (Mumma, 2005). The discussion below presents the specific features that can be used to differentiate the two systems. Table (2.1) summarizes the distinguishing features between the two practices as discussed in the review.

Table 2.1: Distinguishing features between MCHMs and TCHMs

Characteristic	MCHMs	TCHMs
Administrative structure	Operating under a well-structured administrative system	Not uniform/ unstructured and adaptive
Legal framework	Presence of written legislation	Unwritten laws and regulations
Practitioners	Placing huge emphasis on experts and professionals	Communally practiced
Support from International Organizations	Presence of huge support from international organizations	Minimal or no support from international organization

(a) Administrative structure

Administrative structure means the overall management, operation, and leadership of specific systems. Irrespective of their type, cultural heritage assets (be it portable objects, monuments and sites or landscape) in a country are a responsibility of a particular organization adhering to a certain system (Carman, 2002, p. 61; Ndlovu, 2011a). These systems vary from one country to another, and they can include governmental institutions and agencies, intergovernmental organisations, nongovernmental organisations and academic institutions (Cleere, 2010). The role of state agencies differ according to whether the laws provide for government ownership or for government controls on private ownership of cultural material (Carman, 2015, p. 71). For the case of the management systems, both the MCHMs and TCHMs have some sort of an administrative structure that is involved in the management process. However, the structure is different between the two systems.

MCHMs operate under a well-structured administrative and institutional framework formed of institutions dealing with cultural heritage. With laws and regulations in place, the established institutions serve as an enforcement mechanism for the law, while supervising and initiating conservation and restorations programs (Bryne, 2008; Ndoro & Kiriama, 2008). These institutions vary from one country to the other, some are government institutions within ministries and museums and academic institutions or university departments, while others are independent bodies with minimal government control (Herrmann, 1989; Green, 2011; Carman, 2015). Apart from these institutions, there are also professional associations within individual countries that seek to control the overall practices relating to cultural heritage and associated disciplines. Most of these bodies are established by professionals themselves, to ensure the practice of CHM is done by people with certain qualifications, while at the same time observing the agreed standards and codes of practice (Carman, 2015).

The administrative structure for the case of TCHMs is unstructured and based on an individual's or group's supervision. For example, in an African context, most sites that are subjected to this form of management are used for sacred activities by a specific clan, subgroup or all community members (Pwiti, et al., 2007; Jopela, 2010; Bwasiri, 2011). Tangible sites e.g. monuments, structures or natural features like forests and perennial springs are used for different sacred activities, such as rituals and rain making ceremonies, and it is from these spiritual connections that most sites derive their importance and the need for protection from traditional systems (Chipunza, 2005; Arazi & Thiaw, 2013). A good example of these sites includes rock art sites such as *Mongomi wa kolo* in Tanzania, *Chinhamapere* in Mozambique, and *Dzimbabwe hill* in Zimbabwe (Pwiti, et al., 2007; Jopela, 2010; Bwasiri, 2011). Others include World Heritage Sites such as Great Zimbabwe and Khami in Zimbabwe, and Kilwa in Tanzania, which are protected by TCHMs because of the sacred beliefs that the surrounding communities have placed over the sites (Chirikure, et al., 2010; Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015; Ichumbaki, 2016). Hence, the existing administrative structure in TCHMs comprises varied structures, especially chiefs, clan leaders, and or any other form of custodians as per requirements of the sites. These structures vary from one place to the other, for example in Kami, King Lobengula placed guards to oversee movements and activities around the site (see Chirikure et.al, 2016), while in the Katsubi tombs (Uganda) there were designated duties for people who served as the site custodians (Kigongo & Reid, 2007; Himmelheber, 2016). In general, although both approaches have an administrative structure to oversee the management process, there is a difference between the components of such structure. While in MCHMs the administrative framework is well structured and organized, in the TCHMs such a framework is not as structured and vary from one place to another.

(b) Laws and regulation governing the management process

Laws and regulations are an essential component of any cultural heritage management system (Ndoro, 2001). Apart from defining the aspects that qualify to receive protection, laws also describe the nature of punishment and penalties that one might face upon violating the stipulated terms (Pearson & Sullivan, 1995). Both TCHMs and MCHMs have some form of legal framework that governs and controls the access and use of the protected aspects. However, such frameworks are slightly different in the two systems. For the MCHMs the existing legal framework is written in the form of either laws (e.g. legislations) or by-laws (e.g. policies) that create a legal system for protecting cultural heritage in a country. Because of the importance and values placed upon cultural heritage, almost every country in the world has a certain form of legislation that deals with its protection and management (Green, 2011; Ndlovu, 2011a; Carman, 2015). Among other things, legislation provides elaborations on different issues such as: what is to be protected and the means to protect it; the specific roles of the parties involved in the process, whether individual, groups, government bodies or non-governmental organizations; penalty clauses against destruction and mistreatment; and they offer provisions that ensure proper maintenance, conservation, and management of cultural heritage through restricting unauthorized access and issuing codes and operational standards (Pearson & Sullivan, 1995; Ndoro & Kiriama, 2008; Blake, 2015; Carman, 2015).

In general, legislation is essential in the overall protection of cultural heritage, as it is where the MCHMS derives its authority in protecting, conserving and managing it. Indeed, lack of effective legislation has been cited by scholars as among the challenges towards having an effective CHM system in different parts of the world (Hall, et al., 1993; Bwasiri, 2011; Ndlovu, 2011a; Yates, 2011; Jenkins, 2018; Yilmaz & El-Gamil, 2018). This is particularly true to most of the developing countries that are yet to set in place effective legal frameworks that best suit their situations. A good example is Africa, where most of the existing legislation was

inherited from colonialism or continues adhering to western perspectives of heritage management (Negri, 2005; Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015; Chirikure, et al., 2016).

In the case of TCHMs, the existing regulations are not uniform or written, and they are in the form of rituals, taboos, and restrictions that control access, use and modification of the valued aspects (Ndoro & Pwiti, 2001; Mumma, 2005). Several examples can be used to demonstrate the existence of these regulations in TCHMs. The first one is from Zimbabwe, in a site called Great Zimbabwe, where there were several regulations guiding the access and use of the site. Such rules guide who enters the site, as it was prohibited to enter or take anything without permission. The site also had a designated entrance named *mijeje*, that was the only authorized passage into the site, accessed through a series of rituals during the opening and closing times (Mahachi & Kamuhangire, 2008; Arazi & Thiaw, 2013). There is also evidence from Khami, a designated World Heritage site made up of dry-stone walls that were built without any binding mortar, covering 35 hectares of land (Makuvaza & Makuvaza, 2013; Chirikure, et.al, 2016). The site is known to have had a traditional management system since pre-colonial times for preserving the sacredness and spirituality of the site (Chirikure, et al., 2016). Any activities to repair or rebuild the walls or cutting the trees were restricted by the guiding taboos.

Similar situations of the existence of regulations can be seen in the Kasubi tombs in Uganda. The Kasubi tombs are the burial place of the four kings (*Kabakas*) of the Buganda kingdom and are listed as cultural World Heritage site (Ndoro, 2004; Kigongo & Reid, 2007). Traditionally, the site had permanently designated keepers, *Nalinya* (spiritual guardians) and a *Lubuga* (land-use allocators), who oversaw the spiritual management (Munjeri, 2004; Arazi & Thiaw, 2013). Several rules were also in place such as: not being allowed to enter into the

tombs with shoes, restrictions on what to wear when entering, and in the manner of sitting once inside (Kamuhangire, 2005; Kigongo, 2005; Mahachi & Kamuhangire, 2008).

Another salient feature of regulations in TCHMs is that they are not uniform. Although TCHMs regulations existed in most sacred sites, each place had their own ways of protecting what they considered sacred. For example, while the Khami site in Zimbabwe had temporary soldiers that were assigned by the king to protect the entrance, in the Kasubi tombs there were permanent people that resided on the site to oversee its management (Ndoro, 2004; Munjeri, 2004; Kigongo, 2005). Despite the existence of penalties to offenders in all places, the penalties imposed were not uniform among different societies. Some were lenient, as the offender was just required to pay a fine in a form of cattle or provide labour to the site and others faced death penalty. For example, in the 2nd Century BC one ruler in Sri Lanka ordered his own death due to the destruction he caused on a sacred Buddha monument (Wijesuria, 2003; Musonda, 2005).

(c) Practitioners

In this study, the term 'practitioner' is used to refer to people or individuals that are responsible for overseeing and participating in the management of cultural heritage in a system. Both systems need the presence of people in order to effectively undertake the management process. However, there are differences between the two systems, in terms of the manner of selection and qualifications of people that will be involved in the process. MCHMs place huge emphasis on the use of experts. CHM or AHM has emerged as a part or sub-discipline of archaeology. During the early developing years, the people involved in cultural heritage management were professional archaeologists. However, the trend is fast changing with the continuous development of the field, most professions are emerging within the field, and more are becoming part of the discipline. Most of the people currently involved in the MCHMs are

professionals trained in archaeology, cultural heritage, architecture or conservation sciences. Scholars writing for cultural heritage management have also emphasized this, for example, Cleere contends that

members of this new profession [AHM] should have an extensive knowledge and understanding of the archaeological record, and its interpretation, which bespeaks a primary training to university or equivalent level in the academic discipline of archaeology(...)in addition, archaeological heritage managers must acquire basic general management skills(...)training in legislative framework of heritage protection, land-use planning(...)and conservation (Cleere, 1989, p. 16)

Price further points out that awareness of principles of conservation should be a requirement for a manager in ARM (Price, 1989). Also, one of the challenges that have been continuously cited about CHM particularly in developing countries is the lack of professionally trained personnel (Mabulla, 2000; Amekudi, 2005; Karume, 2005; Mmutle, 2005).

Institutions such as ICCROM and ICOM have set in place professional standards for people that are or should be involved in the CHM process, for example the *Venice Charter* of 1965 and the ICOM *code of ethics* of 1986. Both are directed towards ensuring certain practices and ethics are observed in the management process (du Cros & Mckercher, 2015; ICCROM, 2017; ICOM, 2017). This, in turn, has led the MCHMs to be an expert dominated process, where only people with certain qualifications are involved. This continued reliance on experts has, however, been highly criticized, as scholars tend to call for community involvement in the CHM process, to make it a more balanced activity in which both professionals and non-professionals are involved and play an equal role (Mapunda & Lane, 2004; Chirikure & Pwiti, 2008; Chirikure, et al., 2010). However, this issue of community involvement is dominant in theory, with little actual implementation in the practice of CHM which continues being a top-

down approach with experts and government officials dominating the process (Alivizatou, 2011; Arazi & Thiaw, 2013; Aykan, 2013; Blake, 2014).

TCHMs, on the other hand, is different as it is a communal activity. In most sites, the local community are aware of the regulations governing their heritage, the people responsible and their roles. In those sites where there was a need for regular renovations, the whole community was often involved in the process with each member playing a certain role in the process. For example, during the maintenance of the King's Palace in the Buganda kingdom, all 52 clans voluntarily engaged in the process (Munjeri, 2004; Kigongo, 2005). Another example is the maintenance of the cultural landscape of Tongo-Tenzuk in Ghana, which is done mostly in the dry season. The maintenance is a communal process performed by members of the Talensi ethnic group, with women carrying the mud and men doing the actual building (Kankpeyeng, 2005). In other instances, the restoration of a sacred site is accompanied by a ceremony which engage most of the community members. Because most of the sacred sites belonged to a certain clan or clans, each member of such a group is responsible for a certain role. Some are directly involved, especially those that reside in the sites or play a significant role in the rituals, others are only active during a specific activity taking place within the shrine, e.g. a ritual or maintenance. But all members participate, particularly in the restoration process or a certain ceremony that aims at engaging all members (Joffroy, 2005; Kankpeyeng, 2005; Sidi & Joffroy, 2005; Sidi, 2012).

(d) Support from International Organizations

The term 'support' is used to mean the different forms of assistance from an existing international organisation that is directed towards a particular cultural heritage management system. This can include the international instruments (conventions and agreements)

formulated and implemented, the amounts of funds set aside for such practices; and seminars and training conducted towards understanding and improving a particular heritage management system by international organisations. Overall, there is a variation in terms of the support provided by the multinational organisations to MCHMs and TCHMs.

Because MCHMs have developed and become widely implemented in different countries of the world, multinational organisations such as UNESCO, ICCROM, and World Bank have offered different support compared to what is directed towards TCHMs. UNESCO, for instance, has been at the forefront in supporting MCHMs through creating international organisations and standard-setting organisations such as ICCROM, and provisions of funding and technical support to member states (King, 2011; Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015; Cameron, 2016). Currently, there are more than eight conventions enacted by UNESCO with the aim of improving, controlling and supporting the practice of MCHMs in different countries (Green, 2011; Kersel & Luke, 2015). Among the member states, the conventions are legally binding, thus serving as a means to control government actions against the protected heritage (Pearson & Sullivan, 1995).

Apart from conventions, there are also recommendations that, although not legally binding, are very effective in setting the ground for developing individual national legislation, or in some instances leading to the development of international conventions. For example, the 1989 Recommendation formed the basis for the preparation of the CICH (Daifuku, 1986; Aikawa-Faure, 2009). There are also other forms of support from organisations such as ICOM, ICOMOS, and ICCROM (du Cros & Mckercher, 2015). These organisations continuously offer support in the form of training, capacity building programs and technical assistance to member states (Arazi & Thiaw, 2013; Abungu, 2016; Ndoro, 2016); or provision of funds which

supports the implementation of different activities and programs in MCHMs (UNESCO, 2003; Keitumetse, 2006; Abungu, 2016).

On the contrary, TCHMs receive minimal or no support from these multinational organisations. None of the multinational organisations have enacted conventions or created capacity building programmes for TCHMs. The closest international instruments to support TCHMs are the CICH and the international instruments by the World Intellectual Property Organisation (the 1967 World Intellectual Property Convention and Berne Convention). However, these instruments neither seek to improve TCHMs in the management process nor to understand how they work; rather aim at protecting them, either as practices and expressions or skills in danger of being lost, or against copyright infringements through unauthorised use and commodification. In turn, even countries with remnant of TCHMs receives supports that aims at improving MCHMs whilst affecting the effectiveness and survival of TCHMs. However, recent efforts by governments and international organisations are seeing improvements in this, with several programs now seeking to incorporate TCHMS in their implementation process. Some governments, such as those in Zimbabwe and Mozambique, have enacted laws that allow for TCHMs to operate in parallel with MCHCMs, and the recent enactment of CICH has also increased the chances for the local communities and their TCHMs to be incorporated in the management processes. Despite these recent improvements, there is still a profound difference in terms of supports offered between these two heritage management systems.

2.6 Challenges for Safeguarding ICH

This section explores the challenges facing ICH safeguarding efforts in different parts of the world. The term ‘safeguarding’ is defined to mean measures aimed at ensuring the viability of ICH (see UNESCO, 2003), as opposed to other terms such as ‘protection’, ‘preservation’, and ‘revitalisation’ which are thought to have paternalistic echoes in some parts of the world (van

Zanten, 2004, p. 37). The international recognition of ICH has motivated different organisations and governments to initiate safeguarding projects. Through the CICH innovations, individual nations can submit different practices, traditions and expressions to be featured in the two lists or as part of individual national inventories as urged by the convention (See UNESCO 2003). In doing so, there are several challenges that are affecting such initiatives. However, it is impossible to elucidate all the challenges existing in different parts of the world, partly because each country has individual challenges depending on the existing circumstances within its boundaries; and partly because such a task would not be easily accomplished within the timeline for a Ph.D. program. But due to the recent increase in interests to safeguarding ICH in the world, there are some common challenges that are affecting most nations, governments, and individual efforts directed towards safeguarding this form of heritage. This section explores such challenges through drawing on experiences from different parts of the world.

a) The issue of community involvement

One of the crucial aspects of the CICH is the central role given to the cultural communities and groups, and in some cases, individuals associated with ICH (Blake, 2005). This is because ICH is extremely nuanced and specific to the communities, groups and individuals who embody it as well as the places in which it is expressed (Lenzerini, 2011; Denes, et al., 2013). In affirming the worth of ICH as a cultural space, collective identification within concerned communities, creators, and bearers must be secured (Chan, 2017). To support this, CICH specifically points out that ‘communities, in particular, indigenous communities, groups and, in some case, individuals play an important role in the production, safeguarding, maintenance and recreation of ICH, thus helping to enrich cultural diversity and human creativity’ (UNESCO, 2003; Preamble). What this indicates is the importance of community involvement in the safeguarding of ICH. Community involvement in the safeguarding process can be simply

defined as the act of engaging and allowing members of the concerned community to generate, recreate, transmit, and sustain their ICH (Bakar, et al., 2014, p. 187).

Despite the importance of involving the communities in the safeguarding process, the challenge has been over how to do so. In most cases, communities, heritage practitioners, academics, NGOs, and the state compete over defining and managing heritage and over what should be conserved and safeguarded (Deacon & Smeets, 2013). ICH is unique in the way that it is a community that considers it as their heritage and means of identity while outsiders or government institutions may disagree. This has led some organisations and scholars to place a huge emphasis on the community to be an integral part of the safeguarding process. (UNESCO, 2003; Kurin, 2007; Mazel, et.al, 2017). This act of giving community members or cultural bearers priority in implementing safeguarding initiatives has been referred to as a bottom-up approach (see UNESCO, 2003; Kreps, 2005; Ranking, et al., 2006; Bortolotto, 2007), as opposed to a top-down approach which is initiated by either government institutions, NGOs or professionals, and in which the community are considered only as cultural bearers.

Achieving a bottom-up approach has been a challenge in practice. A good example is the process of nominating practices or traditions in the UNESCO's ICH lists. Although the CICH calls for a bottom-up approach, research indicates most initiatives are carried out in a top-down manner dominated by cultural bureaucrats rather than tradition bearers and practitioners (Alivizatou, 2011, p. 41). In some areas, it is the NGOs that undertake most of the work. Thus, the community involvement is superficial, involving minimal consultation by the authorities, or establishing of state-sponsored NGOs specifically for the purposes of identifying and managing ICH (Blake, 2014, p. 300). In others, the process has been totally dominated by the government and its agencies while neglecting the communities and practitioners, e.g. in the Philippines (see Chan, 2017:30). The same problem is observed in relation to *Semah*, a

religious ritual of Turkey's Alevis, a heterodox Islamic sect that was nominated to the UNESCO's Representative List of the ICH of Humanity in 2017. While the application dossier shows the Alevis community representatives were involved and were in full support of the nomination, research by Bahar Aykan indicated that the representatives were actually against such a designation (Aykan, 2013, p. 383), meaning they were not involved.

There are also cases where the safeguarding process has been inclusive to some extent, but including the community members only as cultural bearers, practitioners or performers. An example of this is the nomination of the Jamaa el Fnaa from Marrakech, Morocco, to UNESCO's list of ICH of Humanity in 2011 (Schmitt, 2008; Beardslee, 2016). The performers were indirectly consulted through 'middle-men' such as Goytisoló (a Spanish prize-winning writer), *Les Amis de la Place* (a local NGO) and other people working for the Moroccan Ministry of Culture and UNESCO. This is evidenced by the preference in nomination of some aspects with direct relation to the middle-men in the lists such as storytelling compared to other practices such as music, magic and snake charming that are all found within the square (Beardslee, 2016, p. 93). Hence, although different parties have called for community involvement, the manner of involving the communities has not been perfected. Currently, different parties are still struggling to do so.

b) Problems with safeguarding measures proposed

Due to the realisation of the loss of ICH in many parts of the world, different nations and international organisations have endeavoured to put in place safeguarding practices or measures for this form of heritage. Following UNESCO's 2003 CICH, safeguarding simply means the measures aimed at ensuring the viability of ICH (UNESCO, 2003). However, most of the safeguarding practices have been questioned, particularly on their impact in the

safeguarding process. One of the highly contested safeguarding measures proposed is the documentation of ICH. UNESCO has established inventories in the form of lists for this form of heritage whilst encouraging governments to also establish individual inventories in the countries (see UNESCO, 2003). Indeed, documentation or inventory was considered by some scholars as a rational way of identifying and itemising ICH (Kurin, 2004, p. 71). As Kirshenblatt-Gimblett points out, listing is the most visible, least costly, and most conventional way of doing something symbolic about neglected communities and traditions (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004, p. 57).

However, the reliability of this measure has been questioned, particularly over the unwanted consequences that can result because of its implementation. Due to the nature of ICH, it is dynamic and changing over time (Kurin, 2004; Cominelli & Greffe, 2012; Riordan & Schofield, 2015), which has also been referred to as living heritage (Deacon, 2004; Lenzerini, 2011) to distinguish it (ICH) from ‘dead’ cultural artefacts (van Zanten, 2004). Hence, attempting to safeguard it through translation from its oral form to material forms, e.g. archives, inventories, museums, and audio or film records, can be regarded as freezing it (Bouchenaki, 2003). The documented form will not be representative of that practice, but merely its copy at a given time (Amselle, 2004; Skounti, 2009; Lenzerini, 2011). There are also problems over how the process of documentation can be a challenge in the safeguarding process. A slight error in the documentation process can result in a significant transformation of the overall practices (Condominas, 2004; Goody, 2004). Laos, a community in the Northern part of South East Asia, is a good example of how this can happen. In the 1970s, an incompetent *khene* (a reed music instrument) musician was invited to play on the radio to help save the indigenous playing technique. The result of this was that the community abandoned the authentic way of

playing the music, and adapted the wrong way which was played on the radio (Condominas, 2004, p. 23).

Other scholars have also questioned the suitability of creating a list for this form of heritage. To promote the safeguarding of ICH, UNESCO has created two lists (UNESCO, 2003; Blake, 2009). Despite all the good intentions behind the creation of the two lists, their implications will go beyond the mere inscription of traditions and practices. This is because listing is an inclusion and exclusion process based on political choices or perceptions (Riordan & Schofield, 2015), which might result in recognizing and valorising certain traditions while neglecting others (Kurin, 2004; Lenzerini, 2011). This could cause a feeling of importance or superiority for the practices that are inscribed on the list, with those not inscribed taking the inferior role. Indeed, UNESCO is aware of its inability to include all forms of ICH in its lists; that is why the organisation urges governments to create a separate lists or inventories for ICH in their countries (see UNESCO, 2003: Article 13).

In response to the creation of UNESCO ICH lists, there has emerged a habit of politicising the representative list for specific reasons (for examples, see Leader-Elliott & Trimboli, 2012; Aykan, 2013). Some nations are using the list as a means of including or excluding minority groups within the wider national context. A good example of this is the nomination of the *Semah* religious ritual of Turkey's Alevis. The nomination came at a time where there was a move by the government of Turkey to integrate the Alevis into the Sunni Islam which accounts for 80-85% of the population (Zürcher & van der Linden, 2004, p. 122; Aykan, 2013). The same issue of politicising the list is seen in terms of countries attempting to use the list as means of solving disputes over ownership of certain practices or traditions. A good example of this is the *Karagöz*, a shadow theatre show relating to the people of Turkey and Greece. While the show ownership has been contested between the two countries, it was nominated for Turkey in

the UNESCO's Representative list of ICH of Humanity in 2009. This was welcomed (by the Turkish) as a proof of Turkish origins (Aykan, 2015). Further, there is also an issue of standardising practices and traditions, so they meet the listing criteria. For example, members of the Senufo community of Mali and Burkina Faso and the Ainu people of northern Japan received letters from UNESCO secretariats intending to assist in ways of presenting their culture to match the UNESCO criteria and submit the “strongest possible nominations” (Bortolotto, 2012, p. 267).

c) Contradictions with Human Rights

Another challenge that affects the safeguarding of ICH is the problems caused due to contradictions with human rights. There is a common relationship between cultural heritage and human rights (Logan, 2012; Blake, 2015). Human rights simply mean the rights that are inherent to all human beings (UN, 2000). The safeguarding of ICH has the most direct and difficult human rights implications because it deals with embodied and living heritage (Logan, 2012, p. 236). Some community practices can be interpreted as violating basic human rights. Noting this, and intending to avoid the resulting contradictions, one of the aspects stipulated in the UNESCO's CICH is the fact that not all intangible cultural heritage will be recognised. The list will be for only those practices which are consistent with international human rights instruments (UNESCO, 2003: Article 2.1). Such international instruments include the Universal Declaration on Human Rights of 1948; The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of 1966; and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 1966.

This restriction makes sense, as the organisation does not want either to support or encourage practices obstructing human rights, such as torture or infanticide (Kurin, 2004). Despite these restrictions, the challenge is on the blurriness of the distinction on when a practice is violating

human rights and when it is not. This can be straight forward with some practices such as Female Genital Mutilation, virgin testing or the practice of child burning as a sacrifice to the Hindu goddess of destruction (Kali) in India (Logan, 2007). However, it can be problematic with practices such as Muslim *chador* or *burqa* and those causing permanent body-deformation such as tattoos and the neck rings of the Karen hill tribes of Thailand (see Ruggles & Silverman, 2009), which are valued by a particular community, but may be labelled by others as violating human rights. The same will be applied to those practices accessed by a certain part of a community either due to gender, age or ethnicity; will they still be considered as ICH despite their segregative nature? This leads to the question of when does one decide a tradition or practice to be oppressive or offensive? And who will decide that? (Kurin, 2004).

There is also a challenge in relation to cultural rights themselves and how they relate to cultural heritage and ICH as a specific. Firstly, the protection of ICH is associated with a cultural identity which is a human right in itself (Lixinski, 2013, p. 146). Hence, restricting practicing or recognition of certain aspects as ICH might also be considered as violating human rights. This is particularly tricky as to how Logan (2012, p. 239) argues, because human rights are evoked when claims are in favour of cultural diversity and heritage (particularly intangible), it might be problematic when communities decide to use the human rights card to champion the ownership or continuation of certain practices. This can be a risk for religious places that are used by more than one group. For instance, the Palestinian city of Hebron is considered as religiously important by both Arabs and Israelis. What will happen if both groups exclusively claim the city through fundamental rights such as freedom to speech, assembly, and association? How will such contested rights be accommodated without further accelerating the conflict? (Assi, 2012; Logan, 2012, p. 240). Secondly, there is also a challenge in terms of striking a balance between maintaining individual rights and group rights in the safeguarding

initiatives (Kurin, 2004; Logan, 2012; Lixinski, 2013). If the focus is on maintaining group rights to perform a certain practice, then this may tend to infringe an individual's rights (Francioni, 2008). This is because some cultural values and practices affect the less powerful groups in society such as women, children, stateless persons and the poor (see Moghadam & Bagheritari, 2007; Logan, 2012). If the focus is on individual's rights, this will lead to upholding individual freedoms and undermining a group's interests and the ability to safeguard certain practices as a distinct cultural society (Francioni, 2008).

d) Problems with Intellectual Property Rights

In safeguarding ICH, another challenge that has been widely discussed by scholars is the issue of intellectual property (IP) and Intellectual Property Rights (IPR). IP refers to the creations of the mind, such as inventions, designs, literary and artistic works, and symbols, names, images, and performances (Wendland, 2004; Keitumetse, 2016), while Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) are the legal instruments designed to provide the holders of IP the exclusive use over certain activities (David & Halbert, 2015; Filippetti & Archibugi, 2015). Forms of intellectual property include copyrights, trademark, and patent laws (George, 2010). Most of these create enforceable private property rights in creations in order to grant control over their exploitation (Wendland, 2004).

In the last few decades, discussions over the protection of knowledge and creativity of the indigenous population have gained prominence in both academic and policy-making circles (Graber & Burri-Nenova, 2010). The reasons for this increased attention has been due to among others: the creation of global political networks by the indigenous people in the second half of 20th century; the recognition of the economic value of indigenous knowledge, and the increasing activism of developing countries around international IP rights (Drahos & Frankel,

2012). As Brown argues, among the reasons is the digital revolution which has increased the ability of individuals and corporations to appropriate and profit from the cultural knowledge of indigenous peoples, which is largely not protected by existing intellectual property laws (Brown, 1998). Pertinent questions in relation to IP include who has the legal rights, ethical responsibilities, access and entitlements to benefits from information derived from or relating to someone else's culture heritage (Vadi, 2007; Nicholas, et al., 2009). This unauthorised use and copyrighting of indigenous culture termed as 'culture appropriation', meaning 'taking – from a culture that is not one's own –of intellectual property, cultural expression or artifacts, history and ways of knowledge' (Ziff & Rao, 1997, p. 1), has been a source of disputes in many places. Some international corporations are taking advantage of and register trademarks that belong to community cultures (Mosimege, 2007; Keitumetse, 2016). For example, the recent uproar against the move by the movie industry giant Disney to trademark the phrase 'Hakuna Matata', a Swahili phrase that loosely translates into 'No worries', made popular through the movie the Lion King. The phrase is locally used by the people in East Africa (specifically Tanzania and Kenya). Similarly, the attempts to trademark knowledge and skill already known in other parts is another illustration of such misappropriations. A good example of this is a patent application that was granted and then revoked in the USA, concerning the wound healing properties of turmeric, ancient knowledge from India (Vadi, 2007, p. 685). Other forms of misappropriations include the acquisition of native crop varieties for genetic improvement of seeds, the transformation of traditional herbal medicines into marketable drugs by pharmaceutical firms, and the incorporation of indigenous graphic designs into consumer goods without the permission of the native artists (Brown, 1998; George, 2010).

Several instruments have been brought forward by different parties to prevent unauthorised use and ensure benefit sharing among traditional holders (Vadi, 2007). These include international instruments such as the 1967 World Intellectual Property (WIPO) Convention; the 1970 Patent

Cooperation Treaty and the 2012 Beijing Treaty on Audio-visual Performances (see Keitumetse, 2016); and those within individual countries such as the Traditional Knowledge and Expressions of Culture (2002) in the Pacific Island region (Forsyth, 2011). Over the years there have been a considerable number of debates over the importance and weakness of existing IP rights in protecting traditional cultural practices. One of the weaknesses has been the failure of the existing instruments to provide protection for community rights (Forsyth, 2013; Deacon & Smeets, 2019). Most of these instruments are designed to provide protection to individuals as authors or inventors. Hence, providing protection to ICH in the form of either cultural practices, traditions, or expressions is problematic, because ICH supposedly belongs to an entire community (Keitumetse, 2016). The challenge is over who should be the beneficiary of such creations. The problems over ownership seems to intensify when there are potential benefits in the form of either money or other resources that can be generated in the process (Forsyth, 2011; Jopela, et al., 2012).

There are also problems over the protection of those practices or skills that are considered and performed in secrecy by the responsible parties. For example, the iron smelting process among many African societies was associated with rituals and ceremonies that were essential for the completion of the smelting process (Schmidt, 1997; Mapunda, 2011). These rituals were performed in secret, and it was only a particular group within a community, whether in terms of gender or clan membership that had access to them (Schmidt, 1997). This is also the case with traditional healing and the associated medicines. For example, the healing rituals among the Sámi people found in Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia (Sexton & Sárlie, 2008; Miller, 2015). The Sámi people are known for different forms of healing practices such as *Lohkan* (reading), the laying of hands, and *vara bissehit* (blood-stopping) (Hætta, 2015). These healing practices and the associated procedures are known and restricted within certain family lines

and are only disclosed among the family members (Sexton & Sárllie, 2008; Hætta, 2015). How will these be protected? Protecting them through IP rights will not be effective as it will be equal to exposing such practices to unsanctioned part of the community (Nwabueze, 2013; Shyllon, 2016). Therefore, although there are some advancements made in terms of formulating instruments to protect different cultural forms through IPR, they are yet to effectively perform such a task. More researches and discussions are needed to create instruments that will effectively protect the cultural rights of individuals and groups without causing more problems.

2.7 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed and analysed the different existing literature on ICH and the safeguarding practices globally. It specifically provides a discussion of the key themes in the safeguarding of this form of heritage using examples from different parts of the world. This includes the conceptualisation of the term ICH, its historical development, and the key players within the international discourse. Further, the chapter has addressed the existing debates on intangibility of cultural heritage, constituents of ICH, cultural heritage management systems, and the challenges facing the safeguarding of ICH. In general, the ICH and its safeguarding practices has long existed in many parts of the world. The local community and governments in different parts of the world have been safeguarding this form of heritage long before the recent international initiatives. The next chapter (3) will provided a synthesis of literature relating to ICH and the safeguarding practices in Tanzania.

CHAPTER THREE

INTANGIBLE HERITAGE AND SAFEGUARDING PRACTICES IN TANZANIA

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on ICH at local and national levels in Tanzania. It specifically looks at the conceptualisation of ICH and the safeguarding practices at the two levels. Although the safeguarding of ICH has become an international concern, each country has historical, social and political factors that play a significant role on how ICH is conceived, perceived and safeguarded. Likewise, the process of safeguarding ICH in Tanzania is an interplay of different factors imbedded within the social, economic and political development aspects. This chapter specifically looks at such factors and their influence on the country's ICH and safeguarding practices in general. This chapter is divided into three parts. The first part covers a brief history of Tanzania to contextualise the study area and topic. The second part looks at the development of safeguarding practices in the country. This part divides the development of the country in three historical periods, i.e. pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial. In each period, the chapter discusses the nature of the safeguarding practice that existed, the way they operated and the associated challenges. The last part introduces the Jita people and their ICH, to set the stage for understanding the people who are used as a unit of analysis for TSPs.

3.2 General Background on Tanzania

Tanzania (Figure 3.1) is a Sub-Saharan African country located in the Eastern part of the continent. The country lies between latitudes 1° and 12° South of Equator and longitudes 29° and 41° East. It is bordered to the North by Kenya and Uganda; to the East by the Indian Ocean; to the South by Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique; and to the West by Rwanda, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo. The country covers a total of 945,087 sq. km with approximately 45 million people that are divided into over 120 ethnic groups with different

linguistic and cultural traditions (URT, 2012). The post-colonial governments have managed to forge national unity and reduce linguistic and cultural differences by adopting Swahili as a single national language (Omari, 1987).

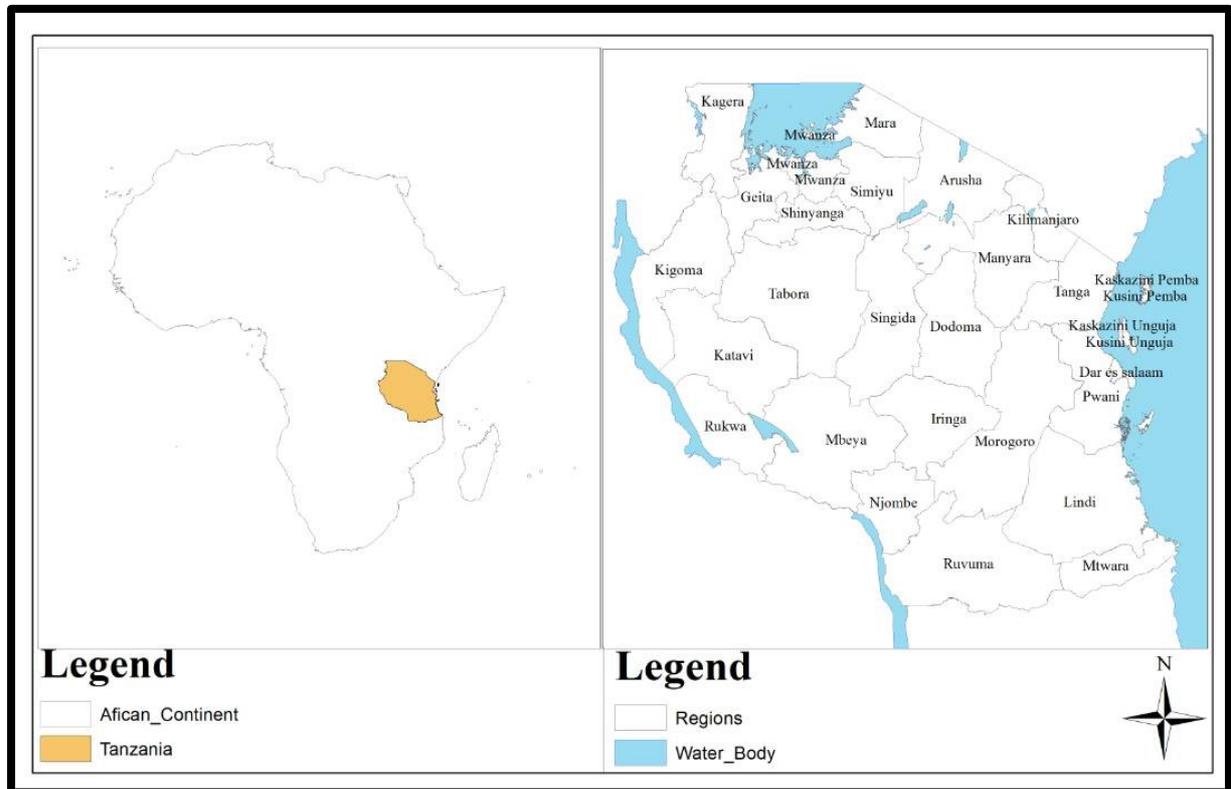


Figure 3.2: Map of Tanzania showing its location (Drawn by Frank Kasuga)

The history of the country and people of the present-day Tanzania involve the intermixing of diverse groups of people. It also involves social, cultural, political, and economic evolution that stretches back thousands of years (Kimambo & Temu, 1969; Sheffiff, 1979; Ndee, 2010). The knowledge and information concerning early settlements in the country are mainly deduced from archaeological research and analysis of ancient documents (Sutton, 1969). Archaeological research has extended the occupation of the country by human ancestors (*Australopithecus afarensis*) to as early as 3.5 million years ago (Newman, 1984; Musiba, et al., 2008; Raichlen, et al., 2008; Ichumbaki, et al., 2019). The analysis of documents from the Roman Empire such as the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* and Ptolemy's *Geography* have established the presence of people who settled along the Coast of the Indian Ocean and traded

with other parts of the world as early as the first millennium AD (Chami, 1998; 1999; Phillipson, 2005). Most communities that occupied the area before the Berlin conference in 1885 were ethnic groups headed by kings, chiefs or clan heads (Coulson, 2013).

Early contact with outsiders began as trading activities between the coastal indigenous people and traders from the Roman Mediterranean, the Nile and the Middle East (Chami, 1999; Lane, 2005). Due to demographic pressure, bad climate, famines and floods, the Arabs from Persia and Arabia started to migrate down the coast of East Africa as early as the 6th and 7th Century AD (Martin, 1974; Lodhi, 1986). Their settlements flourished along these areas during the 12th and 13th Century (Chittick, 1963; Pouwells, 1987). The European exploration in search of routes to India and the Far East was crucial in establishing European colonial contact with the people of East Africa. The earliest European influence in the country came at around AD 1500. It started with the arrival of the Portuguese explorers, such as Vasco da Gama, on the coast of East Africa in 1498 (Kiraithe & Baden, 1976; Omulokoli, 2006). The Portuguese fought and defeated the people of the coast in the early 16th Century and dominated the main trading centres of Kilwa, Sofala, and Mombasa (Kundkler & Steed, 2000, p. 45; Maseno, 2016). The Portuguese rule along the East African Coast lasted for almost 200 years up to the 18th Century, when the Arabs fought them off and re-established their dominance. This was followed by the Oman Sultan Seyyid Said (1804-56) moving his capital to Zanzibar in 1841.

Other European explorers in search for the source of the Nile arrived in the area in the 19th Century, followed by missionaries (Bennet, 1961; Ward & White, 1971). Five missionaries were working in Tanganyika by 1885 (Hirji, 1979; Iliffe, 1979). The German Carl Peters was the first explorer who visited the area with the aim of perpetuating colonialism. He formed *Gesellschaft für Deutsche Kolonisation* 'The Society for German Colonisation' and travelled around the country forming treaties and collecting signatures from local chiefs who gave up

their power and territory to the society (Coulson, 2013). Following the Berlin Conference of 1884–85 that divided Africa among the European powers, the Imperial Chancellor Otto von Bismarck took the decision to create a German colony in East Africa. He also issued a chartered protection to the *Deutsch Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft* ‘the German East African Company’ (DOAG) (Iliffe, 1979; Gewalt, 2008). Under this company, the country was named as *Deutsch Ostafrika* (German East Africa), which included Tanzania and Ruanda-Urundi, now known as Rwanda and Burundi (Peter, 1990; Ndembwike, 2006; Rushohora, 2015). The DOAG administered the colony until 1891 when the German government took over (Coulson, 2013). Their rule continued until after the end of WWI when Germany lost its colonies to the major Allied powers (Blackshire-Belay, 1992).

The country became a mandate territory in 1919, administered by the British on behalf of the League of Nations (Gewald, 2008; Bucher, 2016). The British named the country ‘Tanganyika’, and divided it into seven provinces: Central Province; Coast Province; Northern Province; Lake Province; Western Province; Southern Highlands Province, and Southern Province (Lawrence, 2009). In 1946 the country changed into a United Nations Trusteeship territory, but it was still under the British mandate. It became independent on 9th December 1961 under the leadership of Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). *Mwalimu*¹ Julius Kambarage Nyerere was the first Prime Minister and became President in 1962. Tanganyika united with Zanzibar on 26 April 1964 to form the United Republic of Tanzania.

Zanzibar is a semi-autonomous state in the Indian Ocean comprising Unguja, Pemba and other small islets. It covers 2,332 square kilometre and has a population of 1,303,569 persons by 2012 (NBS, 2012). Before the colonial rule, Zanzibar was one of the famous trading centres

¹ Mwalimu is a Swahili term meaning teacher, a title which Nyerere kept due to his background of once being a high school teacher

along the East African coast, serving as a capital for ivory and slave trade. It became a British protectorate in 1890 under the control of the Sultan of Zanzibar. The country got its independence from Britain on 10th December 1963 and became a constitutional monarchy of Zanzibar ruled by the Sultan. The monarchical regime comprised the Arab landlords and merchant classes while neglecting the majority Africans (Lodhi, 1986). The January 1964 revolution overthrew the Sultanate regime and installed majority rule (Lawrence, 2009). The revolution led to the formation of the People's Republic of Zanzibar under Abeid Amani Karume as the first President.

3.3 The Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Tanzania

CICH defines and classifies ICH in several categories, namely oral tradition and expressions; performing arts; social practices, rituals and festive events; knowledge and practices concerning nature and universe; and traditional craftsmanship (see UNESCO, 2003). Tanzania is among the countries with rich and diversified forms of ICH. With over 120 ethnic groups, the country has many different traditions, norms, practices, and knowledge that can qualify as ICH. These range from eating and dressing styles; languages; dances; rituals and traditional ceremonies; to healing systems and traditional knowledge (Bushozi, 2014; Masele, 2012). These practices are performed in relation to different tangible assets such as trees, water bodies, caves, cultural landscapes and rock shelters. Others are performed during different activities such as farming and iron working/smelting (Mapunda, 2011; Masele, 2012); or to commemorate an important achievement in the life of a person (e.g. coming of age or marriage) or in the life of a community (e.g. crowning a new chief) (Mulokozi, 2005; Talemwa, 2019). The safeguarding of ICH is done at the local and governmental levels. At the local level, the safeguarding is done through social institutions and structures such as family, the clan, and the tribal elders who use oral tradition, taboos, beliefs and social practices to manage this form of heritage. At the governmental level, there are bodies such as Ministries (Ministry of Natural

Resource and Tourism, and Ministry of Information, Youth, Culture and Sports); Councils (National Council of Kiswahili (BAKITA), Tanzania Art Council (BASATA); and Museums that manages ICH (Mulokozi, 2005).

Every national context represents a unique configuration of social, political and historical factors that shape not only the content of ICH but also the normative ideas about its value, management, transmission and representation as ‘local’ or ‘heritage’ (Denes, 2012, p. 167). The safeguarding of ICH in Tanzania is a complex process affected by different factors that are best understood by looking at the country’s historical development in the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial periods.

3.3.1 The Pre-colonial Period

The Pre-colonial period refers to the period before the German and British colonial rule. The boundaries of what is present-day Tanzania are the result of colonialism, particularly the agreements between European powers reached during the Berlin conference in 1884-85 (Sutton, 1969; Ward & White, 1971; Gjersø, 2015). The nature of the people that existed in the area prior to that, has been a topic of contestation among archaeologists and historians, particularly over their complexity and technological achievements (Kimambo & Temu, 1969; Prins, 1967; Middleton, 1992; Chami, 1998; Phillipson, 2005; Wynne-Jones & LaViolette, 2017). Evidence from north-eastern Tanzania, Bukoba and parts of the southern highlands indicates that by 1500, there were small chiefdoms that were dominated by certain royal lineages (Kimambo, 1969, p. 15). By the 19th century, the small chiefdoms were transformed into complex communities with military power as the basis for political authority (Roberts, 1969, p. 57). In general, the existing communities had a form of organization and leadership that made it possible to trade with foreigners (Hoyle, 1970; Chami, 1999; Kusimba & Kusimba,

2003; Biginagwa, 2012; Fleisher, et al., 2015); sign treaties with explorers such as Carl Peters (Meritt, 1978; Pike, 1986; Perras, 2004; Fabian, 2007; Coulson, 2013); and actively resisted colonisation by waging wars like the Majimaji, a resistance war that was fought by several communities in Southern Tanzania against the Germans between 1905 and 1907 (Gwassa, 1969; Sunseri, 1999; Rushohora, 2015; Mapunda, 2017; Willoughby, et.al, 2018).

During this time, the existing safeguarding system was a 5-tier system comprised of a family, clan, chiefdom/*ntemiship*, state/kingship, and interstate relations (Mulokozi, 2005, p. 288). Each group played a significant role towards the safeguarding of practices, traditions, and expressions that can qualify as ICH. The family was the first level, responsible for making sure that the children were knowledgeable of essential practices and traditions such as language, oral traditions and the knowledge and skills relating to the clan. The clan was the second level which ensured that the members are aware of the beliefs, gods and spirits, customs and taboos adhered to by the group. The third level was the chiefdom/*ntemiship* (a social political system made up of different groups), it was concerned with values relating to the village, including myths and oral traditions, prayers and sacrifices, collective defence, and security. The fourth level was the state or kingship, which was found in societies with kingship, e.g. those in the coastal and Great Lake regions. At this level, the king was the main symbol of culture, having powers to change long held customs through decree, and patronising arts and sacred shrines. The last level was the interstate, which was mainly concerned with interaction between neighbouring states to promote collaborations, peace and harmony. This was done through marriage between the royal families or sports and games (Mulokozi, 2005, pp. 285-7). In general, precolonial Tanzania, like many other African countries had a system of managing cultural heritage, and ICH as a specific (For example see Mulokozi, 2005; Mumma, 2005,

Jopela, 2011, Ichumbaki, 2016). However, such a system was highly impacted by the coming of foreigners, particularly the colonialists, as it will be discussed in the following subsection.

3.3.2 The Colonial Period

I use the term colonialism to connote the expansion of the various European powers into Asia, Africa and the Americas from the 18th century onwards whereby one nation extended its sovereignty over another (Harrison & Hughes, 2010; Loomba, 2015). Prior to independence Tanzania passed through two phases, first as a German colony (1885-1918) and then as a British colony (1919-1961). Colonialism as a whole had different impacts on the colonies (Giles-Vernick, 2005; Lange, et al., 2006; Zambas & Wright, 2016; Ziltener, et al., 2017). The safeguarding of ICH is one of the aspects that was highly affected. Part of this was because of the bans imposed by the colonial governments and the introduction of formal education and cultural heritage management systems. During the colonial period, different practices such as rituals and traditional ceremonies were labelled as undesirable and uncouth or evil, and were thus condemned or restricted (Mulokozi, 2005, p. 287; Bwasiri, 2008). An example of this is the restriction of the annual ritual pilgrimage by the Waserabati clan to their shrine, the Kemarishi Hill, which was located in the newly created game reserve (later Serengeti National Park) by the British colonial government in 1929 (Kideghesho, 2006; Hussein & Armitage, 2014). Similarly, the British colonial government enacted the Witchcraft Ordinance of 1922 and that of 1928 which aimed at controlling acts of witchcraft in Tanganyika (Mesaki, 2009; Machangu, 2015). Apart from criminalising 'black' and 'white magic', the 1928 ordinance broadened the definition of witchcraft to include the holding of beliefs in the mediums and things (e.g. charms), which was punishable by being banished from a particular locality (Mesaki, 2009; Langwick, 2011). Scholars argue that such restrictions were done deliberately to control the resistance movements that emanated from adherence to such practices (Bwasiri,

2011; Shule, 2011; Ichumbaki, 2015). A good example of this is the Majimaji war. One of the factors that led the war to continue for such a duration (1905 to 1907) was the ritual leader Kinjekitile Ngwale, who allegedly provided the fighters with a medicine that could turn bullets into water (Sunseri, 1999; Mapunda, 2017). Kinjekitile offered to the fighters charmed *maji* (a Swahili name for water) to wash their bodies, claiming it will turn the German bullets into water when fighting. Although it did not work as promised; the feeling of being protected by the ritual gave the fighters the needed morale to engage with the Germans, despite their superior weapons (Rushohora, 2015). Some of the cultural aspects destroyed by the colonialists include traditional beliefs, traditional customs and education systems, and traditional arts and technical skills (Mulokozi, 2005, p. 288).

The newly introduced systems, i.e. cultural heritage management system and formal education, also played a significant part towards the discontinuation of safeguarding practices for ICH in the country. The formal cultural heritage management system currently operating in most African countries, including Tanzania, is a result of colonialism. During the colonial period, the colonialists introduced the system that formally existed in their countries, to manage the cultural heritage in the colonies (Ngoro, 2001; Bryne, 2008; Ngoro & Wijesuriya, 2015). The Antiquities departments in Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda, and the Historical Monuments Commission of Rhodesia (in Zimbabwe) are examples of heritage-related institutions that were established during the colonial period (Karoma, 2005a; Ngoro & Wijesuriya, 2015). Under such practices, the management or safeguarding role that had previously belonged to local chiefs and spiritual leaders shifted to the state-based institutions. These institutions were bestowed with the duties of studying, protecting and managing cultural heritage in the colonies (Ngoro & Wijesuriya, 2015). Further, the management focus was on the tangible values such as monumentality and aesthetics rather than the intangible values such as spirituality or

sacredness (Abungu & Ndoro, 2008; Ndlovu, 2011b; Chirikure, et al., 2016). This change had profound impact on traditions, practices, and expressions that could not be managed under the newly established systems. Some of them were completely abandoned, while others continued to be practiced, but in secret, a feature that has continued even in the postcolonial period, as further elaborated in chapter five.

Formal education also played a role in dismantling traditional ICH safeguarding practices. Formal education in Tanzania started with the colonisers who created several schools in different areas of the country, for the sole purpose of educating people that would serve the interests of the colonial government. The education provided aimed at discouraging most of the traditional values and spreading western values (Kassam, 1994; Mulokozi, 2005; Wasongo & Musungu, 2009). As Nyerere postulated, ‘the ambitions of young men were not to become well educated Africans, but *Black Europeans*, who felt proud to be termed as *civilized* by colonial rulers’ (Nyerere, 1967, p. 186) [emphasis mine]. The spreading of these values was done in many ways, one of them being through school competitions and exhibitions. For example, in the British colonial Tanganyika, the British established different theatres and drama competitions in schools, which aimed at promoting arts and culture. However, the competitions were based on prominent English writers, such as George Bernard Shaw and William Shakespeare, and had nothing to do with traditional Tanzanian art or theatre (Shule, 2011).

Similarly, religion in the form of Christianity and Islam had an impact on the growth and development of ICH and its safeguarding practices in the country. Religion in Tanzania is divided into three groups, Traditionalist, Christianity, and Islam (Omari, 1984; Heilman & Kaiser, 2002; Mulokozi, 2005). The two new religions, Islam and Christianity, were introduced in the country by the coming of foreigners during different time periods. Islam was brought by

the Arabs who started arriving in the coast of East Africa around the 7th Century, and Christianity by the missionaries during the early 19th Century (Iliffe, 1979; Lodhi, 1994). The introduction of these religions was done by using indirect force, such as through the provision of social services. For example, missionaries established schools and hospitals, which had limited access to converted Christians only, meaning that people had to be Christians to access the services (Cox, 2008). For Islam, apart from the intermarriages that occurred between Muslim-Arabs and local people, there were some instances of Arab traders providing food to local Muslims only, during the time of hunger, along the coast of East Africa. This, in turn, caused many people to be converted into Muslims and Christians. Because most of the social and moral values in the local communities originated from their adherence to the traditional religion, the coming of these foreign religions led to the introduction of new values that contradicted the existing traditions, practices, and expressions (Mulokozi, 2005; Kideghesho, 2009; Hussein & Armitage, 2014). Thus, some of the traditional practices, particularly those which were often associated with alcohol and sexuality, were considered to be against the teachings of the new religions (Shule, 2011). In turn, they were considered as evil or uncouth, and the practitioners were condemned or labelled as 'pagan' (Omari, 1984). For example, among the Wagogo community in Central Tanzania (Dodoma), the Church Missionary Society rejected the practicing of local aspects such as traditional names, traditional healing and medicines, and ceremonies and rituals, and the penalty for engaging in such practices was excommunication (Gaula, 2012, p. 68). However, since the conversion was often done because of access to benefits, the converted people did not completely abandon all their traditional practices (Cox, 2008; Kideghesho, 2009). Some people retained aspects of their traditional practices, particularly the traditional ceremonies and rituals, although they continued to engage with them in secret, to avoid persecution by their religious leaders and other converts (Bwasiri, 2011, p. 131; Gaula, 2012).

In general, during the colonial period, most traditions and practices that could be termed as ICH were either condemned or banned. Similarly, the traditional safeguarding practices that were used by the local communities were also discouraged by the newly introduced systems. However, as it will be further elaborated in the following subsection, it was also during this time that the first legislation ‘the Colonial Monument Preservation Ordinance (1937)’ aiming at the management of cultural heritage was enacted by the colonial government. Further, two heritage-related institutions, namely the King Gorge V Memorial Museum (1940) and the Antiquities Division (1957) were introduced by the colonial governments. These institutions later formed the basis for establishment of a new cultural heritage management system in the country.

3.3.3 The Post-Colonial Period

The term ‘post-colonial’ can be defined in a chronological sense as a period where former colonies attained their independence (Marschall, 2008); or as referring to culture that has been affected by the process of imperialism from the beginning of colonialism up to the present day (Ashcroft, et al., 1989). This study uses the term post-colonial in a chronological sense, as a period after attainment of independence. For the case of Tanzania, the post-colonial period begins on 9th December 1961. This period is officially divided into phases by the government that are representing the changes in the country’s government, i.e. the change in country’s presidency (See table 2.1 below). Except for the first phase, all presidents stayed for 10 years, which is a two-five years’ terms as per the constitution.

Table 5.1: Government phases in Tanzania

Phases	Years
1	1964-1985
2	1985-1995
3	1995-2005
4	2005-2015
5	2015 up to 2020 (and 2025 for the second term)

These phases are important as they each have direct bearings in the overall frameworks and practices for safeguarding cultural heritage and ICH as a specific. After attaining independence, most of the countries in Africa embarked on a mission to restore pride and identity that were destroyed during the colonial period (Ndoro, 2004; Négri, 2005). Some of the ways used were similar, while others were specific in nature, depending on what was thought to be necessary by the newly formed governments. Both tangible and intangible cultural heritage played a significant role during this period. Some countries were renamed from colonial names to local ones originating from mostly existing heritage or natural features within the country. Examples of this are Zimbabwe and Ghana. Zimbabwe, which was known as Southern Rhodesia in honour of Cecil Rhodes was renamed after the Great Zimbabwe, one of the early remarkable civilizations along the southern part of Africa. Ghana, which was known as the British Gold Coast during the colonial period, was renamed after a medieval west African empire (Pwiti, 1996; Ndoro, 2001; Mawere & Mubaya, 2016). Others initiated missions to remove monuments or statues erected by the colonial governments and replacing them with statues of prominent figures or symbols representing the newly independent countries, e.g. Kenya with the statues of Lord Delamere, and Zimbabwe and the statues of Cecil Rhodes (Marschall, 2008; Makuvaza, 2014).

This was also the case for Tanzania, where several initiatives for identity reconstruction were established. The earliest effort was the establishment of the Ministry of National Culture and Youth in 1962. The aim of formulating the ministry was, as the then president recited in his ministry opening speech:

The major change I have made is to set up a new Ministry: the Ministry of National Culture and Youth. I have done this because I believe that its culture is the essence and spirit of any nation. A country which lacks its own culture is no more than a collection of people without the spirit which makes them a nation. Of all crimes of colonialism there is none worse than the attempt to make us believe we had no indigenous culture of our own; or that what we did have was worthless something which we should be ashamed, instead of a source of pride (Nyerere, 1967, p. 186)

This signifies earlier efforts by the government to establish a ministry that would be responsible for the safeguarding of different traditions, practices and expressions that can be categorised as ICH. An example of early initiatives by the ministry to safeguard ICH was the establishment of the National Dance Troup in 1965 which aimed at putting together a national performance that incorporate dances from different communities in the country (Hatar, 2001). But despite these early efforts, subsequent years saw enactment of policies and programs that were detrimental to the ICH and their safeguarding process. A good example of these are the nation-building policies enacted by the independent government.

Nation-building is a collective process of identity formation aiming at legitimising public power in a given territory by redefining existing traditions, institutions and customs into national characteristics (Von Bogdandy, et al., 2005). One of the earliest nation-building policies that was detrimental to the safeguarding ICH, was the abolition of chiefs. Many parts of pre-colonial Africa were governed by leaders who are often referred to as chiefs (Rathbone,

2000). Among other things, these chiefs controlled the traditional use of natural resources, enforced the adherence to the beliefs, informal regulations by the community, and oversaw punishment and sanctions against those who violated the traditions (Maghimbi, 1994; Mahoge, 2010). As custodians of cultural heritage, they were responsible for the supervision and organisation of different ceremonies and rituals such as burial ceremonies and rainmaking rituals. In Tanzania, the case was the same, the chiefs (also referred to as *mtemi*, see Northcote, 1933; Dart, 1948) played a significant role in the management of natural and cultural heritage (Maghimbi, 1994; Mahoge, 2010; Bwasiri, 2011). Mostly, they were considered as the symbol of the culture of people, patronising the arts, shrines, and historical sites (Mulokozi, 2005).

During the colonial period, chiefs were integrated into the management, as *Akida* (a sub-commissioner overseeing several villages on behalf of a German commissioner) during the German colonial rule, a position they reprised during the British indirect rule (Listowel, 1965; Ward & White, 1971). The attainment of independence saw the newly formed government reducing the authority of chiefs through a series of acts (Sheridan, 2004). In 1963, the government enacted the *Chiefs (Abolition of office: Consequential provisions) Act no 53 of 1963* which aimed at limiting the power of native authority and replacing them with local authorities (a city, municipal, town or district council) (URT, 1963; Mulokozi, 2005). Later, the *African Chiefs Ordinance (Repeal) Act No 53 of 1969* was adopted which completely abolished the power of the Chiefs (URT, 1969: 2.1). The banning of the chiefs was directed towards minimising ethnic conflicts within the country's borders, and the tribal influence that could have been used to divide people against the unity intended by the government (Mahoge, 2010; Smith & Andindilile, 2017). However, the banning had unintended consequences, particularly in relation to ICH. The chiefs who in some instances served as spiritual leaders, lost their power to either organise and supervise some practices, or to prohibit and punish

offenders within their clans or communities. This affected the continuation of traditions and practices that required their presence and supervision at large.

Another nation building policy that was detrimental to ICH was the villagisation policy under *Ujamaa*. *Ujamaa* is a Swahili term which vaguely translates to '*family hood*' and has often been referred to as one of the forms of '*African socialism*' (see Nyerere, 1967, p. 186; Mohiddin, 1968). The policy was adopted in 1967 after the publication of the Arusha Declaration as a development tool and was conceived as an antidote of '*unyonyaji*' - exploitation (Nyerere, 1967; Brennan, 2006). One of the central policies of the *ujamaa* initiative was the *ujamaa village*. The *Ujamaa villagisation* policy was a developmental and a welfare project that aimed at settling the country's scattered population in villages (Wakota, 2018). Implementation of the policy varied between times, as earlier between 1967 and 1973 it was voluntary, where people were urged to move into settlements with the minimum of 250 households, but between 1973 and 1975, especially after the enactment of the *Ujamaa village Act* of 1975 the resettlement became compulsory (Ergas, 1980; Sundet, 1997; Greco, 2016; Wakota, 2018). There is much research on the conceptualisation, implementation, and the perceived success or failure of the policy (for example, see Coulson, 1979; von Freyhold, 1979; Ergas, 1980; Sitari, 1983; Scott, 1998; Ibhawoh & Dibua, 2003; Schneider, 2007; Cornelli, 2012). However, that is not the focus of this section. This section aims at describing how the implementation of the policy had adverse impacts to ICH and its safeguarding practices in the country.

During the implementation of the programme, there was a need for a village to move from one location to another. Some of the villages remained in their homestead while the majority of them had to move between less than one to ten kilometres (Kjaerby, 1987; Kikula, 1997). By

1976, over 95% of the total population lived in an official village which was away from their traditional settlements, and some of these has already been converted into farms (Jennings, 2002). Although not all traditional practices were affected by this, the act of moving people from their traditional lands had some impacts on those practices, such as rituals and worshipping activities or ceremonies that depended on immovable features. An example of this is provided by Lawi (2007) in relation to how traditional practices of the Iraqw people of Manyara region in north-central Tanzania were affected by this policy. Prior to the campaign, the families lived in typical African round-shaped huts, with strong walls and complex internal structures. The resettlement led people to adapting camp ‘*kambi*’ styles comprised of houses with simple rectangular structures (Lawi, 2007, p. 85). Further, the move forced the community to abandon their taboo which restricted them from building houses alongside ridges or hills, ‘*iintsi*’ (Lawi, 2007, p. 87). Apart from that, the *Ujamaa villagisation* policy itself condemned the political use of cultural and ethnic identities, emphasising the nullification of customary authorities in the newly established *ujamaa villages* (Lawi, 2007; Greco, 2016). The result of this was the decline of those practices and traditions that depended on certain locales or tangible features. At the same time, the integration of people from different ethnic groups into single villages minimised the adherence to some of the traditional practices by those groups.

Despite the setbacks, this period saw the birth of early efforts by the postcolonial government to manage cultural heritage in the country. Such efforts have also continued being instrumental in the safeguarding of ICH. For example, the establishment and formation of ministries, departments, and institutions that deal with cultural heritage in general and ICH as a specific, e.g. the National Museum of Tanzania and the National Art council. Further, new legislation was enacted during this period, e.g. the Antiquities Acts No. 10 of 1964 and the National Museum of Tanzania Act No. 7 of 1980; as well as policies, e.g. the Cultural Policy of 1997

and the Cultural Heritage Policy of 2008; and the ratification of international instruments such as the UNESCO 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ratified in 2011).

In general, the above discussion highlights the fact that the safeguarding of ICH in Tanzania is an old process that has existed for many years. Since the precolonial period up to the present-day, the safeguarding practices of ICH has been a responsibility of different parties. The local communities and government institutions have played a significant role to ensure that different practices, traditions and expressions are effectively safeguarded in the country. Despite the presence of these safeguarding efforts, different challenges have continued to affect such initiatives. The continued existence of such heritage despite the challenges indicate the importance of such heritage to the community and a presence of a traditional mechanism that has ensured their continued survival and transmission. The following section will focus on a description of the ICH among the Jita, which are used as the case study population for traditional safeguarding practices in this study.

3.4 Intangible Cultural Heritage among the Jita

The Jita “Abhajita” is one of the ethnic groups that is found in the north-eastern part of Tanzania, predominantly in the Mara Region. There is also a small number of the Jita population that is found in the Mwanza Region (Mdee, 2008). The Mara Region was known as the Lake Province during the British colonial rule. The region is bordered by Kenya (Narok and Migori county) to the North; Lake Victoria to the West; Mwanza and Simiyu regions to the South and Arusha to the East. It is found between latitudes 1° 0’ and 2° 31’ and between longitudes 33° 10’ and 35° 15’ and is divided into seven districts. Based on the 2012 national census, the region has 1,743,830 inhabitants. It contains several ethnic groups, with the Jita

and Kurya being the largest groups (NBS, 2012). The Jita occupy Musoma and Bunda districts, while the Kurya are found in Serengeti and Tarime districts which they share with the Luo people. Other small ethnic groups that are found in the region include the Zanaki; Ikoma; Suba; Isenye; Ruli; and Shashi. Mwanza is also located in Northern Eastern part of Tanzania. It is found between latitudes 1° 30' and 3° 0' South of the Equator and between longitudes 31° 45' and 34° 10' East of Greenwich (URT, 2017). It is bordered by Lake Victoria to the North; Simiyu region to the East; Shinyanga region to the South; and Geita region to the West. The region has seven districts. It is estimated that the region has 2,772,509 inhabitants (NBS, 2012). Within the region, the Jita are found in Ukerewe district, which is an island in Lake Victoria. Other ethnic groups found in the district are the Kerewe and Kara.

Oral tradition in the Majita area explain that the name 'Jita' has its origin from a mountain found in Busekela village, named "Mtiro". Due to the formation of the mountain, its top part is flat. Because of this, the Jita had a saying: "*Lola kutyo lisitire*", which loosely translates into "*look how the mountain is settled*". The Seventh-Day Adventist missionaries, who came to the village in 1907, were interested in knowing the name of the area. Because the references to the mountain were always coming up when asking, they picked it but being unable to pronounce it properly started referring to the mountain as 'Masita' or 'Majita'. This eventually prompted the use of that name to refer to the people living around that mountain. The name *Majita* is currently used to define the area around Musoma rural District that is occupied by the Jita people. It is divided between *Majita* A and B, the former being the area with a high number of the Jita and considered as their homeland. The latter area has a mixture of Jita people and other ethnic groups such as Ruli and Kwaya. Villages from Lyasembe to Busekela falls under *Majita* A, while Murangi, Suguti Kusenyi and the nearby villages are called *Majita* B.

The Jita are divided into 19 clans that are usually described based on their location. For example, *Abhachimati* as those from Chimati; or *Abhakumi* as those from Bukumi. The actual number of the Jita population is not known due to the omission of ethnicity criteria in the national census. However, the total population of the three districts (Ukerewe, Bunda and Musoma) stood at 400,000 in 2012 (NBS, 2012). In terms of religion, most of the Jita are Seventh Day Adventists (SDA). The first SDA missionary arrived in Majita (Bwasi), Musoma rural in 1907. By 1910, the mission had built a school and a church that could hold 160 students and 600 people respectively (Höschele, 2007, p. 111). Even among the present day Jita, it is more common to find an SDA Jita compared to a Muslim or a Roman Catholic one, although they also exist in some percentage. The actual statistics for such a distribution are not known, as the religion criterion is not included in the national census. Education wise, compared to other regions in Tanzania, e.g. Dar es Salaam and Kilimanjaro, the areas occupied by the Jita are not considered among the most or least but moderately educated. However, this is fast changing due to the recently enacted programs and policies, such as the free education for primary and secondary school levels starting 2015, which have increased the number of Jita people that are enrolled in schools and receiving different forms of educational training. Students between 7-25 years old are mostly in primary and secondary schools, while those above 25 are attending higher learning institutions (Chirangi, 2013). Due to the limited number of advanced level schools, colleges and universities in the regions, it is common for the people in these areas to move to areas such as Musoma Urban, Mwanza Urban or other nearby regions for access to such educational facilities.

Following the domains defined by UNESCO (see UNESCO, 2003: Article 2.2), the Jita people have different traditions, practices and expressions that can be categorised as ICH. These include language; traditional practices such as ceremonies and rituals; knowledge related to

herbals and fishing techniques; and traditional craftsmanship such as the making of wood boats and fishing nets. This study focused on traditional ceremonies and rituals among the Jita. Traditional ceremonies and rituals qualify in UNESCO'S categorisation of ICH, in domain (c), social practices, rituals and festive events. The traditional ceremonies and rituals among the Jita cover different themes ranging from cleansing ceremonies such as rainmaking, thanking the ancestors, and getting rid of bad luck to coming of age ceremonies such as initiations and wedding ceremonies. Most of these are performed near a specific locale such as a family home, forest, anthill or a rock shelter. Others are performed to commemorate a specific event in one's life such as coming of age initiations and wedding ceremonies. Supervision of these practices is done by local community leaders or elders. In special circumstances, others are performed with the supervision of a designated person within a family, e.g. aunts, elder women within the family or a ritual specialist. This person is usually equipped with the knowledge of how such practice should be conducted and the items required.

Despite the different obstacles for ICH in the country, traditional ceremonies and rituals are part of expression and practice among the Jita community. Different research conducted around the areas occupied by Jita have highlighted the existence of several sacred sites. Among the identified sites there are rock shelters that are used by the surrounding communities as sites for traditional ceremonies and rituals (Mabulla, 2005; Mwitondi, 2012). Apart from signifying a form of importance of these practices to the community, their existence also indicates a presence of traditional safeguarding practices. This form of safeguarding has ensured the survival of such practices throughout time, despite the emerging threats from globalisation and modernisation. With the ongoing debates over the challenges in the established methods in safeguarding ICH and ways of involving the community in the safeguarding process of this form of heritage, understanding traditional safeguarding practices might be a good solution to

such problems. This is because it will provide an insight into how ICH have been safeguarded throughout time. Also, the possibilities of integrating such knowledge in the modern heritage management practices will create an active role for the local communities in the safeguarding process of ICH in general.

3.5 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter aimed at introducing the study area and the different factors surrounding the conceptualising of the study topic. With the safeguarding of ICH operating at three levels i.e. local, national, and international, this chapter focused on the conceptualising of ICH at the local and national levels. At the local level, the chapter has discussed the case study population and their ICH; and at the national level the chapter discussed the historical background of the country and how different factors have affected the safeguarding process in the precolonial, colonial, and postcolonial periods. Information presented in this chapter aims at situating the study topic into a Tanzanian context. The reason for this is to provide a wider understanding of the different factors that have played a role towards the development and growth of ICH and its safeguarding practices in the county. The following chapter is on methodology, providing an in-depth discussion of the approaches, theories, methods, and procedures employed throughout the process of data collection.

CHAPTER FOUR

FROM THE DESK TO THE STUDY AREA: METHODS, DATA, AND RESPONDENTS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodological approaches that were employed throughout the research. The selection of these approaches depended on the three research questions that the study was intended to answer. The chapter begins with a brief description of the research philosophies used, i.e. positivism and interpretivism. It proceeds to describe the reasons for employing interpretivism as the main research philosophy. The chapter builds on the research philosophies to discuss the qualitative approach and the reasons for employing such an approach in this study. Further, the chapter explains ethnography and case study as the research designs employed. It then describes the activities that took place during the process of data collection in the field. These include the selection of respondents, methods used in their selection, and fieldwork plans and changes made while collecting data. It also elaborates on the methods employed in collecting data and the techniques used to analyse the collected information. The chapter concludes by explaining the ethical issues related to the study, such as research permits, respondents' consents, and data recording and storage procedures.

4.2 Research Philosophy

Any attempt to understand the social world is conducted based on philosophical and theoretical traditions that are referred to as research paradigms (Blakie, 2007). Neuman (2006) defines a paradigm as an integrated set of assumptions, beliefs, models of doing research, and techniques for gathering and analysing data. It includes basic assumptions, questions or puzzles to be solved, the research techniques to be used, and examples of what scientific research looks like. Levy equates a paradigm to a pair of glasses that influences everything you see once you have

put them on (Levy, 2014). In social science, the meaning of the term ‘paradigm’ has been attached to different meanings that range from a synonym for theory to an internal subdivision of a theory, from a system of ideas of pre-scientific nature to a school of thought, and from an exemplary research procedure to the equivalent of method (Corbetta, 2003).

There are several ways of categorising research paradigms. This study followed the categorisation of paradigms into three groups namely positivism, interpretivism, and critical paradigms (Neuman, 2007; Tracy, 2013). The selection of the paradigm in a research depends on how one seeks to answer the three basic assumption questions i.e. the *ontological question* (the question on ‘what’ is the nature and form of social reality); the *epistemological question* (the question of the relationship between the ‘who’ and the ‘what’ and its outcome); and the *methodological question* (the question of ‘how’ the social reality can be studied) (Corbetta, 2003). Positivism and interpretivism are the two paradigms used in social inquiry.

Positivism is a philosophy developed in the early 19th century and set in motion by Auguste Comte (1798-1857). It is an approach of truth-seeking that set aside simple hypothesis and metaphysical discussion of the ‘inner essence’ and motivation that give rise to social phenomena. Further, it favors careful observation and experiment regarding how social phenomena manifest and relate to each other in the real world (Shaw & Jameson, 1999). This philosophy answers the ontological question by assuming that objective truth or reality exists independently of our beliefs and construction, and can be discovered through direct observation and experience (Spencer et al., 2014). For a positivist, the best way to study a social reality is through quantitative techniques such as surveys or statistics that seek precise quantitative measures and replicating studies (Neuman, 2007). In most cases, positivist research is conducted to observe, measure, and predict empirical phenomena, and build tangible material

knowledge (Tracy, 2013). Due to its emphasis on independent reality, objectivity and methodological preference of the classical empiricist approach, a positivist paradigm is not suitable for this study. This is because this study is interested in the beliefs and perceptions of the respondents. Hence, the research employed an interpretive paradigm.

The interpretive paradigm, which is also referred to as constructivist or constructionist, assumes that reality is not something out there, which a researcher can explain, describe or translate into a research report (Tracy, 2013). According to this paradigm, human social life is less based on objective, hard factual reality, but more on ideas, beliefs, and perceptions that people hold about reality. The basic assumption is that social scientists will be able to construct social life only if they study how people go about constructing their social reality (Neuman, 2007). The study at hand sought to understand how respondents go about safeguarding ICH and the challenges that affect such efforts. Thus, it relates more to the interpretive than the positivist paradigm. The interpretive paradigm avoids quantitative measures as it sees social reality as constantly changing and relies heavily on qualitative methods that vary from one case to another (Corbetta, 2003; Neuman, 2007). Thus, the interpretive paradigm is a more suitable philosophy for this study.

4.2.1 Research Approaches: *Qualitative vs Quantitative*

In doing research, one can either employ quantitative, qualitative or both approaches. The quantitative approach is concerned with quantifying things by asking questions such as ‘how long’, ‘how many’ or ‘the degree to which’. This approach focuses on measurements in the form of an amount, that is to say, the researcher creates statistical measures for attitude, behaviour, or thought with the aim of quantifying them (Kothari, 2004; Vanderstoep & Johnston, 2009). A qualitative approach, on the other hand, is concerned with a subjective assessment of people’s opinions, attitudes or behaviours (Kothari, 2004). This approach seeks

to gain an understanding of motive or reasons behind a particular action and establish how people interpret their experience and the world around them (MacDonald, et al., 2008). A qualitative approach is effective in providing an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon by using the respondent's perception and perspectives (Hennink, et al., 2013). Through qualitative research, a person can research different social world dimensions. They may include the webs of everyday life, the understandings, experiences, and imagining of the research participants; the ways that social processes, institutions, discourses, or relationships work and the significance of the meaning they generate (Mason, 2002). This research aimed at assessing the safeguarding practices of ICH in Tanzania by looking at the safeguarding strategies between the government institutions and the local community. Thus, it is a qualitative study, because instead of focusing on how many people said what in relation to the study, I was more interested in how different respondents understood and perceived the safeguarding of ICH and the associated challenges.

4.2.2 Research Design

The research design is a logical map containing information about where, how, when, and by what means the research was accomplished (Kothari, 2004; Yin, 2011). It comprises: (a) a clear description of the different components of the study, i.e. approaches and strategies; (b) reasons for methods selection in relation to the research questions or hypothesis and data required and; (c) a description of the existing link between different components of the intended study (Denscombe, 2010). The choice of a research design depends on, among other things, the nature of the research (whether qualitative or quantitative), methods to be employed, and the available resources (Kothari, 2004).

Nature of the research question: There are many types of research designs that can be employed in qualitative research, such as case study; ethnography; phenomenological study; grounded

theory; and content analysis. Each research design is selected depending on the nature of the question used, that is, ‘who’, ‘what’, ‘where’, ‘how’ and ‘why’. A case study is often used in addressing the questions of “how” and “why” (Yin, 2003). The focus of this study is to establish “how intangible cultural heritage is safeguarded in Tanzania”. Therefore, this question goes well with the case study research design.

Methods to be used in data collection: There are several methods that are associated with each of the research designs. The two methods of observations, especially participant observation, and interviews are mostly associated with ethnographic and case study designs. Since the researcher was interested in using participant observation and in-depth interviews, the ethnography and case study were suitable research approaches for this study. The last part of this section will provide an in-depth discussion on the two designs and their applicability in this study.

Resource constraints (time and financial costs): In selecting a research design, a researcher must consider the amount of resources available to undertake the intended research. This is so because each research design requires different resources for its accomplishment. Regarding this study, both ethnographic and case study research design could be employed. A case study fits perfectly with small-scale research, as it requires a limited period and minimal financial resources compared to a wider ethnographic research design (Denscombe, 2010). Although an ethnographic approach requires a lot of resources, a case study approach pins it down to a manageable scale. Hence, this research combined ethnographic and case study approaches.

Ethnography is a qualitative research design in which the researcher directly observes and participates in a particular social setting as a means of learning about something, understanding

or describing a group of interacting people (Neuman, 2007). In a broader sense, ethnography encompasses any study of a group of people for the purpose of describing their social-cultural activities and pattern (Burns, 2000). The purpose of this method is to provide an in-depth study of a culture that includes behaviour, interactions, language, and artifacts, by using a naturalist method of data collection in a natural setting (Bloor & Wood, 2006; David & Sutton, 2011). This method is essential in establishing what people really do and not just what they think they do, or what they do in an artificial environment (David & Sutton, 2011). For this study, the ethnographic approach was instrumental in establishing the role played by traditional ceremonies and rituals in the daily life of the respondents. Also, it enabled the establishment of the correlation between what the respondents say they do and what really happens in relation to the said practices. This information was important in establishing the existing changes and transformations within the practices in question.

A case study is a form of research design that puts emphasis on studying one or more cases (Kothari, 2004; Denscombe, 2014). What constitutes a case is disputed and varies to either an instance, incident, or unit of something; it can be anything - a person, an organization, an event, a decision or action, a location like a neighbourhood or a nation-state (Schwandt & Gates, 2018). The case study can focus on a single case due to uniqueness or exceptional qualities that a researcher seeks to establish. In other instances, the focus can be on one or more cases as the researcher aims at making comparisons or generalizing the findings (Leedy & Ormrod, 2015). With the study aimed at understanding the safeguarding of ICH in Tanzania, researching the whole country was impossible. Hence, the study applied the case study approach so as to focus on a single case, which was the Jita community. The reason of their suitability will be discussed further in the following subsections.

4.3 The Fieldwork

In this section, I describe the activities and organisation of the fieldwork. I focus on respondents, selection techniques used and the reasons for their inclusion, and the organization and conduct of the data collection trips.

4.3.1 Respondents and Selection Methods

The data collection process is done by a researcher to a ‘sample population’ which can include people, organizations, locations, or events that are selected to be included in the research project (Phillips, 2014). Selection of a sample population is important because it can minimise the overall costs in terms of time and resources involved in studying an entire population (Kothari, 2004). The focal point of this study was the safeguarding practices for ICH in Tanzania at both the local and national levels. In order to collect the required data, the population of the study was divided into two groups, the officials and the local community (the Jita).

4.3.1.1 Officials

The first specific objective of this study was ‘to identify the challenges facing safeguarding practices for ICH in Tanzania’. The focus was to understand the challenges facing the safeguarding practices at the national level, that is, modern safeguarding practices (MSPs). To collect this information, it was important to contact the officials from ministries and institutions that are concerned with the management of cultural heritage in general and ICH in particular. These included respondents from the Ministry of Information, Culture, Artists, and Sports (Arts and Culture Departments); and Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (Antiquities Department; and National Museum of Tanzania). To select respondents from these institutions, I used a purposive sampling technique.

The term ‘sampling technique’ is simply defined to mean the techniques involved in selecting a sample population (Kothari, 2004; Guthrie, 2010). It can be a probability or non-probability sampling. A probability sampling happens whenever the possibility of an individual being selected in a sample is not known, meaning that all individuals have equal chances of being selected. In a non-probability sampling, on the other hand, the possibility of an individual being selected in a sample is known, in other words, respondents are not selected randomly (Newby, 2008; Denscombe, 2014). Purposive sampling technique is one of the methods in non-random sampling techniques whereby respondents are selected by using one or more predefined criteria. The method operates under the principle that the required information can be gathered by consulting a group of respondents with certain characteristics, knowledge or information (Kothari, 2004; Denscombe, 2014). I used this method to engage with officials because the MNRT do not deal with cultural heritage matters only, it also deals with the management of Wildlife, Forest, and Beekeeping. The same applies to the MICAS which is tasked with sports and youth matters as well. Hence, in order to collect data from these ministries, I needed to talk to respondents from the departments that have a direct connection with cultural heritage and ICH in particular, thus requiring a purposive sampling technique. I interviewed a total of 22 government officers as shown in the Table (4.1) below.

Table 4.2: Official Respondents

Ministry	Institution/Department	Number
Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT)	Antiquities	6
MNRT	National Museums and House of Culture	4
MNRT	Village Museums	3
Ministry of Information, Culture, Artists, and Sports (MICAS)	Arts and Culture Departments	6
President's office (Regional Administration and Local Government) (TAMISEMI)	Cultural Officers	3
Total		22

Source: Field data (2018)

4.3.1.2 The Jita community

In order to collect data for ICH and safeguarding practices at the local level, I selected the Jita as a population of the study. There are two reasons for my selection. The first one relates to the information that I wanted to collect from the respondents. The main objective of this study was to assess the safeguarding practices of ICH in Tanzania which are categorised as local and national practices. To collect such information, I needed a sample population to provide information on the local safeguarding practices. Tanzania has more than 120 ethnic groups that are scattered in different regions. To establish the TSPs for traditional ceremonies and rituals, I needed to conduct research on a community that is neither too modernised as to be engaged in safeguarding traditional ICH, nor isolated to a point of not being affected by present-day influences such as education and religion, like the Hadzabe in north-central Tanzania. I wanted a community that is in between, where it will be possible to collect information on the presence of TSPs, and how they have managed to continue existing and operate despite the internal dynamics and external influences.

The second reason for selecting the Jita for the case study relates to the category of ICH that was researched in this study, i.e. traditional ceremonies and rituals. Indeed, in the country, there is more than one community that would have been an ideal choice fitting this requirement. This study focused on how traditional ceremonies and rituals are safeguarded using TSPs. In many societies, there are restrictions that accompany the access of particular ceremonies or rituals. Some of the ceremonies and rituals are accessed by only a particular group, either a community itself or a part of it, e.g. a clan or family members. This is one of the distinguishing features of ICH, and the presence of such secrecy and restrictions might hinder one to effectively collect information in relation to such practices, traditions or expressions. I, the researcher, being a Jita myself, avoided the barrier of accessing information relating to traditional ceremonies and rituals that might have been closed to outsiders.

In selecting respondents from the Jita community, I used three sampling techniques i.e. snowball, simple random, and purposive sampling. Snowball sampling is a form of non-random sampling technique in which the researcher initially selects a few respondents, and asks those respondents to recruit or recommend other respondents in their social groups or network to be involved in the interview process (Adams, et al., 2007; Guthrie, 2010; Crano, et al., 2015). The new respondents are also asked to suggest other respondents to participate in the study. Snowball sampling is very effective in ensuring access to the respondents. The researcher can use the first respondent as a referee to the second one (Denscombe, 2014). The method is very effective in reaching out to those respondents that are hard to find. However, it can also lead to bias as in most cases the respondents suggested might bear similar characteristics to those who recommended them (Adams, et al., 2007; Crano, et al., 2015).

By using this technique, the first group of respondents was selected through gatekeepers such as village leaders, clan or family heads, and ritual specialists. Once such respondents were selected, I asked them to recommend other respondents that would be suitable for the study. One of the challenges faced was that the respondents recommended were mostly men. After observing this, I had to ask the participants to recommend both male and female respondents. This improved the gender balance in the survey. In order to avoid being biased, I also used other sampling techniques such as simple random and purposive sampling techniques in selecting other groups of respondents. This minimised the possibility of receiving biased information. The information collected from the two sampled groups (simple random and purposive) was regularly cross-checked with that which was collected from this method.

To obtain respondents, I adhered to the principle of theoretical saturation. The theoretical saturation point is reached when data obtained from further interviews serve as the confirmation of earlier information but there is no new or significant information that is collected (Bryant, 2014). As such, I collected information until it started repeating itself, that is, no new information was generated from the interviews. At the start of the interview process, most of the information collected was new. This can be clearly observed in terms of the number of respondents that were interviewed in Musoma Rural District. A total of 40 respondents were interviewed in the district before reaching the theoretical saturation. This slightly changed at Bunda district. After 19 interviews, I came across similar information. I went on until reaching 25 respondents, where there was no new information collected. A similar pattern occurred in Ukerewe, whereby I was welcomed with a vast amount of new information. Again, after interviewing 36 respondents there was no new information generated. In total, 101 respondents from the Jita community were interviewed for this study. Table (4.2) below presents the location and number of interviewed respondents in the two regions of Mara and Mwanza.

Table 4.3: Jita community

Region	District	Village/ Ward	Number of Respondents	Males	Females
Mara	Musoma Urban		2	2	-
Mara	Musoma Rural	Bugwema, Bukima, Buringa, Butata, Bwasi, Chumwi, Kasoma (Rwanga), Makojo, Murangi, Seka, Suguti Kusenyi, and Suguti Nyambui	38	26	12
Mara	Bunda	Bulendabufwe, Igundu, Iramba, Iramba, Mahyolo, Namwitebhili, and Kisorya	25	15	10
Mwanza	Ukerewe	Bukombe, Kagunguli, Muriti, Bugula, Ihebo, Itira, Murutunguru, Namahondo, and Ndaruma	36	22	14
Total			101	65	36

Source: Field data (2018)

4.3.2 Field trips

In studying the safeguarding practices for ICH in Tanzania, I focused on how the local (the Jita) and nation (government institutions) levels are undertaking the safeguarding process. To collect this information, I visited four different regions where the study population was located. For the government officials, I visited Dar es Salaam and Dodoma; and for the Jita, I visited Mara and Mwanza. I moved back and forth between the four regions depending on the data collection plan and the availability of the respondents. Data collection was done into two phases: The first phase took six months, from October 2017 to April 2018; and the second phase was between December 2018 and January 2019. The first phase involved collecting data from officials in Dar es Salaam and Dodoma, and the Jita community in Mwanza and Mara regions; and the second phase involved interviewing the Jita community in Mwanza and Mara regions for additional information.

The data collection process began with the application of the necessary permits required when conducting research in Tanzania. As an employee of the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM), I applied to and obtained my permit from the university. This is so because the University of Dar es Salaam is allowed by the Commission of Science and Technology (COSTECH) to issue research permits on its behalf. I waited for two weeks for the permits, then I started setting appointments with officials. Initially, interviews with these respondents were supposed to be conducted in the Dar es Salaam region only. Later, there was a need to include Dodoma region in the data collection plan because of the on-going campaign by the government to relocate from Dar es Salaam to Dodoma. Some of the ministry officials that I needed to interview were in Dar es Salaam, while others had already moved to Dodoma. This was the case with the respondents from the Antiquities, and Arts and Culture departments. All the museum officials were available in Dar es Salaam. Due to this move, and the hardship in obtaining appointments with the officials, I only managed to interview 10 respondents before the start of the new year (2018). I decided to proceed to Dodoma. The interview appointments were set through mobile phone while I was still working in Dar es Salaam. Hence, it was easier when I arrived in Dodoma. It took me three days to interview the available respondents (3). Then I continued with the second part of the data collection process which involved doing observations and further interviews with the Jita community members in Mara and Mwanza regions.

I started with Musoma Rural and Bunda Districts where I processed the research permits from local government authorities. After obtaining the necessary permits, I began my fieldwork by interviewing officials (cultural officers) in the Mara region headquarters at Musoma. Then I moved to the relevant villages in the two districts. It took me approximately three months (January 2018 to mid-March 2018) to collect data in the two districts. This was followed by Mwanza, where I had to follow similar procedures as in the Mara region. I collected data in

only one district (Ukerewe), hence it did not take long. I spent approximately a month (mid-March to 8th April 2018) here. See table (4.1) below, showing the time plan for data collection.

Table 4.4: Fieldwork Implementation Plan

Activities	Date	2017		2018						2019
		Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	March	April	May	Dec	Jan
Permits										
Interviews with officials (Antiquities)										
Interviews with Locals (Mara)										
Interviews with Locals (Mwanza)										
Data compilation and Analysis										
Finalising Fieldwork										

Source: Field data (2017-2018)

I went back to Dar es Salaam after collecting data in Mara and Mwanza regions. I embarked on the last part of my fieldwork in Dar es Salaam where I collected data from the National Museums and House of Culture and Village Museum. I managed to secure appointments with more officials (8) between 9th – 31st April 2018. I was also able to review several documents from the institutional archives. The documents were important in enhancing my understanding of the study topic and enriching the data collection process. I focused on the analysis of the collected information from the beginning of May 2018 to November 2019. By the end of November, it was clear that there were some gaps in the information collected. I discussed the matter with my supervisors, and we agreed on another phase of data collection. This phase mainly involved interviewing local community respondents in order to fill in the gaps that were identified during the data analysis exercise. Specifically, I missed the information relating to

how songs and sayings are used to safeguard traditional ceremonies and rituals by the community. As I already had some contacts and permits, the process was easier. I managed to collect the required information in a short time without any significant challenges.

4.3.3 Researcher Positioning

The researcher's characteristics, e.g. gender, age, beliefs etc., can have an influence on the respondents and the overall process of data collection. In order to collect data for this research I positioned myself as a Jita who is interested in understanding the traditional ceremonies and rituals among the group, as part of my Ph.D. research. The fact that I was a Jita who can fully understand the language, with minor challenges in responding due to differences in dialects, was an added advantage particularly with elder respondents. Most of them were very interested in talking to me, and easily provided names of other elder respondents that I could visit, as part of my snowball sampling technique. My knowledge of the language was very important when interviewing some of the elders. Although they could speak Swahili, the national language, they were more comfortable to do the interviews using the Jita dialect. Also, the fact that I was one of their own, and interested in the community's practices as part of my studies, was treated as an opportunity for such practices to be made available to the younger generations, which further induced their collaboration.

However, the fact that I am a man presented a slight challenge to female respondents. Although it was easier to access and talk to elder women, they sometimes felt shy to provide deeper explanations in relation to some of the practices that relate to them. In this, I often had to remind them that this is for research purposes, and they should not worry about what will be my interpretations. In other instances, the elder women started by excusing themselves for what they will say next, referring to the explanations and language used might be considered as

explicit, offensive or with sexual connotations. But after assuring them of my willingness to hear anything they think relates to the ceremonies and rituals, they went on speaking freely. It was particularly challenging to recruit younger female respondents especially between 20-35. While I could move around the villages freely and talk to males of the same group, I felt it would be considered impertinent to go around stopping women of this age for interviews. I endeavoured to talk to those that I found doing business in the market, e.g. vendors and cooks, who sometimes acted as my referees to other women of similar age. Apart from that, I often used the assistance of village leaders to recruit respondents for interviews. The village leaders varied from one village to another. For example, in Suguti Kusenyi (Musoma rural), the leader was a middle-aged man (between 35-45 years old), while in Bukombe (Ukerewe), it was a slightly younger woman in her late thirties. The fact that I was seen walking around with officials visiting elder respondents within the village removed any misinterpretations of my intentions. After spending a few days in a village, I could walk around talking to people freely, most of the time they labelled me *mtafiti* (a Swahili word for a researcher), which was a sign of their knowledge of my presence and the reasons behind. Despite being a Christian, I stayed neutral throughout the research process, refraining from voicing or demonstrating personal beliefs in order to avoid impacting the informants.

4.4 Data Collection and Analysis

This section describes the data collection and analysis involved in this study. It is divided into two parts. Part one is ‘data collection methods’, which describes the methods used in the data collection. Part two is ‘data analysis’, which contains information on how the data analysis was conducted.

4.4.1 Data Collection Methods

Data collection methods entail the methods that the researcher employs in the process of gathering data for the study. This research included both primary data (data collected fresh from the field) and secondary data (data collected from existing sources). Primary data were collected using observation and interviews while secondary data were collected using documentary reviews.

4.4.1.1 Interviews

Interview is a form of data collection method in which there is a conversation between the researcher (interviewer) and the respondent (interviewee). It uses a series of questions (structured or unstructured) aimed at establishing respondent's understanding, belief, and knowledge or perception concerning a certain phenomenon (King, 2004). Unlike observation and questionnaires, in interviews, there must be a form of verbal communication between the researcher and the respondents. Conducting interviews is essential and can be used with a population that has challenges in understanding and filling in questionnaires or simply do not have time to do so. Interviews usually have high response rate (Crano, et al., 2015). Data collection through this method can be carried out through face-to-face conversation, telephone or via the internet – video or audio calls (Kothari, 2004; King, 2004). I employed a face-to-face interview to collect data for this study.

In face-to-face interviews, the researcher can quickly detect and correct confusion, as opposed to telephone interviews, where it may be impossible to grasp such reactions from respondents e.g. lack of clues from facial expressions (Crano, et al., 2015). Apart from notetaking using pen and notebooks, I recorded most of the interviews using a Dictaphone stereo sound recorder. Except for three respondents who refused to be recorded, most of them upon reading and hearing the consent forms agreed to be recorded. The length of the interviews varied between

half an hour to one or two hours depending on the willingness of the respondents to continue with the interview. With an exception of one interview that lasted five minutes only as the official had an emergence meeting. The location also varied. For the government officials, the interviews were conducted in their offices or conference rooms at their respective institutions. For the local community, most of the interviews were conducted in their homesteads, with an exception of those who were met in the village's offices, and others whom I interviewed in gathering places such as the marketplace or village centres.

I used semi-structured interviews to collect data for this study. A semi-structured interview is a form of interview on which the researcher prepares a series of questions just as a guide, but with greater freedom to modify, omit and change questions or their sequence; depending on what the researcher saw fit during the process of conducting interviews (Newby, 2008; Guthrie, 2010). Semi-structured interviews provide an opportunity for dialogue and follow-up questions during the interviewing process. On the contrary, in structured interviews, the researcher is forced to adhere to the already designed questions and their pattern (Kothari, 2004). Using semi-structured interviews allowed more freedom during the interview process. For example, during the interview, some of the respondents provided information which covered two questions, and instead of adhering to the question sequence, I moved to another question. In other instances, some respondents said something unexpected which captured my attention, and instead of neglecting it, I had room to seek more clarification by using a follow-up question, such as 'can you elaborate more on that?', 'What do you mean by that?' or 'really?'.

The questions used in this research were open-ended questions. Open-ended questions are a type of questions that are framed in a manner that do not require a simple yes or no answer. They urge the respondents to provide more information about the intended objective (Hennink,

et al., 2013). The use of such questions allowed freedom to the respondents to provide answers as they saw fit to the question as opposed to selecting a set of pre-determined answers that have been designed by the researcher (Kothari, 2004). Using this type of questions was very useful as the respondents were free to explain as many things as possible. I added follow up questions while listening, to seek clarifications in situations where I did not fully understand what was explained.

I conducted a total of 123 interviews, of which 22 were with government officials and 101 with the local Jita community. Appendix 1 contains interview guides for the two groups (officials and local community, with the latter sub-divided into ritual specialists and non-specialists). Information collected through interviews from the Jita community included: the different types of traditional ceremonies, how they are performed, people involved, traditional means of safeguarding them and the challenges facing these safeguarding practices. For the government officials, the information collected included roles of different government institutions in the management of ICH; challenges facing these institutions in the management process, and the respondent's opinions on what should be done to curb the challenges facing their institutions when safeguarding ICH.

4.4.1.2 Observation

Observation is a data collection method that involves the systematic collection and examination of verbal and non-verbal expression from the respondents. By using observation, the researcher collects data by watching what the respondents are doing in their actual environment. There are three types of observation namely, participant observation; non-participant observation; and disguised observation (Kothari, 2004; Bottorff, 2004; Crano, et al., 2015). I employed participant observation which allowed me to be part of the observed group (Guthrie, 2010). This form of observation provided me with an opportunity to gain insight into the observed

group by actively engaging in different activities such as rituals and traditional ceremonies performed by them (see appendix 4).

There are several disadvantages to employing participant observation, such as the risk of the respondents modifying their behaviour once they realise they are being observed, or that the researcher might miss the chance of keeping proper records of the activities while being part of it. Nonetheless, the method is effective in validating and supplementing the data collected through other methods such as interviews and documentary reviews (Bottorff, 2004; Jones & Somekh, 2005; Guthrie, 2010). To ensure access to the required data, I lived among the Jita community in Musoma, Bunda, and Ukerewe during the whole time of the research. Living with the community not only ensured me access to the required data, but also it provided an opportunity to establish the wider understanding of the roles played by practices such as rituals and traditional ceremonies in the daily life and identities of the community.

I employed observation by moving around the villages to obtain different information concerning the rituals and traditional ceremonies. I was able to visit several rituals sites in Majita (Kasoma and Bwasi villages) (See chapter 6). I recorded different information such as the nature of practices involved, people involved in those practices, and local norms/customary laws governing those sites (see Appendix 4). However, I was unable to attend a complete ceremony, i.e. all the steps as part of data collection. The setback did not stop me from observing other parts of the ceremonies and rituals. For example, in Busekela and Suguti Nyambui, I managed to observe two separate instances of people that were heading to deliver bride price before the wedding ceremony. In Bunda and Ukerewe, I managed to visit several grave sites and grasp information about the difference in terms of burial format between men and women; or between people who have died of natural causes and those who have died by

either drowning or being wounded by a wild animal attack. Data from observation were recorded by using a field notebook and a camera, where I took both still and moving pictures (videos) of events that were of interest to the research.

4.4.1.3 Documentary reviews

The study also used existing documentary sources and literature. This method collects secondary data, that is, the data already collected and analyzed by another person (Kothari, 2004; Denscombe, 2014). The documentary sources can be broadly categorised into written text (including published and unpublished reports; books; and articles); digital communications (texts, emails; SMS; the web and blog pages); and visual sources (videos and pictures) (Denscombe, 2014). This method is very effective in complementing the data collected by other methods such as interviews and observation; it saves time and resources as the researcher can easily access the data already collected by other people. Most of the data used by this method are permanent, hence can be easily accessed by other researchers. When using this method, one must be careful with some of the problems that can arise such as the authenticity of the data. This is because the method is more prone to distortion and misinterpretation because each research is conducted for a specific reason, thus using such data may result in biased interpretations (Kothari, 2004; Piotrowski, 2008; Denscombe, 2014). The best way to use this method is in combination with other methods (such as interviews, questionnaires, and observations) to improve the validity and reliability of the data collected (Scott, 1990).

I consulted different published and unpublished reports from Department of Arts, Department of Culture, Antiquities Department and National Museums and House of Culture; Policies and Acts; Government, Ministry and Institutions websites; and books, articles, journal papers, and conference proceedings as secondary sources. Each of the consulted sources provided information on different aspects such as the description and classification of protected heritage in the country; responsible institutions in the management of cultural heritage; the role of

different departments in the protection of cultural heritage, etc. Table 4.3 provides a summary of the categories of secondary sources accessed and the nature of the information that was collected. This information was used to supplement those collected by interviews and observation. I visited several libraries (the University of Dar Es Salaam, and the national library in Tanzania); archives in Departments/Ministries and web pages to acquire different secondary information related to the issues of CHM in Tanzania in general, and ICH as a specific.

Table 4.5: Categorisation of secondary sources and information collected

Document Category	Type	Nature of the Information collected	Source
Acts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Antiquities (Amendment) Act of 1979 - The National Museum of Tanzania Act of 1980 - African Chiefs Act of 1969 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Types of heritage protected - Responsible authorities and roles of different stakeholders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - MNRT website - Southern African Legal Information Institute Website
Policies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cultural Policy of 1997 - Cultural Heritage Policy of 2008 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Strategies towards promotion of culture - Definition of what is protected and the responsible authorities 	MNRT website
International Conventions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - UNESCO's convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003) - Convention for the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2005) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Meaning and categorisation of ICH - Suggestions about the safeguarding of ICH 	UNESCO website
Published Documents	Books; journal articles; conference proceedings; and monographs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Different information concerning what is meant by heritage, its categories and its management and safeguarding in general 	UDSM Library; and National Museum Library (Tanzania)
Others	Websites; newspapers and magazines	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - General information on cultural heritage and Intangible heritage as a specific - Journalist reports and articles on different aspects of heritage 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - UDSM Library - Online access

Source: Field data (2018)

4.4.2 Data Analysis

Data analysis is a process of summarising and organising the collected data in a systematic way to answer the intended research questions (Kothari, 2004). It involves sorting, categorising, and grouping the data to derive meaning out of them (Rossman & Rallis, 2012). Depending on the nature of the study, data analysis can either be qualitative or quantitative nature. In this study, data analysis was qualitative in nature, that is, being associated with words (both written and spoken) or visual images, and interviews, observation and documentary reviews as data collection methods (Thomas, 2013; Denscombe, 2014).

Data analysis for this study was an ongoing process which started on the first day of data collection. I began the process by transcribing the responses (raw data) into written texts. I did this by carefully listening to the recorded audios and typing them up (see appendix 3). Transcription of the recorded data is important, among other things, it enables the researcher to be familiar with the collected data; provide insights into further data collection; and stimulates analytical thinking (Rossman & Rallis, 2012). Transcription started during the fieldwork. I tried to transcribe the collected information as they came in to better the data collection process. This process provided me with an opportunity to make adjustment to the data collection tools whilst continuing with the data collection.

I alone did the transcription of all the collected data because it was essential that I grasped the complete meaning of the collected data. Also, the consent form agreement with the respondents allowed me, only, to have access to the complete recorded information (see appendix 2). After each interview, I created a written transcript of the collected data. This also included writing the insights and opinions formulated during the interviews or noting down observable differences noticed between interviews. This enabled me to establish what to focus on in the

coming interviews and how to reframe the additional questions in order to obtain information missed in the previous interviews. The written responses from those interviews were analysed to establish a clear pattern and flow of the conversations.

I did the transcription process together with data cleaning, editing and organization processes. Data cleaning and editing were done with the aim of clearing errors or omissions from the written documents and making sure everything is well understood. This was then followed by cleaning and organising the data collected. I initially organized the data into my laptop by placing the transcribed documents in separate folders. The folders were organised in levels, the main label bearing the names of the districts visited, i.e. Mara, Bunda or Musoma. The inside folders were categorized by wards, then villages and the last folders were the ones with individual names or codes of the respondents. Each individual had his/her own folder which contained the recorded interview file (audio), a copy of notes and observations made during the interview process, and the transcript of the interview. This was very essential as it allowed easy retrieval of the collected information whenever required.

When all the data collection process was done, I began coding the data collected. Coding is a process of assigning symbols, numbers or alphabets to the responses, to make it is easy for the researcher to return to the data of special interests (Kothari, 2004; Denscombe, 2014). This process is essential as it divides the responses into different categories and themes. A category is a separate or distinct word or phrase that describe the segment of the collected data; while the theme is a declarative phrase or sentence that describes a pattern, process, a connection, or an insight (Rossman & Rallis, 2012; Thomas, 2013). A category is usually a result of the formulation of the research questions that the research seeks to answer. They are clearly elaborated in the data collection tools whilst themes emerge from the collected data across

different categories. I was able to assign themes and categories to the collected materials through repetitive reading and highlighting. The process started by printing out the interview transcript and rereading them. This allowed the identification of recurring themes. For example, the categorisations of ceremonies and rituals in chapter 6 followed what the respondents described during the interview process. Emerging themes were then written on one side of a board and sticker notice containing statements from respondents were attached to corresponding themes and were later used as supporting statements in the data presentations chapters (see Chapters 5, 6 & 7).

4.5 Ethical Considerations

If not clearly planned and organized, a research project can result in adverse impacts to the respondents involved. Before undertaking any research project, there are ethical considerations that the researcher must think through and plan on how to handle them to avoid any negative impact that can be caused by the research project. Below are the considerations that I observed before starting and throughout the research project.

4.5.1 Research Permits

The first thing was to obtain research permits. This is so because the study is sponsored by the University of Birmingham and it involves interaction with the people who are the subject of the study. Thus, I had to apply for ethical review approval from the Humanities and Social Sciences Ethical Review Committee. This entailed filling in an ethical review form with the assistance of my supervisors and wait for the ethical panel approval before embarking on the fieldwork journey. I received the ethical review approval (number ERN_17-0949) after three weeks of application. After obtaining the ethical review approval from University of Birmingham (UoB), I had to apply for another research permit from the Commission of Science in Tanzania (COSTECH). COSTECH is responsible for issuing research permits or clearance in Tanzania. As an employee of the University of Dar es Salaam, I sought and obtained a

research permit from the Vice Chancellor. Under the Government Circular No. MPEC/R/10/1 of 4th July 1980, the UDSM's Vice Chancellor can issue a research permit to its staff on behalf of the COSTECH. To obtain this permit, I had to fill in another ethical review and an application form as per UDSM guidelines. After completing all the necessary requirements, I received the permits after a week.

There was a third research permit that was issued by the local government offices in the respective regions. As per the country's regulations, I had to have permits from local authorities where I was to conduct my research. The first phase was to submit the permits in the Regional Administrative Secretary (RAS) offices. They issued an authorisation letter that I had to submit to the District Administrative Secretary (DAS), who was to give me another letter directed to District Executive Directors (DED) of the districts I was attending. DED then was to give me an introductory letter that I was to take to the Ward Executive Officers (WEO) and Village Executive officers (VEO) in each of the villages that I was going to conduct my research. I followed this process in every Region and District I visited to avoid any unnecessary quarrels with the officials in those areas.

4.5.2 Respondent's Consent

Another issue of ethical concern was the need to secure the respondent's consent prior to beginning the data collection process. I had to seek written or verbal consent from the respondents before starting any investigations. Written consent was mainly sought from officials, as I was sure of their ability to read and write. This was done through giving them the already designed consent form (see Appendix 2). The form contained the information about the aim of the research, the information I wanted from them, storage and usage of the collected information, and a declaration of their willingness to participate in the study. For the local community, especially the elders, as I was not sure if they could read and write and did not

want to offend any of them by asking, thus, I opted to use verbal consent. I read out the consent form to the respondent prior to collecting any data and the process only continued when they agreed on the stipulated terms. The interviews were mainly conducted using Swahili, which is the national language. I used the local dialect Jita in areas where the respondent did not want to use the national language. This occurred in some instances when interviewing some elders who after hearing that I understand the Jita, they opted to use the dialect instead of the national language. Since I was not completely comfortable with my ability to speak Jita, I used a translator whose involvement depended on the willingness and comfortability of the respondents. In Musoma rural, the translator was a middle-aged researcher from the statistics department at the Mara regional offices who was knowledgeable of the areas to be visited. For the case of Bunda district, the translator was a primary school teacher, and in Ukerewe the translator was a high school graduate who lived in the area. Further, I often sought the assistance of local village leaders and elders for directions and introduction as gatekeepers.

As I took into account the existing restrictions in accessing certain information among clan members, different genders, or age groups, the gatekeepers varied depending on the needs. The same occurred when I wanted to observe certain practices particularly the rituals. In each instance, I had to look for the people who perform such rituals and are responsible for the sites. This was important as I needed to identify the requirements and restrictions for accessing the sites in question. In most cases, the restrictions were not too strict as I was just visiting as an observer. For example, the only restriction that affected me directly was to take off my shoes before entering one of the ritual sites. The rest of the restrictions were directed to the users of such sites as it will be discussed further in chapter 6. Further, for ethical reasons, the study focused on respondents aged 18 years and above.

4.5.3 Data recording and storage

Another issue of ethical concern was the subject of data recording and storage. Prior to starting the collection process, I had to devise a plan on how the data collected will be recorded and stored during the whole time of the research. This is because mishandling of the data is considered as among the factors that could affect the validity of the information collected, and the ethical stipulations in the consent form. The interviews were collected using a Dictaphone stereo sound recorder. Then they were transferred to a password protected laptop which only I had the access to. I took pictures by a password-protected iPad, and they were moved into a secured laptop. The backup of this collected data was stored on an external hard drive and on BEAR which is a University approved cloud storage facility for storing research data. All the collected data were treated confidentially, and the presentation and publication of such information uses codes developed during the process of data collection and analysis.

4.6 Limitations of the Study

During the process of data collection, I encountered several limitations. The first limitation was the issue of language used in interviews, particularly with the Jita community members. Although I am a Jita by birth, during the data collection process I realised some of the dialects used particularly in Ukerewe and Bunda districts were not Jita per se, but a mixture of Jita and other dialects, particularly the Kerewe language, spoken by the Kerewe people who are also located around the shores of Lake Victoria. In most cases, I could understand most of the explanations, the challenge was for me to respond. Some of the respondents were comfortable with Swahili, which is the national language, so with them, I happily conversed using that. For those where I could not, I had to use assistants who were accepted by the respondents and comfortable in the language as interpreters.

Secondly, as explained in section 4.3.3 above, I also faced a slight challenge when interviewing the female respondents. In this, the first part of the challenge was on the comfortability of the women to talk about the practices that relate to their roles in traditional ceremonies and rituals. In some instance, most of the elder respondents seeing that am a man, equally their grandchildren's age, were not comfortable to discuss such practices with me. I had to often remind them that this information is for research purpose and they should not worry about me being a man. The second problem was the interpretation of the word 'elder'. In the beginning of the interviews I was generally asking the respondents if they could refer me to another elder that I could talk to in relation to my study. However, I later realised that, most of them were referring me to men only. In order to solve this, I changed the question to 'can you refer to me to another person either a man or woman to assist in the research', this worked and I started seeing a change in terms of the number of women recommended for interviews.

Lastly, I faced a challenge when observing the ceremonies and rituals carried out by the Jita. Because most of the ceremonies performed by the group are not assigned specific dates, it was very hard to pinpoint when and where such ceremonies and rituals will occur. Luckily, I managed to visit a few areas that are used for rituals activities. Also, I managed to observe some stages involved in ceremonies, particularly wedding and burial ceremonies (as it will be further elaborated in chapter 6). However, this did not have an impact on the data collected as I also used other data collection methods, e.g. interviews, in the process.

4.7 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter is an elaboration of the methodological choices and decisions made during the whole process of data collection and analysis. The focus of the chapter is the description of the steps I took when collecting the data. It describes the research conduct in step by step pointing out the reasons for selecting each technique and how it fit the study at hand. The chapter also

provides a description of the challenges encountered and the manner they were addressed during the data collection process to ensure the validity of the information collected. The next three chapters present the discussion of the data collected. These chapters are ‘Chapter 5: Safeguarding Challenges for ICH in Tanzania’, ‘Chapter 6: Traditional Ceremonies and Rituals among the Jita’, and ‘Chapter 7: TSPs for Traditional Ceremonies and Rituals among the Jita’.

CHAPTER FIVE

CHALLENGES FACING MODERN SAFEGUARDING PRACTICES IN TANZANIA

5.1 Introduction

For over a decade, the safeguarding of ICH has been a focus of government and international cultural policies. In many countries, the safeguarding of ICH is done at three levels, namely local, national and international (Blake, 2009). At local level there are the community members/ practitioners or cultural bearers; at the national level, there are government institutions such as ministries and departments; and at international level, there are multinational organisations such as UNESCO and ICOM. This chapter aims at answering the first research question (RQ₁), that is, what are the challenges affecting MSPs in Tanzania? MSPs are one form of management practices that operate through a structured administrative framework, legal framework, and trained professionals, among other things. The administrative structure is responsible for proposing, designing, implementing and enforcing stipulations, plans, and programs aiming at ensuring the survival of cultural heritage in a country (Bryne, 2008; Ndoro & Kiriama, 2008). The legal framework provides a description of what is to be protected, who is to be involved in the protection and management process, and what will be done to those who violate the protected aspects (Pearson & Sullivan, 1995; Ndoro & Kiriama, 2008; Blake, 2015; Carman, 2015); and the professionals overseeing the overall process of safeguarding ICH through the existing legal instruments, administrative structure, and professional knowledge obtained from specialised training. This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part provides a discussion on the characterisation of MSPs in Tanzania. It specifically looks at the administrative structure in terms of ministries, institutions, and personnel involved in safeguarding ICH and the associated legal framework like Acts,

policies and international laws. The second part provides the respondents' take on the challenges facing the MSPs for ICH in Tanzania.

5.2 Administrative Structure, Legal and Policy Frameworks for Safeguarding ICH in Tanzania

5.2.1 Administrative Structure

The administrative structure for safeguarding ICH in Tanzania is comprised of ministries, departments, and institutions. There are two ministries that deal with cultural heritage in the country. These are: The Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT) and Ministry of Information, Culture, Artists, and Sports (MICAS). The two ministries have departments and institutions that deal with ICH. Below is the description of each ministry, departments and institutions, and their roles in the safeguarding process.

5.2.1.1 Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT)

This is the ministry responsible for overseeing the management of natural, cultural and tourism resources in Tanzania. Like other ministries in the country, it has passed through several changes that have included addition or removal of departments, institutions, and agencies since its establishment. From 1999, the MNRT has been a permanent home for the Antiquities Department and the National Museums of Tanzania.

a) Antiquities Department

The Antiquities Department is bestowed with the duty of managing cultural heritage in the country (URT, 1964;1979; Mabulla, 2010; Bwasiri, 2011a,b; Bushozi, 2014). The department was established in 1957, and it has since moved from one ministry to another 9 times, before finding a home in the MNRT from 1999 to date. One of the advantages of moving it to the MNRT was the upgrade of its status from a unit/division into a Department (Karoma, 2005a).

The department is responsible for: protecting, preserving and developing of the country's archaeological and historical sites, approving of matters related to restoration, rehabilitation documentation and revitalisation of historical monuments, areas and sites; collecting, documenting, conserving, and developing Tanzania's architectural and cultural heritage resources including traditional cultural heritage; coordination and undertaking or archaeological research and related activities, issuing permits (licenses) to local and foreign researcher for excavation, collection, export and film production and advising the government on research and conservation issues relate to cultural heritage as stipulated in the Antiquities Act No.10 of 1964 and its amendment No. 22 of 1979 (URT, 1979).

The department operates through legislations, regulations, policies and ratified international conventions. The key national laws are: The Antiquities Act No. 10 of 1964 (and its 1979 amendment); Environment Management Act of 2004; Cultural Heritage Policy of 2008; and Rules and Regulations 1981, 1991, 1995 and 2002. The international laws include: the 1954 Convention on the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict (ratified in 1971); the 1970 UNESCO Convention on the means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property (ratified in 1977); and the UNESCO 1972 Convention concerning the protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (ratified in 1977).

b) National Museums of Tanzania

The National Museums of Tanzania (NMT) is a corporate body established by the Act No.7 of 1980 (URT, 1980). The NMT objectives include: to preserve the movable cultural and natural heritage for the use by the present communities and future generations; to educate the public on cultural and natural heritage through exhibitions, publications, festivals and other media; to promote the concept of national unity in diversity by organising exhibitions and cultural

festivals; and to carry out research and collection expedition in the fields of movable cultural and natural heritage and publish the findings thereof (Kayombo, 2005a). The earliest efforts to establish a museum in Tanzania date to 1912 during German colonial rule. However, the first museum, named the King George V Memorial Museum, was opened in 1940 by the British colonial regime (Kayombo, 2005a; Msemwa, 2005; Masao, 2010). After independence in 1962, the King George V Memorial Museum was renamed as the National Museum of Tanganyika and later the National Museum of Tanzania. This was followed by the enactment of laws and regulations such as the National Museum Act of 1963, amended by the National Museum of Tanzania Act, No. 37 of 1965 (Kayombo, 2005a; Masao, 2010). The current law is the National Museum Act, No. 7 of 1980. The NMT has branches in several regions, namely the National Museum and House of Culture and the Village Museum in Dar es Salaam; the Natural History Museum and the Arusha Declaration Museum in Arusha; Maji Maji Museum in Songea; and the Mwl. Julius K. Nyerere Museum in Butiama, Mara. This study was conducted in the two museums in Dar es Salaam.

i) The National Museum and House of Culture

Before the 2000s, the National Museum and House of Culture was known as Dar es Salaam National Museum. It houses several permanent exhibitions on human evolution; ethnography; and the general history of Tanzania (Kayombo, 2005b; Masao, 2010). Although the museum was established with the aim of researching, collecting and exhibiting movable objects (see URT, 1980), it also undertakes the safeguarding of ICH. This is done through the collection of different information that is associated with the objects that are stored in the museum as ethnographic objects. For example, the 'ethnographic hall' within this museum has permanent exhibitions (*figure 5.1*) that show the diverse Tanzanian cultures. The exhibitions are comprised of displays of different items such as household objects, figurines used in initiation ceremonies, cloths made of different materials, e.g. leather and tree barks, agricultural and

pastoral implements, ornaments, and traditional musical instruments (Kayombo, 2005b).



Figure 5.1: Pictures showing an exhibition in the ethnographic hall (National Museum and House of Culture) (Photo by the author, 2018)

ii) The Village Museum

The village museum was established in July 1966 to represent the existing communities in the country (Kayombo, 2005b; Masao, 2010). The museum contains several traditional houses that depict the traditional life of communities in Tanzania. Today, the museum contains about 18 actual size traditional houses (*figure 5.2*) and the related cultural materials (Kayombo, 2005a&b). One of the important inventions of the Village Museum is the ‘*Urithi Day*’, which loosely translates into ‘Heritage Day’, that was introduced in 1994. This is a three-day festival where a community or their representatives within the country are invited to construct their traditional houses and showcase different aspects of their culture such as traditional dances

(‘ngoma’ in Swahili), foods and drinks. Some members of the community, who will be available, must also prepare a short lecture about them. This entire event is documented and stored in CDs and different publications that are made available to the general public. The museum also has other programs geared towards the promotion of Tanzania culture. These programs include the traditional performance where the museum provides an opportunity for traditional dance groups to perform, and a storytelling program whereby the museum brings different people (e.g. old people) to tell stories to younger generations such as school children.



Figure 5.2: Traditional houses exhibition at the Village museum *(Photo by the author, 2018)*

5.2.1.2 Ministry of Information, Culture, Arts, and Sports (MICAS)

The ministry houses the Culture and Arts departments tasked with the safeguarding ICH in the country. Initially, as explained in chapter 2, there was a ministry established in 1962, i.e. Ministry of National Culture and Youth that was responsible for: the identification and analysis of cultural opportunities and new cultural needs; coordination of the planning of cultural development; development and management of manpower for cultural programs and;

provision of central services and professional advice to cultural organs on all cultural programs (Mbughuni, 1974). However, this changed in the following years, as the ministry has since reduced from being a fully-fledged ministry to a department and moved from one ministry to several others (see Mbughuni, 1974; Askew, 2002). Prior to the fifth phase government in 2015, there was one department of Arts and Culture which dealt with the above issues. The current government in 2015 (see Table 2.1) opted to separate the two departments to one dealing with arts and artists (Art department), and the other one to handle cultural matters (Culture department).

In safeguarding ICH, the two departments perform different roles. These include conducting research that aims at documenting different traditions and cultures in the country; designing, supervising, and implementing policy and international instruments, e.g. the Cultural Policy of 1997 and the CICH; fostering international cooperation with foreign countries through coordinating different activities between nations such as cultural agreements and training; and organising traditional performances during different government/national ceremonies. Also, within the two departments, there are institutions involved in the safeguarding of different forms of ICH in the country. These include the National Kiswahili Council dealing with the promotion, development and encouraging the use of Kiswahili language (URT, 1967;1983); and the National Art Council dealing with the development and promotion of artistic work including the preservation and revival of indigenous and traditional arts (URT, 1983).

5.2.2 Legal and Policy Frameworks

As already explained in section 5.2.1.1 above, the country has several legal instruments that are used in the management of cultural heritage. These include those passed by the country's parliament (e.g. the Antiquities Act of 1964) and those designed by international organisations such as UNESCO and ratified by the country (e.g. UNESCO's 1954 Convention on the Protection of Cultural Property in the event of Armed Conflict). However, some of these instruments do not have a direct impact on the safeguarding of ICH, because most of them focus on the tangible heritage. Exceptions are the Cultural Policy of 1997, Cultural Heritage Policy of 2008, UNESCO's (2003) Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, and (2005) Convention for the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions which are analysed below.

a) Cultural Policy 1997

Despite the early formation of the ministry responsible for culture soon after independence in 1962, the country survived for 35 years without having a definite cultural policy (URT, 1997; Karoma, 2005a). Although some scholars have claimed the presence of an unwritten cultural policy in form of speeches and announcements offered by ministries and government officials (Mbughuni 1974); it was not until 1997 that the government published its first cultural policy, which was prepared by the then ministry responsible for culture, the Ministry of Education and Culture (Karoma, 2005a). The policy, among other things, defines what it meant by the term culture. Section 1.1 of the policy defines culture as follows:

Culture is defined as the sum of all community-based issues that are invented to satisfy their will and development, in other words, it is the community's lifestyle, their attitude towards things, and their life principles that distinguish them from other communities (My translation from Swahili)

Further, the policy highlights the management and development of heritage. Section 5 of the policy points out the constituents of heritage to include organisms, natural vegetation, environment, things and different tools from customs and traditional practices. The policy also stipulates the role of different parties in the safeguarding process, e.g. the roles of family, the community, and governmental institutions. For example, Section 5.1.1 of the policy reads that *‘the duty of protecting and developing our cultural heritage is the responsibility of the community members and supervised by the government’* (URT, 1998). Further, section 5.1.6 reads *‘all areas with cultural heritage will be identified, gazetted and developed through establishing museums’* (URT, 1998). An in-depth analysis of the role of this policy in the safeguarding of ICH in the country is presented in section 5.3.2 of this chapter.

b) Cultural Heritage Policy of 2008

The policy was prepared by the MNRT and is used to govern the operations of the Antiquities department (URT, 2008; Ichumbaki, 2015). The general objective of the policy is to increase the contributions of the sector to the country’s economy through tourism and by conserving and developing cultural heritage resources. The policy has four specific objectives, namely (i) to elaborate roles of the public, individuals, corporates and institutions in managing cultural heritage; (2) to analyse ways by which cultural heritage activities will be managed and administered; (3) to clearly clarify measures through which cultural heritage resources shall be protected, managed, preserved, conserved and developed; and (4) to analyse the best practices for conducting research and conservation of cultural heritage resources (URT, 2008; Section 3.2).

One of the important contributions of the policy is the extension of the definition of cultural heritage to include both tangible and intangible aspects. According to the policy, cultural

heritage resources comprise tangible and intangible, movable and immovable cultural relics found on the surface, subsurface or underwater aged 100 years or more, or less than 100 years in age, but identified and declared according to the guidelines and laws governing cultural heritage resources in the country (URT, 2008). An important improvement of that definition is the removal of a timescale for something to qualify as a heritage, that was placed in the Antiquities Act No 10 of 1964 and No 22 of 1979. Instead of limiting heritage assets to '*those which were made before 1864*' the policy allows for more recent entries (URT, 1964; 1979; 2008). Moreover, the policy recognises the need for stakeholder's involvement in cultural heritage conservation, particularly the local community (URT, 2008: Section 5). This aspect has been pointed out by scholars as a weakness of the existing legal framework, particularly the Antiquities Act, which has not recognised the role of community in the CHM process (Kamamba, 2005; Bwasiri, 2011). Recognising the involvement of the community in conservation is very important especially with ICH, which is part of the community's ways of life, thus warranting their involvement in the safeguarding process.

c) International Instruments

Tanzania also uses international instruments to assist in the process of managing the country's heritage resources. For the case of ICH, the country has ratified the two Conventions, the UNESCO's 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (CICH) (ratified in 2011) and the 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of Diversity of Cultural Expressions (ratified in 2011). The two conventions are very important in the safeguarding process for ICH. For example, CICH provides direction to the state parties in implementing the safeguarding mechanism. Also, state parties, through its intangible heritage funds, can receive financial support to further assist them in the implementation of the safeguarding process (UNESCO, 2003). However, Tanzania has yet to establish supporting

mechanisms and instruments to effectively benefit from the support and directives offered by the two conventions. Interviews with the respondents from Arts and Culture Department indicated they are currently in the process of reviewing the cultural policy of 1997, as part of the move to create supporting instruments for the CICH.

5.2.3 Practitioners

Practitioners for the case of this study means the people or individuals that are responsible and involved in the management of cultural heritage. In each of the ministerial departments or institutions there are people that work with ICH. These people have different academic qualifications such as certificates, diplomas, bachelor and postgraduate degrees (e.g. Masters' and Ph.D.). They are trained in different disciplines such as archaeology, cultural heritage management, arts, music, geography, architecture, and conservation studies. In relation to ICH, there is a group of officers named 'cultural officers' that are in local government (regional and municipal authorities), responsible for the implementation of different activities aimed at managing and safeguarding cultural practices. These include organising events and festivals; recording the existing cultural practices; and provision of support and encouragement to cultural groups within their territories.

According to an article published in Mwananchi newspaper in 3rd March 2018, the cultural officers in regions and districts were removed during the start of the new government phase in 1995 (see Table 5.1). They later emerged again in 2005, mostly as staff within the Education Department (Kitime, 2018). Before that, starting in 1962 when the Ministry of National Culture and Youth was formed, each regional administration had a department of culture staffed by a Cultural officer, Arts officer, Language officer and Sports officer. Today, the cultural officers are under the Education Department in the respective regions. Administratively they are in the

President's office (Regional Administration and Local Government) (TAMISEMI), whilst implementing duties from the MICAS (Arts and Culture Departments).

5.3 Challenges facing MSPs in Tanzania

This section aims at presenting the information obtained from official respondents in relation to RQ₁, i.e. ‘what are the challenges facing MSPs in Tanzania? Data for this research question was mainly collected from interviews with the official respondents and the review of different literature relating to CHM and ICH. The challenges are divided into three categories, i.e. institutional-related challenges, legal-related challenges, and community-related challenges.

5.3.1 Institutional-related challenges

There are the challenges found within the institutions responsible for the safeguarding ICH.

a) Ineffective administrative structure

The first challenge mentioned by the respondents was the weakness in terms of the overall administrative structure that deals with the safeguarding of ICH in the country. Administrative structure here is defined as the organisation, arrangement and working relationship between the ministries, institutions and departments that are concerned with the CHM in the country. Carman (2002, p.61) argues that heritage objects, whether portable objects, monuments and sites or landscape are a responsibility of a particular kind of organization. He further points out that, these can be in form of university departments or museums, branches of government or independent bodies subjective to government funding and regulation (Carman, 2015, pp. 133-134). For the case of Tanzania, the administrative structure responsible for the safeguarding of ICH is comprised of ministry departments and institutions like museums and councils. This administrative structure was explained by the respondents as ineffective, and thus affecting the overall process of safeguarding ICH in the country. This ineffectiveness was explained in two

ways, i.e. the arrangement of the responsible institutions and the placement of the officials that are responsible in the safeguarding process.

In terms of the arrangement of institutions, as explained earlier (section 5.2.1 above), there are two ministries (i.e. MNRT and MICAS) that are responsible for cultural heritage in the country. The two ministries contain several departments and institutions dealing with cultural heritage and other different things. For example, forests and beekeeping in MNRT and Sports in MICAS. For the case of cultural heritage, in the MNRT the responsible institutions are the Antiquities Department and the National Museum of Tanzania; while for the case of MICAS is the Art and Culture Departments and National Art Council. Data collected through interviews with the officials revealed that the institutions within MNRT are the ones dealing with tangible cultural heritage and those that are found within MICAS deal with ICH. This is supported by two respondents who pointed out that:

Our department does not deal with intangible cultural heritage... There is a department dealing with that in the MICAS (Antiquities Official, A1)

Yes, we are the one responsible for the management of intangible cultural heritage...but we have our sister department that deals with buildings and other forms of tangible heritage (Culture Department officer, MY3).

The result of this ministerial separation is the distribution of management responsibilities, as one ministry deals with the tangible cultural heritage and the other with the ICH. This separation of the institutions responsible for managing heritage is a challenge that affects the management process of the cultural heritage in general and ICH as a specific in the country. During the data collection process, one respondent pointed out that:

The issue of separating the two is actually being a drawback. Due to the separation, some things are not properly handled to the extent of being sent to other institutions, just because the two-responsible departments do not

have a clear strategy for the management of ICH (Antiquities Department official, A4).

This practice of separating heritage into tangible and intangible has been characterised by scholars as either being artificial and ambiguous to interpret (Munjari, 2004; Giaccardi & Palen, 2008; Harrison & Rose, 2010). Although at the face of it the two ministries have clear demarcations in terms of their roles and focus; in practice, separating tangible and intangible cultural heritage is challenging, particularly when dealing with African heritage. This is because of the inherent characteristics of African heritage of connecting tangible and intangible cultural heritage (Orchardson-Mazrui, 1998; Githito, 2005; Kigongo & Reid, 2007).

This is also the case in Tanzania, where most of the heritage assets protected by the Antiquities department, although they are tangible, are also attached with ICH by either being a sacred site for ritual activities or for religious pilgrimage. Protecting the tangible aspects only results in either conflicts with the local community or a neglect of some of the cultural aspects as the responsible party will abandon those aspects which they think do not fall under their jurisdiction (see Masele 2007; 2012; Bwasiri, 2008; Ichumbaki, 2015). For example, one of the respondents pointed out the challenge facing the department in managing a Kondoa rock art site in Dodoma, a cultural World Heritage Site that is also used for ritual activities:

A challenge we have in this site is that the designed management plan is one-sidedly focusing on the drawings while neglecting the associated activities, hence causing a continuous uproar with the community using the site for ritual activities (Antiquities Department officer, A6)

In attempts to provide a solution to this challenge, the respondents provided different views as to whether the two departments should be joined into one department.

I think it is true you cannot separate tangible and intangible. Hence the Department should be the one responsible for the overseeing of both tangible and intangible cultural heritage. Even if it is not on managing all of

them together, then the Arts and Cultural Department from MICAS should work closely with the Department so as to improve the management of ICH (Antiquities Department official, A4).

One respondent provided what I think can be a starting point to minimise the issue of ineffective administration structure. This respondent pointed out that:

I do not think to be in different ministries is a challenge, but I think a challenge is lack of proper collaborations, you can all be placed in one ministry and yet you can fail to achieve the intended objective. I personally think if there were a proper collaboration between us, we would have been very far than where we are now (National Museum and House of Culture official, MN4).

However, we need to improve awareness of the impact of this separation, particularly to policy and law makers as it continues to affect the sector. Currently, the department, which was formally known as the Arts and Culture Department, has been further divided in two departments, i.e. Art Department and Culture Department which potentially exacerbates the difficulties of safeguarding different forms of ICH.

The second problem of ineffective administrative structure relates to the officials known as ‘cultural officers’, who are placed in every region to deal with cultural heritage. The cultural officers are an important group of officials responsible for the safeguarding ICH at district and regional levels. Despite their importance, currently, they are unable to effectively undertake their duties. During the data collection process, there were several reasons that were identified as contributing to this ineffectiveness. The first one was in terms of their location within the administrative structure. Although they are responsible for cultural heritage and ICH as a specific, administratively, the cultural officers are located in a different ministry, which is TAMISEMI. As one respondent explained:

The issue of the link between cultural officers and the ministry is also a problem. We have tried to fight for this, to make sure they [cultural officers] are under us [MICAS] as how people from other ministries are, for example, Land officers are located within the ministry dealing with land issues. But we are yet to succeed (Culture Department, MY3).

The problem of this ministerial separation is observed in terms of the responsibilities of the cultural officers in their work posts. In their respective offices, the cultural officers are under a District Executive Director (DED) who usually places them in other departments, either education or administrative departments. Although being in a different ministry was not considered as a challenge by most of the respondents, the act of being placed in other offices at the regional and district levels was explained with different views. For example:

Despite them [cultural officers] receiving orders from the Arts and Culture Department, in the local government, they are under the DED. What happens here is that they in most cases are placed in different offices, in particular, Education, Social welfare or Administration. So, how is it possible if they are working on the same role? This is a very big challenge particularly when it comes to implementing the intended objectives (Culture Department, MY2)

In other regions they are placed under the Education officer, where they do most of the activities that are related to education and very little of those related to culture (Culture Department, MY3)

Most of the duties we perform are related to the department where you [cultural officer] are placed. I, for example, can give an account of myself here. Since employed, I have never performed any activity that is related to the management of cultural heritage, leave alone the ICH. This might also be the case for most of us (Cultural Officer, CO1)

What the above responses indicate is the impact of placing cultural officers in different offices. The most prominent effect of such a placement is for them to be involved in undertaking other

responsibilities that are not related to culture heritage, or ICH as a specific. Because they are placed in different offices, they do not have access to resources to implement the objectives and activities of MICAS. This is because in most cases, the funds available serve the respective offices. As two of the respondents pointed out:

For example, one of the challenges that I face by being under the education office is the lack of funds for cultural activities. Available funds here are expected to be used for educational activities because that is what they are budgeted and accounted for. This leaves me with no financial resources to implement cultural-related activities (Cultural Officer, CO2)

I think one of the challenges facing cultural officers currently is lack of funds. Because they do not have their own offices...Also, they do not have a specialized budget for cultural activities. They are currently used to implement duties and roles of the offices where they are located, which rarely involves management of cultural heritage (Cultural Officer, CO3)

In general, this discussion with the respondents has highlighted that, administratively, the country has several departments and institutions that are responsible for safeguarding Cultural heritage in general and ICH as a specific. However, the way the responsible ministries and institutions are arranged is currently the major challenge to the management and safeguarding process. It affects both the roles played by each institution in the safeguarding process and that of the responsible officers, particularly, the cultural officers. However, this is far from the only issue affecting the institutions dealing with ICH in the country, as how the following subsection will illustrate.

b) Lack of trained staff

Apart from having a well-structured institutional and legal framework, an effective heritage management system requires the presence of well-trained personnel. As previously discussed

in chapter two, an effective cultural heritage management system requires the presence of people who are trained and specialised in different aspects. Similarly, lack of such people has been discussed by scholars as among the causes for destruction of cultural heritage in different areas. During data collection process, the respondents were also concerned about the lack of trained personnel to deal with ICH. As one of the respondents pointed out:

Technically, I would like to confess that we lack African centred staff that are knowledgeable in African heritage, but we have museum experts working in the National Museum (National Museum and House of Culture, MN2)

The above quote is from an interview where the respondent (MN2) wanted to explain the lack of trained staff, as one of the challenges facing the safeguarding of ICH in the country. What the respondents who addressed this issue were emphasising is probably the biggest challenge that faces the management of cultural heritage in many parts of the world (for example see Mabula, 1996; Bennett & Barker, 2011; Makuvaza & Chiwaura, 2014). Although what is termed as ICH has long existence, earlier efforts to manage heritage in general were focused much on the monumental and other physical aspects of cultural heritage that have often been called ‘tangible heritage’ (see chapter 2). There are a few countries in Asia, particularly Japan and Korea, that have been ahead in the safeguarding of this form of heritage (See Saito, 2005; Alivizatou, 2008; Tan, 2009; Saeji, 2019). But African countries have been late to catch-up with the safeguarding practices at the national level.

The issue of lack of trained staff in CHM has been a challenge for many years in different parts of the world (see chapter 2). However, it is again brought about in a different perspective due to the delicacy nature of ICH. The safeguarding of ICH is somewhat different from the management of tangible cultural heritage. It requires the knowledge of among other things, what to safeguard or when to allow a practice to disappear, how to safeguard ICH without

accelerating its disappearance, and how to collect information about certain sacred or secret practices without upsetting the practitioners. All this requires trained personnel, equipped with diverse knowledge essential for undertaking the safeguarding process. For example, Kurin (2007, p.14) argues that in order to understand, research, and document ICH, one needs adequate linguistic skills and superior levels of background training in cultural fields such as ethnology and the ethno-sciences. During the data collection exercise, one of the respondents provided an example of lack of proper knowledge of safeguarding practices have resulted in an improper presentation of the rain making ceremony among the Nyiramba people from Central Tanzania:

One of the things that I think if I had a chance to reverse is concerned with the rain making drums among the Nyiramba people in Singida region. In this, museum officials collected the objects and went on to display them in the museum. However, as I came to realize later, that act actually destroyed the importance of those objects, because those objects were not supposed to be seen by everyone. Traditionally, it was only a few people who were allowed to see them, others were supposed to undertake a cleansing ritual, before seeing them (National Museum and House of Culture, MNH3)

Because of the restrictions that are attached to the objects or the secrecy behind some of the practices, there is a need for the people involved to be equipped with necessary knowledge and training on how to collect and handle such information and the objects involved.

There is also a weakness in terms of the institutions providing training in cultural heritage and ICH as a specific. Currently in the country, the training institutions (e.g. universities and colleges) responsible are yet to design courses or programmes that deal with the safeguarding of this form of heritage. Most of them are focused on either teaching people to perform a certain practice (performing arts) or their description. Others are still focused on the tangible heritage, with very minimal efforts directed towards understanding, improving, and devising

safeguarding practices. Some of the ministry officials were also concerned by the inadequate number of people that are trained in this form of heritage:

Although we have some people who are trained in these things, we need more professionals in the sector. For example, here in the ministry, we would like to have people trained in Music; Language; Theatre (all types), but we do not have enough people (Culture Department, MY3).

Also, some of the queries did come for the qualifications of the cultural officers themselves that is the level and nature of education attained. As one of the respondents pointed out:

But even at the lower level of the cultural offices themselves, I am not sure if they are qualified enough. In this I mean, do they have sufficient education or training to carry out the intended activities? (Culture Department, MY3)

Previously, as there were very few people trained in culture-related subjects and the ‘cultural officer’ post being under education officer, most of the people employed as cultural officers were teachers by profession. However, this is improving, due to the increase in number of people that are trained in cultural heritage and the related disciplines. Some of the newly employed cultural officers are knowledgeable and trained people also with respect to their responsibilities for heritage issues. For example, out of the three cultural officers interviewed for this study all of them had an undergraduate degree, two in archaeology and heritage management, and one in education. But this still necessitates more training so that the people that will be involved in such process are properly equipped with the required training for undertaking such a task.

c) Inadequate financial resources

The respondents also mentioned the issue of lack of finances as among the challenges affecting the safeguarding of ICH in Tanzania. However, one of them did not seem to regard this as a problem, particularly in relating to ICH. He said:

Most people are saying lack of finances is one of the challenges facing the management of ICH, I don't. You know, when they say it is very expensive (to manage ICH) is because they are copying what the Europeans are saying in their reports. What costs do you incur when asking people to continue practicing their heritage? Or look at what is happening in the Village Museum, for example, when the Nyakyusa [one of the communities in Tanzania], are invited there, they usually come with different items for cooking, they will sleep on mats, hence they won't need mattresses or lodges, what costs will you incur? This is their week, and they are proud of what they are showcasing (National Museum and House of Culture, MNH3)

The above quote was provided by one of the respondents who was refuting the assertion that inadequate financial resource is among the challenges affecting the safeguard of ICH in Tanzania. What the respondent missed is the fact that the safeguarding of ICH means more than inviting people in the museum to showcase their culture. It also involves other processes that require a certain amount of funds in order to implement them. I managed to establish several areas or situations that are affected by inadequate financial resources during the process of data collection. These included among others, research, documentation, and exhibitions. This was considered one of the challenges particularly by the respondents from the Arts Department, Culture Department, and the two museums. One of the respondents argued that:

The expensive nature of the equipment is another challenge that affects our efforts here. You might have a will and desire to do such documentation, but the equipment that might be used in such a process is expensive, while some also do require special training to operate them (Culture Department, MY6).

Museum officials also pointed out the inadequate financial resources as a challenge affecting the safeguarding process of ICH in the country. One respondent explained that:

For me another challenge is lack of finances, this is because in order to perform different activities such as exhibitions I need to do research...research is expensive, requiring a lot of resources. If I do not have enough budget to do that, I cannot undertake such activities (National Museum and House of Culture, MNH4).

What the respondents are arguing here concerns the resources that are required in implementing research on ICH. Because of the current arrangement and location of museums, most people with knowledge about ICH reside away from such institutions. In order to visit them and collect the required information, one needs financial resources e.g. for transport, accommodation, and recording equipment. Having inadequate resources hinders the responsible parties to undertake such activities.

However, this was not limited to research and documentation activities only, other activities like cultural festivals also experience resource constraint. This was evident when I was interested in more information about the ethnic day festival operated by the Village Museum.

I wanted to hear when the festival was to be held. The respondent pointed out:

You know, we do not have an actual date for the event, but each year we must have one. The reason for this [not having a specific date] is that we are just facilitators, it is the people who organize themselves and come here depending on their resources. Hence, we cannot force them on when to come (Village Museum Official, VMO2).

What the respondent is saying here is that, although the museum organises the festival, they cannot determine when it will happen which in turn might have an impact on marketing the event. This is so because it is the responsibility of the community to organise themselves and

they can only do that when they have the required funds. Today, such funds are only available from institutions outside the country (e.g. the UNESCO International Fund for Cultural Diversity), and none within the country.

Another area that was explained to be affected by inadequate financial resources was the work of cultural officers. As already explained earlier in this chapter, after administrative changes, the office of cultural officers was removed. Later, they emerged as part of the Education department, or any other department depending on the regional administration setup. In turn, the cultural officers ended up serving under an office which does not allocate budgets for cultural activities. One of the cultural officers pointed out that:

...There is also a challenge of inadequate financial resources to implement the agreed/intended objectives. Currently, the cultural officer doesn't have a specific department, this also affects them financially. Most of the financial resources within the said departments are allocated for different uses with only a meagre amount, which is never enough, left to serve the cultural officers... (Cultural officer, CO1).

Another cultural officer added:

We can design proposals that are geared toward the management of ICH but not all proposals will be accepted, this is because we do not usually have a specific budget within those departments directed towards ICH (Cultural officer, CO3).

What the above two statements signify is that the issues of shortage of funds also affects the cultural officers. Despite their intentions, plans, and desires to implement the safeguarding activities the lack of financial resources hinders their success. Some officials from the MICAS also agreed to this, as one of them pointed:

The cultural officers do not have office or funds. For example, you ask a cultural officer to implement an activity such as organizing a cultural

festival in a certain region, the cultural officer cannot do that without talking to the education officer, who in most cases does not have a budget for culture-related things. So how do you think the cultural officer will organize such a festival? (Cultural Department, MY3).

However, the issue of financial constraints is not a unique case to Tanzania and its cultural heritage management institutions, it is a widespread problem in Africa (Eboreime, 2008; Sinvula, 2008). Most of these countries are faced by financial scarcity in implementing what are seen as pressing developmental matters such as health, education, infrastructures etc. Hence, diverting or setting aside funds for cultural heritage activities is always an elusive objective to achieve. UNESCO has realised this situation, because the CICH has set aside a special fund 'Intangible Cultural Heritage Fund' for assisting state parties in their efforts to safeguard ICH (See UNESCO, 2003: Article 25; Blake, 2009).

d) Lack of political will

Political will in this case is simply defined as the wishes and the desires of the politicians (law and policy makers) leading the country as a whole or the ministries and the institutions that deal with cultural heritage. Effective management of cultural heritage in a country requires, among other factors, an effective administrative structure, a well-designed legal framework and adequate funding, which are all subject to the directions and desires of those in government or with political powers. The will or interests of these people in relation to cultural matters usually have a very big influence in terms of the management practices and focus of the institutions they lead. Any neglect from those in power can result into challenges for those in charge of the heritage sector. As one of the respondents reasoned:

I think we can also talk of the thinking and mind-set of the politicians holding top positions as a challenge to the safeguarding of this form of heritage [intangible]. Although by now we can see some changes with most

of them valuing the arts and culture found in the nation, there was a period where most of our leaders were not interested in the arts and cultural aspects of the society (MICAS, MY1)

In Tanzania, the issue of political will has continued to affect the cultural heritage sector for some time now. After independence, the first phase government (figure 5.1), as many other governments of former colonies, was interested in the issues of national culture and identity (for example, see Pwiti & Ngoro, 1999; Marschall, 2008). For example, the first president of Tanzania, Mwl. Julius K. Nyerere was very much interested in culture as a whole and this was reflected in his actions and speeches. Soon after independence, there was the formation of the Ministry of National Culture and Youth which was formed in December 1962 (Jengo, 1985; Ruyembe, 2014). The aim of formulating the ministry was as the president recited in his ministry opening speech: *“I have set up this new ministry to help us regain our pride in our own culture. I want it to seek out the best of the traditions and customs of all tribes and make them part of our national culture”* (Nyerere, 1967, p. 186).

The ministry performed different activities, including the establishment of the National Dance Troup in 1965, which aimed at putting together a national performance that will be a representative of all dances from different communities in the nation (Hatar, 2001). However, the subsequent statesmen/women did not share the Nyerere’s enthusiasm. This is evidenced by the continued demotion of the culture sector from being a fully-fledged ministry in the 1960s to a mere department in 2018. This was accompanied by a continued shifting of the department dealing with culture from one ministry to another (see section 5.2.2). These frequent rearrangements of the department indicate a failure of those in power to realise the importance and meaning of culture, and the need for providing favourable conditions for continuation of cultural plans and programs (Mlama, 1985). Further, as already mentioned earlier in chapter

three, despite the interests shown by earlier leaders and the formation of the ministry or department responsible for culture since 1962, the country did not have a cultural policy until 1997 (URT, 1997; Karoma, 2005a). Some scholars have considered presidents' statements and speeches as enough to serve as cultural policy in the country (Mbuguni, 1974; Mlamba, 1985). However, these alone are not enough to serve as a cultural policy because of the information on different aspects, e.g. safeguarding structure and roles of different stakeholders, which a formal policy would contain. This signifies that the cultural sector (and ICH as a specific) was not among the matters perceived by the politicians to require utmost urgency.

The overall funds allocated (i.e. ministerial budget) from the government is also an indicator of lack of will, as it continues to decline year after year. As one of the respondents pointed out:

If you look at the ministry that is always receiving small budget it is the Ministry responsible for culture. This translates into, culture does not have any significance...I think some leaders would even remove the culture ministry if they could. But since the country is not an island, they are looking outside the country and find the need to have it (Culture Department, MY1).

To make matters worse, the few existing efforts towards recognising and promoting heritage have focused mostly on natural heritage while neglecting cultural heritage. An example of this was demonstrated by the adverts that are issued by the ministry for the Sabasaba Trade Fair. This is a trade fair that takes place on July 7th of each year providing opportunities for people to showcasing different trading activities. The government also usually participates in these fairs by showcasing different activities performed by its ministries, departments and institutions. As one of the respondents pointed out:

A good example [of the focus placed on natural more than cultural heritage] is when we go to Sabasaba, although both cultural and natural heritage are usually placed in one showroom, much focus in on the natural heritage. Even

the adverts that are placed on the doors and banners usually aims at promoting natural heritage more than cultural heritage. For example, putting on wild animals such as giraffes and lions, or natural features such as mountain Kilimanjaro, while neglecting cultural aspects such as traditional dances as part of the advert (Village Museum official, VMO1).

Due to the above examples, the cultural sector continues to operate without a clear focus or directions. Most of the captivating political speeches, statements and announcements have been in vain due to poor implementation of programs and plans that are resulting from lack of political will. However, further interviews with respondents showed some signs of improvement. The current 5th phase government leaders are at least showing interest in the matters relating to culture and its promotion. An example of this is the recent announcement made by the minister for MNRT who has declared the month of September as a heritage month to celebrate different cultures and cultural materials in Tanzania (MNRT website). Although the celebrations are still in the early phase of implementation, it at least shows a change in the recognition of culture as part of the national heritage in need of identification and safeguarding.

5.3.2 Legal-related challenges

Legal related challenges emanate from the legal framework used in the safeguarding of ICH in the country. This category is comprised of one challenge, which is the inadequate legal framework. ‘Legal framework’ for this case is taken to mean the laws, by-laws (rules, regulations, circulars and guidelines) and international conventions that govern the ICH safeguarding process. As discussed in section 5.2.2 above, the legal framework in Tanzania is comprised of national instruments such as acts, policies, and regulations, and international such as conventions and agreements. These were termed as ‘inadequate’ by most respondents, implying that while they do exist, they do not effectively cover and protect ICH and its safeguarding initiatives. Information concerning the existing legal framework was collected

through interviews with officials and the review of actual Acts and policies dealing with cultural heritage in general, and ICH as a specific in the country.

During this study, it was established that although we have several laws, policies, and regulations dealing with heritage, there is no specific Act that deals with the safeguarding of ICH in the country and the existing ones do not include ICH in their definitions. As one of the respondents pointed out:

I think it's time now to have a cultural law, this is because apart from the cultural policy, we do not have a law that deals with culture in general, and ICH as a specific...although we have those dealing with arts, film, and others, we need a comprehensive Act that will cover all things related to culture (Arts Department, MY5).

As already pointed out earlier in the chapter (5.2.2), there are several Acts that cover cultural heritage in the country. However, these Acts have neglected to include ICH among the forms of heritage to be protected. For example, the country's main law for the management of cultural heritage is the Antiquities Act of 1964 which was amended in 1979. This Act does not include ICH in its provisions. Section 2(1) of the Act defines 'antiquities' as monuments, relics and protected objects (URT, 1979). This means the Act does not offer protection to the immaterial aspects of culture that are referred to as ICH. This failure in mentioning or categorising ICH as one of the concerns for management is affecting the responsibilities of those institutions whose operations are governed by the Act. A good example of this is the Antiquities Department. During the interview process, one of the questions asked to the respondents was "*What do you think is the role played by your department in the management of ICH?*" which was either followed or interchanged by the question: "*Does your organization have any plans or strategy to manage ICH in the country?*" Since the department operates through this Act, the answers to that question revealed the operational challenge resulting from not including ICH in the

definition. The statements provided by the officials from the department provided some very good elaborations. One respondent said:

Our department does not deal with intangible cultural heritage... There is a department dealing with that in the MICAS (Antiquities Official, A1)

While another respondent believed that:

Our department does not deal with intangible heritage per se, but we tend to manage it when we find it attached or associated with a tangible heritage which is our focus (Antiquities Official, A3).

One of the respondents elaborated clearly on the shortfalls of this lack of recognition by the Act. The respondent said:

You know, our department [Antiquities Department] operates through [the] Antiquities Act of 1964 and its amendment of 1979. They both do not recognize intangible heritage among the things that are protected. Because we operate following its stipulations, it hinders us from dealing with this form of heritage, although we know there exist different forms of practices in some of our sites such as those in Kilwa, Bagamoyo, and Kunduchi (Antiquities official, A6).

This is the same with the National Museum of Tanzania Act, No.7 of 1980, which established the National Museum and gives power to the national museum to collect, preserve and research scientific and cultural objects in Tanzania (URT, 1980). It does not define what are those 'ethnographic objects' to be protected. This raises eyebrows as one of the respondents asked:

How can you manage something which you do not know what it is?
(National Museum and House of Culture official, MN3)

Since the museum also operates using the Antiquities Act, the definition provided by the Act for ethnographic object is "any movable object made, shaped, painted carved, inscribed or

otherwise produced or modified by human agency in Tanganyika after 1863(...) for use in any social or cultural activities whether or not it is still being used by any community in Tanganyika” (URT, 1979: Section 2.1). It does not say anything in relation to the knowledge, skills, technology, practices, or beliefs that may be associated with such objects, and can be referred to as ICH.

This failure to include the skills and practices associated with objects was clearly observed in the Village Museum when one of the respondents pointed out that:

Another challenge is we did not keep the manual for these houses, which has been a problem when we try to renovate the falling houses, but now we are in the process of creating such a manual to assist us in the future (Village Museum official, VMO2).

What this meant is that, during the building of those houses in the museum, earlier efforts were to preserve the houses but not the skills and knowledge involved in building them, which can be termed as ICH.

However, the failure of the country’s heritage laws to recognize ICH is not a situation unique to Tanzania only. Except for a few countries such as Kenya, South Africa and Botswana who have amended their heritage protection Acts in recent years (see Ndoro, 2008; Republic of Kenya, 2009; Ndlovu, 2011a), most cultural heritage laws in Africa still contain considerable remnants of colonialism. These laws defined cultural heritage in the form of tangible/material aspects of culture covering artefacts, features and structures while neglecting the immaterial aspects of culture, that is, ICH (Negri, 2005; Ndoro, 2008; Chirikure, et.al., 2015).

Apart from the Antiquities and Museum Acts, there are two policies, Cultural Policy of 1997 and Cultural Heritage Policy of 2008, that have at least mentioned and discussed some practices

and expressions that can be termed as ICH. However, these policies also have some weaknesses which affect the process of the safeguarding of ICH. For example, the Cultural Heritage Policy of 2008 is in confusion about what it aims at protecting, in relation to ICH. On page viii the policy defines cultural heritage resources to include tangible (any cultural heritage resources that can be felt by touch such as cultural heritage sites, building and artifacts) and intangible heritage (non-physical aspects of cultural heritage such as language, expression, performing arts, beliefs, myths and legends, traditions, folklore and customs). But in section 1.1 where the policy gives examples of cultural heritage resources it categorises them as fossils; remains of plants and animals and human beings, artifacts; rock painting/engravings, ruins, tombs, fortresses, defensive walls, spiritual sites; including caves, trees, forests, rivers, mountains, and buildings identified and used by the communities for worshipping, and areas of historical events. A confusion here is that in one instance the policy adopts an inclusive definition of ICH that covers things like myths, folklore, and language. On the other side, it defines ICH exclusively as that which occurs around some certain tangible features, be it natural such as mountains and rivers, or man-made such as buildings. Similarly, the Cultural Policy of 1997 is silent on the nature or on the different types of traditions and practices that are to be safeguarded. For example, in Article 1.2 the policy describes the traditions and customs that are to be safeguarded. These include: (a) valuing national identity (b) being cautious against disasters and (c) developing gender equality (URT, 1997; Article 1.2). This outline does not describe any tradition or practice that can qualify as ICH following UNESCO's CICH definition.

However, there seems to be some changes and improvements happening now. During interviews with some of the officials, one of them pointed out that:

We also know that there are some weaknesses in the basic laws for heritage management in the country. We are now in the process of reviewing the Act

so as to curb some of the challenges and improving them. We have already sent a copy to different people for comments. (Antiquities official, A1)

Apart from that, the policy also insists on refining most of the laws and adding by-laws to satisfy the requirements that it sets towards the management of cultural heritage in the country (URT, 2008; Article 6.2). Hopefully, the resulting changes and improvements might provide room for ICH to be noticed and included as part of the cultural heritage in the country.

5.3.3 Community-related challenges

Community-related challenges are the challenges found within the community itself, but which affect the overall process of safeguarding ICH at the national level. ICH is part of the community's daily life, and due to that, there are some of the situations that exists among the community members but affect the safeguarding initiatives at the national level. In this study, these are termed as community-related challenges, and they include secrecy behind some practices and negative perception of community members.

a) Secrecy behind some practices

The issue of secrecy behind the traditions, practices, or expressions that can be termed as ICH is another challenge that was mentioned by the official respondents. The hurdle identified here was the preference or desire of either the practitioners or of those that are involved in the practice to hide their identity or refuse to share details of such practices. This is done because of the existing restrictions that require certain practices of skill to be shared only among members of specific community, clan, or family and not with outsiders. Several scholars from different parts of the world have addressed the issue of secrecy behind practices, traditions, and expressions. Mapunda (2011) for instance, talked about the secrecy behind iron working in African societies. He claims that the smelters used secrets enforced through cultural

mechanisms such as taboos and stereotypes to protect access to their inventions by outsiders, meaning only the allowed members will have access to such knowledge (Mapunda, 2011, p. 164). This is also the same with some healing rituals, where people possessing such knowledge would like to keep their knowledge private, not exposing it to outsiders. For example, the Sámi healing rituals are restricted to a few members within certain families (see Miller, 2015). Smith et. al (2003) and Smith (2006) also provided another example of restrictions and secrets behind practices and traditions uncovered during the implementation of the Waanyi Women's History project in Australia. The project aimed at recording sites and places of significance to Waanyi women. However, the researchers were restricted to share the collected data. The detailed information about the sites, meaning and values cannot be published or shared to outsiders as it was supposed to be made available to Waanyi women only. UNESCO CICH also understands the importance of such restrictions, as it urges state parties to endeavour to ensure access to the ICH, while respecting the customary practices governing access to such heritage (UNESCO, 2003: Article 13(d)(i)).

Analysis of the collected responses indicated the issue of secrecy can be a challenge in two ways. Firstly, in identifying the people that are involved in those practices, particularly the traditional ceremonies and rituals. This is a challenge because prior to establishing safeguarding plans, one needs to identify the nature and type of a tradition or practice. But this becomes impossible particularly in relation to some practices that are considered a secret by the practitioners. One of the reasons that were identified during the interview process, was the secretive nature of the people that are involved in some of the traditional practices, with most of them not wanting to be known or identified as practitioners.

Apart from that the desire of those people involved in the process to not be known is also a challenge. Although we know several of them are doing a lot of these, for example there are some people who cannot move into a new

house without inviting a traditional doctor² [a ritual specialist], the same occurs for those who are moving into new offices, they cannot do so without inviting the traditional doctor to cleanse the office (Antiquities official, A6).

This was considered as a challenge because it causes problems to officials or expert attempting to obtain or collect information relating to practices or expressions that can be termed as ICH.

The second problem with secrecy was the hardship associated with opportunities to observe, record or obtain information about such practices:

Well, there is also a problem with secrecy, some of the traditions and practices are a secret of a particular group, documenting such practice is a bit hard and challenging for us (Culture Department, MY6).

What this means is that the practitioners of certain practices considered them as a secret, hence they cannot be revealed to outsiders including government officials and experts. Because of the secret nature of such practices, the related information will be restricted to a particular group within a community.

Other respondents talked about hardship in securing interpretation for some of the objects that are housed in a museum. One of the examples offered for this was a '*mwanasesere*' which is a doll used for girls' initiation ceremonies among some communities in central Tanzania:

There are some communities that perform initiation ceremonies for female members. In this, there are several dolls or figurines that are used, and they are not usually exposed to everyone. Hence, once exposed in an exhibition to the general public you will never be told over the real meaning relating or about such objects (National Museum and House of Culture official, MNH2).

² The respondent used the terms '*mganga wa jadi*' (traditional doctor) and '*mtaalamu*' (ritual specialist) interchangeably to refer to a person that is consulted/called to perform the named rituals

The issue behind this is that, according to the community responsible for the use of that object, the information attached to that object is only supposed to be known to a girl that is undergoing such initiation and not for outsiders. One respondent pointed out that:

If you look at the objects [talking about initiation dolls], it might show a pregnant woman with her private parts revealed, people do not know what it means, they end up thinking it's a disgrace to women because they are translating what they are seeing [idioms they are familiar with], but that object was not supposed to be seen by everyone and it had a special purpose (National Museum and House of Culture official, MNH3).

From the above two examples, the respondents are talking about the way secrecy affects the safeguarding process. It emphasises the point that because of the secrecy associated with practices or objects, it is hard for officers/outsideers to obtain the information on certain objects and practices because of the associated secrecy. In turn, it affects the ability of those involved in MSPs to accurately formulate safeguarding plans and initiatives for such practices.

b) Negative perception

Another challenge mentioned by the respondents is the negative perception associated or attached to most of the traditions and practices that can be termed as ICH. Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (8th Edition) has defined perception to mean (i) the way you notice things, especially with the senses (ii) the ability to understand the true nature of something and (iii) an idea, a belief or an image you have as a result of how you see or understand something. The third definition suits better the meaning sought to be portrayed here, as the overall belief or attitude that the community have over the different existing forms of ICH in the country. There are different factors and reasons that influence the way in which people perceive some practices or traditions (see chapter 2 and 3). Factors such as religion and formal education have been

explained by different scholars as among the factors affecting people's perception towards ICH in many parts of the world. For example, Gilman provides an elaboration on how religion and Western influences have led to Vimbuza, a form of healing ritual among the people of northern Malawi which was inscribed in the UNESCO's list of ICH of Humanity in 2008, being labelled as 'witchcraft' or 'backward' (Gilman, 2015). She argues that the Presbyterian Church of Central Africa has banned its members from being engaged in such rituals; while others have criticised the Vimbuza healers for claiming they can cure sick people through dances rather than sending them to the hospitals (Gilman, 2015, pp. 203-204). Similarly, the influx of 'modern' culture through different forms of mass media (e.g. TV and internet) has affected the members of Dong villages in Guizhou, China. Young people are no longer interested in being identified as Dong or show interest in their ICH, because of the names, such as 'rural' or 'backward', that are associated with different traditions and practices by the group (Lu, 2017, p. 131).

For the case of Tanzania, as elaborated in chapter three, factors such as colonialism, religion, formal education and nation-building policies have played a part in altering the way in which people perceive ICH in the country. These factors have significantly affected the way in which people engage with or define those who engage in such practices. Words such as '*backward*', '*witchcraft*', or '*uncivilized*' are commonly encountered by scholars who undertake research on how local communities interact with different aspects of cultural heritage. For example, Ichumbaki in his study of the spiritual use of built heritage assets across the East African coast region, mentioned the use of names such as '*un-Islamic*', '*pagan*' and '*primitive*' assigned to people still adhering to and engaging in ritual practices around those heritages (Ichumbaki, 2015, p. 245). Bwasiri (2011) also confirms this while he argues that many people who have converted into Islam or Christianity in Tanzania still keep their ancestral beliefs. However,

they engage in them privately or in secret due to the fear of being condemned by their religious leaders or viewed as ‘backward’ and ‘uncivilised’ (Bwasiri, 2011, p. 131).

During the data collection process, the respondents talked about how people avoid engaging or practicing some of the traditional practices to avoid those labels as it will be further elaborated in chapter 6 & 7. Since the survival of ICH depends much on people continuing to practice and transmit it to other generations, this act of assigning negative names towards ICH and its practitioners hinders people’s engagement in them; while forcing those practicing them to do so in secret. What has emerged is thus a negative perception of practicing or engaging in some of the practices that can be categorized as ICH.

One of the issues that emerged from the discussion with the official respondents was that people tend to avoid being seen involved in some practices because they are considered as witchcraft or backward. Apart from that, there was also an explanation which shows how people neglect to see these practices, believing they are not important or worth seeing. An example of this was by an officer from Arts department (A2). The respondent pointed out:

Listen, if you put up an exhibition showcasing traditional battle weapons such arrows and spears and a modern one with guns, where do you think most people will go?... to a modern one I tell you (Art Department, MY1).

In the above explanation, the official respondent was talking about the interest of most people in modern accessories compared to the traditional tools or weapons. Because most of the ICH practices, traditions or tools are associated with backwardness, even efforts to showcase such practices in a festival usually result in few people attending. Another respondent provided an explanation on how they attempt to attract people to ICH exhibitions in the museums. She said:

We sometimes receive primary school students who want us to prepare exhibitions on local cuisines from different communities, but in most cases the teacher will ask you to include chips and fries as part of the menu, because that is what most of the children will eat (Village Museum official, VMO1).

What this implies is that, although the exhibition is about traditional cuisine, it tends to involve modern foods to accommodate the visitors.

5.4 Chapter Conclusion

In general, this chapter contains the information concerning the national framework for the safeguarding of ICH in Tanzania. It specifically presents, analyses and discusses the data collected from official respondents and reviewed literature concerning the safeguarding practices of ICH at the national level and the associated challenges. Despite the challenges, Tanzania is among the countries in the world with a recognised framework for safeguarding ICH at the national level. Its presence allows the exchange and interaction between the national structures and international organisations (e.g. UNESCO) in the safeguarding process. For example, in 2012 UNESCO offices in Dar es Salaam and MICAS organised a training for different people on how to prepare ICH nomination files. Similarly, in 2016, there was another workshop organised by UNESCO offices in the country, aiming at providing information on the CICH and ICH inventorying process to the MICAS staff. However, without the understanding of how ICH is safeguarded at the local levels, understanding of the challenges at the national level is insufficient. The following chapter (6) is among the two chapters that focus on the safeguarding practices at the local level. The chapter specifically presents the traditional ceremonies and rituals as one form of ICH among the Jita in Tanzania.

CHAPTER SIX

TRADITIONAL CEREMONIES AND RITUALS AMONG THE JITA PEOPLE

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter provided information on the safeguarding of ICH in Tanzania, focusing on the MSPs. This chapter provides a focused view of traditional ceremonies and rituals as ICH that are practiced among the Jita people. The reason for this is to provide an understanding of such practices before engaging in a discussion of how these practices are safeguarded through the TSPs. Traditional ceremonies and rituals were selected because they are among the forms of ICH that are mostly performed by the community members compared to other forms (e.g. natural forest custodianship and the sewing of traditional fishing nets). The term ‘traditional ceremonies and rituals’ is used to mean the ceremonies and rituals that are continuously performed by a group and are transmitted from one generation to another. These traditional ceremonies and rituals can be used as means of identifying and differentiating one group from the other because of their characteristics and uniqueness in performance. The description of such practices, in this case, does not include traditional ceremonies and rituals that were once practiced by the Jita but are no longer in existence. For example, practices such as ‘*Ingaso*’ or ‘*Indono*’ which are no longer practiced by the community. ‘*Ingaso*’ was a ceremony to celebrate heroism among the community which involve killing wild beasts e.g. lions and leopards; while *indono* was a dance organised by one member of the community and invite others to his compound to celebrate. The chapter focuses on practices that continue to exist despite changes brought by different factors such as religion, trade, intermarriage and formal education.

Data for this chapter were collected among the Jita in north-western Tanzania, using observation, interviews, and documentary reviews as main data collection methods. However, as it will be further elaborated in subsequent sections, the Jita, as a community, are not homogenous. Although I broadly discuss them as a ‘community’ abiding and adhering to certain rules and regulations (e.g. when visiting a clan ritual shrine), performing certain practices in a particular way (e.g. wedding and burial ceremonies) and demonstrating certain characteristics (e.g. speaking the Jita language), analysis of the responses in relation to traditional ceremonies and rituals indicates there is more than one group within the Jita community. This means that there are differences among the group members, e.g. between one clan and another, between new religious and traditional religious groups, or educated and non-educated members. Such differences were well observed in terms of the responses to some of the questions that queried their perception about the traditional ceremonies and rituals. For example, in referring to some practices that do not conform to the teachings of the new religions (i.e. Christianity or Islam), people were often quick to point out that *‘I/we don’t do that, maybe ask those who are not converted’* or *‘our religion no longer allows such practices’*, which indicates the presence of differences between believers in new religions and believers in traditional practices. Similarly, educated community members were quick to point out the absurdness of some of the traditional ceremonies and rituals, e.g. the rainmaking and land healing rituals, suggesting that such practices are *‘not practical’*. However, the presence of such differences within the group did not hinder the data collection process. Most of the community members seem to be aware of the traditional ceremonies and rituals that are performed by the group and the different itself and how people respond to it is data: it is a key part of the context of the present standing of the rituals and their prospects for safeguarding.

This chapter is divided into six sections with each part describing a ceremony, how it is practiced, the reasons for its practice and the people involved in the process. The organization of the chapter begins by describing the ceremonies performed by all community members, then followed by those performed as rite of passage ceremonies. The first section of the chapter, 6.2, presents the land cleansing ceremonies. The section begins by providing background information on the land cleansing ceremonies. This is followed by a description of the different types of land cleansing ceremonies, how they are organised and performed, the people responsible, and the restrictions for performing and attending such ceremonies. Further, the chapter provides the different views among community members on the practicing and involvement in such ceremonies. The second section of the chapter, 6.3, presents the initiation ceremonies. This section provides information on how the Jita conduct initiation for their male children, as it was established in the course of the study that they do not have designated ceremonies for female children. As it will be further elaborated, the training for female children, which prepares them for adult life is slightly different, occurring at different times during growth entirely without ceremonies. The section describes the organisation of the male initiation ceremony, the nature of training offered, and the activities involved. The third section, 6.4, describes the wedding ceremony. The section provides a description of the wedding ceremony by pointing out the way partners are found, activities that are involved when the partners do not know each other, and the formal submission of the wedding proposal. Furthermore, the section describes the necessary steps before and after submission of bride price and the items that are mostly used as bride price among the Jita. The section then concludes by describing the organization of the wedding ceremonies, games involved, the practice of consummating the marriage and final goodbyes between the bride and her family. The last section, 6.5, provides the description of the burial ceremonies. The section starts by describing different issues relating to burial, roles of different groups and means of

communicating information about death occurrence. This is then followed by the description of grave digging, including how the markings of the grave are made, the people responsible for digging the grave, and the different factors considered in the selection of grave location. The section proceeds with the description of burial processes showing the difference involved in burying females and males, the days and activities that are involved during the mourning period, and finally the section concludes by describing the practice of cleansing the bereaved.

6.2 Land cleansing ceremonies

The Jita perform several ceremonies that aim at solving problems affecting them individually or as a group. Land cleansing ceremonies are those ceremonies and rituals that are conducted to solve a problem, celebrate an event or control a particular disaster in a certain area. This categorization is used in this study to mean ceremonies and rituals aiming at cleansing the clan, improving the productivity of the land and harvests, and getting rid of animals and pest affecting crops. As briefly explained in chapter three, apart from fishing, the Jita also engage in agriculture as part of their livelihood and income generating activities. Due to that, some of the traditional ceremonies and rituals are very important particularly in improving the products from the farms. During the data collection process, there were three types of ceremonies and rituals that were identified as part of land cleansing ceremonies. These were those conducted to bring rain, getting rid of crop pests and diseases and cleansing a person or a clan against bad luck, misfortune, or diseases.

6.2.1 Rainmaking ceremonies

Geographically, the issue of rain is a function of many factors in a water cycle that involves the processes of evaporation, condensation, and precipitation (Strahler, 2013, p. 117; Thomas, 2016). Traditionally, there are people who believe the presence or absence of rain is the work

of gods, spirits, and ancestors who can all be consulted in a practice or a special ceremony (herein referred to as rainmaking). Rainmaking is the practice among different communities to either attract or engineer the manner and time on which the rain will fall or be absent in a certain area. Although it has disappeared in some parts, the practice of rain making is one of the ceremonies among communities in different parts of the world (Basgoz, 2007; Fernandez, 2011; Hopkins, et al., 2012; Fontein, 2016). In the case of the Jita, rainmaking is also among their ceremonies, which takes place when there is a prolonged shortage of rain.

Rainmaking among the Jita begins with the meeting of the elders within the village. Traditionally, the elders used to have regular meetings to discuss the different matters affecting the village. This included issues such as the absence of rain, or the presence of pests and animals attacking crops and harvests. Currently, these meetings are not as frequent as before, where the elders could have more than one meeting in a month. But despite that, there are elders in some of the villages I visited, who are endeavouring to conduct these meeting as frequently as possible to discuss the matters affecting their village. Although it was very hard to locate these elders, in Kasoma village (Mara region), I managed to meet some of them who invited me to one of their meeting places at Nyankingi Mountain that was and still is used for their traditional meetings (*Figure 6.1*). The location is not a secret, but access to the meeting place is not allowed without special permission from elders. Failure to observe this is considered as a violation, and can result in quarrels and confrontation with the elders. The archaeologist Mwitondi (2015) provides an example of a confrontation with elders when excavating the area in 2012. Although he had all the necessary permits from the responsible authorities including the VEO and WEO, the elders were against his presence there without their knowledge and permission. In order to continue with his excavations, he had to seek permission from the elders, which was granted after requesting it (Mwitondi, pers. comm.

2018) Alternatively, the meeting of elders can be organised in one of the elders' house. This meeting will be accompanied with a traditional brew, '*miseke*', specifically made for the occasion, and a discussion concerning different matters affecting the village will take place.

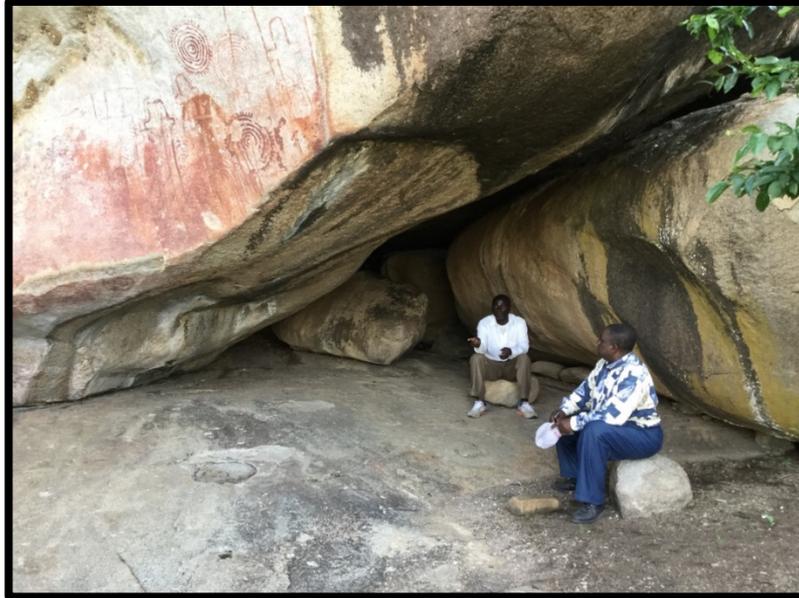


Figure 6.1: The meeting place for elders in Kasoma village, Mt. Nyankingi (Photo by the author, 2018)

In case of prolonged droughts, the elders organise themselves in one of their meetings and decide on calling a rain specialist. Among the Jita, rainmaking is a practice that is performed by a special group of people called '*abhagimba*' ('*mgimba*'-singular), whose traditional rainmaking skills are transferred from parents to children. This, for example, is slightly different with communities such as those in Iran (see Basgoz, 2007) or in Western Ethiopia (see Hernandez, 2011) where instead of having a special group of people to participate in the ceremony, the whole community is involved in the ceremony. The arrival of the '*mgimba*' is usually followed by slaughtering of a black goat and the preparation of the traditional brew. Part of the goat is eaten during the meeting by the elders and the *mgimba* and part of it is given to the *mgimba* to take home. Upon arrival at his/her home, the *mgimba* prepares for rain in the designated 'workstation' (Figure 6.2). The workstation is a small house made of wood and grass, usually located outside the *mgimba*'s living quarters. It is usually equipped with several

pots and other utensils that are used for mixing the concoctions (medicines) required for rainmaking. According to some respondents, when the *mgimba* has finished mixing this medicine, it takes only a few days and the rain will fall on the village responsible for organising the ceremony. The payment for this was explained to be either part of the harvest that will result from the rainfall, money, or livestock, particularly black goats. But mostly, it depends on the desires of the *mgimba*, as evidenced by the responses from two rainmakers:

For me, I do not take money as a payment, I tend to work and then when they have harvested, they bring me part of it (RS1)

Nowadays it is hard to trust people, you may help them, and they will not pay you back. To avoid this, I tend to ask them to pay me first before I help them with rain (RS2).



Figure 6.2: A Traditional rainmaker's workstation (Photo by the author, 2018)

Despite the presence of the *wagimba*, rainmaking ceremonies are no longer widely practiced among the Jita. This is because there are now two groups with contradicting views over the responsibilities of rainmaking. The first group holds a view that rain is the function of God,

and humans cannot do anything about it. The second group believes there are people within the society that can either bring or prevent rain. This contradiction is causing problems for rainmakers, as those who believe in God to be the rainmaker call the practice of rain making backward and equate it to witchcraft. On the other hand, those who subscribe to the existence of traditional rainmakers claim that the failure of the community in having a single voice and in abiding by the conditions of rainmakers, is among the reasons for limited success in the recent rainmaking attempts. As one of the respondents pointed out:

Most of our recent efforts to ask for rain have failed, this is because we do not have a consensus among people in the village. It's only a few individuals that currently consult a *Mgimba*, while it is supposed to be a communal activity (BSK1).

Apart from that, the coming of local government is also affecting the practice of these ceremonies. As explained in Chapter 2, the coming of the local government in Tanzania replaced the authority of the local chiefs and elders in villages. Now, before organising such ceremonies, the elders must consult the VEO or WEO and voice their idea. Although this is not a legal requirement per se, nowadays these ceremonies must be acknowledged by the village officials first before they can proceed. This is because public assembly requires a permit from the village authorities. In most cases, the state officers tend to refuse these practices as it is not among their official duties. In other instances, the refusal is because officers associate such practices with witchcraft. As one of the respondents pointed out:

It is very hard nowadays for people to participate in calling a *mgimba*, most of them are now arguing rain to be the work of God. Thus, humans cannot do it (BSK1)

The above quotation implies that the contradiction between believers in new religion and traditionalist affects the conduct and success of the rainmaking practice. While the believers in new religions call the rainmaking witchcraft or backward, the traditionalists attribute the failure

of the rainmaking ceremony as the result of lack of consensus among village members. Similarly, the village leaders have an influence on the conduct of such ceremonies. Because of their power as village leaders, they can grant permission to or restrict such ceremonies. For village chairmen, it is in very rare occasions that they will stop such ceremonies. This is because they are elected among village members, and thus are often knowledgeable about such practices. For WEO and WEO, this is very possible, as they are government employees, and can come from a different community that do not necessarily agree with or are aware of the importance of such practices. This will mostly affect the rituals that require the presence of the whole village, hence the need for village official permission. But it will not affect those that are performed by a small group, e.g. several individuals or clan members.

6.2.2 Ceremony to get rid of pests or animals eating/destroying crops

Another ceremony that was mentioned by the Jita is the one performed with the aim of getting rid of pests, birds or animals affecting and eating the harvest or healing the land that is no longer productive (a condition which in Jita language is referred to as '*insi irwae*', the land is sick'). As in the rain making ceremony, this ceremony is also organised by the elders. In one of their meetings, the elders can discuss the presence of different pests and animals destroying their harvest and decide to call an expert 'traditional healer'. The traditional land healers (called '*abhafumu bhwa insi*' by the Jita) are responsible for identifying what is the problem and the means of rectifying it. Unlike rainmaking, the practice of getting rid of pests or destructive birds usually requires the involvement of the whole community. This is because when the traditional healer is performing the ritual, people are not allowed to pick vegetables, cut firewood, carry water on their heads or engage in any farming activities. When performing this

ceremony, all the activities involving the land must be suspended for three days, which are the days used by the traditional healer to conduct the healing ritual.

The arrival of the traditional healer will be followed by an announcement to the community that the next three days are set to be used for the ritual. The reason for this announcement is to prepare the necessary requirements for those three days. The land cleansing ritual begins with the traditional healer taking a piece of a broken pot, '*luyamba*', and adding in it medicine and fire. When this is done, the healer will walk around the village borders carrying the *luyamba* on his head emitting smoke from the burning medicine. This is done for two days, and the third day is used for finalising the ceremony, '*okusindura*'. On the fourth day, the villagers can resume their activities. This ceremony is also affected by the presence of different beliefs among the community members. For example, when interviewing respondents in Kasoma village, it was established that they did invite a traditional healer in the previous year (2017) to heal the land. However, according to the respondents, the ritual was not a success, as one of them pointed out:

We conducted this type of ritual last year, but it was not successful. There are people who when we told them not to engage in some activities, they refused and went on doing them. This was against the traditional healer's orders (BBM1)

The above quote explains about the lack of consensus among community members and its impact to the success of the land cleansing ceremony. The ceremony requires the adherence of certain rules, e.g. not tilling the land or picking firewood, during its conduct. Those who are against such ceremonies tend to continue with the restricted activities at the time of the ritual. Some members consider this lack of agreement among the community members, and failure to adhere to the guiding rules to be among the reasons for the recent lack of success for such

ceremonies. This lack of unity might also be among the threats to the survival of such ceremonies, as it is no longer actively practiced among all of the community members which may cast its ritual efficacy in doubt. This problem was also highlighted earlier in chapter 6, in the context of heritage professionals discussing the hardship in finding respondents to talk about such practices.

6.2.3 Clan cleansing ceremony

Another ceremony that was mentioned by the respondents is the one responsible for cleansing the clan. This ceremony is associated with rituals aiming at either thanking the ancestors or seeking help against a certain disease, problem or challenge that is facing an '*oluganda*', a clan. Apart from conducting rituals when they have problems, each clan has a special time in the year to visit their shrine for ritual activities. This process of conducting ceremonies and rituals to cleanse a clan is called '*okushengera*'. All the Jita clans have special ritual shrines, '*ebhisaka*', located in Majita used for different *okushengera* activities among them. Almost all the Jita in Bunda district seemed to talk of their shrines in Majita, which was the same with those in Ukerewe, with the mountain Masita being mentioned as a ritual shrine by most of them. A visit to such shrines is done by organisation among the clan members or through their leader, who is also responsible for taking care of the shrine. During interviews with the respondents, most of them mentioned the location of their shrines, which was in the form of either a small forest or a river. In Bwasi village, I had the privilege of visiting two of the ritual shrines that are still used by the respective clans. The two shrines were small forests with water springs in them. Because the village is located a few kilometres from the Lake Victoria, a prominent water source, the two springs are alternative water sources for the villagers.

In each of the two shrines, the villagers, including members of other clans could fetch water. However, they are supposed to observe the rules guiding the manner of accessing and using such places, which are set by the responsible clans. For example, in *Mlulere* (Abhatimba clan shrine), people are not allowed to cut down trees, e.g. for firewood. They are supposed to wait until the branches fell themselves and the shrine guardians will take them out. This was the same in the second shrine where one of the existing rules is to go in barefooted. I witnessed this during the data collection visit as I and my research assistant were not allowed to enter the shrine with our shoes on. Apart from that, fetching water from the shrines is supposed to be done by using metal buckets only, plastic ones are not allowed inside the shrines. The rule of taking of the shoes was considered as a sign of showing respect to the shrine, but none of the respondents interviewed provided explanations on the reasons for restricting plastic buckets.

In conducting clan cleansing rituals, each of the clan members will visit their shrine with either a chicken, a goat, or cow depending on their number and the nature of the problem they seek to solve. The ritual will involve following certain steps as instructed by the ritual specialist, and slaughtering of the offering animals. The slaughtering of such animals is done inside the shrine, and the meat is cooked and eaten inside the shrine (*Figure 6.3*). It is not allowed to take the ritual meat outside the shrine, in case they could not finish it, the rule is to leave it inside the shrine. The skin of the offered animal will be taken by the ritual specialist, who in most cases is also the clan leader. This ritual can sometimes continue up to two days, with all members of the community residing in their shrine until they finish the process. When this is done, they will all leave the shrine, confident that their problems are solved.



Figure 6.3: Cooking stones inside a ritual shrine (Bwasi village) (Photo by the author, 2018)

However, most of the respondents talked about different challenges as among the reasons for failure in organising people to visit their shrines. These include:

religion

My father was a converted Christian, so we have never visited our shrine for ritual activities (BBSN1);

money

We haven't visited our shrine for some time now, we tried to organize ourselves last year, but we couldn't, as the money we collected was not enough to cover the ceremony (BK2);

and time

Although we are trying, it is very hard to find time for all members to be available for the ritual. Some live very far from here (BI2)

It was also established that currently instead of going as a clan, some few clan members visit the shrines individually to solve their problems without inviting others, as one ritual specialist said:

There was a person [an elder male] from town [referring to an urban area], who visited us last year. We guided him through the ritual process, then he went back to his home (BM1).

Most of these factors relate to recent changes that are taking place among the Jita community members. For example, while traditionally all member resided in the same or nearby villages, this is currently different. Some clan members are in different villages, districts or even regions, mostly because of employment or business opportunities. Thus, conducting clan cleaning rituals which requires the presence of all members is costly, especially due to the logistics needed for the success of such a ritual. Similarly, the attempt to find a suitable time to unite all dispersed members in one place is a challenge for the community members. Adding the influence of religion and formal education, most clan members are now refusing to be part of such ceremonies as indicated by the responses from some of the respondents during data collection. While this can be used to indicate a breakdown in tradition, the respondents also mentioned the people who are religious and well educated that return to such rituals when all the modern solutions fail (see the example above). What this means is that, the break of tradition is only apparent when things are going on smoothly. But once such a person faces serious problems, particularly complex diseases, they tend to go back to their shrines in search of traditional healing.

6.3 Initiation ceremony

At one point in life, there is a transition from childhood to adulthood. The way societies celebrate this process of transition around the world is different (Muthali & Zulu, 2007). While some societies take this as just a normal step in a life, others treat it as a special time requiring a special ceremony. The ceremony is accompanied by training in diverse topics such as general survival or specialised skills, everyday interactions, or special activities such as marriage and

family handling advice (Groce, et al., 2006). The initiation ceremony is among the ceremonies taking place during this transition from childhood to adulthood. The initiation is a rite of passage ceremony performed to children of a certain sex and age group and may be characterised by different activities such as naming, counselling and circumcision (Groce, et al., 2006; Muthali & Zulu, 2007). Depending on a society, initiation ceremonies can be performed to both male and female children, or with focus on a specific sex, either male or female children.

The Jita are among the societies that have initiation ceremonies for their male children. The initiation training for a girl is usually done by the mother and other female elders in the family during their day to day interactions, as it will be elaborated in the following chapter. Also, as it will be explained in the following section 6.2.6, there is initiation training that is provided by one of the aunts during the week awaiting the wedding ceremonies. Due to the absence of a specialised initiation ceremony for young females, the Jita are among few societies around Lake Victoria that do not have Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), among other practices. As one of the respondents emphasised:

I repeat so as you have it clear, we only had initiation ceremony for men, we did not have that for women as other societies who do FGM (MZMS1).

The above quote indicates the point that was often emphasised by the respondents in relation to FGM. The respondents were happy to indicate that the Jita as a community do not engage in FGM. The Mara region is among the regions in Tanzania known for high prevalence of FGM cases with communities such as the Kurya and Zanaki at the forefront (Msuya, et al., 2002, p. 160; Pesambili, 2013; Sikira & Urassa, 2015). Thus, the respondents were emphasizing this point as means of differentiating themselves from the communities that perform acts, e.g.

FGM, that are currently condemned and restricted by governmental and non-governmental institutions (see URT, 1998; Mukama, 2002; Winterbottom, et al., 2009).

The initiation ceremony for boys was traditionally conducted in a group, containing a certain age group mostly between 5-7 years old, but it was also allowed for boys above that age to attend. The initiation ceremony was accompanied by circumcision and training for boys on how to behave and conduct themselves once they are back to the community. Initiation was done by a special person who was also responsible for circumcising the boys, not everyone could do this. The process of circumcision used to take place early in the morning around the lake shores. There was a special medicine that was applied to the wound to help it heal faster. The children stayed together until their wounds were healed; that's when they could leave the camp. Training such as how to behave in the village in terms of good and acceptable manners, were also provided during this time of initiation ceremony. For those children who were over 15 years old and not circumcised, they were not allowed to bathe with other boys, also it was considered as bad luck to be married without the procedure. However, this process has now changed, instead of conducting an initiation ceremony for boys of the same age groups together, the parents now take their male children to the hospital individually for circumcision. This was observed to be the case, as most of the young respondents (18-25 years old) talked about having been circumcised by the doctors in a hospital, thus did not receive special adulthood training during the process. Despite these changes, the circumcision for males is an integral part among the Jita community. Although it is not judged as a prerequisite for a marriage, men endeavour to be circumcised before getting married; and it is uncommon for male community members to be married without being circumcised.

6.4 The wedding ceremony and the associated rituals

According to the Tanzania marriage Act No. 5 of 1971, a marriage is a union of a man and woman intended to last for their joint lives (URT, 1971: 9). The process of marriage indicates the end of premarital events between the couples and the beginning of a husband and wife relationship (Atman & Ginat, 1996). Marriage in Tanzania can be either in form of a civil marriage (performed to partners without religious belief or those of different religious beliefs); a religious marriage (performed to partners with similar religious belief, e.g. Islam or Christianity); or a traditional marriage (performed by adhering to community's norms and traditions) (URT, 1971: 25). Practically, this division has been hard to achieve, particularly between religious and traditional marriages. This is because they tend to mix some practices, such as adhering to traditional practices like offering bride price, while at the same time attending to a church/mosque to finalise the wedding ceremony. This union is commemorated in a ceremony that is referred to as a 'wedding ceremony', '*obhwenga*' in Jita language. The wedding ceremony includes several stages from finding partners and courtship up to the time the couples are proclaimed as husband and wife. In looking at the Jita wedding ceremonies, I managed to identify several stages that are involved in the Jita weddings. These are described below, along with the people, items and steps involved.

6.4.1 Finding a partner and courtship

The first step to a wedding ceremony is a search for a suitable partner, which applies for both male and female. Interviews with the Jita respondents showed that the issue of searching for a partner was the responsibility of their parents, especially the father. The father would select a suitable partner for his child either among his friends' children or other children in the village. In special circumstances, the father could select a spouse from distant villages upon receiving

convincing reports from relatives (e.g. from aunts) on their suitability for a marriage. As one of the respondents pointed out:

It was the father who was supposed to find a partner for his children, he could select from those in the village or in the nearby villages (MSMJ3)

This act of parents selecting partners for their children is not only found among the Jita, other communities in Tanzania as well as in other countries e.g. in Africa, South-east Asia, the Near East, and Latin America have all been explained to engage in the practices of selecting partners for their children (Sussman, 1953; Xiaohe & Whyte, 1990; Bravo, et al., 2014; Chantler, 2014; Pande, 2014). The difference, however, is on the selection process itself which was done based on a thorough investigation of the partner by the parents. As one of the respondents said:

The father did not just select anyone, they had to investigate to see if there are no hereditary diseases, the family has not been accused of witchcraft and they work hard for food, but not too hard to the extent of affecting one's health (MZMS1)

There were several attributes that were considered as advantages or disadvantages for the partners. For example, hereditary diseases were among the disadvantages that were investigated earlier by the parents. Diseases such as epilepsy, '*echitwe*', and leprosy, '*ebhigenge*', were highly avoided by parents. Work ethics of the potential partner and their family members were also investigated during this stage. Families that had previously been affected by hunger, '*omweko*', or those that spent the whole day working without regular breaks were also considered a bad choice, particularly by the bride's parents. A bride who was labelled as lazy, '*omulenga*', mostly in relation to farming, which was among the major economic activities, was also considered as unsuitable partner. Those who have been accused of witchcraft, '*obhulosi*', or are suspected of engaging in witchcraft practices were also avoided. When the groom's parents were done with the investigation what followed was delivering a

marriage proposal to the prospective bride's parents. On the side of the bride's parents, the investigation took place after they had received the proposal.

This process has slightly changed now: instead of the parents searching for a suitable partner, among the present-day Jita, young people do it themselves. However, there is an exception of very few youngsters who still prefer to abide by their parent's involvement in the selection process. As the respondents pointed out:

It is very hard to find a spouse for today's children. They like to do it themselves. As a parent you have to agree with their wishes, it is very difficult to stop them (BBR1);

I was living with my grandfather, and he told me about a bride he had found, I refused. I can tell you, he was very mad, but I did not marry that girl. I wanted to find a woman I desire (MSK1)

The above quotes are examples showing how things have changed. The first one is from a parent lamenting on present-day children wanting to find partners on their own. The second one is from a man in his early thirties, who indicated how he refused to agree with his grandparent's wishes of selecting a wife for him, as he wanted to do so himself. Among present-day Jita, the children will select their partners out of those they meet in school, work or those they encounter in their daily life, e.g. in marketplace or ceremonies. Once they have agreed with each other, that is when they inform their parents of the decisions, they have made. One respondent supported this by saying:

Well, today's children will meet whether in school or work and then they will just inform you. As a parent, you have to prepare yourself to send in the formal proposal to the bride's parents...you cannot force them to do as we did back then (BM1)

In discussing the changes involved in the process of finding a partner, the elder respondents were very convinced of their way being appropriate for finding a suitable partner, as it involved a thorough investigation compared to what is happening currently among the Jita. The younger generation believed the act of involving parents in the selection process disregards the children's choice and preferences. However, most elders agreed that the current changes are the result of interactions between the Jita and other communities, within and outside the villages. Thus, one cannot in the current circumstance focus just on finding a Jita partner, whilst there are more than one community around. It was easier before the recent increase in contact with other communities because of different factors such as the presence of educational institutions and ease of movement through the present-day infrastructures. However, irrespective of these changes, other parts of the ceremonies have been kept.

6.4.2 Marriage proposal

A marriage proposal is the second stage in the preparation for a wedding. In this stage, the groom's father visits the bride's parents and inform them of their desire to take a wife from their house. This process is still going on until today with slight differences. While traditionally it was the father who would continue with this step without informing the son, among today's Jita, it is the son who will ask the father to visit the bride's parents of his choice and submit their marriage proposal. The proposal was supposed to be done in secret and sometimes at night to avoid liars, '*abhalegi*', who could circulate false information prior to the acceptance of the proposal. To indicate that he is going to deliver the marriage proposal, the father was supposed to carry a bow, '*obhukoma*', with a single arrow, '*omusimu*', as a signature. This is different from today, where the person sending on the offer will just be carrying a letter containing the marriage proposal. Such a letter does not necessarily require one to be able to read, because

the responsible person will also narrate the contents of the letter as part of the proposal submission.

Just like how the groom's parents conducted their research on the bride and her family, the bride's parents will also investigate the groom and his family. This process required several days, especially when the bride's parents have received more than one marriage proposals. However, this does not happen among the present-day Jita, as in most cases the bride will receive only one offer from a person after they have already agreed with each other. As one of the respondents pointed out:

The bride's parents will also conduct their research on the groom and his family. If there is more than one offer, the groom's parent can invite some of his relatives to assist in the screening process. But today is different, as you mostly get one proposal (BSK3).

After all this was done, what follows was a confirmation from the children in question on their readiness to get married. There seemed to be two perspectives on what follows. The first group holds that upon finding a potential partner, the father will just inform the child. Due to the customs and taboos, the child is not supposed to refuse the father's wishes, hence the father will proceed with the next step. The second group pointed out that, when the parents have finished discussing on the marriage proposal, the bride's father will then ask the groom to come and meet the bride to confirm their mutual consent. This process was termed as '*okulolana*' which loosely translates into '*seeing each other*'.

6.4.3 An organised meeting to see each other, '*Okulolana*'

This is the second step in a wedding ceremony that happens to those partners selected by the parents, thus, they are yet to see each other or formally meet. This meeting is usually proposed

by the bride's father, who upon receiving a formal offer from the groom's parents will ask them to organise a meeting for the two children. This meeting normally takes place at the bride's house. For those partners who know each other, they do not go through this step as the parents will go straight to the discussion of the bride price, which is the case for most of the present-day wedding ceremonies. During the proposed *okulolana* day, the groom will select a few friends to escort him to meet his proposed bride. The bride will also be accompanied by a few friends to the meeting. During the meeting, both the bride and groom will be carrying gifts to exchange upon meeting. The gift can be in form of a piece of cloth, '*echitambala*', or waist beads, '*ebhisalu*'. If all parties accept the gifts it means the parents will continue with the subsequent steps. But if one of them do not, then the wedding plans end there. However, none of the respondents confirmed to have seen a case where one of the partners refused the gift. This is because, prior to this meeting, the parents usually express their wishes to the children and defying those wishes was believed to be disrespectful, an act likely to be followed by a punishment, bad luck or a curse. As one of the elder female respondents pointed out:

I was not ready to get married when I first heard about my proposal. However, my mother came in and convinced me to go on with the process. One of the things she told me was what would happen if I refused my father's wishes (BBM1)

When they are done with this step, the bride's parents will confirm the date to discuss the bride price.

6.4.4 Bride price '*ebhilekelwa*'

Bride price is the payment that is made from the groom's family to the bride's family. This is common in many African societies, and it seeks to give the husband the rights of the children born to his wife (Mekers, 1992; Fortunato, et al., 2006). Among the Jita, bride price is also an

important part of the wedding ceremony and the marriage in general. The discussion of the bride price is made between the groom's father who will be accompanied by his relatives or close friends and the bride's father who will also be accompanied by his relatives. In most cases, the amount of the bride price comes in form of livestock, that is cows, '*jiing'a*', and goats, '*jimbhusi*', which is usually distributed following a certain pattern, and a hand hoe, '*isuka*'. The preferred type of hand-hoe (*Figure 6.4*) was made from Uzinza, the land of Wa-Zinza, a tribe residing in Sengerema District, Mwanza region. This was supposed to be delivered in a pair and was considered as a gift to the bride's parents so that they can find someone else to assist them in the farming activities.

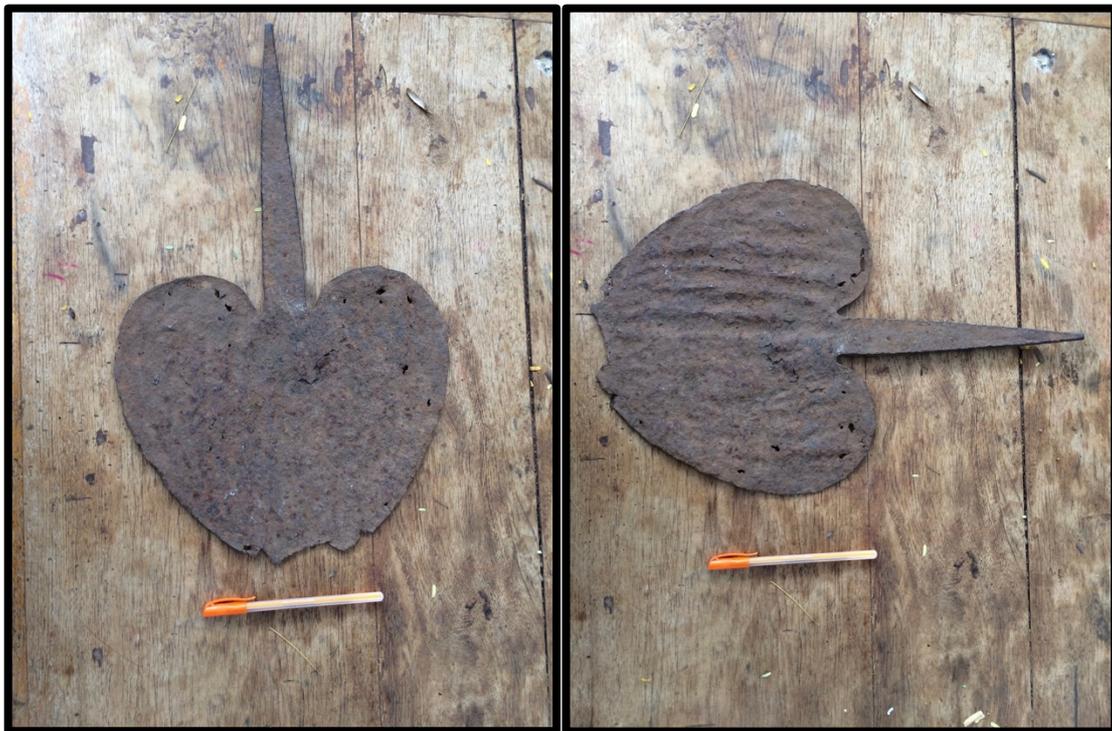


Figure 6.4: A Traditional hand-hoe as part of bride price (*Photo by the author, 2018*)

For the cows, the number can vary, and they will be divided into two groups, i.e. those to be slaughtered and those to be divided between the parents. For example, if one is to bring four cows, two will be slaughtered during the ceremony and for the remaining two, one will be given to the father and another one to the mother, called '*omuyelo*' or '*rukonokono*' in Jita

dialect. For the goats, the requirement is usually four goats. Among them, the buck, '*imbusi ye chirefu*', will be given to the grandfather (if he is deceased the father will take it); two will be given to the uncles (who are supposed to bring a suitcase that will carry the bride's clothes to her new home); and the remaining one will be kept for rearing at her father's house or slaughtered during the course of the ceremony.

However, with the introduction of the money economy, the bride price can now be paid in form of money rather than actual animals. Also, there are other additional items that are included as part of the bride price. These new additions include a blanket as a gift for the grandparents or cooking pots for the mother. In some instances, the parents can require a specific sum to be offered upfront before beginning the bride price discussions. An important thing to note is that the cows slaughtered during the wedding ceremony, the goats and some other materials brought as gifts will not be written as bride price. The items paid as bride price are noted so that they can be returned in case there is a problem with the marriage e.g. failure to bear children. Thus, in case of a divorce, only the cows taken by the parents are the ones that will be returned as bride price.

6.4.5 Introductory visit to the bride's relatives, '*Okusanda Mung'anda*'

Okusanda Mung'anda is a term used to describe the act of the groom visiting the bride's relatives to inform them about the desire to marry one of their daughters. This is another important step in the Jita wedding, and failure to accomplish it may result in the groom missing out on his potential wife. It usually takes place after the discussion of the bride price and before the bride price has been delivered to the bride's parents. Once the parents have agreed on what is required as the bride price, the bride's father will provide a list of names of those that the

groom's parents will need to visit. The groom's father is supposed to introduce himself and his family or clan to these relatives before agreeing on the date to deliver the bride price.

Two reasons were provided for this process, one is to introduce the groom's family (or clan) among all the relatives and establish if there are any problems or quarrels between the groom or his family members and the bride's relatives. The second reason is so the groom can familiarise himself with the bride's relatives, hence, he will not be alarmed when his wife visits one of them once they are married. Traditionally, this process required physical visitation of the groom to the relatives. But due to the introduction of the mobile phones, the groom can call some of the relatives, and the bride's father will also call some of them himself to inform them about the coming ceremony. When the groom has finished informing or visiting the bride relatives, he will return the report to the bride's parents. When this is done, the following step is agreeing on the dates to deliver the bride price. In this, there was also an observable difference in terms of what is supposed to happen and what is happening. The day of delivering the bride price is traditionally supposed to be the day before the wedding. However, today they have separated the two, as the parents will agree on the date to deliver the bride price. After delivering it, then it is when they will agree to the wedding date.

6.4.6 The wedding ceremony, 'obhwenga'

After agreeing on the bride wealth and the day of delivering it, the father is supposed to invite one of his sisters, a 'bride's aunt' to train his daughter. The aunt, who will be responsible for training the bride on her wedding is referred to as '*omtundusi wa lilyango*' and is not supposed to be among the father's blood sisters, but she will be selected from his cousins, his uncle's daughters. The aunt was to stay with the bride until the end of the wedding ceremony and will be responsible for training the bride on different topics such as what to expect when married,

what should and should not be done, and how to behave in her new family. Also, the aunt was responsible for applying oil to the bride. Before the coming of present-day body oils, the Jita use to apply a special mixture of red ochre and cow fat, '*litongo*', for the wedding ceremony. The stone used to prepare this mixture was considered connected to the bride. If the bride misbehaved in her new home, the stone was turned upside down and she could not bear children.

Traditionally, the day of delivering the bride price is also the first of the two wedding days. On this day, the groom's father accompanied by his relatives and friends will deliver the required items as part of the bride price. If the items are complete as agreed, the delivery process will be followed by a celebration and a feast. One cow among those brought as part of the bride price will be slaughtered and cooked with other foods. After the feast, the groom's father and his associates will leave, and the groom's mother and other relatives will arrive to continue with a dance, '*lisubha*', until dawn in the next day. On the second day, the groom will arrive in the morning with his friends and other relatives. This day will begin with celebrations and then another feast. After the feast, mostly in the late afternoon or early evening, the groom will be able to take his wife to her new home. The wedding ceremony was also accompanied by different social games, including wrestling between the groom and his friends against some of the young men around the bride's home. The bride could also play a few games, including stopping after every few steps, '*okwigosya*', so that the groom and his relatives can provide her with gifts to convince her to continue walking. This process will continue even at the groom's house, where she might refuse to eat anything until they again provide her with some gifts.

However, this part of the ceremony has slightly changed. Among present-day Jita, after the groom's parents have delivered the bride price, they will decide on the wedding day. This

means the day to deliver the bride price is different from that of the wedding ceremony. On the agreed day, the groom, his friends, and other relatives will visit the bride's home, and have some food. Then they will head to church/mosque to formalise the wedding, before heading to the groom's home for the second ceremony.

6.4.7 Consummating the marriage, '*okumala obhwenga*'

This is another stage in a wedding ceremony that occurs after the bride and groom have arrived at the groom's home. Traditionally, because the bride and groom have not met before, this was a necessary stage between the newlyweds as it was considered as an act of sealing the wedding agreement. Consummating the marriage means the couple engage in sexual intercourse on their first night together. This act will take place at the groom's place, while other people are enjoying and dancing outside. In order to consummate the marriage, the bride and groom will enter the designated house with the sole purpose of engaging in sexual intercourse. If the process went on smoothly, the groom is supposed to come out wearing some of the bride's clothes to indicate he has succeeded. Failure to do so was considered as failure or inability to consummate the marriage.

If the groom fails to consummate the marriage, the bride will inform her aunt, who will inform the groom's parents. The parents will have to find medicines or a healer to cure him, and the bride will also be asked to wait for few days. If he fails again, the bride will be allowed to return to her parent's home, and none of the items offered as bride price could be demanded back by the groom's parents. In case the bride was a virgin, then the aunt was presented with a gift in form of either a goat or chicken for what is considered as an achievement for a good upbringing of her daughter. As one of the respondents pointed out:

It happened to me, when I was married, I was still a virgin. My aunt demanded a goat as a gift, and it was given to her (BBM2)

When this is done, the bride will have to wake up early in the next day and engage in different activities in her new home, which is considered as an indicator of her feeling comfortable there. After this, the next step is going back to her father's house to pick up her belongings.

6.4.8 Final goodbye, '*okusimya ebhigele*'

When the wedding is done, after a few days the bride and groom will return to the bride's parents in what is termed as *okusimya ebhigele* (BBR1)

The term '*okusimya ebhigele*' loosely translates as 'cleaning the footprints'. This process takes place three days after the bride has settled in her new home, where she will have to go back to her father's house to pick up her belongings. On this day, she will be accompanied by the husband, friends and other relatives with a few gifts. Upon arriving there will be a small feast and celebrations. After this, the bride will take some of her belongings, including the gifts she had received on the wedding day, and return to her husband's home. The bag that was gifted by the uncles will be used to carry some of the belongings. When this is done, the wedding ceremony is all over and the bride and groom can now begin their married life.

6.5 Burial Ceremony, '*olufu*'

Burial and associated rituals are symbolic activities that offer people a way to heal and express their grief after death occurrence (Huggins & Hinkson, 2017). The manner in which people are buried, grieving death and the rituals that are involved in the process are different in many parts of the world (Lobar, et al., 2006). For the Jita, burial ceremony is a communal process that involves relatives and neighbours within the village. Failure to attend the funeral is still

considered a social crime, punishable by different penalties such as fines. In a serious case, the punishment can be for neighbours to boycott funerals happening to a person who does not participate in other people's funerals. Most of the activities and services at the funeral are supposedly done by the community members. Women are usually engaged in the preparation of food and fetching water, while men are engaged in digging the grave. Traditionally, men who have married daughters from that compound (in-laws) are responsible for picking firewood and the preparation of a night fire, '*echoto*'.

There are several processes that are involved from the time a person is declared dead until the end of the funeral. The first one is informing people about the death,

When a person has died, they start by sharing information with other people (BSK3)

A funeral was first heard of by the cries made by the people in that compound. Since the clan members used to live in close proximity, it was easier to spread the news on someone's death. For those who lived far from the village, there was a practice, '*okukura orufu*', which involved of sending a person to inform them about the death and funeral arrangements. With the coming of mobile phones, now it is easier to pass on information from one person to another without having to send someone physically as one of the respondents explained:

Back then, the cries of the relatives were the main way we used to identify the presence of a funeral. But today, the coming of mobile phones has improved the process of communicating information (BG1).

People were supposed to abandon whatever they were doing to attend a funeral. This is not currently the case, as people tend to find a convenient time to attend the funeral ceremony.

Previously, it was a must to attend the ceremonies on the same day because burial could take place only on the day death had occurred or one day after. Thus, people were afraid of missing the burial process, but among present-day Jita things have changed. The coming of mortuary services and the dispersing of people has played a significant role in changing the funeral practice. Nowadays, with an exception of those who are forced by religion to be buried within certain number of days (i.e. Muslims), others can wait for few days before burying the deceased. Children were not allowed to go to a funeral, as it was for grownups only. It was also common for people to bring with them different food items such cassava, millet or cow meat for the funeral. As one of the respondents pointed out:

Back then people were very friendly, one can even ask for food from their neighbours to cater for a funeral, and they could give you even a cow (BI2)

This has slightly changed nowadays, where people usually contribute money as part of their condolences. As one of the respondents pointed out:

The way we used to do funerals back then is a bit different from the way it is done now. During our time, children were not allowed to go to a funeral but now I see there are a lot of them going. Apart from that, people used to abandon whatever they were doing and attend a funeral. Most of them used to carry different food items. But now it is different, people tend to go back home and prepare to go to a funeral (BKS1).

In most cases, a funeral ceremony takes place around the deceased's compound. For those who lived far away from their homestead, the process involved transporting them to their homes where most people from their clan are buried. Others tend to prefer to be buried where they have spent most of their working lives (urban areas), which is away from their traditional land

(countryside). However, this is not common, most people preferred to be buried alongside other family members on their traditional burial grounds.

6.5.1 Digging the grave

The second step in the burial ceremony is finding a place for the grave, '*ifwa*', and the actual digging. A grave is dug in the ground to place the body of the deceased. It measures 1m to 1.5m in width; up to 2m depth; and the length varies depending on the height of an individual. Location of the grave usually depends on whether it is a family/clan burial grounds or public (village/religious) cemetery or a location that the deceased selected before death, or a place which a family elder has selected as a suitable burial place for the deceased: As one of the respondents pointed out:

It was the duty of the family elder to decide where the deceased will be buried (BI2)

A family elder is the head of the compound. It is usually the father, but in his absence, one of his remaining elder brothers or sons will perform that role. Although there are some people who are buried in family burial places, most of them are now buried in village graveyards. These are special locations within villages that are designated as official burial places for community members (*Figure 6.5*).



Figure 6.5: Community burial grounds (Graveyard) in Ukerewe (*Photo by the author, 2018*)

After selecting a place for the grave, the family elder will be responsible for marking the demarcations of the grave by a hand hoe. A person who marks this is called ‘*omwesa*’, as a term referring to a person who has buried the deceased. When the markings are set, other people will take turns to assist in digging the grave until the desired dimensions are reached. As one of the respondents pointed out:

After marking by the family elder, grave digging is the responsibility of the men within the village (BMK1)

In selecting the location of the grave, there are some variations depending on several reasons. These include personal and family preferences, that is whether there are special burial grounds for family members or the deceased selected a place to be buried before death; and causes of death, meaning there is a difference in selecting a burial location for a person who has died a normal death and those who have died from accidents. Those who have died a natural death or died from non-threatening (non-communicable) diseases will be buried in the normal family

burial grounds. But those who have died of violent causes such as a wild animal attack, suicide, or have drowned will be buried on the outside of the fence (*Figure 6.3*). The reasons for this was to make sure such calamities are not following another person in the family. It was believed that burying the people who have died an unnatural death with other family members was equal to allowing that cause of death to continue haunting the remaining members. Although religious influence has changed this in many parts, it still exists in some places, but not in high frequency (*figure 6.6*). After finishing digging the grave, what follows is the burial of the deceased.



Figure 6.6: A grave of a person who died by drowning (*Photo by the author, 2018*)

6.5.2 The burial

This is the actual process of placing the deceased inside the grave and covering it. Before the coming of the caskets, people were buried covered in cow or goat skin, depending on which one was available. As one of the respondents pointed out:

Because we did not have caskets, we used to bury our people covered in cow or goat skin (BSK1)

Traditionally, if it was the head of the family (father) who has passed away, he was covered in a bull skin. Other people in the family, including the mother, were buried using a cow skin. Goat's skin was mostly used for children. However, this has changed as now most people are buried in an already designed casket with fancy clothes. Currently, there is an additional activity for the burial ceremony, in which before the actual burial, there will be a short religious ceremony administered by either a priest or a sheikh. This will then be accompanied by final salutations where people will parade around the casket saying their final goodbyes. After this, then the actual burial will take place.

In terms of burial, there were slight differences regarding how the deceased is placed in the grave. For women, they were placed lying on their left hand with the head facing where the sun sets (West), while men were placed facing where the sun rises (East) and lying on their right hand (*Figure 6.7*). The reasons for this was explained as:

It was the man who used to wake up early in the morning to find means to feed his family, hence he will have to be buried looking where the sun rises to see how the day will go. The woman is buried looking where the sun sets because she will receive the news from the husband on how the day went (BK2)

The practice of burying the dead facing a certain direction is also shared by other societies. For example, among the Luhyias in Kenya, a person is usually buried with his legs facing his house; while the Kikuyu are burying their dead facing east as a sign of a new beginning (Ngaruiya, 2008).

In present-day Jita burials, this has changed as now both males and females are buried lying on their back facing the sky all in one direction (*figure 6.7*). However, there are exceptions for

people who leave behind instructions to be buried in the traditional Jita way. Neglecting the wishes of the deceased is considered to bring misfortunes, diseases or even death. But most people are now buried in this way, on their back facing upwards. As one of the respondents pointed out:

I think religion has affected us and we have changed, we are all (men and women) now buried looking upward (BBF1)



Figure 6.7: Grave showing the difference in burial between males and females (Kibara, Bunda District) (Photo by the author, 2018)

6.5.3 Mourning, ‘*echialamo*’, and distributing deceased clothes

After burying the dead, what follows is the mourning process, ‘*echialamo*’, which is accompanied by distributing the clothes of the deceased. Mourning is a gathering of family members, close friends and neighbours to console the bereaved for the loss (Ngaruiya, 2008). The way mourning takes place is also different among societies, in terms of aspects such as the number of days and the activities that are involved in the process. For the Jita, mourning used to take four days with people leaving on the fifth day. Currently, the number of days has been reduced to two with people leaving on the third day. Also, during mourning days, spouse of the deceased was not allowed to share things (e.g. foods and utensils) with other people until being cleansed.

One of the activities that are involved during the mourning process is the washing and distribution of the deceased's clothes. One day before leaving, it was the day of washing the deceased's clothes which will be distributed on the last day when people are leaving. During all this time, the deceased's family and people living with them are not allowed to engage in sexual intercourse even with their spouses until the funeral had been finalised. As one of the respondents pointed out:

During all this time, all your children that are married and were living in the same compound as you were not supposed to sleep with their wives until the final day of the mourning (BI1)

Doing so was considered as inviting death, and if caught violating this, a person was to be restricted to share anything with other family members until after being cleansed. The last day of the mourning is when the cleansing will take place so people will continue to live as it was before the funeral.

6.5.4 Cleansing from death/finalizing the funeral, '*okumala orufu*'

This is the last stage of the funeral which mainly concerns the immediate family members of the deceased such as the spouse and children. In many societies and traditions, the issue of death is associated with spirits and supernatural beings. For example, for Christians, the funeral service is used as a means of praying for the deceased's soul, so that it may achieve eternal peace in heaven (Huggins & Hinkson, 2017). The Kachins of Burma have a belief that when a person dies, they become spirits (*tsu*) (Hanson, 2012). Due to these beliefs, community members tend to adhere to certain practices that will make sure the deceased do not return to haunt them. Also, most communities tend to find measures that will ensure there will not be another death or problem that might be a result of improper handling of a deceased.

The Jita also are among societies that associate death with spirits and supernatural beings. To them, any person who had close relations with the deceased must be cleansed before being allowed to share anything, including food, with others. This is done so the family members can resume their normal life, including having sexual intercourse, without being affected by death or any deadly diseases. The idea behind this is that, if a spouse has lost a partner, they must find a way to be cleansed from death before engaging in sexual intercourse with other partners. This cleansing is done by finding a partner to engage in one round of sexual intercourse without repeating so that you can transfer death to them. As one of the respondents pointed out:

If you are a spouse of a deceased, you were not allowed to visit other people's houses without being cleansed...after the mourning days are over, they will ask you to find a woman/man and sleep with him/her, then you will be considered cleansed (BC1)

The respondent pointed out that, earlier, there were specialised people '*omweshya*'/'omwesya' (literally translating to 'a cleanser') who were invited to the funeral and was paid to engage in sexual intercourse with the deceased's partner. The payment could be in form of animals such as cows and goats, while others preferred money. This later changed, as the deceased partner was required to go into another village escorted by a close friend or relative to find a person to engage in sexual intercourse with, as a means of cleansing oneself. However, among the present-day Jita, this practice has disappeared, even those still adhering to it are doing so in secret. Several factors such as religion, restrictions from the government, and the prevalence of sexually transmitted diseases were mentioned by the respondents as among the reasons for abandonment of this practice. As the respondents pointed out:

Well, people do practice them but not very often as before. Religion, particularly Seventh-day Adventist and government restrictions have led to people abandoning this practice (BSK2)

There are a lot of diseases nowadays preventing (or scaring) people to engage in such practices. We are really against such practice and we are very lucky some officials are helping us in the process (BBM1)

The last respondents (BBM1) talked about officials implying that these cleansing practices, especially those involving sexual intercourse, are currently restricted by the government. Thus, a person forced to perform such practices can report to the village authorities and will receive the necessary assistance. The respondent, who was also among the village leaders, went on providing several examples of how she has assisted other women who were not interested in undergoing such rituals to avoid harassment by involving the local authorities and police. But the believers in the old traditions have not completely abandoned this practice, rather they have modified it to remove the sexual intercourse component. As one of the respondents pointed out:

You know, there are people who believe in such practices, they cannot abandon them overnight, what they do is they find a way to do what they think will help them (MZMS1)

Several ways were identified as being used currently as means of cleansing a person from death. The first one was the use of traditional healers, who prepare a special medicine for those who have lost a spouse and they apply it to their body as a soap before bathing. For example, one elder in Bugwema (BG1) talked about a tree called '*rwesa*'. The tree leaves are ground up, and its powder is mixed with water and is used as an alternative cleansing medicine. The second way was the use of elder married children within the family to finalise the funeral rituals instead of the deceased spouse. This is mainly used by a widow or widower who is old and can no longer engage in sexual intercourse. In order to finalise the death, the elder son of the remaining spouse will engage in sexual intercourse that night with his wife on behalf of his parent as a way of cleansing. Another practice was found in Ukerewe where the remaining spouse was

supposed to wash his/her body early in the morning on an anthill. Thereafter, they must eat food that is prepared by a person who has also lost a spouse. That is when they will be considered cleansed. When all these are done, that is when a person is considered cleansed and continue to engage with others in any activity without worrying about anything. However, this practice was not mentioned by any of the Jita people in Musoma and Bunda districts. Presumably, this is a practice among the Kerewe, and the Jita living in the area have adopted it as one of their own.

6.6 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has presented different traditional ceremonies and rituals that are performed among the Jita community. In doing so, the chapter highlighted different ceremonies such as burial, wedding, initiations and land cleansing. This was done by explaining how they are organized, people and steps involved and specific rituals that are performed in the process. The chapter also presented the rituals performed and aimed at achieving different objectives e.g. attracting rain or eradicating diseases within the community. Such rituals included among others, rain making and land cleansing rituals. In overall, the rationale of this chapter was to describe the existing traditional ceremonies and rituals among the Jita before engaging in the discussion of how such practices are safeguarded. This chapter serves as a prelude to the next chapter that focuses on how such ceremonies are traditionally safeguarded among the Jita.

CHAPTER SEVEN:

TRADITIONAL SAFEGUARDING PRACTICES FOR CEREMONIES AND RITUALS AMONG THE JITA PEOPLE

7.1 Introduction

Recent years have seen a growing desire and urgency to protect traditions and practices that are threatened by different factors such as modernisation and globalisation (Ott, et al., 2015; Mazel, et al., 2017). In doing so, institutions, governments, NGOs, and international organizations have implemented different safeguarding practices (Carrozzino, et al., 2011; Aykan, 2015). However, these safeguarding practices, in most cases, have neglected the knowledge and skills used by the community in safeguarding the traditions, practices, and expression they deem valuable. Understanding the means used by the community in safeguarding such practices will not only improve the way in which ICH is managed, but it will also improve the way the community members are involved in the safeguarding process. The term traditional safeguarding practices ‘TSPs’ is employed to mean knowledge, know-how, and means that are used to transmit traditions and practices from one generation to another. This is different from modern safeguarding practices, ‘MSPs’, which is herein defined as the present-day safeguarding practices for ICH employed in many parts of the world through government-supported institutions in collaboration with multinational organisations such as UNESCO and ICOMOS, with the support of legal frameworks in the form of Acts and conventions. The previous chapter, chapter 6, focused on a descriptive analysis of the local community responses on the traditional ceremonies and rituals among the Jita. This chapter focuses on how the Jita have safeguarded those ceremonies and rituals over time. In doing that, the chapter looks at different ways used by the Jita community to transmit different forms of

information relating to traditional ceremonies and rituals. The chapter is divided into five sections each describing a particular way used as TSPs.

The first section focuses on ‘practicing’ as a way of safeguarding traditional ceremonies and rituals. The section begins by presenting different definitions of the term ‘practice’. This is followed by the discussion on how each practice is used by the Jita community as among their TSPs. This is done by combining responses from the different respondents and information obtained from the reviewed literature. The second section is about ‘informal training’. This section focusses on how different types of traditional training among the Jita community are used as means of transmitting information about the existing traditional ceremonies and rituals. This section begins with an explanation on the meaning of the term ‘informal training’. This is then followed by the discussion of three types of informal training that were identified as among the TSPs by the Jita community. The discussed training included the initiation ceremony, ‘*echoto*’ (night fire), and ‘*masiga*’ (kitchen area), which are all discussed as subsections within this section. The presentation of data within these subsections is done by defining what the terms means, who are the people involved, and explaining the nature of training offered. This is supplemented by quotes and statements from respondents that are attached to the explanations in support of the information provided. The third section is on oral tradition. This section focuses on discussing how oral tradition is used as a means of safeguarding traditional ceremonies and rituals among the Jita. The section begins by providing the meaning of the term ‘oral tradition’. Then it proceeds by presenting some examples of how different societies in the world have used oral tradition in safeguarding traditions and practices that can be categorised as ICH. After that, the chapter describes the way the Jita people use oral tradition in safeguarding traditional ceremonies and rituals. In this, the focus is on how the three forms of oral traditions, i.e. stories, sayings, and songs have been used in the safeguarding

process. The fourth section is on ‘apprenticeship’. This section discusses the apprenticeship as one of the ways that are used to safeguard traditional ceremonies and rituals. As in other sections, the section begins by the description of the meaning of the two terms ‘apprentice’ and ‘apprenticeship’. This is then followed by examples from different parts of the world depicting how apprenticeship has been used in the safeguarding of ICH. After that, the section provides an analytical description of how apprenticeship is used among the Jita as a means of safeguarding rituals and traditional ceremonies. Finally, the chapter ends with a conclusion, which provides a reflection of the findings and the link with the following chapters.

7.2 Practicing

In establishing safeguarding practices for traditional ceremonies and rituals among the Jita, ‘practicing’ was among the ways that were mentioned by the respondents as used in the safeguarding process. Oxford online dictionary defines practicing as (i) performing (an activity) or exercising (a skill) repeatedly in order to acquire, improve or maintain proficiency in it; or (ii) carry out or perform (a particular activity, method, or custom) habitually or regularly. For the case of this study, practicing is taken to mean the act of engaging or participating in a particular social activity or function in the community, either in form of a traditional ceremony or a ritual. During interviews with the respondents, practicing was mentioned as one of the ways that were essential in learning about traditional ceremonies and rituals among the community members. It was observed that the transmission of knowledge on how to conduct, organise, and participate in a certain ceremony or ritual can be done through engaging in such activity. Although none of the respondents mentioned it exclusively as a way used, it emerged during the analysis of the answers provided by the interviewed respondents. For example, in interviewing the respondents on what are the rituals and traditional ceremonies that are performed by the Jita people, most of them started by pointing out that:

I will tell you from what I have seen (BM1; MSMJ3; BBSK1);

From the way we used to perform such practices (BKS1); or

In one of the ceremonies, I attended (BT1).

Based on such statements, engaging in ceremonies was used by the respondents as an authority confirming or supporting the accuracy of information they were providing. This meant that the respondents provided the description of existing traditional ceremonies and rituals based on what they have seen while engaging in such practices.

Apart from that, most of the examples provided by the respondents included the act of practicing or being part of a particular ceremony or ritual as a way they used to learn about such practices. Several examples can be used to justify this:

For my daughters, the bride price was slightly different, they paid Tshs 4,000/= with three cows for the first one and Tshs. 2,000/= and two cows for the second (BK2)

In my case, I remember they paid Tshs. 900/= and 3 cows as my bride price (BBM1)

I remember I paid 6 cows and Tshs 800/= for my first wife; and 4 cows and Tshs 600/= for the second (BG1)

I did that in my first marriage. I went into the house, slept with my wife and then I came out with some of her clothes wrapped around my waist (BK1)

I saw a funeral cleansing ritual, '*okumara orufu*', during my brother's wife's (sister in law's) funeral. He woke up early in the morning and

took a bath on an anthill. Then we found a widow who cooked for him that morning as part of the cleansing ritual (BBK2);

and

I was lucky, my husband died when I was a bit old. Hence, they couldn't call a '*mweshya*' for me, my son helped (BBI1).

All these examples show the respondents describing a particular ceremony or part of it from their personal experiences and using examples of how they participated as supporting evidence. This indicates that their knowledge of such practice comes from their personal involvement in the ceremony or ritual described.

The same scenario was observed from the respondents who have not seen or participated in such practices. For them, failure to attend or participate in such ceremony or ritual was used as a lack of mandate to speak about such ceremonies. For example, in one of the interviews in Igundu village (Bunda district), I posed a follow-up question to a female respondent on funeral cleansing rituals '*How about funeral cleansing rituals, how are they performed?*'. Her answer to this question was:

I have not seen such practice in my life (BBI1)

This was also observed in Murangi village (Musoma rural district), where I asked the respondent about the burial differences between males and females. In this one respondent answered:

Where I grew up, we did not do it like that (BBT1);

and the second one pointed out:

I have not seen people buried in that way (BBM1).

As of how the respondents used their engagement in such practices as an authority of describing the ceremony, those who have not attended in such practices used their lack of involvement (practicing) in such a ceremony as a reason for their insufficient knowledge of the said practices. The same observations were made from the data obtained from the discussion with some of the younger respondents in Suguti Kusenyi and Murangi villages in Musoma rural district. The question posed to the respondents was on the practice of consummating marriages as among wedding ceremony stages. In this, the researcher was interested in establishing if any of them had engaged in such practices. The answers provided to this question included:

No, I haven't seen such practices (KS2)

Well, at my wedding we did not do that (KS1) and

We no longer do that in present-day marriage ceremonies (KS4)

Another question posed to the respondents during interviews aimed at establishing the methods used to ensure the transmission and continuation of traditional ceremonies and rituals from one generation to another. In answering this question, the respondents provided the confirmation on the role of 'practicing' in the process. For example, one of the respondents pointed out that:

Well, the children today do not want to engage in these practices, they have their own way of doing things (BK2)

This meant that the failure to engage in such practices affected the ways in which they can be transmitted from one generation to another or completely changes the way they are practiced. For instance, as already indicated in chapter 6, young people are no longer interested in arranged marriages. This means the practice of arranged marriage is currently disappearing because it is no longer practiced as part of the wedding ceremony processes. For now, instead of the wedding ceremony beginning with the parent searching for a partner for their children, the children do so themselves. The parent's role begins with the process of submitting the

formal marriage proposal. The same is observed with the practice of consummating marriage, ‘*okumara obhwenga*’. Because it is currently not practiced, then the way marriages end is different from when it was part of the wedding ceremonies.

From the above explanations, it is clear that attending or being part of a certain ceremony or ritual offers an opportunity to community members to see how such practices are performed, what are the people involved, the do’s and don’ts, and the preferred location. This method is very effective in safeguarding the overall ways of conducting a particular ceremony or ritual. This is because people obtain first-hand information on how such a ceremony or ritual is performed through observing the performance itself. However, this method is not effective in safeguarding the reasons or meaning behind performing such a practice. People see what is happening, but they do not necessarily understand the reasons or meaning behind a particular activity. It is on very rare occasions that a meaning behind a particular activity is explained during its performance. In most cases, people are usually told to perform a particular activity in a certain way as a part of a ceremony or ritual, and not the meaning behind performing such an act in that particular way. A good example of this was observed in relation to the application of traditional bridal makeup. As explained in chapter 6, the Jita used to apply ‘*litongo*’ (red ochre clay mixed with cow fat) to the bride as part of the bridal makeup. *Litongo* was like the present-day makeup that is applied to the bride during the wedding ceremony preparations. When the respondents mentioned this as part of the decorations, my curiosity was aroused to find out if there is any meaning behind its application. Most of the respondents were under the impression that such decorations were used as body lotions because, during that time, there were no alternatives. However, this was not the case, as some older respondents elaborated on the meaning of this practice. It was believed that the decorations could control the ability of the bride to give birth. That is, if the woman misbehaved in her new home, the stone used to

prepare the red ochre clay will be turned upside down by the aunt, and she will not be able to give birth unless the stone is overturned again.

The same was observed with the difference in terms of burial directions and positions for the deceased bodies between males and females. Most of the respondents interviewed did not know the meaning behind such a practice but they had seen it happen. This is because the reasons behind placing the bodies in the grave with heads facing in specific directions was not communicated during the burial ceremony. Apart from that, practice as one form of TSPs tends to limit the people who get to observe the performance. Because the method requires people to attend a particular ceremony so as to learn about a particular practice, failure to attend that ceremony means that the person will not be able to obtain practice-based information about such ceremony or ritual. As already explained in the previous chapters, there are some limitations in terms of who attends which ceremony or a part of it. Thus, the way is limited in terms of opportunity for members to learn about certain practices. For example, initiation ceremonies among the Jita were conducted for the boys only. Hence, the female community members did not have an opportunity to observe and receive the training offered in such activities. The same is observed with the burial ceremonies where traditionally younger children were not allowed to attend. This exclusion can also be observed in some stages of wedding ceremonies where not every member of the community can attend. The formal submission of the marriage proposal and the two stages of bride price discussion and payment are among the stages in the wedding ceremony where only a few selected members are allowed to attend. This means the rest of the members do not have the opportunity to attend and observe what is happening in these stages. However, overall, this method was mentioned by many respondents as being the prominent one used to learn about traditional ceremonies and rituals within the community. Due to the present-day changes in many communities, such as people

living in different areas away from their traditional homesteads, and most of the children and young adults spending most of their time in schools, there are now limited opportunities for most people to engage in such practices. This, in turn, affects the effectiveness of ‘practicing’ as a method of safeguarding traditional ceremonies and rituals.

7.3 Informal Training

Another way that was identified during the data collection process as used by the Jita to safeguard traditional ceremonies and rituals is informal training. Informal learning is any activity involving the pursuit of understanding, knowledge or skill which occurs outside the formal curricula of educational institutions, or the courses or workshops offered by education or social agencies (Livingstone, 1999). The nature of training that is conducted to offer informal learning is termed herein as informal training. In this study, the term informal training is used to mean the training offered to children and young adults by their parents and other elders through their day to day interactions. Such training does not have a specific curriculum, and their objectives and contents are determined by the person or group offering them. This training varies from one parent/elder to another, but they all aim at impacting specific knowledge to children in relation to different issues, including the community’s practices and traditions.

For the case of this study, understanding informal training was essential, particularly in establishing how it is used as a medium on which the information about rituals and traditional ceremonies is transmitted from one generation to another. In order to collect information from the respondents on how informal training is used as a safeguarding practice, the question posed was “*How do the Jita transmit these practices from one generation to another?*”. Data collected from the respondents revealed the presence of informal training by the parents and elders to

children and young adults which takes place at home or at any other designated place during different periods. The study showed that there are three ways, i.e. initiations, *echoto*, and *masiga*, that were provided as examples of how informal training is conducted to younger generations by their elders. Below is the discussion of how informal training takes place among the Jita using these three ways.

7.3.1 Initiation ceremony

Initiation is among the practices categorised in this study as informal training that is used to transfer knowledge of practices and tradition among the Jita community. As already discussed in chapter six (section 6.2), the Jita community traditionally conducted initiation ceremonies for their male children. This ceremony was important among the younger boys below 15 years old. Apart from circumcising the younger males, there was also some training that was offered to them. These training sessions among other things included training for the younger males about different practices including the rituals and traditional ceremonies that are performed by the group. As one of the respondents pointed out:

During that time, the young boys received different forms of training such as training on good manners, how to behave etc. (MZMS1)

This indicates that there was different information that was passed on to the younger generations during these initiation ceremonies. However, among the present day Jita, the initiation ceremony has changed, with every child being circumcised independently. The result of this change is the disappearance of a platform that was once used to train young males in society on different community aspects such as practices and traditions. This also affects the continuation of traditions and practices that were once offered as part of the training in the initiation ceremony.

In the case of the younger females, informal training was offered as part of the coming of age training. Although the community did not have a specialized initiation ceremony for its female children, that is training designed specifically to train females of the same age group in the community, their training was obtained from their aunts, '*omtundusi wa lilyango*', just a few days before their marriage. As one of the respondents pointed out:

Before the marriage, the bride will spend a few days with the aunt to receive different training (BK3)

Such training could also include information about different traditional ceremonies and rituals that were performed by the group. A good example is the time where '*litongo*' was applied as part of the wedding ceremony makeups. It was during this time that the young bride could receive information about such practices, e.g. information on how the mixture is prepared, the people involved, how it is applied and the reasons behind its application were also offered by the aunt in such training. Unlike initiation ceremonies for male children which has been almost completely transformed, the practice of the aunts training the new bride still exists. However, the nature of training offered has changed and the time used has also been reduced to just a few hours rather than a number of days as it was done earlier.

7.3.2 Night fire, '*Echoto*'

Echoto is a term used to describe a place within the family compound that was used for a night fire where the father and his male children would sit surrounding it (*Figure 7.1*). This is one of the places that was used for informal training by fathers, particularly for male children in the family. Mostly, it was located at the centre of the compound and was lit using cow dung or firewood, mostly tree logs. This place was for males only, except for a few special occasions, such as a problem or a matter of urgency requiring the father's attention, when there would

also be a female family member present in the circle. Apart from these evening conversations, the place was also used as the eating place for male family members. This is because, for the Jita people, male and female family members are supposed to eat separately.



Figure 7.1: A place used as *Echoto* in Bwasi (Musoma rural) (Photo by the author, 2018)

In this setting, the father and other elder male family members could discuss different issues with their male children in the compound. One of the respondents pointed out:

Echoto was very useful, I remember our grandfather used to tell us a lot of stories during that time (BK2).

The father could use this place to receive information about family activities such as farming and animal herding or observe if his sons were ready to be married. Apart from that, *echoto* was used for general conversations among family members. During those conversations, the father and other elder family members used the opportunity to impart knowledge about different things to children and young adults living in the compound. This was done through diverse means such as telling stories, using actual examples or parables and sayings.

Because *echoto* was lit during evening time particularly when waiting for meals, everyone was available. This made the place useful for the father and other family elder members to provide different sorts of training to other members of the family. As there was no formal curriculum or training timetable, information provided here covered different subjects including those related to ceremonies and rituals within the community. As one of the respondents pointed out:

This place [*echoto*] was used by the father and other male family members to train their male children about different things relating to life in general (BBT2)

As the place was used by the father and other elders such as grandparents and uncles to convey different forms of information, the children could also use this place to seek elaborations on things said by the father. Some of the respondents pointed out that, some of the early training in rituals and traditional ceremonies were provided here.

You know, during that time the father provided information about different issues, you could also ask about traditional ceremonies and rituals there (BKS1)

Nevertheless, it was observed that the *echoto* practice is also being affected by the changes in community lifestyle.

Now it is different, we have modern tables, where most men and women all eat there. As a father, you can no longer have special training for the boys during the evenings or mealtime (BMK2) and

We have schools now. Most of the young adult including males are in schools, some in boarding, you don't see them every day for evening conversations (BKS1)

During the data collection process, I endeavoured to find a homestead with *echoto*, but most of them did not have these anymore. An exception was of a family in Bwasi (*Figure 7.1*), where

even they confirmed that it is now rare for all male children to be seated around *echoto* every evening. This means that, most of the time today, the older generation lacks a place that they could use to impart knowledge to the younger generation, particularly the knowledge that is related to issues such as traditional ceremonies and rituals.

7.3.3 Masiga

Amasiga or *Masiga* are the ‘three stones’ used as the traditional cooking fire for preparing food. They provide support for the cooking pots. The term is also used to describe the areas surrounding the kitchen and it includes the kitchen and the nearby surroundings where women sit when preparing and eating food. Based on the explanations provided by the respondents, this area is important, particularly for younger female members, as one of them pointed out:

Masiga was very important as there was some training in relation to different things such as how to prepare food and behave when one is married, that is what to do and what not to do (BBT2)

Similar to how *echoto* plays a role for males training, *Masiga* was also used for different discussions between younger and elder female family members. Interviews with some of the respondents highlighted the importance of this area for the training of younger women.

Masiga was very important for training female children. This was done by either their mothers or other elder female members in the family (MSMJ3)

As the Jita did not have a designated initiation ceremony for girls, this served as an important area for the coming of age training. During this time, the elder women educated the younger ones about different matters. In supporting this, several respondents pointed out that:

I remember my mother teaching me about different things when we were cooking in the kitchen (BBSK1)

Different forms of training were offered during this time. This includes training in relation to cooking and how to behave when married, that is the do's and don'ts for female children (BBM1)

These examples show the importance of *masiga* as a place for providing informal training for female children. This means that, when preparing food or eating food, the females could receive various information in relation to their community. Apart from listening to the adults, the younger girls could also ask questions about different topics.

However, the practice of sitting around the kitchen area is also changing among the Jita community. Younger girls are now spending more time in school than at home, particularly during the formative years. This, in turn, reduces the time the younger girls spend with their mothers and other female elders within the compound. This reduction of time affects the passing of different information that was conveyed using this means from mother and other elder family members to the younger females. Nevertheless, the short time that they can sit together is still used to pass on some of the important societal information including the traditional ceremonies and rituals.

In general, informal training was very effective in transferring knowledge about certain practices within the community. A major advantage of this method is that it offers an opportunity for dialogue between one person and another. This is because during most of the informal training as mentioned above, children could ask different questions about certain practices and adults could explain such practices. This means, unlike practicing which could only offer the understanding of how such practices are conducted, informal training went

further by providing a description on how such practice is conducted, reasons for its performance and the meaning behind activities that are involved in such practices.

However, this method also did have some limitations. One of the limitations is its inability to offer an opportunity for actual observation of how such activities are practiced. In most cases, the training was verbally informing on the way a practice is conducted and sometimes the reasons behind its performance. Information provided by this method was basically theoretical, usually told from a perspective of an elder person. It did not involve attending a ceremony or ritual, rather it is description only. Also, there were no outline or curriculum governing informal training on what is to be taught. Sometimes, the information provided could be limited to only few practices that are remembered or known by the parents or elders offering such training. For example, during the *masiga* or *echoto*, the elder could offer different information every day. However, because there was no agreed topic coverage or curriculum, the training offered could focus on a particular practice while neglecting others. This means that depending on those carrying it out, the method was limited in terms of information provided. It did not provide information about each practice existing within the community, but rather those which the teacher remembers, or those asked by a person interested to learn about them.

Currently, informal training is widely affected by insufficient time spent together in the families. Because most of the training was conducted during a specific time in the day, changes in terms of time usage have also affected the success of these methods. For example, the *echoto* and *masiga* are no longer available to many societies either due to the time now being used for other activities such as children being in boarding schools or studying, and the parents using the time to watch or listen to the news or other programs on radios and televisions. Also, there are changes within compound designs, such as having a modern kitchen and dining places.

With these changes, the kitchen is now too small to accommodate many family members when cooking. Similarly, although not common in many houses, the dining place now includes a family table where both male and female family members sit when having meals.

7.4 Oral Tradition

Oral tradition is another method that was identified during interviews with the respondents as used in safeguarding traditional ceremonies and rituals among the Jita. Mulokozi (2005; p. 282) defines the term ‘oral tradition’ to refer to those forms of individual and communal verbal productions that are conceived, generated, structured, preserved and disseminated orally without the aid of writing. Vansina (1985; p. 3) maintains that the expression ‘oral tradition’ can be used to refer to both the process and its products. By product, it means oral messages based on previous oral messages, at least a generation old; while the process is the transmission of such message by word of mouth over time until the disappearance of such message. Through the spoken word, different forms of knowledge, values and cultural models of a social group are transmitted from one generation to another by using the existing oral tradition forms (Fiorio, 2006). Following Mulokozi’s (2005) categorization, oral tradition forms include oral literature per se (e.g. sayings, stories, and poetry) and factual lore (such as legends, histories, scientific accounts and other types of essentially factual lore). Oral tradition can also be categorised as intangible cultural heritage (ICH) based on UNESCO’s categorization. Among the five ICH domains defined by UNESCO, oral traditions fall in domain (a) which includes oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage (UNESCO, 2003). Furthermore, there are 124 oral traditions inscribed in the two ICH lists by UNESCO in that category (UNESCO, 2018).

Oral tradition in itself, apart from being among the ICH domains, can be used to store and transfer the history and culture among different societies in the world. This is done by attaching information about certain practices in the existing oral tradition forms such as poems, songs, and stories that are told among a particular community. Because oral traditions are passed on from one generation to another, information stored in such oral tradition forms is also passed on to different generations. In agreeing with the use of oral tradition as a safeguarding practice, Mulokozi, (2005; p. 283) outlined 10 ways in which it can be utilised in the process. Among them is information and education, where he argued that oral tradition records and preserves the accumulated knowledge and information of a given society and imparts them to other members of society. Several examples can be presented to demonstrate how oral tradition is used to transfer information about existing practices in different communities.

Among the Kayan community in Sarawak, Malaysia, existing oral tradition in the form of song tales (*tekná*) provides rich insight about different Kayan information. This includes stories about heroic mythical figures such as Lung Lake; explanations of different disappearing practices such as shifting cultivation for hill paddy; and description of other forms of cultural values and philosophical orientations (Wan, et al., 2018). The same can be observed among the Basotho clan of Southern Africa. One of the oral traditions of the Basotho is the clan praise recital called *diboko*. *Diboko* is a short poetic composition recited verbally by the members of a clan as an identification. The composition of this recital is very important as a way of transferring information and important cultural values among the clan members. The recital is comprised of the names of the clan's ancestors, the historical incidents associated with the establishment of the clan, the philosophy, tribal characteristics, and the lineage of the clan (Tšiu, 2006).

The data collection process established that the Jita people have several forms of oral traditions performed by the community members. These existing oral traditions include stories, songs, sayings, and parables. It was established that such oral traditions contain information pertaining to different aspects within the community. For example, it includes songs performed for different occasions such as wedding and funerals; sayings that are used to convey different meanings and restrictions to people; and stories that are used to convey particular messages or teachings such as those instilling the values of bravery and patriotism among members (see also Mulokozi, 2005). During interviews with the respondents, I established that some of these oral tradition forms have the potential to convey information about traditional ceremonies and rituals from one generation to another. Several stories, sayings and songs were identified as containing information and description on existing traditional ceremonies and rituals, as outlined in the following subsections.

7.4.1 Stories

When asked about how they transmit the traditional ceremonies and rituals, the respondents mentioned the use of stories as among the ways that are used to convey the information about these practices. A story is defined as a structured, coherent retelling of an experience or a fictional account of an experience (Schank & Berman, 2002, p. 288). It can be based on emotional, learning, educational, interactive, individual or social, imaginative, fictive or non-fictive, digital or non-digital, subjective or objective engagements (Nielsen, 2017). The practice of storytelling is a long-established tradition in human culture (Sugiyama, 2001; Lugmayr, et al., 2017). There are several reasons as to why humans tell stories, this includes; to warn others of danger, to entertain, to transfer culture heritage, and to transfer knowledge between generations (Lugmayr, et al., 2017). Different information such as that about hazards,

subsistence, morality, norms, mythology, marriage, and relationships can all be stored in existing stories in a community (Schniter, et al., 2018).

In using stories as a means of transfer of knowledge, I established the presence of several stories among the Jita people that were thought to contain different information about the existing tradition ceremonies and rituals. There were several stories thought of by the respondents as containing information about traditional ceremonies and rituals. To support this, there are two stories discussed by the respondents and were considered as important in the safeguarding process. The first one was during the discussion of the ritual shrines among the villagers in Busekela, Musoma rural district. The respondents talked about a ritual shrine on top of Mountain Masita and a pot filled with water that is used for different individual or clan cleansing rituals. As one of the respondents (BR1) explained, during one of the school trips on top of the mountain, a converted Christian teacher, after hearing from the locals about the shrine, refused to adhere to the rules associated with the place. While on top of the mountain, he kicked the pot, labelling the adherence to such beliefs as witchcraft. According to the story, the aftermath of this act was the teacher paralysing from the waist down, and he stayed in that condition until his death which took place in Murangi, one of the villages in Majita. This story was considered important in three ways. Firstly, the story provides information about existing ritual shrines and the description of the ritual that take places there. Secondly, it provides information about some of the do's and don'ts when visiting ritual sites. Lastly, it highlights the importance of adhering to these rules and consequences of neglecting them.

Another example is of a story that was related to the act of '*okusanda mung'anda*', introducing the groom and his family to some of the bride's relatives. The story itself is set in modern times where there is public transport from one village to another, which indicates probably

some of the story's components (such as adding the bus as means of transport) will vary through time so as to accurately convey the intended message to the listeners. In this story, one of the group members was a young man with a ticket in his hand. Upon boarding the bus, he found a woman with a sick child on his seat, and without any considerations and using foul language, the young man forced that woman off his seat. Because all the seats were taken, the woman had to stand with her sick child all the way until reaching her destination, which happened to be the same as that of the group. The group members walked fast heading to a house which they were supposed to visit while leaving behind the woman and the sick child who walked slowly. Upon reaching the house, they were welcomed by the father, who after a short conversation told them that his wife who was the aunt of the bride is not around but was expected to return on the same day. They waited for her, to their surprise, a few minutes later the woman arrived, and it was the same woman who one of them had quarrelled with on the bus. The story holds that the woman refused to acknowledge the young groom and his family for some time. Later, and after serious negotiations, they had to apologise for their misconduct and paid a fine in the form of a goat. As with the first story, this story also contains information about traditional ceremonies, which for this case was about one of the stages in wedding ceremonies. Stories like this are told to young people by their elders to inform them about how to behave in general. But apart from that, the story specifically offers instruction on some of the steps that one must go through during the process of marriage and what is involved.

7.4.2 Sayings

The respondents also mentioned different sayings that exist among the community members as containing information about traditional ceremonies and rituals. Sayings can be simply explained as short commonly used expressions which are used to offer a particular advice of wisdom. Sayings, as other forms of oral traditions, contain certain information and are

transmitted from one generation to another. Studies conducted to different societies such as Bahamians (see Hamon, 1997), Lemba people (see Le Roux, 2000; 2018), Mauritania societies (see Baba, 2014), and Vall de Gósol (see Calvet-Mir, et al., 2016), have all indicated the presence of sayings and proverbs that contain different forms of information covering vast topics. For example, a study among the Mauritania societies revealed the presence of sayings that contain information about different forms of animals (Baba, 2014). Similarly, a study by Le Roux on the Lemba people also established the presence of sayings used to provide different forms of information concerning religion, rituals and dietary laws among the community members (Le Roux, 2018). This was the same for the study conducted among the Bahamians, which also established the presence of sayings that contain information about different topics such as marriage, pregnancy, death, and finances (Hamon, 1997).

During the data collection process, it was also established that the Jita have several sayings used in everyday life. Some of these sayings contain meaning and information in relation to different practices such as traditional ceremonies and rituals. Because these sayings are transmitted from one generation to another, they are also a part of the means that are used to transfer the information on different aspects including the traditional ceremonies and rituals. Out of these there were three sayings that were all related to the wedding ceremony. The first saying was '*kutungwa ejo ni bhusibhusi utwalwe/utwale kula*' which loosely translates to '*with such behaviours you will be married away from here*'. This is one of the sayings that is said to both male and female children. What the saying refers to is that, before you can find a suitable partner in the village, they will perform an investigation on one's behaviours. Thus, it will be hard for people within the village to accept you, while they already know your bad behaviours. Hence, the easier option for you to get married will be away from the village, to people who do not know you or will not be able to access information about all your bad behaviours. The

information contained in this saying relates to the act of investigating the partner by both the bride's and groom's parents, one of the stages of wedding ceremonies. During the data collection, most of the respondents used this as a saying that was mostly directed to them by their parents or other elders within the family once they misbehaved. Another saying was '*omulume wechimali ni bhusibhusi amale obhwenga olusuku lwobhuregesi bhwae*' which loosely translates into '*a real man is supposed to be able to finalise the wedding*'. This saying is mainly directed to males. As discussed in chapter 6, one of the stages of the wedding is the finalisation of the wedding '*okumara obwenga*'. This saying is informing the male that there is one of the stages that you need to go through for the marriage to be confirmed. Although most of them talked about this to indicate that a man should be fit to consummate the marriage, the information also describes the last stage of the wedding ceremony, that after the other necessary steps have been achieved, the wedding will end by the act of consummating the marriage. And the last saying was '*kutungwa jao ejobhunamba lwokwenda okulyalya ouja okuchishwasha olusuku lwobhwenga bhwao*' which translates into '*with the way you like eating, you will embarrass us on your wedding day*'. This saying is mostly directed to females. In the previous chapter (6), I described the '*okwigosya*' games that are usually played by the brides to her new in-laws, requesting some gifts to continue with the wedding process (see section 6.4.6). Thus, females were supposed, in some instances, to refuse even food or drink, until gifts in the form of either money or other small items are offered to her. This saying is directed to females, meaning that, those that love food too much will not be able to accomplish this act. Again, apart from inferring this, the saying itself conveys the meaning that there are some games that a bride is supposed to play with her in-laws during the wedding ceremony.

7.4.3 Songs

The respondents also talked about songs as among the oral traditions used in safeguarding traditional ceremonies and rituals. A song is simply defined as a poem or a recital that is chanted in a recitative manner while employing a semi-musical framework (Le Roux, 2000). In many parts of the world, singing serves as an important component for many functions such as a wedding, funeral or coming of age ceremonies. Singing, which is an act of performing a song, is sought to have many benefits such as: improving well-being; building-up courage, confidence and resilience; and can be used in expressing a community's values through performance (Baldacchino, 2011). Through its composition, a song can be used as a means of transferring different information about a community, such as the traditions and practices, from one generation to another. An example of this is found among the Lemba people from Zimbabwe and South Africa. Different cultural information such as that about trading skill and dietary laws is transmitted from one generation to another by using songs and chants (Le Roux, 2000; 2018). This is the same among the Zulu, who have several songs that are performed on different occasions. These include children's songs, recreational songs, war songs, wedding songs, and funeral songs. Apart from entertaining, the songs are also important in passing on traditions and customs to different generations (Ntuli, 2010).

As in many other societies, the Jita have several songs that are performed for different occasions. These compositions contain different messages from those which have no meaning as they are sung for fun, those containing short stories, to those aiming at conveying a particular message. During the data collection process, several songs were provided by the respondents as containing information relating to different practices. E.g. in Bukima village the respondents sang a song that had some inferences to traditional ceremonies and rituals, for this case the wedding ceremony. Below is the song and its translation

(Jita)		(English)
<i>Yegoo, anyendora msinanga,</i>		<i>Hey, I can see you are in a hurry,</i>
<i>na jisimbo mgwatile,</i>		<i>and holding sticks,</i>
<i>na suka ebhili mngalo,</i>		<i>and two hand hoes,</i>
<i>omujowaga bhalata,</i>		<i>where are you heading?</i>
<i>owa Makulu okulekela</i>	(x2)	<i>to Makula to deliver the bride price, (x2)</i>
<i>Anyendora mchochomokele,</i>		<i>I can see you look good,</i>
<i>na jisuti kumubhili,</i>		<i>with suits on your bodies,</i>
<i>na jitai mnyigile,</i>		<i>and ties on your necks,</i>
<i>nemwebhaga ikao,</i>		<i>who are you there?</i>
<i>chili bhachabhwe mumusugo</i>	(x2)	<i>we are the in-laws (x2)</i>

The information conveyed in the song relates to the fourth stage of the wedding ceremony i.e. the paying of the bride price (6.4.4). The first two lines of the song ask the question ‘*why they are holding sticks and hand hoes?*’. The fifth line answers this as ‘*to Makula to deliver bride price*’. Referring to the discussion in the previous chapter (6), information conveyed here is on the items going to be delivered as part of the bride price, which for this case was the hand hoe. The song clearly described the hand hoe to be among the items that the people deliver as part of the bride price. The song also depicts the process as involving several people, as it doesn’t indicate it was one person, but a group going to deliver the items. Further, it indicates the people are well dressed when going to this activity which emphasises the formality of the event, that is requiring people to be well dressed. An important observation of this song is that, apart from describing the bride price paying process, it has included a description of the clothes that were worn by those present. The sixth to eighth line of the song describes the clothes to be ‘suits’ and ‘ties’. This indicates the song has been transformed to incorporate new changes in clothing style. Even in rural areas, putting on a tie and suit is currently considered as the formal dress for a special occasion. Thus, the song is also accommodating the change in dressing style among the Jita. This means instead of singing of the previous dressing styles that might have

failed to resonate with the current lifestyles, the song has incorporated a dressing system that might reflect the recent situation within the community.

The above explanations have highlighted how oral tradition is used as a safeguarding practice. By using different forms of oral traditions such as stories, songs, and sayings, the Jita have managed to transfer information about their tradition and expressions from one generation to another. Unlike other safeguarding practices that restrict the nature of the information offered, oral tradition is very informative and inclusive. This is because it tends to provide information about the way the practices are performed and the meaning behind the activities involved. Also, the method is inclusive, as the stories, sayings and songs can be listened and told to all members of the community.

Although oral tradition is effective in storing information about the existing practices in a community, the method also does have some challenges. Such challenges include the failure to offer a comprehensive understanding of a stored practice or expression. This is because oral tradition does not store every information about such practices. Most of the information is on general aspects such as informing about a certain practice, and the reasons behind it. However, it does not explain in detail on how such a practice is done and the meaning behind the activities or offer an opportunity for members of the community to observe the said practice. Apart from that, the method is also prone to distortion and misinterpretations. There are several ways on which the information stored using this form can be distorted either deliberately or accidentally due to human errors. Deliberately, the information stored, for example in stories, can be modified to accommodate the interests of the person telling the story. The same can occur accidentally; as the method relies on human memory, people can accidentally forget information about certain practices or expressions due to several reasons such as old age and bad memory. This, in turn, will affect the nature of the information transferred from one

generation to another. For the case of misinterpretations, because a person telling the story or singing a song does not elaborate the meaning behind it, people listening to it can all have their different understanding of the story or song which can also lead to misinterpretation of the intended meaning.

7.5 Apprenticeship

Another way that was identified as used by the Jita to safeguard traditional ceremonies and rituals is the apprenticeship. ‘Apprenticeship’ is a system employed in training new practitioners of a certain profession, trade or skill by means of practicing with a skilled practitioner of such practice or skill. ‘Apprentice’ is a term used to define a person (usually a young person) who works with a well-known performer of a certain ceremony or ritual with an intention of one day becoming a master of such practice. This is another way used to transfer some aspects of traditional ceremonies and rituals among members of a community. Using this method, a master performer can train a young performer by providing an opportunity to learn and practice with them for some time (Tsai, 2014). This system is used to transfer different forms of ICH in different parts of the world and therefore ensuring their survival. For example, among the Kyrgyz people, their ability to narrate epic stories (Art of Arkyms) is transferred from skilled narrators to a group of the young apprentices as a way of safeguarding such practices among the group members (UNESCO, 2009). The same can be observed in terms of the safeguarding of the Li textile technique (also known as Li brocade) in Hainan province in South China which is on UNESCO's 2009 list of ICH in Need of Urgent Safeguarding (UNESCO, 2009). In promoting the safeguarding of this practice, the government has established several initiatives including competitions and training institutions. The aim is to provide an opportunity for skilled practitioners to impart the knowledge of such practices to younger generations (see UNESCO, 2009; Massing, 2017). The above examples indicate the

ways in which apprenticeship can be used as one of the ways of safeguarding tradition and practices that can be referred to as ICH.

The practice of apprenticeship was also observed among the Jita community as one of the ways of safeguarding their traditional ceremonies and rituals. According to the respondents, knowledge of some of the practices is transferred from one generation to another through apprenticeship. In this, the interviewee discussed some of the practice that is transmitted through apprenticeship.

Some of the rituals are learned by spending time with the ritual specialist. You cannot just do them, without first learning about the procedures and items that are involved (BSK1)

However, it was established that this method was not used to transfer the knowledge of all the ceremonies, but rather those which involved having a specialist to oversee such practices. Examples of these practices are the rainmaking, land cleansing and initiations ceremonies.

For the case of rain-making ceremonies, I identified two ways in which a person can become a rainmaker. Those being selected by the rain making spirits and the ones being selected by the father. When a person is selected by the rain making spirits, he/she will be attacked by sickness and other calamities which cannot be healed by normal medicines, but the concoctions prepared by other rainmakers. Two examples to support this were obtained from the rainmakers, '*abhagimba*', interviewed. The first one is from one of the rainmakers interviewed (RS1) from Majita. According to him, he felt sick for almost a year before his father made some medicines to control the disease and took him as a rainmaking apprentice. The second example is about a man that is of sickly conditions and regularly affected by unknown diseases. According to the respondents, their father was a rainmaker who died without practicing or training any of his

children to take his place as rainmakers. Hence, one of them is now affected by the rainmaking spirits and they cannot cure him. To support this, the respondent explained that:

My brother falls sick regularly nowadays. We are suspecting it is the rain making spirits calling him. Our father was a rainmaker and he died without practicing or transferring his knowledge (BBK4).

These two examples confirm the claims that the rainmaker can be selected by the spirits, and if not taught the practice, then he/she will suffer from unknown diseases. Such stories also provide an incentive for practitioners to pass on their skill in order to avoid such misfortunes.

The second group is where the rainmaker is selected by the father among his children. For a father to select a rainmaker among his children, he subjects them through a series of tests. The tests are usually designed to measure several aspects including the ability to follow instructions and communicate well with others. As one of the rainmakers pointed out that:

I used to live with my grandmother, and she told me that our father is the rainmaker and he will select his heir among his children. Then she told me to abide by what he says and to follow his instructions throughout. He eventually selected me as a rainmaker (RS1).

With this second method, the rainmaker would choose among his children as who would be a suitable rainmaker and took them as an apprentice to learn about the practice.

The above examples show how a person can become a rainmaker. However, an important point to note is that, after being selected, one needs to attend some of the rituals with the skilled rainmaker to learn some of the rain making techniques and the tools involved. This means, a person can be selected to become a rainmaker by the spirits or the parents, but they cannot engage in such practices without being an apprentice of the rainmaker. This is because there are several concoctions that one needs to learn before engaging in the rainmaking rituals. The

same was also observed in terms of the ritual specialist and guardians of the ritual shrines. For the shrine guardians, the researcher observed such knowledge from respondents in Bwasi. The ritual specialist in the village talked about learning the rituals by being an apprentice of a former ritual specialist. For the case of those in *mlurere*, the practitioner was their father, and the children learned the rituals by assisting him in the performance process.

For the case of land cleansing rituals, it was also established that, in order to become a specialist in this, one must be trained under a skilled specialist. To support this, I had an interview with a son of a clan cleansing ritual specialist. The father performs different rituals on people that are suffering from diseases that require a visit to the clan shrines for healing. The respondents talked about his father sending him to pick some of the herbs that are used in the healing rituals. He went on informing me that, he now knows some of the medicines and how they are used in the healing rituals.

I know a number of herbs that are used in the process. If I continue working with my father, I will also become an expert in such healing rituals (KR1).

This indicates that the young man now serves as an apprentice to his father, and later he himself will become a specialist in such rituals.

Apart from the above explanations which show how an apprenticeship works, in one of the interviews in Kagunguli, Ukerewe, I established how lack of apprenticeship can affect the practice and success of a ritual. The respondents talked about a ritual which was conducted but was unsuccessful because the people involved were not skilled specialists. To support this, the respondent pointed out that:

I heard they tried to perform a clan cleansing ritual a few days back, but the process was unsuccessful...the reasons for that is, none of those people had engaged in that ritual before (BK4).

This means that although the people engaged in such ritual were all clan members, such rituals required the presence of a person who is knowledgeable, i.e. someone who has learned from the previous ritual specialists.

The above examples indicate the use of apprenticeship as a way of transferring the knowledge of such practices from one generation to another as used among the Jita community. Using this method, some community members learned practices such as rainmaking and land cleansing rituals by working and assisting a known specialist of such practices. This method is very effective in transferring knowledge pertaining to different practices from one generation to another. This is because a younger apprentice learns directly about the performance of certain practices from an experienced practitioner. This is one of the advantages of this method as compared to other methods such as oral traditions and informal training. Furthermore, this method offers an opportunity for the apprentice to learn about the manner of performing a practice, the reasons for its performance and the meaning behind the activities involved. This means the methods offer both explanations about the practice and an opportunity to engage in the actual practice. However, apprenticeship as a safeguarding practice is also challenged in several ways. The first one is that this method is not suitable for all practices, rather to those which require the presence of a leading performer. This means the method will be effective in safeguarding rituals such as rainmaking or land cleansing but will not be effective in safeguarding other practices that do not require a leading performer, such as wedding ceremonies. In support of this, two examples provided by the respondents are worthwhile noting. One example explained how two rainmakers worked as apprentices to learn about the

rainmaking ritual, while the other was about a younger apprentice who is now being trained under his father to become a clan cleansing ritual specialist. All these examples are talking about rituals that require the presence of a leading person when performing them, but not about those which are practiced without having a leading specialist.

Moreover, this method has restrictions particularly in terms of the people who can use it to learn about certain practices. Some of the ritual practices tends to have restrictions in terms of the people that can learn about them. For example, both rainmaking and traditional healing are limited within members of certain clans. During the interview process, I was frequently told about the presence of specific clans that are responsible for rainmaking. Meaning, not every Jita clan had rainmakers, but only a specific few. This means that only these individuals will be trained as apprentices to such rituals. But, even within the clan, not all members could learn about performing the rituals. For example, among rainmakers, the practitioners would select among his/her children the person that will inherit such knowledge. This means some of the children will not have an opportunity to learn about this practice. The method is also vulnerable to present day changes within the community. Rainmaking or clan cleansing ritual specialists do not hold high status among community members. Hence, most young children who would have become apprentices to such knowledge opt to obtain modern education rather than being trained in the said rituals. This means that these practices are now disappearing because of lack of apprentices to learn about them. Most of the specialists are dying without training any person to take over.

7.6 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter focused on describing the traditional safeguarding practices used by the Jita people in safeguarding ICH. Through interviews, observations and documentary reviews, data

collected for this study identified four main ways that are used by the Jita community in safeguarding rituals and traditional ceremonies. These ways are practicing, informal training, oral tradition, and apprenticeship. In each of the ways, the chapter described how such practices have been employed in the safeguarding process by the Jita and how it correlates with what is happening in other communities. The chapter further used quotes and statements from respondents as supporting evidence on how such practices are implemented. In each of the safeguarding practices, one of the observations made is in terms of their effectiveness in safeguarding a particular aspect, their strengths and weaknesses. For example, in the safeguarding process, there was the question of what is protected, that is, either the practice itself or the meaning behind the practice. What was identified was that, some of them are good in safeguarding the meaning behind a practice, for example informal training and oral tradition; some are good in terms of safeguarding the practice itself, such as practice, and some are effective in safeguarding both the meaning and the activity, for example apprenticeship.

Apart from that, each of the practices seemed to be effective in safeguarding a particular ceremony or ritual. For example, apprenticeship as a safeguarding practice was identified as suitable to safeguard rituals such as rainmaking and clan cleansing rituals, while practice was considered effective in safeguarding ceremonies such as wedding and burial ceremonies. This is because, for rituals such as rainmaking, the practices go beyond mere observations, one needs to know some of the medicines that are used as part of the rainmaking concoctions. The effectiveness of these practices was also observed to be affected by present-day changes within the community. The presence of change is indeed an important characteristic of ICH as how the COICH contends, ‘...is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history...’ (UNESCO, 2003). Similarly, this concurs with the theory of structuration as discussed earlier (see chapter 2) that

the structural properties and relational patterns of a social group and culture are or can be altered as part of the enactment process (Abercrombie, et al., 2006; Cohen, 2006; Gauntlett, 2008). Take for example the introduction of formal schooling as part of the community's lifestyle. Because of this, most children miss the opportunity to practice or engage in some of the informal training as they spend most of their time in schools. This, in turn, affects the safeguarding of those practices which required these opportunities for their transmission. Also, changes such as in the practice of initiation ceremony due to the presence of modern-day hospitals for circumcision affect the overall role that was once played by initiation ceremonies in transferring information and knowledge about certain practices within the community.

CHAPTER EIGHT

INTEGRATED SAFEGUARDING APPROACH FOR INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE

8.1 Introduction

This chapter contains a discussion of the findings obtained by this study. The main aim of the chapter is to present and analyse the collected information against the broad context of existing works of literature, findings from previous related studies, and the specific research objectives. This chapter is divided into three parts that aim at examining the key emerging themes from the comparison of the two safeguarding practices (MSPs and TSPs) as discussed in chapter 5, 6 and 7 respectively. The first part of the chapter (8.2) contains a discussion of the underlying similarities and differences between the MSPs and TSPs. Specifically, it presents a comparative analysis of the two practices in terms of their practical usage in the safeguarding process. The second part (8.3) presents a discussion of how the two practices are currently used in the safeguarding process and the challenges facing each practice. Part three has two parts (i.e. 8.4 and 8.5) that focus on a potential integrative approach for safeguarding ICH. The first sub-part (8.4) contains a discussion on how the two approaches can be combined in a safeguarding approach. This is done through looking at the potentials of each approach in solving the challenges facing the other approach. Further, it looks at the challenges that can emerge out of such an integrative approach. The second sub-part (8.5) focuses on the solutions for the challenges facing the integrative approach. The discussion in this part centres on how the identified challenges can be solved using experiences and examples from different parts of the world.

8.2 Convergence and divergence between Modern and Traditional safeguarding practices

CICH defines the term ‘safeguarding’ as the measures aimed at ensuring the viability of ICH (UNESCO, 2003: Article 2.3). In this study, I categorize these measures into Modern Safeguarding Practices (MSPs) and Traditional Safeguarding Practices (TSPs). Discussion in chapter 2 highlighted the general differences between the two approaches, and chapters 5 & 7 specifically focused on characterisation of MSPs and TSPs respectively in the Tanzanian case. Information provided in those chapters included how these practices operate, the people and institutions involved, and the associated challenges. An in-depth analysis of the two practices has highlighted that the two practices are similar but not the same, meaning they are related in some respects and different in others. In my earlier literature review (chapter 2), I used four characteristics, i.e. administrative structure, legal framework, practitioners, and support from international organisations to compare modern cultural heritage management systems (MCHMs) and traditional cultural heritage management systems (TCHMs). Hence, in order to show the point of convergence and divergence, I will use the three factors to discuss the similarities: the presence of safeguarding measures, functions of the practices, and rules and regulations adhered to; and practitioners, modes of transmission, and capacity for adaption and change as factors for differentiating the two practices.

8.2.1 Similarities between MSPs and TSPs

This subsection discusses how the two safeguarding practices (MSPs and TSPs) are alike. In considering the two practices as similar, it is essential to note that the community members did not address what they are doing as a safeguarding practice. To them this was considered and explained as a normal way of doing things in their everyday life. In fact, this ‘everydayness’ may well be what guarantees the safeguarding of ICH; unlike the modern heritage mind-set that emerges from an alarmist perspective, when something is about to become defunct or

threatened with disappearance. But in this study, this normal way of ensuring that traditional ceremonies and rituals are transmitted from one generation to another is termed as TSPs. In comparing TSPs and MSPs, this section will use the presence of safeguarding measures, functions of the two practices, and their rules and regulations to attest to their similarities.

a) Presence of safeguarding measures

The term 'safeguarding measure' can be simply defined as the means by which MSPs or TSPs intend to achieve their objectives. The term 'safeguarding' is used in ICH to mean measures that aim at ensuring the viability of traditions, practices, and expressions categorised as ICH (see UNESCO, 2003). As already discussed in previous chapters, I use the terms 'modern' and 'traditional' to differentiate the two practices that are involved in the safeguarding of ICH. While MSP is well structured in terms of administration and legal framework, and TSPs are embedded in day to day activities of the community, they all contribute to safeguarding ICH. In order to achieve that, each practice has several means that are used. MSPs, for instance, emphasize the use of safeguarding means such as identifying, documenting and presenting cultural traditions. Organisations such as UNESCO have also recommended several measures to be used with this form of safeguarding practices. This includes measures such as enhancement and transmission through formal and non-formal education (see UNESCO, 2003: Article 2.3).

For the case of Tanzania, chapter 3 and 5 have elaborated on several measures that are employed by the government in the safeguarding process. Responses from museum officials have revealed the presence of research and documentation conducted by them as means of safeguarding ICH. This was also observed in the responses from Arts and Culture officers who disclosed the presence of research conducted with the aim of documenting the existing

traditions, practices, and expressions in the country. Further, observations in the Village Museum identified the presence of efforts directed towards inventorying different aspects of traditional lifestyle among the communities in Tanzania (see chapter 5). The presence of safeguarding measures is also seen in TSPs, where there are measures that are used in the process. In this study, I have identified measures such as oral tradition, practice, and apprenticeship that are used by the Jita in safeguarding traditional ceremonies and rituals (see chapter 7).

Section 7.4 for instance, has described the way oral tradition among the Jita is used in the safeguarding of traditional ceremonies and rituals. Further to that, there is a description of how different forms of oral traditions such as stories (7.4.1), sayings (7.4.2), and songs (7.4.3) are used as part of the TSPs. This information denotes a similarity between the two practices in terms of the existence of measures that are used in the safeguarding process. However, the measures are different because those involved in MSPs are designed and formulated to undertake the safeguarding, while those in TSPs are un-designed and part of the community's way of life. Also, while measures employed in MSPs can have adverse impacts to ICH such as freezing the knowledge or practices, those in TSPs allows the continuation and transmission of the traditions or practices in question.

b) Functions of the two approaches

The second similarity is in terms of the functions of the two practices. For the case of this study, the term 'function' is used to mean the final objective or the result that the practice intends to achieve. I argue in this study that both practices intend to achieve the same function, which is to ensure the survival of the traditions, practices, and expressions that can be qualified as ICH. Using institutions such as museums and ministerial departments, the MSPs have attempted to

safeguard traditional knowledge and practices through research and exhibitions (both temporary and permanent) (see chapter 5). The same can be said of TSPs where through apprenticeship, different forms of traditional knowledge such as building techniques and ritual activities are safeguarded. This implies that, functionally, the two practices are similar, as they both aim at safeguarding ICH in the country.

Apart from the similarity of the general functions of the safeguarding measures, the measures that are involved within the two practices are also similar in some respects. What this connotes is the similarity in terms of the functions of the measures that are involved in the safeguarding process by the two practices. A good example of this is documentation, as one of the measures used in MSPs, is similar to methods such as oral tradition as a form of measures that are used in TSPs. UNESCO, for instance, urges individual nations to create institutions for documenting ICH and facilitating access to them (UNESCO, 2003: Article 13). As one of the safeguarding measures in MSPs, documentation seeks to record different forms of tradition, practices, and expressions to ensure that they are transmitted. This is similar to oral tradition as one of the measures in TSPs, where different information concerning the community's ICH is safeguarded through forms of oral tradition such as songs, sayings, and stories.

Chapter 7 provided an example of a story containing information relating to some part of the wedding ceremony. Since that story is told from one generation to another, it stores the information relating to that particular ceremony and makes it available to other generations. This is similar to documentation which creates a store of information relating to how a certain tradition or expression is practiced or performed. Another similarity is between practice as a safeguarding measure in TSPs and the creation of living museums in MSPs. Practice as a safeguarding measure offers an opportunity for community members to obtain first-hand

information on how a certain activity is performed (see chapter 7). This is similar to the act of creating living museums in MSPs. The living museum creates a space in which different forms of traditions, practices, or expressions are performed. This, in turn, creates an opportunity for community members to engage with such practices. Both these two methods aim at creating an environment in which there is a continual practice of the different traditions, practices, and expressions. Although, conceptually, MSPs and TSPs undertake the same functions, they are different because one is designed to do so and the other is not.

c) Rules and regulations

The last similarity is in terms of rules and regulations. Rules and regulations simply mean principles or guidelines that are made by an authority to govern a particular conduct. The data collection process had identified that both practices utilise some sort of rules and regulations to govern the overall process of safeguarding ICH. In MSPs, these include Acts, policies, regulations and international conventions (see chapter 2&5). For the case of Tanzania, two policies (Cultural Policy of 1997) and Cultural Heritage Policy of 2008) qualify as rules governing the safeguarding of ICH in the country. These rules among other things define what should be protected as ICH, who should be involved in the safeguarding process and what measures will be adopted when doing so.

The same is observed with the TSPs, the existing rules are unwritten mostly in the form of taboos and restrictions adhered to by community members (see chapter 2). A good example of these rules is clearly described in chapter 6 and 7 in relation to rainmaking practices and who can learn and observe such practices. Apprenticeship opportunity to learn about rainmaking is restricted to certain clan or family members. This implies the presence of guidance on who will be able to learn about rainmaking through apprenticeship. Another example depicting the presence of rules and regulations relates to ritual shrines. In this study, I observed the presence

of restrictions in terms of who is allowed to enter and who is not, and failure to adhere to them had consequences. This is equal to MSPs, where people who violate the existing regulations are punished either through prison sentences or financial penalties depending on the stipulations.

8.2.2 Differences between MSPs and TSPs

Although the previous sub-section (8.3.1) has described the similarities between the two practices, there are also some underlying differences between them. In discussing the differences between the two practices, I will use three factors to distinguish them, i.e. practitioners, modes of transmission, and capacity for adaption and change.

a) Practitioners: The role of expert vs local community members

In case of the differences, the issue of the role played by the practitioners is a good example. The MSPs insist on using experts and professionals in the safeguarding process. Further, to fixate on the importance of experts and professionals in this approach, lack of trained personnel was among the challenges mentioned by the official respondents as affecting the practice (chapter 5). Although scholars (Mapunda & Lane, 2004; Chirikure, et al., 2010; Blake, 2009) and organisations (UNESCO, 2003) have called for a change in this approach, MSPs still rely on a top-down approach with heritage experts and professionals taking the leading role in the safeguarding process. For the case of TSPs, the process is communally practiced. The measures used in the process (e.g. practice, and oral tradition) involve all members, each of them playing a certain role in the process. However, it was also established that although this method is practiced by all the members of the community, some aspects are limited to specific individuals or a particular section of the community. This can be well elaborated by the rainmaking ritual which is safeguarded through apprenticeship. As already discussed in chapter 7, apprenticeship positions for the ritual are limited to members of a certain clan or family. What this means is

that not all members of the community will be knowledgeable about this practice. Although they will engage in it when performed, access to the information about the concoctions and mixtures used will be limited to a few people. But as a difference, in MSPs, experts or professionals in heritage or related disciplines take the leading role in the safeguarding process, which is different from MSP that is dominated by local community members.

b) Mode of transmission: Formalised vs informal

Another difference is in terms of the mode of transmission used by the two approaches. Because MSPs are intentionally designed to undertake the safeguarding process, these practices are usually taught through well designed curricula in institutions, be it colleges or universities; and participants, in the end, obtain formal qualifications in the form of either certificates or degrees. This is different from TSPs which are more un-designed, embedded in the day to day activities of a particular group. In practice, there is no specific training or curricula designed to assist in the transmission of such knowledge among the community members. Also, the issue of institutions involved in the safeguarding process is another difference. Although both practices are supervised by institutions, in MSPs the institutions involved are well formulated and are governed by specific rules and regulations. In Tanzania for example, the institutions involved in the safeguarding process are in the form of ministries and departments (see chapter 2 and 5). This is different from TSPs where the institutions involved are informal, guided by unwritten rules and regulations, and choice and decisions by individuals (clan leaders or ritual specialists). This was well elaborated in chapter 7, where one of the drawbacks of the practice was established to be the lack of curricula or a guide in terms of what is to be safeguarded and what means will be involved in the process.

c) Capacity for adaption and change: Static vs dynamic

Another difference between the two approaches is their capacity to adapt or accommodate changes. The capacity to change indicates the easiness with which a practice can incorporate changes in order to improve its safeguarding capabilities. The two systems are very different in this aspect. In the framework of MSPs, it is very hard to accommodate changes, while with TSPs it is very easy. Taking for example oral tradition as a traditional safeguarding practice, one of its basic characteristics is the dynamism allowing for continuous adaptation to new cultural scenarios (Fernandez-Llamazares & Cebeza, 2018). Remembering and transmitting a form of oral tradition (song, story or saying) does not require the recall of exact words (verbatim), the general meaning and form is enough (Rubin, 1995, p. 7). Through designating oral tradition as one of the TSPs, this study has indicated the easiness with which it has managed to accommodate new changes in order to continue the transmission of information. This was observed from a change in a story told as a safeguarding measure. The story has been modified to include a motor vehicle which is a recent inclusion in the Jita lifestyle as a mode of transportation (see chapter 7). This means that, with a slight change in society characteristics, the stories and songs will also incorporate such changes, to make sense to the existing generation or targeted audience. This is very different from MSPs which have a restricted capability to change, due to the need to adhere to established principles and protocols governing such processes. Taking, for example, the legal framework as one of the components of MSP, any modification is a complicated process that requires the involvement of different authorities. In Tanzania for example, the process of changing or modifying an Act will require the involvement of the ministry, stakeholders, parliament members, and the president who is a final signatory.

8.3 Applicability of modern and traditional safeguarding practices in safeguarding ICH

From the discussion above, currently in Tanzania, there are two safeguarding approaches that are in operation. These are the MSP which is characterized by the presence of government departments, institutions, legal framework and reliance of experts; and TSP which is a safeguarding practice embedded within the day to day activities of the community, characterised by unwritten rules and regulations and reliance on local community members. The presence of two approaches confirms what Mulokozi said about ICH in Tanzania. According to him, the management of ICH in the country is under social institutions and structures such as the family or clan, and government and non-government institutions and structures such as government ministries and departments (Mulokozi, 2005, p. 287-289). However, this is not a unique case for Tanzania alone, but rather a scenario in many countries in the world. In most of them, the local community has its own way of safeguarding what is of value to them, and the government also has a way of doing so by using different institutions and administrative frameworks. This is also reflected in CICH, which as Blake claims, operates in the local, national and international levels (Blake 2009, p.47).

One of the findings of this study is the confirmation that the two practices are currently operating separately in the country. What this means is that the government undertakes the safeguarding of different traditions, practices, and expressions that can qualify as ICH through its ministries (MICAS and MNRT) and the associated institutions (see chapter 5); and the local community are also doing so with their TSPs in the form of either oral tradition or apprenticeship, without the two approaches being connected (see chapter 7). The issue of lack of connectedness between MSPs and TSPs has a historical origin, particularly with colonialism, which as several scholars have argued, introduced new heritage management practices that neglected the existing local ones (Wijesuria, 2003; Jopela, 2011; Arazi & Thiaw, 2013). The

postcolonial governments did not implement significant changes in this aspect either, as they continued with this heritage approach that failed to integrate the local community and their knowledge in the management process (Makuvaza, 2008; Chirikure, et al., 2016). The result of this is a failure of the management structures to maximize on the benefits that can be derived from connecting the two practices, such as the means of involving the local community in the safeguarding process.

This study observes that despite the issue of involving local community and their know-how in the safeguarding of ICH being given a special attention by different international institutions and scholars (UNESCO, 2003; Kurin, 2007; Blake, 2009; Lenzerini, 2011), the practice is not effectively achieved in the safeguarding of ICH in Tanzania. The government initiatives, for instance, are still top-down in nature, dominated by officials or experts who are trained in either archaeology, CHM or other related disciplines. The local community are only involved as cultural bearers or practitioners, whilst ignoring their safeguarding knowledge in the process. Several examples can be used to confirm this. The first one is from the Village Museum as one of the institutions involved in the safeguarding of ICH. Although the museum has involved the communities in building the traditional houses, such involvement is only as cultural bearers. When the houses are completed, everything continues to be managed by the museum. This is attested by one of the challenges facing the museum in relation to repairing the houses. Because the local community was not integrated into the management of the museum, it currently lacks people that are equipped with the knowledge required in repairing them. In turn, the houses are slowly deteriorating due to lack of regular repairs. This can also be used to attest the tendency of most management efforts to focus on material heritage rather than ICH in practice.

Another example is from chapter 5, when the official respondents talked about the challenges affecting MSPs. Most of their discussions focused on how the experts or the institutions

involved are hindered by different challenges to effectively undertake their safeguarding duties. Specifically, the challenges focused on the legal structures, institutional weaknesses or lack of resources. None of them discussed the potential role of the community and their technical know-how in the safeguarding process. The closest they attempted to include the community was in terms of two challenges identified by this study, namely secrecy behind some practices (section 5.3.3a) and negative perceptions (section 5.3.3b). But these two challenges are not an example of how the TSPs is integrated into MSPs, rather a depiction of what is considered as the role of the community in MSPs in Tanzania, which is only as cultural bearers and practitioners.

However, this does not mean the attitude of the local communities is different from the officials. The data collected (see chapter 7) did not indicate the desire or the presence of initiatives to integrate their knowledge and practices with the means and instruments employed by the MSPs. The safeguarding process of ICH at the local level is done within the family or among clan members. Looking for example at the ritual shrines, their protection was supervised by the clan or a group of people that are utilizing that site. None of the officials within the village were concerned or involved in their protection. It is only in rare cases that information relating to particular traditions, practices or expressions is communicated to outside members. This was for instance witnessed in Kasoma village where the elders consulted the village leaders (VEO and WEO) in need of financial assistance to undertake land cleansing rituals (see chapter 6). Unfortunately, the leaders were against such practices, which is indeed depicting the unique characteristics of ICH: 'it is valued as heritage by a specific group, community or individuals' (UNESCO, 2003; Kurin, 2004; Taylor, 2009), outsiders might not consider it as either heritage or valuable. The same case is observed with initiation ceremonies among young boys which involved circumcision and training relating to different aspects in the society (see chapter 6). Currently, circumcision take place in hospitals, but the community have failed to

attach the associated training that previously took place during this time. Thus, the hospital initiation is only for circumcision and nothing else. Probably, if they would have thought better, they could have attached the training that was traditionally performed during the initiation ceremony to the recent practice taking place in hospitals. However, this does not mean the officials completely neglect such practices without offering any support to community. Chapter 5 has highlighted the 'Urithi day festival' where different communities are invited by the Village Museum as one means of safeguarding their ICH. The point here is nevertheless that most of the government officials are not supportive of these practices and safeguarding initiatives in their working areas and the local community do not further seek to involve them.

I argue in this study that failure to connect the two practices in the safeguarding process is detrimental to the safeguarding initiatives in the country. This is because the two practices are dependable to each other and using one while neglecting the other might result in problems or conflicts. Such problems might be either due to the omission of some important aspects in relation to the safeguarding of such practices, traditions, and expressions; or due to the implementation of measures that instead of ensuring their survival, will be accelerating their demise. Take, for instance, the issue of curating sacred objects that relate to traditional ceremonies and rituals. The protection offered to these objects by the community covers both their spiritual and material integrity (Kreps, 2004). In turn, some items are restricted to a specific gender (either males or females), others require constant handling, and others must be placed facing a certain direction (Kreps 2009 citing NMAI, 2004). Failure to observe these restrictions will lead to either such items being abandoned by that community or they will withhold important information relating to that item, hence resulting in misrepresentation.

Looking at the rainmaking ritual among the Jita for example, because not everyone can become a rainmaker, some information relating to the rain making process is usually restricted. During my interviews with the rainmakers, they specifically mentioned that restriction when I asked them to describe the actual process of rainmaking. The same issue was observed in terms of how one should handle the accessories (see figure 6.6) that are involved in the process. What this indicates is that if only officials/experts are involved in safeguarding rainmaking, such information will not be disclosed, hence leading to mishandling. But if the local communities/practitioners are also involved, such restrictions might be well communicated, avoiding unwanted results. There are several examples that indicate the mishandling of ritual objects due to the failure of involving TSPs. One of them occurred in one of the projects by the National Museum to record the rainmaking ritual among the Nyiramba people, in Singida region, Tanzania. In that project, the special drums used in the process were collected and displayed in the museum exhibitions. Such an act was going against the TSPs for the objects that restricted the nature of the environment to keep or display the objects and who should be allowed to see them. Although the community members did not actively protest such an act, it shows a failure of exploiting the potentials of TSPs in the safeguarding processes.

Kreps (2009, p. 196) also provides an example in relation to how traditional masks from the Native American Navajo, that were not supposed to be covered in plastics or placed in a case, as they are alive and should be left to breathe, are treated differently in a museum. Another example relates to Navajo healing rituals at the Harvard Peabody Museum. A curator was puzzled to find in the museum, the image collection of Navajo dry paintings that are a part of the healing ritual, and are supposed to be the secret of only those present during the ceremony (the singer, the assistant, the sponsor, the family and the patient), and are usually destroyed after the ritual (Brown, 1995). This indicates the violation of local community restrictions in relation to rituals and the objects that are involved in the ceremony. This can antagonise the

local community against the experts/professionals, and further lead to distrust and breakdown in relations between everyday practices and the formal context of heritage management.

What these above examples articulate is the assertion that using MSPs alone in ICH, will in most cases result in the mishandling of such objects or practices and expressions involved. But through incorporating TSPs in the process, such issues can be avoided, as the practice will provide information in terms of how these restrictions should be handled, and who should be involved in the process. My general argument here is that, although these practices are currently working separately, a successful safeguarding approach should seek to involve both practices in the process. This will be instrumental in safeguarding ICH in the country, as both the government through its agencies, institutions and ministries, and the local community members will play an integral part in the process. The following section elucidates the potentials of thinking beyond the similarities and differences between the two approaches in the safeguarding process.

8.4 Beyond the similarities and differences between Modern and Traditional safeguarding practices

The issue of safeguarding ICH has received attention in recent years from different organizations, governments, and scholars (Carrozzino, et al., 2011; Aykan, 2015). However, in implementing the safeguarding measures in many places, a key challenge has been how to involve the community or cultural practitioners in the process (Aikawa-Faure, 2009; Arantes, 2007; Kurin, 2007; Duvelle, 2014). Different from tangible cultural heritage which is valued because of the expert acknowledgement of their artistic, aesthetic, architectural, visual, scientific, and economic value (UNESCO, 1972), ICH is valued as such by a particular community, group, or individuals (UNESCO, 2003; Kurin, 2007; Lenzerini, 2011). In

safeguarding this form of heritage, it is essential that the community must take a leading role in the process, as it is that particular community who will identify it as heritage (UNESCO, 2003; Kurin, 2007; Mazel, et al., 2017). Realizing this, scholars and institutions have championed a bottom-up approach instead of a top-down approach (Kreps, 2005; Ranking, et al., 2006; Bortolotto, 2007). This bottom-up approach should be different from a top-down approach, as the community must be an integral part of the safeguarding process not only as cultural bearers or practitioners but also as a group with knowledge of how to undertake the safeguarding process (Blake, 2009; Yu, 2015).

The previous section focused on how the similarities and differences between MSP and TSP are affecting their current application in the safeguarding process in Tanzania. But in looking beyond the operational similarities and differences between the two practices, both practices are currently rendered ineffective due to the presence of different challenges. Data presented in chapter (5) and (7) have revealed that MSPs are affected by challenges such as negative perception by some community members, secrecy of some practices, and weaknesses in the legal and administrative framework. TSPs, on the other hand, are affected by challenges such as social transformation, changes in lifestyles and influence from government and religious restrictions. Despite the current situation where the two approaches are working separately, there are some advantages that can be derived from thinking beyond the similarities and differences. Instead of dwelling on how the two practices are different, the above comparison can be used to attest the existing potential for the two practices to work together in the safeguarding process.

One of the issues deduced from the comparison is the presence of gaps within the two safeguarding practices that can be filled by the other practice. This is specifically in terms of the challenges, meaning that the way one practice operates can be used as a means of curbing

the challenges that are affecting the other practice. For example, taking the issue of how to involve the community in the safeguarding process. From the discussions in section (8.2), one of the differences between MSPs and TSPs is in terms of the role played by the local community in the safeguarding process. TSPs on the one side is dominated by community members, with special groups such as ritual specialists and clan leaders taking a more active role than others in the process. While for the case of MSPs, although the safeguarding of ICH requires the practice to give the community an active role in the process, achieving this has been problematic. Instead, the practice is dominated by experts and professionals in heritage management and the related disciplines.

Many countries have struggled with this; a good example is what has happened in Korea. Korea is among the countries that began efforts to safeguarding ICH earlier, with its initial efforts dating to as early as 1962 (Alivizatou, 2012; Esfehiani & Albrecht, 2016; Saeji, 2019). However, these earlier efforts were mainly dominated by the government, a good example is the creation of the top-down ICH designation system (Kwon 2017, p. 200). Recent years have seen the transformation of this system into a more bottom-up approach guaranteeing active community participation in the process (Kwon, 2017, p. 201). One of the drawbacks of this bottom-up approach has been the way the community is involved. In some instances, a group, a part of the community or few representatives are selected so as to meet the requirements by organisations such as UNESCO in listing these practices (Aykan, 2013; Beardslee, 2016). In others the process is highly dominated by government agencies and experts to the point of completely omitting the community (for example, see Lixinski, 2011; Chan, 2017; Blake, 2019). These challenges can be avoided through incorporating TSP in the process, particularly in focusing how such practices can be integrated into the MSPs.

In many parts of the world, there are systems that are currently seeking to integrate communities and their know-how in the safeguarding processes. A good example is what is happening in countries such as New Zealand, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe. Mozambique and Zimbabwe, for example, have attempted to include community knowledge and know-how in the safeguarding process. This has been achieved by legally allowing community members such as ritual specialists and site custodians and their knowledge to be an active part in the safeguarding and management of archaeological sites (Buur & Kyed, 2006; Jopela, et al., 2012). Similar experiences are observed in New Zealand, where campaigns and advocacy from the 1980s have resulted in changed attitudes of museum practitioners to include the Māori people in all operational aspects, rather than considering them as subjects of collection and representation, e.g. in the Tairāwhiti Museum (Butts, 2002; 2007). In other countries, authorities have gone further by creating institutions that will allow the utilization of both MSPs and TSP in the safeguarding process. An example of this is a museum created in the town of Rovinj in Croatia, to safeguard the distinctive ‘batana’ boats made of wood that are traditionally used for fishing activities. The museum follows a bottom-up approach in the management of heritage by incorporating local people and the officials from municipal museum in the safeguarding process (Aydemir, 2017).

Another example is in terms of the challenges affecting TSPs. Data discussed in chapter 7 have identified several ways that are used by the Jita to safeguard traditional ceremonies and rituals. Among them is apprenticeship as TSPs particularly for ceremonies such as cleansing and rainmaking rituals. Within this practice, one of the aspects established was the presence of challenges that are affecting it as a form of TSP. In this, the ritual specialists interviewed (see chapter 6) mentioned the lack of young people that are aspiring to be an apprentice as an existing challenge. This is because the economic benefits derived out of being a practitioner of such ritual practice are smaller compared to other economic activities. Scholars have talked

about similar challenge elsewhere (Nayak, 2003; Bakar, et al., 2014); while others have attributed this lack of interest by young persons to be a result of wanting to abandon what is considered as primitive or backward (McCleery & Bowers, 2017, p. 194). However, this challenge of meagre economic benefits can be minimised by using MSPs through creating opportunities for paid apprenticeship. The government through the responsible institutions can formalise the apprentice role in the safeguarding process by employing them in the government departments as professionals. This can be in already established museums or cultural centres where they will be responsible for overseeing the safeguarding process and training other people who will be interested in those practices. But this approach might not be viable or applicable to most developing countries, where the cultural sector is always mangled with shortage of funds.

The practice of formalising apprenticeship for a certain ICH technique is not new, as it has been applied in other places. A good example of this is the safeguarding of the Traditional Li textile technique in Hainan Island, China. Li textile technique or Li brocade is a traditional craftsmanship technique for making clothes performed by women from the Li ethnic group. In the 1950s, this technique was practiced by an estimate of 50,000 practitioners, but recently that number has decreased to fewer than a thousand practitioners, who are mostly above 70 years old (UNESCO, 2009). In realization of this decline, representatives of the Li ethnic group enacted several initiatives that led to the inclusion of the Li textile technique to UNESCO's list of ICH in need of Urgent Safeguarding; and the creation of the Provincial Centres for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage. The role of these centres is to spread the knowledge and supervise the transmission and protection of the practice to younger generations. This is done by a number of practitioners who are paid by the government to offer training and courses on this technique (UNESCO, 2009; Massing , 2018).

Such centres might also be a source of training for TSPs which is currently conducted informally, and lacking practitioners due to changes in lifestyles. As already discussed in chapter (7), one of the challenges affecting the TSPs is the lack of a structured way to ensure they are transmitted from one generation to another. TSPs are simply integrated into the daily activities of the community members, even the manner of transmitting the knowledge behind these practices is based on a similar undefined structure. Due to this, the knowledge behind the safeguarding process can easily disappear, particularly due to changes in lifestyles of community members. For example, chapter (6) has highlighted the changes among the Jita in relation to the initiation ceremony, where currently, male children are no longer attending the ceremony as a group. In turn, the training in relation to ceremonies and rituals that were previously transmitted during initiation is no longer taking place. So, initiation as a safeguarding measure is failing to transmit the information related to traditional ceremonies and rituals.

However, this can be remedied through incorporating TSPs in the training offered to MSPs. Because MSP is an internationally recognised practice, there are agreed standards and codes of conduct that one must be aware of and abide by before being involved or engaged in safeguarding initiatives (King, 2011; Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015; Cameron, 2016). Such knowledge is obtained either through certificates, degrees or short courses and seminars offered by different institutions such as universities and multinational organisations like UNESCO, ICOMOS, and ICROM. UNESCO for example, in relation to safeguarding ICH, urges state parties to ‘adapt...measures aimed at fostering the creation or strengthening of institutions for training in the management of intangible cultural heritage and transmission of such heritage’ (UNESCO, 2003: 13(d)(i)). The existing training can be restructured to include different measures that are used in the TSP. Such restructuring can include formulating special courses

in educational institutions or offering seminars and training on TSPs and its measures. This will be important in two ways, firstly it will ensure the survival of the traditional safeguarding knowledge; and secondly, it will promote the continuation of the practice, tradition, and expressions, as there will be people within the community who are trained to ensure their survival.

Despite the potentials of this integration, the practitioners must be aware of the resultant unwanted negative impacts. What this means is that, because these two practices are inherently different, if not properly addressed, the act of merging them might have repercussions to the practitioners and the process in overall, potentially causing more harm than the benefits that might be generated. Take for example the issue of community involvement in the safeguarding process. Although one cannot deny the potential of the communities in the safeguarding process, the manner and ways of doing so might be problematic to implement. Except for ICH performed by individuals, most of them are usually part of a large community. With large numbers, there are always struggles over who will be the authorised or designated speaker of the community. There is evidence from different places showing the prevalence of conflicts because a part of the community, e.g. clan leaders or ritual specialists, are fighting over the benefits such as resources or status that can be generated out of their involvement in the safeguarding process. A good example of this is explained by Jopela et. al., (2012) in relation to traditional management systems in Manica province in Mozambique over a sacred site called Chinhamapere. According to them, there are tensions among site leaders due to factors such as the ambitions of traditional leaders to enhance their authority through controlling people and resources, and the monetary compensation that is derived from tasks ascribed to the traditional structures.

In other instances, the community members might not be ready to be involved in the safeguarding process either due to extra responsibilities, the legal restrictions resulting from their involvement in the safeguarding process or the unwanted impacts to the community's social structures (Arantes, 2012; Bakar, et al., 2014). For example, Arantes talks about the negative social repercussions of the safeguarding project by Artesol in Brazil. Despite the success of the project in the safeguarding process, the process was negatively perceived by the husbands whose wives were involved in the project. According to him, the husbands felt their traditional dominant position was threatened by the success of their wives who obtained money or social status in the process; in turn, they violently restrained their wives from participating in the project (Arantes, 2012). Another example of community members refusing to be part of the safeguarding process comes from in-migrant communities in urban, central Scotland. Here, most of the second and subsequent generations want to abandon practices associated with the past generation's 'old world'. In turn, ICH that are language-based, such as storytelling, are at risk of disappearing (McCleery & Bowers, 2017, p. 194).

In general, this subsection has highlighted the potential of an integrated ICH framework between TSPs and MSPs. The focus was on how the distinguishing features existing in one practice can be used to minimise the challenge existing in another. Apart from the discussion of the potentials, the subsection has also hinted at the challenges of implementing such an integrative framework. In this, the emphasis was on the challenges that might hinder effective implementation and those that might result due to the implementation of such an integration. The next section focuses on an effective integration framework for safeguarding ICH, specifically looking at how the challenges affecting the process can be minimized.

8.5 Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage as an Integrative Approach

The previous sections (8.2-8.4) have looked at different aspects of the two safeguarding practices, including the characterization and means of solving challenges affecting each practice in an integrative approach. Section (8.4) has identified several challenges that can affect such an approach, particularly with the issue of community involvement. This section explores how those challenges can be managed to create an effective integrative approach for safeguarding ICH. An integrative approach postulated in this study is the one that allows the use of both MSPs and TSPs in the safeguarding process. The central problem of such an integrative framework is over who will be involved and how such involvement will take place. For MSPs, it is easier, mostly because there are already frameworks guiding who should and should not be responsible for ICH in a country. In Tanzania, for example, the Antiquities Act No. 10 of 1964 (Amended by No. 22 of 1979) and the National Museum of Tanzania Act, No.7 of 1980 contain several provisions with such information (URT, 1964; 1980). But for TSPs, the selection and involvement of community members is challenging, and have been a subject of discussion for both experts and international organizations. The CICH for instance, although it puts much emphasis on the involvement of communities in the safeguarding process; it is yet to set ground on how to identify who is the community (Aykan, 2013, p. 386). In turn, state parties are using this loophole to enlist tradition and practices in the convention's lists without sufficient and satisfactory community involvement (Aykan, 2013; Beardslee, 2016).

To avoid such a challenge, the first step should be to create a framework or structure to assist in the identification of the community behind a certain practice. As Bakar and others suggest, effective community involvement should involve three phases, i.e. consultation and decision making, implementation of improvements, and community access to information and opportunities (Bakar, et al., 2014). This identification and consultation of the community is

very important, particularly in removing the challenge of who is the community which is a problem encountered in many ICH safeguarding initiatives (For example see, Aykan, 2013; Beardslee, 2016; Chan, 2017). Normally, in safeguarding ICH, the identification of a certain group as a community comes with powers of ownership of a practice and any potential benefits (Deacon & Smeets, 2013). Failure to effectively explore this option usually results in either misrepresentations or failure to involve the minorities within that community, such as ethnic and religious minorities, immigrants, or indigenous people (Brown, 2005; Moghadam & Bagheritari, 2007; Aykan, 2013). Hence, prior to undertaking a safeguarding initiative, there should be a framework that makes provisions for a thorough examination of a practice or expression and the individuals or groups that can be identified with it.

An example of how this can be done is provided by Mazel et.al., from a workshop conducted in Guyana by the En-compass project. The workshop was comprised of scholars and professionals from heritage, museum and related disciplines who were the presenters and facilitators; and the representatives from different local community groups in Guyana. The workshop aimed at allowing the local community members to identify what is ICH to them, why they think it is important, and how they would go about to safeguard the identified practices (Mazel, et al., 2017, p. 82). Such an act should be performed as a mandatory first step, requiring any safeguarding initiative to start with an exercise of identification and consultation. Those involved must keep in mind the need to promote the widest participation possible, because minority groups can be marginalised by those with power within a community if not careful. Hence, the identification should also keep in check the existing classes or structures within a community and consider how such a process can ensure equal participation. As Blake claims, the focus should not only be on whether the safeguarding process is participatory but also the quality of that participation and how there is smooth communication between the parties involved (Blake, 2019, p. 27).

Secondly, in the process of identification and consultation, government officials and professionals should take the facilitator role, rather than doing what Deacon and Smeets (2013, p.131) calls to ‘pay lip service’ to community involvement and continue using the top-down approach in the safeguarding process. The community members should be the ones that determine what is to be safeguarded and how it should be done. Letting the government official take the leading role in deciding what is to be protected, is always problematic because of the undeclared political motivation that always underpins such undertakings (see Kurin, 2007; Aykan, 2013). It is the same with professionals and experts, who in most cases, end up selecting what they think is or should be important, which is not always concurrent with the local community’s perceptions (Beardslee, 2016).

There is also a need to provide training to officials and experts that will be engaged in the safeguarding process. Working with ICH requires extensive involvement and active participation of communities who are the bearers and practitioners of such heritage (Kurin, 2007; Denes, 2012). Training and capacity building which emphasises a reflexive, anthropological approach to engaging with communities is important (Denes, 2012, p. 166). Kurin further argues that the people who will be involved in researching, documenting, understanding and presenting localised cultural traditions must have adequate linguistic skills, superior levels of background training in cultural fields such as ethnology, linguistics, ethnomusicology, folklore and the ethno-sciences (Kurin, 2007, p. 14).

Lastly, because these practices, traditions, and expressions are living, it is important to create an environment that will allow for their continuation and evolution rather than fossilising them. Museums are the closest existing institutions for such a role. Museums have been recognised internationally as important partners in the endeavour to safeguard ICH (Denes, 2012, p. 168).

However, the traditional museum and its roles do not provide a conducive environment for the safeguarding of ICH (Kurin, 2004; Erlie & Bakka, 2017). Similarly, the traditional methods developed for preserving tangible heritage or material cultural may not suffice (Denes, et al., 2013, p. 6). The solution for this is what has been referred to by scholars as either ‘living’ or ‘eco’ museums (For example see Fuller, 1992; Corsane, et al., 2007; Davis, et al., 2010); or what Kurin (2007, p. 13) calls a ‘museum-like cultural organization’.

These are people-centred institutions that stress the need for community involvement not just as visitors, but also as participants in all aspects of museum work (Kreps, 2005). This is because the community are the ones that create, nurture and sustain the relevant traditions (Kurin, 2007). There is an example of such a Museum in Tanzania called Bujora Museum. The Bujora museum is located in Magu District in Mwanza region and is used for storing different items (e.g. music instruments, fighting tools and traditional houses) relating to Sukuma community (Bessire, 1997). The museum also holds regular ceremonies and festivals that are geared towards promoting different aspects of the community’s traditions and practices. This museum is managed by the community in association of private institutions. However, such museums need to be modified to accommodate TSP. The current norm is to include practitioners within the museum framework, and the practices and knowledge relating to the restrictions surrounding the care of associated objects within museum exhibitions (for examples see Butts, 2002; Kerps, 2009), while neglecting the TSPs. In turn, such an institution fails to sustain the ICH in question. For example, chapter (5) described the Village Museum as among the institutions used to safeguard ICH in Tanzania. One of the challenges facing the village museum is the lack of skilled persons to undertake the repair of the traditional houses built as a permanent exhibition within the museum grounds. Indeed, this problem could be easily solved by employing skilled traditional builders; or employing the local community members as part of the museum staff, like the Tairawhiti Museum in New Zealand has done by

employing a Maori director (Butts, 2007, p. 222). However, such a solution will not be sustainable as it will solve the immediate house decaying problem, but not ensure the continuation of the building skills. In order to avoid this, the museum should move beyond employing local community members as part of the institution's staff; to also use the TSPs in the process so as to ensure transmission and continuation of the ICH in question.

This can be done by encouraging the officials and community members to create a suitable environment for safeguarding the ICH in an eco-system that will allow both the practicing and transmission of the skill. This ecological system should recognise that the safeguarding of ICH is a complex process that requires the involvement of different variables (Brown, 2005, p. 42). Instead of creating an institution away from the community, efforts should be to promote the continuation of such practice through cooperation with the community members in their local settings. There are several ways that this has been achieved. One of them is in relation to the safeguarding of the Indonesian Batik, which was included on the list of ICH of humanity in 2009 (UNESCO, 2009). In order to continue its safeguarding, the government has initiated and support different strategies to safeguard the tradition. One of the ways used is the formulation of an environment that supports the revitalization of the tradition. An example of this is the way the families in Semarang have declared their local neighbourhood as a *kampung batik* (Batik village) (Akagawa, 2019, p. 136). With the support of the government and local cooperatives, the community are benefiting from the revitalization of the *batik* making tradition. Apart from ensuring the survival of the traditional art the practitioners are also benefiting from the 'creative economy' which contributes to about 7.1% of Indonesia's economy (Akagawa, 2019). A similar approach has been used by the Dayak weaving project that is initiated by a community and non-governmental organization called the People, Resource, and Conservation Foundation, and the Kobus Centre (Centre for Cultural

Communication and Art) in Sintang, Indonesia. The project seeks to integrate its activities into the daily lives, needs, and interest of the weavers and their village communities (Kreps, 2012, p. 191). One of the project's creations is a cooperative called *Jasa Menenun Mandiri* 'weavers stand alone or go independent'. The cooperation buys weaver's products (e.g. bags, picture, frames, mats, etc.) and sells them in its gallery. It also provides the community with loans to purchase materials for weaving such as threads and chemicals (Kreps, 2012, p. 179). The project has managed to encourage the continued practicing and development of the weaving technique and style, while allowing the use of indigenous curation, customs, taboos and restrictions that are embedded within the practice (Kreps, 2012).

This can also be done with the traditional ceremonies and rituals in Tanzania. Instead of creating museums or cultural institutions away from the community interactions where such practices will be safeguarded, several villages that are occupied by the Jita can be used as designated safeguarding places for this form of ICH. In these villages, people will be continuing with their daily lives, while at the same time being encouraged to continue practicing the traditional ceremonies and rituals. This can be done by allowing the formal recognition of the traditional marriages without further need of performing government or religious (Islamic or Christian) marriages. Further, these villages can be designated as special places where traditional weddings can take place similarly to the same way the modern weddings do in either a church or a mosque while people continue with their daily lives. An advantage of this approach is it that allows the continuous innovation of the traditional ceremonies and rituals through interactions with the daily lives of the community members. This is different from creating specialised institutions to do so, where it might be problematic particularly in accommodating the evolving capability of such practices. Also, museums, being government-sponsored institutions, might not be able to encourage practices such as rituals

which might be considered offensive or contradicting the state's values (see Denes, 2012, p.171).

8.6 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter discussed the main research findings in relation to the three specific research questions and the existing literature. With the research questions aimed at accomplishing a particular objective, this chapter combined the collected information and analysed it against the previous related study. The chapter also highlights how this study compares to existing literature and fits within the existing knowledge. In summary, the chapter focused on the convergence and divergence points, and the applicability of the two approaches used in safeguarding ICH. In terms of convergence and divergence points, the chapter focused on the similarities and differences of the practices through drawing examples from the information discussed in chapter 2, 5 and 7. The application of the two methods focused on looking at the current status of the two practices in Tanzania and how officials and local community are using the two approaches in the safeguarding process. Further, the chapter explores the advantages and disadvantages of such an application in the country. Lastly, the chapter explored the potentials of the two approaches complementing each other in an integrated safeguarding approach. This was done by looking at the challenges facing one approach and how the other one can be used to solve them and the impacts of creating an integrated approach in the safeguarding process. The following chapter (9), will focus on explaining the implications of this study to theory, practice, and policy; recommendations for future research; limitations; and the general conclusion.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION

9.1 Introduction

This is the final chapter of this study, presenting the concluding remarks. The chapter has five sections. The first section (9.2) presents a summary of the research findings. The second section (9.3) presents the contributions of this study to theory, practice and policy. The third section (9.4) presents the general study limitations. The fourth section (9.5) presents the recommendations for future research; and the last section (9.6) is the general study conclusion.

9.2 An overview of the research findings

This section presents a summary of the findings that were broadly discussed in Chapter (5), (6) and (7) of this study. The presentation is based on the specific research questions and how they were answered by the collected information. The study had three specific research questions, i.e.: (i) What are the challenges facing modern practices in safeguarding ICH in Tanzania?, (ii) What are the rituals and traditional ceremonies among the Jita?, and (iii) How do the Jita safeguard the rituals and traditional ceremonies?

9.2.1 Challenges facing modern safeguarding practices in Tanzania

The first research question was to assess the challenges facing the MSPs for ICH in Tanzania. Data for this question were collected using interviews, observation and documentary reviews and are presented in chapter 5 of this study. Information collected include: the institutions responsible for the safeguarding of ICH in the country and their roles; existing legal instruments; people responsible; and the challenges affecting the overall safeguarding process. In summary, there are two ministries that deal with cultural heritage in the country i.e. Ministry

of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT) and Ministry of Information, Culture, Arts, and Sports (MICAS). Each ministry is comprised of several departments and institutions that specifically focus on ICH. For example, the Antiquities Department and Village Museum in the MNRT, and Arts Department and BASATA in the MICAS. The country also has a legal framework for the management of cultural heritage in general. The study identified and analysed Acts, policies and international instruments used in safeguarding ICH. For example, the Cultural Heritage Policy of 2008 and the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ratified in 2011). Further, responses from officials and the review of different documents (see chapter 4 for a description) led to the identification of several challenges that are affecting the ICH safeguarding process in the country. These included among others: ineffective administrative structure, inadequate legal framework, and negative perception amongst community members.

In deducing the impacts of these challenges to the safeguarding process, I categorised them into three groups, i.e. institutional-related challenges, legal-related challenges, and community-related challenges. The institutional-related challenge as a category is comprised of the challenges affecting the ministries, departments, and institutions dealing with the safeguarding of ICH in the country. These include challenges such as ineffective administration structure, inadequate financial resources, lack of trained staff and lack of political will. Legal-related challenges are those challenges within the legal framework that are affecting the process of safeguarding ICH in Tanzania. On the other hand, community-related challenges are found within the general community, upon which a given ICH belongs to, but in turn, affects the effectiveness of MSPs. Two challenges were identified as fitting into this category, these are the issue of secrecy behind some practices and negative perception among some community members.

9.2.2 Traditional ceremonies and rituals among the Jita

The second research question aimed at identifying the traditional ceremonies and rituals among the Jita. Data for this question were collected using semi-structured interviews and observation with respondents from the Jita community. The identified traditional ceremonies and rituals were divided into two categories, the extant and the extinct ones. The extinct traditional ceremonies and rituals were once practiced and performed by the community but are currently completely abandoned and remained only in oral traditions, particularly in stories. This includes practices such as heroism ceremony, '*ingaso*' and the special alcohol drinking ceremony, '*bhwarwa bhwa luseke*'. Extant practices are the ones that have continued being practiced and performed by the group. This study was interested in traditional ceremonies that have continued being practiced, meaning that they are valued by the community and have continued to adapt to changes taking place within the surroundings, a factor which is argued in this study as among the basic characteristics of ICH. A total of four traditional ceremonies and rituals were identified. These included land cleansing ceremonies; boy's initiation ceremony; wedding ceremony and burial ceremony. In each of the traditional ceremonies and rituals the study identified how they are organized, which people and items are involved, and the rules and regulation guiding them.

One of the study's important findings in relation to traditional ceremonies and rituals is the presence of transformations. Analysis of the collected information indicated the presence of changes or transformations, where these practices have incorporated new things and removed others that were once considered as an integral part of the ceremonies and rituals. A good example of such changes was observed in one of the stages in the wedding ceremonies, the paying of bride price (see chapter 6). It was observed that although the bride price is an

important part of the Jita wedding ceremonies, its constituents have changed. While cows and goats are an important component, there other additions such as blankets and cooking utensils that are currently included as part of the bride price. Apart from that, some parents prefer the bride price to be paid in cash rather than physical items and animals. These transformations were also observed in other ceremonies such as burial and land cleansing.

9.2.3 Traditional safeguarding practices for ceremonies and rituals among the Jita

The last research question aimed at establishing the ways used by the Jita in safeguarding traditional ceremonies and rituals. In this study, these ways are termed as traditional safeguarding practices (TSPs). Data for this objective were collected through interviews and observations. The information collected revealed the presence of four modes of transmission used as TSPs by the Jita. These are practice, informal training, oral tradition, and apprenticeship (see chapter 7). In each of the practices, I managed to establish the nature of the practice and the information transferred, their effectiveness, and the associated challenges. The nature of the practice was concerned with the manner in which the method allows access to particular information or the participation of different individuals or groups in certain practices. Analysis of the collected information revealed that there are some practices that allow all members to participate and others that restrict who is to be involved. Taking for instance practice as one form of TSPs, it was established that the method is restrictive in terms of nature of the activity and who will be able to be part of it. For example, in wedding ceremonies, there are six stages that are involved. Out of those, there are stages where all members will be included (e.g. the ceremony), those restricted to parents and elders (e.g. paying the bride price), and those performed by the couple alone (e.g. finalising the wedding).

In terms of the information transferred, the study established the presence of a difference in terms of what is transferred, between the meaning behind a certain activity and a practice as an activity. The data collected indicated each method has a potential to either safeguard a meaning behind certain activities/practice, or the activities involved. Taking for instance oral tradition, the method is used in transferring meaning behind activities, which is different from practice that is used to transfer the way in which an activity is performed. But the study also identified that apprenticeship as one form of TSPs transcends this, as it can transfer both the meaning behind the activity and the manner it is performed. Effectiveness for this case was considered as the potential of a particular method to safeguarding a certain practice be it a traditional ceremony or a ritual. Each of the methods was effective in a particular practice and weak on the other. For example, apprenticeship (see chapter 7), was established as effective in safeguarding rituals such as rainmaking and land cleansing ceremony. In terms of the challenges, it was established that the traditional safeguarding practices themselves are somewhat rendered ineffective by some challenges within and outside the Jita society. These included challenges such as changes in lifestyles and the influences of religion and formal education. Religion for instance has changed people's perception to some of the practices to the extent of being neglected, and formal education has changed the time that was previously used by TSPs to be used to acquire formal education.

9.3 Contributions of the Study

The findings of this study have provided some theoretical and practical contribution to the existing literature in ICH and safeguarding practices in general. Below is a discussion of the study's contributions to theory, policies, and the safeguarding practice.

9.3.1 Theoretical Contributions

Theoretically, this study firstly contributes to the extension of the concept of ‘Intangible Cultural Heritage’. In international heritage management discourse, ICH is a late inclusion, which has mainly occurred in the past few decades, compared to the ‘tangible culture heritage’ in the form of monuments, works of arts and sites (for example, see Ahmad, 2006; Vecco, 2010; del Barrio, et al., 2012). Because of the recent growing need and desire to safeguard this form of heritage, different governments, nations, and international organisation have initiated different safeguarding measures. At the international level, UNESCO has played a significant role in the recognition and promotion of ICH (Aikawa-Faure, 2009; Blake, 2009; Labadi, 2013; Kuutma, 2019). Although ICH has long existed among different societies in the world, recent efforts have come with the need to define and categorise such heritage. One of the contributions of UNESCO is the enactment of the CICH which among other things, has provided a definition of ICH and domains in which such heritage is manifested (see UNESCO, 2003: Article 2). Further, the convention has created two lists where different traditions, practices, and expressions can be listed as either ICH of humanity or ICH in need of urgent safeguarding (see UNESCO, 2003; Blake, 2009). However, such a definition has been argued by scholars as limiting and restrictive, particularly in terms of limitations that are set as criteria for different practices, traditions and expressions to be categorized as ICH (Kurin, 2004; Marrie, 2009; Lenzerini, 2011). The definition provided by the Convention assumes that not all practices, traditions and expressions can be ICH.

In chapter 2, I have presented different examples of how the limitations in the definition provided by the CICH have restricted the recognition and inclusion of different practices, traditions and expressions as ICH (see 2.4). The data presented in chapter 6 have also revealed that what the Jita community values or protect as part of their intangible heritage, does not

necessarily conform to CICH characterisation, although they are valued and respected by the community members. Thus, I argue in this study that the definition provided by UNESCO is limited and inadequate to accurately protect and cover the different practices, traditions, and expressions existing among communities worldwide. The definition in its current state centres on the recognition and promotion of prominent and unique practices, at the expenses of everyday practices by different communities. Further, because of the restrictions that are attached to the definition, most practices, traditions, and expressions existing among different communities, will not be recognized as ICH.

Although I suggest the extension of the definition, it does not mean I support the inclusion of each and every tradition, practice or expression. From the discussions in chapter 2 and 6, I am aware of the practices, traditions and expressions that are harmful or detrimental to some community members e.g. the FGM or widow burning. Chapter 6 for example, has discussed the practices of cleansing the funeral '*okumara orufu*' by sexual intercourse among the Jita. Although the practice is part of the community's burial ceremony, it does not have a place in the current environment due to the resultant impacts such as the spread of diseases. Even though I call for the extension of the definition of ICH to everyday practices among communities, I also suggest the need for cautiousness in the safeguarding process. This is to specifically avoid the recognition and safeguarding of practices, traditions or expressions that are harmful, dangerous or undermining a community or part of it.

The second theoretical contribution relates to the cultural heritage management system, and ICH as a specific. In discussing the management of cultural heritage, the norm has been to define and characterise it as that which is comprised of measures and practices proposed by scholars and experts in archaeology and heritage management, with the support of international

organisations such UNESCO and ICCROM. As broadly discussed in chapter 2, this system was conceived in the West and exported to other countries of the world, during the colonial period (see Ndoro 2001; Smith, 2006, Bryne, 2008; Ndoro and Wijesuriya, 2008). The system further assumes that the former colonies did not have a management system for their cultural heritage, thus mandating its introduction in those parts. I argue in this study that the management system for cultural heritage is not restricted to this western influenced system only, there is also a traditional management system that has existed in most countries prior to the coming of colonialists. Chapter 2 has provided a comparative analysis of the two systems using factors such as administration structure, legal framework, practitioners, and support from international organization. Further, chapter 7 has discussed the traditional safeguarding practices that are used by the Jita in the safeguarding of traditional ceremonies and rituals. These serve as examples of the existence of an alternative system for managing cultural heritage. This system is embedded within the day to day activities of the community and is used to safeguard different aspects (both tangible and intangible) that are valuable to them. Thus, the contribution here is on the recognition of this system as an alternative to the current dominant system used in managing cultural heritage. However, currently, the effectiveness and suitability of this traditional system, is being challenged by different factors. Such challenges affect the sole application of this system in the management of cultural heritage. Thus, I argue in this study that the proper management initiatives for cultural heritage should seek to recognize this system and find the possibilities of integrating it into the current dominant system.

9.3.2 Contribution to policy

In terms of the policies, this study contributes to the importance of a well-thought-out definition of what is protected when formulating the legal framework to support the safeguarding process. In determining the challenges facing MSPs in Tanzania, one area of interest was the legal

framework used in the safeguarding process. Indeed, the act of defining what is protected has been explained by different scholars as among the useful functions of legal frameworks in the cultural heritage management process in general (Pearson & Sullivan, 1995; Ndoro & Kiriamu, 2008; Blake, 2015; Carman, 2015). In this study, data collected from official respondents, and the review of different Acts, policies, and international instruments used in the country has revealed the importance of a clear and articulate description of what is protected by the existing legal frameworks. For example, chapter 2 has provided a discussion of how the definition provided by the CICH affects the recognition of certain practices, traditions, and expressions as ICH. Similarly, data presented in chapter 5 have also highlighted how the existing shortfalls in the conceptualisation and definitions of what is protected as ICH, within the legal framework in Tanzania, affect the safeguarding initiatives in the country. This information is very important to the policy makers, as it calls for thoughtfulness when formulating and designing such tools. This is because the definitions provided in the legal frameworks may have adverse impacts on the recognition and safeguarding of ICH in a country.

9.3.3 Contributions to practice

The first practical contribution of this study is the integrated approach for safeguarding ICH. The main objective of this study was to assess the local and national practices for safeguarding ICH. Among the results obtained is the identification that the two practices (MSPs and TSPs) are currently working separately in the country and each practice is affected by different challenges (see chapter 5,7, and 8). However, this is not the case for Tanzania alone, there are many examples from different parts of the world showing the safeguarding process being dominated by government officials and private NGOs without the local community (see chapter 2). Similarly, those involving the local communities are doing so using MSPs, while considering the local community as cultural practitioners only. Following the argument by

Blake (2019), the safeguarding of ICH has existed in many countries early before recent efforts by government and international organisations. Chapter 2 has presented early examples of safeguarding initiatives by countries outside the recent dominating UNESCO ICH discourse from Japan and Korea dating from 1962. Further, chapter 3 has provided a discussion of how different traditions, practices, and expressions in Tanzania were safeguarded since precolonial times and before the introduction of MCHMs.

This indicates that different communities in the world have been safeguarding ICH long before the recent international recognition of the loss of such heritage, which among other things has led to the formulation of different safeguarding plans and programs by governments and international organisations. Thus, instead of the government and international organisations devising means and practices that could be used in the safeguarding process, the process should also involve the cultural practitioners and their TSPs. This means that the parties involved in the safeguarding of ICH should seek to understand how and through what means the communities have been safeguarding ICH; and how such knowledge can be incorporated in the current safeguarding efforts and formulated programs. Hence, a contribution here is on the means of removing the separation between the two practices in the safeguarding process through an integrated approach. The integrated approach proposed is one that combines the MSPs and TSPs in the safeguarding process. I argue in this study that through the use of the best features of each practice, a new approach can be formulated that seeks to effectively safeguard ICH in a country.

The second practical contribution of this study is on the act of community involvement in safeguarding ICH. The literature review in chapter (2) has discussed the importance and the current challenges affecting the process of community involvement in safeguarding ICH.

Similarly, chapter 5 has elaborated on the different community-based challenges that affect the MSPs in Tanzania. In most cases, the solution to these challenges associated with community and their involvement in the safeguarding process has been argued by scholars to be a bottom-up approach (see Kreps, 2005; Bortolotto, 2007; Blake, 2009; Yu, 2015). However, unknowingly, the bottom-up approach proposed is not 'community-based' per se, but rather an 'expert-based' initiative. This is because, although the community plays the central role in proposing what is to be safeguarded, the approaches or practices used in the safeguarding processes are proposed and dominated by experts. Such initiatives derive their authority from what Smith (2006:29) calls the Authorised Heritage Discourse which has further been labelled as an international discourse by Carman (2002, p. 203); a form of heritage management practice originating from western countries and exported to other areas of the world. This means that the decision of how different forms of ICH will be safeguarded rests with the experts, and the role of the community in the process is still only as cultural practitioners or bearers. Chapter 8 has presented the different challenges that can arise from using this 'lip-serviced' bottom up approach in the safeguarding process, and how they can be minimized through creating an integrative approach. Thus, the contribution, in this case, is on the use of TSPs as a way of actively involving the community in a 'bottom-up' safeguarding approach. Chapter 7 of this study has presented a discussion on TSPs as practices embedded in everyday lifestyle and activities of a community and how they are used in safeguarding ICH. Such knowledge is instrumental in the safeguarding process of ICH in general, as it looks at the community members as more than just practitioners or cultural bearer; but also, as holders of potential means that can be used in the safeguarding process. Hence, through such practices (TSPs), the community can be involved in the safeguarding process as both cultural practitioners and as knowledgeable of how to safeguard ICH. Further, chapter 8 has discussed the different

advantages that can be generated out of involving the communities and their TSPs in the safeguarding process.

Moreover, the study contributes to the practice of safeguarding ICH by highlighting the importance of understanding the existing restrictions when engaging with communities and their cultural heritage. This information adds to the already existing body of literature over the community's restriction in relation to different forms of ICH, that need to be clearly observed when formulating and undertaking safeguarding initiatives (e.g. Brown, 1995; Smith, et.al.,2003; Smith, 2006; Kreps, 2009; Mwitondi, 2015). The information discussed in previous chapters (i.e. 2, 5, 6, 7 and 8) has elaborated on the existing restrictions in accessing information about particular activities, objects, or practices among different communities in the world. The general premise on this is that the different aspects valued by the communities are often surrounded by restrictions such as who can see/access them, and what should and should not be communicated to outsiders (for example, see Brown, 1995; Kreps, 1996; Smith, et.al, 2003). This information is very important to experts and professionals that are involved in the safeguarding process, as it calls for the awareness and need to properly negotiate with the cultural practitioners over the existing restrictions to avoid causing misunderstandings.

9.4 Limitations of the Study

In chapter 4 of this study I discussed the methodological limitations. This section discusses the overall limitations of the study.

The first limitation is on the respondents involved in this study, particularly to provide information on the traditional ceremonies and rituals and the safeguarding practices at the local level. This study used the Jita as a specific case to provide such information. However, Tanzania has more than 120 ethnic groups that are characteristically different from each other.

This is also the case in terms of the traditional ceremonies and rituals; the way they are performed, the people and items involved are different depending on the community in question. Similarly, this can include the TSPs that are used in the safeguarding process. Thus, the information generated in this study in relation to TSPs is specific to the Jita context. It might not be an accurate representation of all the communities located within the country's borders.

The second limitation is the limited time available for completing the research. Throughout the research process, I had to adhere to a specific timeframe covering all the necessary activities from the beginning of the research to its completion. This was a slight limitation particularly during the process of data collection. Specifically, the issue of time was a limit when observing and attending the traditional ceremonies and rituals that did not have fixed dates for occurrence or performance. Ceremonies such as burials do not have specific dates as they take place when there is a death occurrence. Similarly, other ceremonies such as wedding and clan cleansing ceremonies which occurs on dates set by the practitioners are also very hard to predict. Thus, during the data collection process it was very hard to timely observe such practices. In turn, as discussed in chapter 4, I ended up observing parts of the ceremonies in different areas that I visited for data collection. However, this did not affect the data collection or analysis process as the method was complemented by other methods, i.e. interviews and documentary reviews.

9.5 Areas for Future Research

This study aimed at assessing the safeguarding practices for ICH in Tanzania. Specifically, the study looked at the challenges facing MSPs and how they can be solved through TSPs in an integrative approach. In addressing this objective, there are research areas that were important but did not fit into the overall context of this study, despite their contributions to the wider

understanding of ICH and its safeguarding practices. Such topics are here presented as potential focus areas for future research.

The first area for future research can be to look at a different sample population. This study used the Jita as a case, other studies can be conducted using different communities in any part of the world. As described in chapter (2) what is or can be categorised as ICH is dependent on the community or individuals in question. Similarly, the TSPs used in the process can be different depending on the community's preferences and on what is to be safeguarded. Hence, another study can be conducted in one or more ethnic groups within the globe to support a comparative analysis and determine whether there are any significant similarities or differences in terms of the TSPs and how they are used in the safeguarding process.

Secondly, this study focused on government institutions, i.e. ministerial departments and museums, to provide information on their operations and roles in the MSPs, and the associated challenges. However, the safeguarding of ICH is also performed by non-governmental institutions e.g. private or community museums, cooperatives, and NGOs (for example, see Alivizatou, 2006; Kreps, 2009; Denes, 2013; Luby, et al., 2017; Blake, 2018). As already described in chapter 2, 5 and 8, both individual's and NGO's museums play significant roles in safeguarding ICH of different countries, including Tanzania. Further, chapter (8) has provided several examples on how NGOs, cooperatives, and private museums have been promoting and advancing the process of safeguarding ICH in different parts of the world e.g. New Zealand, Malaysia, and Thailand. Such knowledge might be instrumental in improving the safeguarding of ICH in a country through collaborations between individual, private, and government museums. Hence, another study can be conducted focusing on the potential roles of these private institutions and non-governmental organizations in the safeguarding of ICH in

a country, looking at either their operations, associated challenges or overall potentials in the process.

Lastly, this study assessed the challenges facing the two practices in safeguarding ICH, but it did not seek to identify which among the two practices is most effective in the process. Although the study identified the challenges facing the two practices, the effectiveness goes beyond the challenges. It involves the in-depth analysis of the advantages and disadvantages of each of the two practices and how they are used in the safeguarding process. Understanding the effectiveness of the two practices is important, particularly in establishing which practice suits better the current environment and challenges facing ICH in general. Another study can be conducted with the aim of assessing which among the two practices is more effective in the current environment. Such information could also be used as a way of adding to and improving the integrated approach proposed in this study.

9.6 Conclusion

In general, ICH is indeed at increasing risk of loss due to the vastness and speed of information movement among different communities globally, or as what Brown (2005, p.42) calls ‘the rise of information society’. Tanzania is also affected by this, and since the attainment of independence, the government through its ministries and institutions have been implementing different ICH safeguarding initiatives. Currently, safeguarding of ICH in the country takes place within the local, national, and international levels. The focus of this study was on the safeguarding efforts at the local and national levels. Findings obtained in this study indicate that the safeguarding practices at the two levels are currently affected by different challenges. Further, the findings point out that the means used in the safeguarding process do not actively engage the local communities. This is because the practices used are experts based safeguarding practices (MSPs), which do not consider the community’s knowledge (TSPs) and

contributions in the process. Most of the efforts are involving the local communities as cultural practitioners, but not because they are knowledgeable of the safeguarding process.

I argue in this study that the safeguarding of ICH should seek to understand how the community ‘cultural practitioners’ have been safeguarding the traditions, practices, and expressions in question, and how such knowledge can be integrated into the present-day safeguarding initiatives and programs. This study using an example from the Jita community, have identified the different ways that are used as TSPs for traditional ceremonies and rituals. As already discussed in previous chapters (e.g. chapters 2 and 8), TSPs as among the forms of cultural heritage management systems have been neglected –both theoretically and practically– in favour of the widely practiced MSPs. In this study, I have presented a thorough discussion of this system, its characterisation and how it operates. This information is essential especially in the current debates on how to involve the local community members in the general management of cultural heritage. Apart from that, this information also calls for a shift in the cultural heritage management scholarly discussions to include TSPs as part of the existing management systems. Further, the study has called for an integration framework for the safeguarding of ICH. This is because an effective safeguarding process is the one that can integrate the MSPs and TSPs and benefit from the utilization of the best attributes of each practice in the process. Using an integrative approach, both the experts or government officials and the local community will have an active part and opportunities to contribute to the safeguarding process. However, in achieving such an integration, it is essential to establish the underlying nature of the two practices, to avoid unwanted problems and challenges.

Further, I argue in this study that the definition of ICH should move beyond the UNESCO discourse to include everyday practices that are valued by a community and can be used as

means of identity. Restricting ICH into a list of certain practices, traditions or expressions will limit the nature and type of such practices what will be recognized by the community or responsible authorities. As already evidenced by the underrepresentation of some countries in the World Cultural Heritage Lists, a similar pattern can occur when having such restrictive criteria for ICH. It is only practices, traditions, and expressions manifesting certain characteristics or attributes that will be identified as such, while others will not be considered. However, in considering every practice as ICH, proper care and attention should be given to what will generally be recognized and categorized as such. This is important so as to avoid the recognition of practices, traditions, and expression that are harmful to, or offensive to certain members of a community (e.g. disabled and certain gender groups) or outsiders, i.e. a different community or group.

Therefore, despite the interest and support from governments, NGO's, and international organizations, the safeguarding of ICH should be a community-based initiative. Community members should be an active and integral part of the whole process from the identification of what is ICH to the selection of potential safeguarding measures and implementation. The government officials, experts/professionals and other stakeholders should take the supporting role, especially providing technical and financial assistance. Further, the safeguarding initiatives should also seek to understand how the community have been safeguarding their ICH and incorporate such knowledge in the proposed measures.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Interview Guide Questions (English & Kiswahili)

Interview Guide Questions (English)

Interview questions for local people (non-ritual specialist)

1. Personal descriptions (age; religion; sex; level of education; and number of years in the area)
2. Are you aware of any rituals and traditional ceremonies performed by the Jita?
3. Who participates? Do you participate? Who is/not and why?
4. Can you provide an account on their undertaking?
5. Who is responsible for keeping/knowing these practices?
6. Is there any need to safeguard rituals and traditional ceremonies?
7. In what ways do you think the rituals and tradition ceremonies are safeguarded? / How do the Jita transmit these practices from one generation to another?
8. Are there any challenges in the process of transmitting these practices?
9. What ways do you think can be currently used in transmitting rituals and traditional ceremonies to younger generations?

Interview questions for local people (ritual specialist)

1. What kind of ritual do you supervise? Why have you become responsible for this?
2. What are the reasons for this form of rituals?
3. What are the requirements for carrying out the rituals (e.g. people, items, and location)?
4. Are people still interested in this form of ritual? Why not? How is it important to people?
5. How do you ensure its continuity?
6. What are the challenges involved in ensuring continuity?
7. What do you think should be done to ensure continuity of this form of ritual?

Interview questions for officials

1. Personal descriptions (office; years in the respective posts/job)
2. Are you aware of the existence of any forms of ICH in the country?
3. What can you say about the role played by your institutions in the management of ICH in the country?

4. Do you think ICH practices are important today? Why?
5. Does your institution have any plans for safeguarding ICH in the country?
6. What do you think are the challenges affecting the implementations of the intended plans, if any? /what do you think is the causes for these challenges?
7. If asked, what do you think can be done to curb the challenges mentioned above?

Interview Guide Questions (Kiswahili)

Maswali kwa wahusika wa kawaida

10. Taarifa binafsi (umri; dini; jinsia; na kiwango cha elimu)
11. Je unafaahamu chochote kuhusu sherehe za jadi za wajita na mila zake?
12. Je ni nani wanahusika? Ni nani asie husika? Kwanini?
13. Je unaweza kuelezea namna zinafanyika?
14. Je ni nani anahusika katika kuzijua/uhifadhi wake?
15. Je unadhani kuna umuhimu wa kuhifadhi sherehe za jadi na mila zake?
16. Je unadhani ni njia gani zinatumika katika uhifadhi wa sherehe za jadi na mila zake? /
Je ni namna gani zitahamishwa kutoka kwa mtu/kizazi kimoja kwenda kingine?
17. Je kuna changamoto zozote katika uhamishaji huo?
18. Je unadhani ni njia gani zinaweza tumiwa kufundisha sherehe na mila za jadi kwa kipindi hiki?

Maswali kwa wahusika wa kawaida (wataalam wa sherehe husika)

8. Je ni sherehe gani unahusika nayo? Ilikuaje ukawa mtaalam wake?
9. Je sherehe hii ina umuhimu gani?
10. Ni vitu gani vinahitajika katika kufanya sherehe hii (mf. watu, vitu, eneo)
11. Je bado watu wanathamini sherehe hizi? Kwanini? Je zina umuhimu kwa watu?
12. Je unahakikishaje uwepo/mwendelezo wake?
13. Je kuna changamoto gani katika kuhakikisha uwepo/mwendelezo wake?
14. Je unadhani ni nini kifanyike katika kuhakikisha uwepo/mwendelezo wake?

Maswali kwa wafanyakazi wa taasisi na wizara

Taarifa binafsi (ofisi; miaka ulioyopo katika cheo/nafasi husika)

8. Je unafahamu nini kuhusu uwepo wa urithi usiohamishika hapa nchini?

9. Je unaweza kueleza nini kuhusu nafasi ya taasisi yako katika uhifadhi wa urithi huu?
10. Je unadhani urithi usiohamishika una umuhimu katika dunia ya leo? Kwanini?
11. Je taasisi yako ina mipango yeyote katika uhifadhi wa urithi usio hamishikia?
12. Je unadhani ni changamoto gani zinakwamisha utekelezwaji wa mipango hiyo?
/Unadhani ni nini kinsababisha changamoto hizo?
13. Unadhani ni njia gani zinaweza tumika katika kukabiliana na changamoto hizo?

Appendix 2: Respondents Consent and Information form (English & Kiswahili)

Respondents Consent and Information form (English)

Title of the Project: Management of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Tanzania

Name of the Researcher: Richard Bigambo

Principal Supervisor: John Carman

Co-Supervisor: Helle Jorgensen

Aims of conducting this study

This is a University of Birmingham doctoral study aiming at:

1. To determine the management challenges for rituals and traditional ceremonies
2. To establish the rituals and traditional ceremonies among the Jita
3. To identify the traditional safeguarding practices for rituals and traditional ceremonies
4. To explore the possibilities of integrating traditional safeguarding practices into modern management practices for Intangible Cultural Heritage

What I am asking you to do?

Based on the nature of my study, your knowledge in rituals and traditional ceremonies and its management is very important to me. Due to that, I will be asking some questions concerning that information specifically focusing on what you know. This will only take a maximum of two hours, and at any point of the interview you are free to withdraw, without giving out any reasons for this act, and the information shall then be destroyed. In case you will later want to withdraw your data, you can do so up to one month after the interview, where after, you will not be able to do so.

Respondents Consent and Information form (Kiswahili)

(Fomu ya taarifa na kuthibitisha ushiriki)

Jina la Tafiti: Management of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Tanzania

Jina la mtafiti: Richard Bigambo

Jina la Msimamizi Mkuu: John Carman

Jina la Msimamizi msaidizi: Helle Jorgensen

Lengo la tafiti hii

Hii ni tafiti ya shahada ya uzamivu kutoa chuo cha Birmingham ikilenga:

1. Kutambua changamoto zilizopo katika uhifadhi wa sherehe za jadi
2. Kutambu mila na sherehe za jadi za kabila la wajita
3. Kuainisha njia za kitamatudi zilizotumiwa na wajatika katika kuhifadhi sherehe za jadi
4. Kutafuta uwezekano wa kuunganisha njia za jadi na za kisasa katika kuhifadhi sherehe za jadi na urithi usioshikika kwa ujumla.

Nahitaji ufanye nini?

Kutokana na aina ya tafiti yangu, uelewa wako kuhusu sherehe za jadi na uhifadhi wake ni wa muhimu sana. Hivyo basi, nitahitaji kukuliza maswali kutokana na unacho fahamu. Mahojiano haya hayawezi kuzidi masaa mawili, unaruhusiwa muda wowote kujitoka katika ushiriki bila kutoa sababu yeyote ile na taarifa zako hazitatumiwa katika tafiti hii. Pia endapo utahitaji kujitoka baadae, unaruhusiwa kufanya hivyo ndani ya mwezi mmoja baada ya mahojiano haya.

Ruhusa ya kurekodi taarifa, madhara na uhifadhi wake

Naomba ruhusa kurekodi maeongezi yetu kwa njia ya sauti na maandishi. Taarifa zitakazo kusanywa hapa zitahifadhiwa kwa usiri mkubwa, na mtu yeyote zaidi yangu hataweza kuziona.

Na kwa zaidi, zitatumika kielimu tu.

Hakuta kuwepo madhara yeyote katika kuhusika kwako kwenye tafiti hii. Ila taarifa zitakazo kusanywa zinaweza kuonesha ni nani amezitoa (hasa kwa watu wa wizarani na taasisi). Lakini katika uandishi, hakuna jina wala cheo kitakacho tajwa. Taarifa zitakazo rekodiwa zitatafsiriwa kwa maandishi, huku maneno au namba maalum zikitukima kuficha utambulisho wa muhusika.

Makubaliano

Kwa kutia sahihi katika karatasi hii, inaonesha umesoma/kusomewa, kuelewa na kuridhishwa na taarifa iliyotolewa kuhusu uhusika wako katika tafiti hii. Unaruhusiwa kukatisha ushiriki wako muda wowote wakati wa mahojiano haya.

Jina la Muhusika;

Sahihi

Jina la Mtafiti:

Sahihi

Richard Bigambo

NB: Kwa maswali au taarifa za ziada wasiliana na:

Richard Bigambo

Email:

Dr. John Carman

Email:

Dr. Helle Jorgensen

Email:

Appendix 3: Respondents Transcript Sample (Official and Local community)

Official interview transcript sample

ME: As explained in the consent form, this interview aims at asking few questions in relation to the role of the National Museum and House of Culture in the management of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Tanzania.

MN1: Okay.

ME: Let's start. My first question is what do you understand by the term intangible cultural heritage?

MN1: Well, for me, I think intangible cultural heritage is that form of heritage which cannot be touched. But there are some items which show the presence of such form of heritage. That is in short on my understanding of what this heritage is.

ME: What role does your office plays in the management of ICH in Tanzania?

MN1: Our involvement in this is that we have some cultural items in the storage facilities. As you know, the role of a museum is to research and store different items that are a result or manifestation of the Tanzanian culture. So, there are some items in our stores, which are physically seen but they represent different forms of ICH. In this, we are also involved in researching and finding/locating them, and once they reach here, we store and protect them to avoid further harm. Apart from that, we tend to use them to show and teach Tanzanians and foreigners that will be/are interested in the people and culture of Tanzania. This is mainly done through different exhibitions.

ME: Does your institution have any working plan geared towards the management of ICH?

MN1: Our strategy is still the same, to continue researching, protecting and showcasing such items to the general public. We also have education programs for both locals and foreigners, and those that are interested in understanding us as Tanzanians.

ME: Do you have specific exhibitions that you have mounted on Intangible cultural heritage?

MN1: Ahh, mmhh! I cannot say that they are specific for ICH, but they are mixed within those we have. You might be having a normal exhibition, but, inside it, there might be some elements that represent different forms of ICH. For example, we had a temporary exhibition, a few days back which was showing the secret societies in Tanzania. Inside that exhibition, we had many things like traditional healing, different aspects of witchcraft etc. In that exhibition one could see different things like the possibility of people healing themselves, or the presence of a relationship between what we see and that which we do not see. I also had a proposal for a new

exhibition, which aimed at showcasing how tradition can shape a person to be how he/she is, in terms of how they are born, and when they are born they are entering a vehicle which is tradition and is responsible in shaping that person until the day that he/she will die and the burial process. In that exhibition, I wanted to add a section to cover what happens after death, what is going on? and where does that person go? For example, for Christianity, there is holiness and heaven, while for Islam they say there is Akhera. So, there is a section in it. Hence, what am saying is, you might not have an exhibition that directly talks about ICH, but it does feature indirectly because of the items that are being displayed.

ME: So, in implementing and doing different activities that are related to ICH, what do you think are the challenges that are encountered?

MNI: Ahh! Well, I think one of the major challenges is information. In this, I mean most of the items that we have and are related to ICH were collected during the colonial period using the colonial ordinance that restricted people to practice different rituals and other aspects of ICH. I think when the colonialists arrived here, they found us very powerful with either medicines, trees or animals that can be used for different activities. We had our beliefs, some praying in trees other in caves, but all of us worshiped a god without the need of a building. Inside this was the ICH which was impossible to colonize us while they still existed. For example, if you go to Mkwawa (a Hehe chief who led a war against Germans in Iringa), it was said he had his press conference stage which we built it by using soils from different areas. The reason for that is because he thought he is connecting power from different areas, and he won't be affected by anything. So, the information we have is from the items that were collected by confiscation by the colonial government. That's why the theme was a secret society because it was impossible to obtain enough information that is related to those objects. So, this is one of the challenges that we face as an institution.

ME: What else?

MNI: Another is the challenge of connecting between the item you are seeing and the information that is associated with. For example, you might have a calabash, you think it is used for storage, while there is another thing that is done with that calabash. what I mean here is that what you see is not what is represented. There is something big behind that item, which is linked to that object, but you are not aware of it.

ME: What about the separation between the bodies dealing with ICH?

MNI: Well I think there is a need for the two departments to be merged. As I said you have an item, and those people go to interview a person, but they won't obtain the required info. For me, I think there is a need for these to be in one area, and maybe we have sections that are

dealing with different things. We did one an exhibition and I also did research on Albinos, but I did research when the issue was very serious. I managed to interview several people, so as to understand them, but most of them ended up saying it is not easy to establish the truth behind ICH in most parts.

ME: In order to improve the management of ICH, what do you think should be done?

MN1: Well, for me I think there is a need to get rid of the European perception and their beliefs. There are things which I think are ours, which makes us to be us, we need to have our things, practice them and promote them. We should not hide them or practice them in secret, if we think they can help us, we must show and practice them. If there is a person who has a traditional means of transporting people, why hide it, put it to proper use. If you have the technology to heal people, why hide? There is a need to get rid of this negative perception and the need to hide them. For example, you can use an example of rituals. If you now announce that you are going to perform a ritual people will not understand you. But, if I look at it in a different angle, I think there are meaning behind them. For example, when we go to church those are rituals, and we are told even in the Vatican there is still the practice of monthly rituals. So, you might find that maybe we are leaving our gods. I think you may not try to make God perfect by improving him, meaning that everything that has happened has a meaning. Hence using your local environment to worship and identify him is significant. Back then people used to go to a mountain to worship, thinking maybe the top of the mountain is where the God is, or seeing a very big tree all were considered an important aspect to signify the presence of God. In South Africa, the Bushmen do not know anything about the church, but there is an eland, because of its colors, the shape of the horns, it is considered as a sacred animal to them. They believe even if they touch a drawing or picture of the animal they will be healed. They believe the amount of effort God has placed in that animal is not small and someone can benefit from that. But despite this, these people have survived for long time without going to hospital and they have survived within the environment without modifications. Thus, I think there is a challenge of breaking our traditional religions and adapted to the new ones. I think these new religions have played a bigger part in this. For example, there was a guy who had a book called *'there have never been a person by the name of Jesus Christ'* the guy argues as to why there is no Jesus and provides reasons for such claims. He argues they have taken traditional African stories and creates the Virgin Mary and Jesus Christ, and then they brought them back to us, and we have completely immersed ourselves in them.

ME: Thank you very much.

Local community interview transcript sample

ME: My name is Richard Bigambo, am a PhD researcher from the University of Birmingham. Am doing a research on the management of Intangible Cultural Heritage, focusing on traditional ceremonies and rituals. I would like to ask you some questions on this and record our conversation on the way. At any time of the interview you are free to leave, without giving any reasons, and the data collected will be destroyed.

BK1: Okay.

ME: I would like to know about the traditional ceremonies by the Jita and how they are performed.

BK1: Ceremony (a Swahili reference '*sherehe*') means happiness, but in a normal Swahili translation it also includes sadness. So, when I was young, probably about 10 years old, I used to see different ceremonies performed by the Jita. The Jita had ceremonies during wedding, they had ceremonies in sports in terms of '*ngoma*' and '*zeze*' where people used to go there and celebrate. Although, we have different clans, in general these are the ones that united us all and identify us all. For women they had '*Lisubha*' which is a dance performed by women especially during a wedding ceremony. Also, our fathers had ngoma ceremony, '*Ingoma*' where they used to hunt lions. When they come back, they used to celebrate that they had successfully finished their hunt.

ME: What about when a person has died?

BK1: Ooh! They used to come with sadness, as it indicates something went wrong during their hunt. They can in some instances bury him there, because in general they used to bury them there, and inform their family on what has happened. So, Lisubha was danced by woman, but '*ngoma*' although it was enjoyed by all, it was mainly for men to celebrate their hunting victory.

ME: Lets go back to the wedding ceremony, how was it performed?

BK1: Wedding ceremonies that I saw in my late teens and early 20's they were a bit different. When my daughter is married at your place, there will be a dance there (groom's house) '*Lisubha*', also here at here at the bride's home there will be a dance. The dance at the bride's house will start before the one that will happen at the groom's home. This was heavily celebrated as it was a sign of respect to the parents.

ME: Can you provide the whole account on how it starts to how it ends?

BK1: When you saw a bride, you will go and tell your son on your interest. So, the father will have to submit a formal marriage offer to the bride's father/parents. During those days, the sending of the marriage proposal was done very early in the morning, sometimes even during the middle of the night. The groom's father will then tell them of his intentions, and he won't mention names during that first meeting, and when he is done, he will leave. This is for those who they are familiar with. For those from nearby villages, he will have to start by introducing himself in terms of where he comes from and his clan. The bride can receive up to 8-10 offers, so the bride's father will call his relatives and discuss the intended offers and who to accept. When this is done, the selected parent will be informed and invited to discuss the requirements of the bride price. During those days they used to ask for a cow, and hand hoes. The hand hoe was very important, if one miss it was very hard to be accepted. Even today we go with them, I have few grandchildren that we have received two hand hoes.

BK1: When this is agreed on what follows is setting of the day on which the wedding ceremony will take place. During this time, they call her relatives that must/should be in the wedding ceremony. They might have here three days dancing, and the fourth one the bride will head to her husband's home.

BK1: This was when the fathers (bride's and groom's) used to make plans, and not the son and daughter. If a daughter tries to do this, the father could even chase her away for this. This was because, the daughter cannot know on the problems that we have with that side e.g. conflicts. The conflict can sometimes not be mine but by my close relatives, which it will be almost impossible for my daughter to know. This is partly why, the father used to call all the relatives in discussing the potential suitors for his daughter. But today, the place of the fathers has been reduced. For example, am here and my son has a girlfriend from other ethnic groups especially where they are studying. So, we have given them the permission, when we are still there. If they have already agreed, you will just go there to formalize the things. But there is a time, as a parent you will advise the children on these matters. Also, during this time we have accepted intermarriages at both ethnic, nation and international. During our time, we used to restrict people to marry, as we used to conduct a thorough research on things like '*Chitwe-kifafa*'; and '*Ukoma-vigenge*', which were the diseases that before accepting a marriage proposal one must know about them. But today we don't have such things.

ME: So, what do you think about our practices now and how it was before?

BK1: I would like to answer this into two parts. It is a good question, as it reflects on where I was, where I am and where I should go. I will start by saying because of changes, we tend to leave things behind or take others forward. For example, the activities in a marriage ceremony like marriage proposal. As I said before, when marrying a person from different community, there are some differences in terms of traditions. So, in order to accomplish such a marriage, you will have to unite those two and their tradition, to create one that they will move forward with it. But, if we try to go back in terms of marriage we can't, but we can take a few things as it was previously conducted and move them forward. But in short answer, due to human changes, there are things that we think are important which we take, while those we don't value, we leave them behind. Any human being's history is in the back, and the future we leave it to God.

ME: Have you ever seen a ritual performed by the Jita?

BK1: Rituals are a form of worshipping or believing. But, if we say the Jita had one place to worship that is wrong, because there are more than 10 clans and each of them had their own place for worshipping/performing their rituals. People from different clans had different ways of performing their rituals. In this, each clan had their shrub(s), and they go there during a certain time for different rituals. This was done by organizing themselves taking either a cow or a goat that will be slaughtered there, and they can stay there for the whole day or even in sometimes sleep there.

ME: Was there a reason for this or unless there is problem?

BK1: Well, I think there are some problems that could have taken there as an emergence. But they also had a specific period that they must do it. I am lucky, as I was raised by my grandfather and he told me where our shrub is located. But, throughout my life I couldn't get a chance to go there as religion was starting to engulf some of the practice. People were asking on why they should worship a tree, stone, or place, and because of the recent changes they refused to do that. I think this act of practicing rituals has disappeared for almost 90%, if it still exists then it is in very small percentage. Even if they do it, they do it quietly. I think in this 21st century as I claimed before, performing these forms of rituals is just story, and I believed people in their 20's has never seen such a thing. Most of these things have been engulfed by Christianity and Islam, but even those who are not religious they have also abandoned these things.

ME: Thank you very much.

Appendix 4: Observation checklist

Activity	Description	Special Description			General Observations	Picture/Video tag
		People	Items	Restrictions		
1. Bride price payment	This is one of the stages in a wedding ceremony. It follows the formal submission of the marriage offer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Groom's parents (father) and his relatives/friends - Bride's parents and relatives/friends 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Animals - Previously the parents wanted hand hoe 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The couple will not attend this. Traditionally, it was only the father and his friends, then the mother and other family members will follow after the process is completed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Most of the respondents are taking about cows and goats as important components of bride price - These animals were not divided randomly. There seems to be a way in which such animals will be divided. One cow will be slaughtered during the ceremony, and one will be kept by the father. The goats will be divided among the grandfather and the uncles 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Picture of the traditional hand hoe (picture folder/no.23-Jembe) - Video of a group of people with singing with animals that are used as part of the bride price (Video folder/no.3-mahari)
2. Ritual shrine in Mlulere (m1)	This is a ritual shrine in Bwasi village used by the Abhatimba clan	- Abhatimba clan	NA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Not entering with shoes on - Only metal buckets are used for pouring water, plastic ones are not allowed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The site is a small forest covered with different tree species - Inside there is a small clean water spring. Because the village is several kilometres away from the Lake Victoria, this an important source of clean water for household consumption 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Picture of our (me and research assistant) shoes outside the shrine (picture folder/no.11-shoes)
3. Ritual shrine in Mlulere (m2)	A ritual shrine	- Abhatimba clan	NA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No cutting down trees - Only metal buckets are used for pouring water, plastic ones are not allowed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - This is also a small forest with a clean water spring insider it - The shrine is used for different Abhatimba clan rituals 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Picture of a ritual shrine in Mlurere (picture folder/no.12-shrine)

4. Graves in Kibara (Bunda)	Two graves showing the difference in burial direction between male and females. They are in a family compound, just in front of the house	- NA	- NA	- NA	- During interview with some respondents, they were the mentioning the difference in burial direction between male and female among the Jita. These two graves are an example of how two people were buried differently	- Picture of two graves that are placed facing two different directions (picture folder/no.1-two graves) -
5. Burial grounds in Ukerewe (Mrutunguru)	A communal burial grounds in the village Set by the government	- NA	- NA	- NA	- The graves are all arranged in a normal way (following Christians or Muslim practices) with heads facing one direction - This is different from the graves observed in Kibara that are directed differently between males and females - There are no houses close by, the nearest house is almost 70m to 100m on both sides	- A picture of communal burial (picture folder/no.33-37-communal burial)
6. A grave of a drowned person (Ukerewe/)	- This is a grave of a drowned person that is placed on the edge of a fence	- NA	- NA	- NA	The selection of the burial grounds depends also on the causes of death. The respondents talked about the grave a person who died of drowning. While collecting data in Ukerewe, I saw this grave	- Picture of grave on the edge of a fence (picture folder/no.4-Kaburi la nje)

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