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Jan Kuever

Shared History, Urban Landscapes, and Local Arts and Crafts

Perspectives on Cultural Heritage as a Means of Sustainable Community Development in Iringa, Tanzania

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Jan Kuever

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Jan Kuever

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1 Introduction

1.1 Access points

25 June 2016, early morning. Today is the grand opening of Iringa Boma – Regional Museum and Cultural Centre, the culmination of what we have been doing for three years in fahari yetu[1] – Southern Highlands Culture Solutions, a European Union funded work programme that addresses community-based cultural heritage conservation in Iringa Region. We are expecting a number of high-profile guests, first and foremost the Tanzanian Minister of Foreign Affairs and East African Cooperation, seconded by the Regional Commissioners for Iringa Region and several neighbouring regions. Donor representatives from the European Union Delegation to Tanzania are also on their way, as well as current dignitaries of the Mkwawa family, the royal lineage of the Hehe people in Iringa. I got up in the middle of the night to prepare my opening speech as the project manager. I decided to do it in English for the sake of the European donor representatives but am still contemplating if I should have done it in Swahili in order to properly address the actual target group of the programme, the local people of Iringa. Now, however, I have to attend pending preparations for the event. The historical restoration of Iringa Boma[2], a former German colonial hospital,

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[1] Swahili translating to "our pride".

[2] Boma is a Swahili term originally used in East Africa for fortified enclosures that protected humans and their livestock from wild animals. In the course of the colonial conquest, it came to be used also for colonial

has been completed in April, and the exhibition design was finalised in June. But we are still waiting for the printed exhibition panels to arrive from Dar es Salaam. They are on the way and will need to get fixed and arranged in the exhibition rooms. We are also waiting for several cultural dance groups from different places and villages around Iringa Region, who will perform at the opening ceremony before participating in the regional culture competitions scheduled for tomorrow. Our aides and assistants are swarming around between the Boma and the adjacent Municipal Garden where the ceremony will take place – many of them students at the University of Iringa, others employees of local government institutions and partnering NGOs.

The account from the day of the opening is a quick plunge into the case of this study. The stint as fahari yetu project manager was another step in my long-standing history of personal experiences with culture and heritage in Tanzania, East Africa, as a researcher and practitioner. In 2007, I began to teach at the University of Iringa (UoI), a private university in Iringa Region in the Southern Highlands of the country. Iringa harbours a diverse heritage landscape integrating natural and cultural attractions – and is particularly known for the eventful history of the rise and fall of the Hehe chiefdom during the second half of the 19th century, which climaxed in a grim war of anti-colonial resistance against the German colonial conquest. A lot of my work in the Department of Cultural Anthropology and Tourism revolved around the question of how to utilize local culture to improve the living conditions of the people in the Tanzanian development context. Investing in the dormant or deteriorating heritage resources of Iringa appeared to be a plausible approach to build bridges between the academy and the communities, creating an impact beyond the university gates by means of our educational programmes. The opportunity arose from the successful application for a project grant from the European Commission. In 2013 we began to implement the fahari yetu programme with the aim of supporting sustainable community development in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania through conservation, management, and promotion of cultural heritage resources. I myself had been the leading hand in writing the project proposal, managed it through the funding period, and until today am responsible for the continuation and coordination of its activities. The historical restoration and establishment of Iringa Boma – Regional Museum and Cultural Centre in the former District Commissioner's Office in Iringa Town can be regarded as the key achievement of our work. The Centre offers a culture and history exhibition, conference/boardroom facility, arts and crafts workshop space, restaurant/café, souvenir shop, cultural tours in Iringa Town and Region, and regular cultural activities and events.[3]

The practical experiences with heritage in Tanzania confronted me with the global heritage discourse and its theoretic-methodical tools and assumptions. fahari yetu was designed to combine research, exhibition design, professional capacity building, community outreach, and tourism commodification to a holistic heritage management

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military stations and administration buildings, by the local populations as well as the Germans occupiers.

[3] See website of the programme, https://fahariyetu.net/.

practice. But how were we supposed to apply these conceptual tools to the specific geographic, cultural, and social context, to the national and local policy frameworks? How to communicate the idea of utilizing culture as a means of development to the local audiences? How to address the diverging interests and power relations unfolding from our intervention? How to create sustainable impact beyond the donor funding? The practical challenges seemed to be as overwhelming as intriguing, and tackling them promised to open up new ways of integrating theory and practice. I realized that the academic accompaniment of the applied measures would add another layer to the project, so I decided to devote my PhD to this evaluation on a meta-level. I was well aware that it would be difficult to shoulder a double function of managing the project while at the same time assessing it academically and pursue my doctoral degree, but it was the only reasonable way to go. In the course of my work as Head of Department, I had come across the International Graduate School: Heritage Studies at the BTU Cottbus-Senftenberg in Germany, which seemed to be the perfect match for my study. I hence enrolled for a PhD in Heritage Studies and included my study proposal into the EU grant implementation right from the start. Soon it became evident that my role as full-time grant manager would not allow me to actively engage in writing my dissertation. During the years of implementation, I thus mostly restricted myself to collecting sets of data for an eventual analysis. The time for analysis came after the expiry of the EU grant, when we continued project activity implementation with reduced intensity. The results presented in the forthcoming chapters may best be understood against this background of personal access and experience.

1.2 Aims and objectives

The central subject of this study is the relationship between heritage and sustainable development. Current academic development theory recognizes heritage as a key resource for integrating cultural, social, economic, and ecological dynamics in the human development process. Considerable global and national development frameworks have responded to this premise and adopted heritage-based policies and instruments. The discourse has brought forth heritage studies as its own academic field to further elaborate the relationship in theoretical as well as applied approaches to heritage management. The study traces the materialisation of the subject in a specific location and investigates cultural, social and economic links between applied heritage conservation and sustainable community development in Iringa, Tanzania. I hereby adopt Clifford's (1997: 11) proposal to conceive a location as an itinerary rather than a bounded site – a series of encounters and translations – treating the case of fahari yetu as an itinerary that emerged and evolved from my own personal encounters and experiences.

The general aim of the study is pursued through three specific lines of inquiry which crystallized from the practical heritage work of the case and its academic reflection. The first one explores the history of Iringa by interpreting selected memories and perspectives of community members. Cultural heritage can be understood as a variety of material and immaterial elements that refer to the past of respective groups or communities of bearers. Initiatives to conserve these elements can give people a feeling of stability in the face of the unnerving changes and transformations of the present. The question is therefore how history – as one of these elements – can be reconstructed and negotiated for the sake of supporting community stability. The "elephant in the room"[4] of the history of Iringa is the legacy of the German colonial rule. Being confronted with this topic touched me emotionally, both positively and negatively. While on the one hand arousing strong fascination with past events and intercultural encounters, it also came along with a feeling of unease about the local people's traumatic experiences of colonial violence and their ramifications in post-colonial Iringa today. It appeared indispensable to address this ambivalent heritage – for me in my dissertation as well as for the community of Iringa – in order to find a common approach to public memory and reconciliation. Moreover, the colonial heritage would obviously provide an access point to address a controversial issue concerning the prevalent concept of heritage itself: Heritage has been criticized for being a fundamentally Eurocentric concept, a concept that is based on colonial ideas of nation and culture that underlie its entire mission of conservation and management (Harrison and Hughes 2010: 234). In order to fit the development needs of the people of the global South, it thus needs to be de-colonized and diversified.

The second line of inquiry connects the case to geographical schools of thought that conceive heritage in the context of socio-spatial development, such as "cultural landscapes" and the "Historic Urban Landscape (HUL)". It examines the Boma museum and the surrounding cityscape of Iringa as contested sites of cultural performance and contact. Clifford (1997: 5) asserts that intercultural connection is, and has long been, the norm. Cultural centres, discrete regions and territories, therefore do not exist prior to contacts, but are sustained through them (ibid.: 3). In most cases, cultural heritage resources do not belong to a single group or community, but are shared by diverse contributors and users who attribute multiple meanings to them. Their management can therefore be regarded as an interactive process of intercultural dialogue between various local, national, and international actors who are articulating and negotiating their interests in representation. Since a museum or a cityscape is a spatial representation of history, the negotiation process in a post-colonial context needs to address unfinished contestations of a colonial past (ibid.: 3). In this light, it was striking how different groups in the community contested the historical and cultural narrative we developed for the Boma exhibition and different sites around Iringa.

Lastly, the third line of inquiry follows the troubling question of how to utilize heritage for poverty alleviation and economic development. Although heritage conservation and management have become part of the international development agenda, it is not regarded as a priority in actual development policy making and practice in much of the global South – at least not in comparison to economic, social, or ecological aspects of development. Promoting economic prosperity and providing social security are obviously perceived as the more pressing issues, the attainment of which can often be tangibly linked to the protection of environmental resources. The same applies to Iringa and Tanzania at large, where development discourse and practice are primarily aimed at supporting development and at improving the people's living conditions. According to Mabulla (2000: 212–213), the country is fortunate because it is well-endowed with a variety of heritage resources, but so far has unfortunately been too poor to effectively take care of them. Although culture and heritage seem to be appreciated as a valuable source of pride and self-identification, they are hardly perceived as an economic resource. Deliberate measures to protect or conserve heritage are therefore regarded as legitimate only when they contribute to economic prosperity or at least do not prevent it. In the poverty-stricken environment of the local communities, I can personally empathize with this attitude. Many people's daily lives are characterized by harsh economic struggle, so that they will only invest time and energy in culture if it contributes directly to their subsistence. From relatively early on, I had the feeling that our work increased the non-material value of heritage in Iringa and its awareness among the population. Nonetheless, the pressure to convert this intangible value into material benefits continues to this day. It became evident that I would also have to address this struggle in my study and evaluate our work as an effort to achieve a positive economic impact for the communities. The examination scrutinizes the fahari yetu local artisan business development programme to assess the potential of heritage craft to support the livelihoods of the people and communities in Iringa.

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[4] "The elephant in the room" is an idiom from American English for an obvious problem or controversial topic, the clarification of which is however avoided in conversation or public discourse. Smith and Campbell (2016) introduced the term to heritage studies, referring to the role of feelings and affects in relation to cultural property. The colonial legacy of Iringa as an "elephant" follows this interpretation, as it evokes strong emotional references that are hardly addressed in public debate.

1.3 Scope and relevance

This study is a contribution to the emerging discipline of heritage studies with its interdisciplinary body of knowledge. It addresses cultural heritage from a social sciences perspective, with cultural anthropology and sociology in particular providing the academic framework for interpreting cultural, social, and economic processes in the context of applied heritage management. In deepening and condensing its narration, it furthermore draws on spatial development approaches from human geography and economic concepts of capital and livelihoods.

The methodological scope is delimited by the case context. The study is an interpretive study that first of all seeks to evoke and understand the case in its specific context of the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. The presentation is done in form of a collage of scholarly investigations following the different lines of inquiry. The collage allows for a wide angle of tracing heterogeneous themes and their relationship in a meaningful ensemble (Clifford 1997: 12). In the case of Iringa and fahari yetu, it thus sets the scope for juxtaposing diverse cultural, historical, political, social, and economic processes of heritage management and how they intersect in time and space (ibid.: 3). Observations and results from the case are furthermore interpreted in view of their conceptual connectivity and application to wider geo-political settings such as East Africa, Africa, and the Global South. These applications are not representative generalizations, but plausible considerations for the contextual integration of heritage theory and practice.

The study bears obvious references to a number of burning contemporary political discourses. For one thing, it stands in the context of the current shared heritage discourse, which seeks to revisit and reconcile cultural ties between countries that resulted from colonial history and exploitation. In this regards, current negotiations between Tanzania and Germany revolve around provenance research, collaborative exhibition and possible repatriation of cultural collections and human remains that were brought to Germany in the course of the colonial occupation of East Africa. Conversely, the question of how to deal with and preserve cultural property of colonial origin in Tanzania is also part of the discourse. This study could make a valuable contribution to this debate. For another thing, it aligns with scholarly efforts of mainstreaming heritage as a political instrument to promote sustainability in the scope of the United Nations 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. While the explicit role of cultural heritage in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG's) is only marginal (Nocca 2017: 3), it is implicitly contained in several of the articulated social and economic targets (Turner 2017). This study explores practical examples of these implications and thus contributes to elevate heritage on the development agenda.

I am aware that the results and explorations presented in this study are strongly shaped by my deep personal involvement in the case. First, the object of investigation is therefore not treated separately from me as a researcher, but examined against a reflection of my role in the process. Moreover, a reflection of positionality is required in terms of specific subject matters of the studied heritage. As a German citizen in Iringa, it is obviously important to reflect on legitimizing my own role in the applied conservation and representation of the colonial heritage as part of analysis. And lastly, positionality is also relevant regarding the format of the narrative. On the one hand, I want to tell the story of my own project, supported by an evocation of first-hand experiences. At the same time, I also want the work to be a mouthpiece for the different people of Iringa, allowing them to speak up and articulate their interpretation of heritage. Knowing that they will be cultural translations after all, I thus strive to strike a balance between my own and the community's stories.

1.4 Walkthrough

This prologue served to briefly introduce the study aims and key themes for investigation in the forthcoming chapters. The exploration begins with an examination of the theoretical and conceptual background of the study in Chapter 2. I will first work out the central positions in the theoretical heritage discourse in relation to the African context and furnish them with a number of conceptual tools to guide the case analysis. Chapter 3 lays out the materials and methods used to implement the research. First, it presents the empirical case of the fahari yetu project against the background of heritage in Tanzania and the Southern Highlands, to give the reader an orientation to the empirical context. Second, it elaborates the study's ethnographic research methodology – including epistemological foundations, process of inquiry, methods of data collection and analysis, and ethical considerations. Chapters 4 – 6 are scholarly narrations of the study's results, each dealing with one of the three specific lines of inquiry outlined above. Theory and empirical data hereby flow together in the thematic analysis and interpretation. While each thematic investigation can stand alone, they also build on each other with regard to the general object of study. Chapter 4 is a reconstruction and critical interpretation of the shared history of Iringa from different perspectives, with a particular look at the colonial legacy. Chapter 5 evaluates the impacts of applied conservation and public representation of the historical narratives on the Iringa cityscape. And Chapter 6 finally explores the relevance and impact of cultural heritage conservation measures on the livelihoods of the local communities of Iringa Region. In conclusion, Chapter 7 closes the circle and synthesizes the results from the previous chapters in view of the framework outlined in this introduction. I thereby draw general conclusions and comparisons across the thematic lines of inquiry, recommend directions for future research, and suggest best practice measures of applied heritage management beyond the case context. In medias res,[5] it should be noted that this study is manifestly unfinished work – as it puts forward an idea of a specific path among others and acknowledges the associative character of heritage work.

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[5] I borrow this phrase as an homage to the work of James Clifford (1997).

2 Theoretical horizon

This chapter outlines the theoretical and conceptual framework for investigating the complex subject matter of the case. Hereto, the first section traces the discursive evolution of the heritage concept to derive the understanding of cultural heritage employed for this study. The following sections then introduce a number of conceptual tools that inform the process of thematic data analysis and presentation. Where relevant, the theoretical and conceptual horizon is laid out against the backdrop of heritage management in the context of a developing country – African, in this case – with its peculiarities and challenges. The chapter concludes with a summary of the presented theoretic-methodological foundations in view of their intended application to the case.

2.1 The concept of heritage

There is a vast multitude of definitions of what heritage is – a multitude that has evolved and accumulated over time, drawing on various historical periods, academic disciplines, and discursive trends. Instead of providing a clear-cut definition, it is thus rather helpful to align this study's understanding of heritage with a number of relevant positions from the discourse. The idea of heritage has its roots in classic antique descriptions of the world that were re-discovered and cultivated as a part of the humanistic renaissance and enlightenment discourses of European modernity (Harrison 2013). As an independent concept, it later grew out of the experience of the physical destruction of cities and other manifestations of built culture in World War II – leading to the foundation of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). UNESCO was given the mandate to restore and protect not only the European but the world's past architectural and archaeological achievements in the name of humanity. Against the backdrop of a transforming network of disintegrating empires and aspiring new nation-states, heritage and its management emerged as a tool for national and international identity building – and UNESCO quickly became the key institution for its global governance and promotion. The UNESCO framework can be regarded as a structural approach based on the progressive identification, classification, and conservation of heritage resources as proclaimed in the World Heritage Convention of 1972 (UNESCO 1972). Over the decades – after the efforts were first aimed at protecting material heritage resources such as archaeological sites, ruins, and historic buildings – their scope was gradually enlarged to include diverse heritage forms and facets worldwide, including movable cultural heritage objects, intangible cultural heritage, natural heritage, and cultural landscapes (Harrison 2010c: 12–13).

In the early new millennium, Laurajane Smith's (2006) fundamental critique of the institutionalized global heritage discourse sparked the formation of critical heritage studies as an alternative school of thought that went on to expand the theoretical horizon of heritage studies. Critical heritage studies subjected the pragmatist rationale of institutionalizing heritage to protect the world's past cultural achievement for the benefit of all humanity, to a critical scrutiny of its underlying power relations. Smith's critique conceives the institutionalized heritage discourse as a politically authorized regime of heritage texts and practices that dictate the way in which heritage is defined and employed along colonial notions of race, class, and ethnicity (Harrison 2010a: 4). Dirks (1992: 3) argues that the colonial theatre created a specific cultural narrative designed to mark off racial and ethnic groups against each other in general, and in particular to distinguish Europe from its others through its histories of conquest and rule. Even though the institutionalized heritage discourse took shape in a post-colonial era with many of the former colonies participating as formally independent countries, it heavily relied on Eurocentric taxonomies of colonial origin – including archaeology, architecture, history, museum exhibitions, ethnography, science, and academia. As a result, one can observe an ongoing underrepresentation of African sites and cultural creations on the world heritage list (Abungu 2016: 373–374) and a disproportionally low percentage of African contributions to academic heritage studies (Sinamai 2020: 6). Western thought apparently still dominates heritage conservation policy and practice, while knowledge from elsewhere is regarded as appendages with very little to inform it (ibid.: 2) and marginalized voices keep on being excluded from effective participation and representation in the field. In a global funding reality driven by international agencies such as the World Bank or the European Union, it thus doesn't seem too far overstated when Abungu (ibid.: 384) observes that the authorized heritage discourse in a way perpetuated the colonial trope of "the rich, enlightened and patronizing North against the poor, illiterate and patronized South".

To address the identified power disparities, critical scholars countered the structural and material classification of heritage by recognizing heritage as a dynamic process of social construction that shapes the identity of various actors involved (Albert 2013: 13). Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998: 7) provided the first notable expression of this shift, defining heritage as “a mode of cultural production in the present that has a recourse to the past”. The idea of processuality was picked up by other critical scholars, inter alia defining heritage as “a process of engagement and an act of communication” (Smith 2006: 1), “an embodied cultural performance of meaning-making” (Smith and Campbell 2016: 443), and “heritage making” as a political negotiation process for ownership and representation (Fouéré and Hughes 2015). This conceptual expansion opened up heritage research and conservation to constructivist approaches from social sciences and critical humanities, such as cultural anthropology and cultural studies with their interpretive and qualitative methodologies. Such reflective disciplines and epistemologies provided more appropriate tools for a decentralized, context-based approach to heritage studies under active and inclusive participation of local communities. Approaches of community-based heritage management have challenged the situation of “we know what’s best” that privileges (intentionally or not) Western value systems at the expense of indigenous ones, aiming to regain control over what others have defined as a community’s relationship to the past in the present (i.e., its heritage) and the representation, interpretation, and caretaking of this heritage (i.e., its management) (Hollowell and Nicholas 2009: 142–143). While Buthelezi (2015) distinguishes ‘Heritage’ with a capital letter, representing the “authorized heritage discourse”, from ‘heritage’ with a small letter to refer to local approaches and practices, Harrison (2010a: 2) suggests to clearly distinguish the social role of heritage in community building at local level from the political dynamics and power relations in official, state-sanctioned heritage initiatives.

A distinction of the institutionalized global heritage discourse from the contextual construction of heritage at local community level is rejected by the heritage for human development paradigm, as articulated in the Cottbus Declaration of 2012 and a number of subsequent publications (see Albert, Bernecker and Rudolff 2013; Albert 2015; Albert, Bandarin and Pereira Roders 2017). For Albert (2013), the global and the local perspective are not incompatible – but rather two sides of the same coin. While she concurs with the critical scholars about the Eurocentric origin of the heritage discourse that resulted in a lack of diversity and global representation in heritage conservation and management (ibid.: 11–12), she is convinced that this problematic epistemological core has been discarded in UNESCO’s recently developed and implemented tools and strategies of promoting diversity and inclusiveness (ibid.: 15). Through the adoption and enactment of, among others, the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2003, the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions in 2005, and the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2007, UNESCO not only incorporated diverse manifestations in the heritage canon, but also marked significant steps towards understanding, respect, and representation for all cultures (Abungu 2016: 375–376).

Furthermore, Albert (2013: 13–14) appreciates the idea of "constructing heritage as a cultural and social activity, … [that] transfers the matter from a tangible and static object to a dynamic process", but on the other hand dismisses critical heritage studies' focus on mere analytical knowledge gain and disciplinary limitation to cultural and post-colonial studies, both of which would prevent finding practice-oriented solutions to concrete challenges. Instead, she advocates the development of multi- and interdisciplinary research and conservation strategies that integrate critical-constructivist and pragmatist-objectivist approaches. The heritage for human development paradigm thus may be understood as the synthesis of the authorized heritage discourse and its renunciation in critical heritage studies, in which a dialogical model of diversity and empowerment is conceived not as an antithesis to, but an advancement of the original safeguarding mission of heritage conservation.

Albert (2013: 14) defines heritage studies as "the scientific confrontation with transformation processes, to which heritage is subject in the face of globalization", and singles out the challenge of sustainable development as the central transformation process of our times. Accordingly, the paradigm rests on linking heritage to the human development discourse, not only regarding heritage as a key element of sustainable development, but also sustainability as a paradigm for the conceptualization of heritage (Albert 2015: 11). Correspondingly, the central questions emerging from this perspective are not only how heritage conservation and management processes can create or support applied development outcomes for the people and communities engaged in it, but also how heritage can serve to support the aspect of sustainability in development processes. A holistic understanding of sustainable development encompasses structural, processual, and actor-oriented dimensions, all of which are incorporated in the concept of heritage. On a structural level, development can only be sustainable when it cross-cuts and integrates the different functional domains of society, including the cultural domain of how people make meaning of themselves in relation to their environment and to others, the economic domain of how people and societies manage and improve their satisfaction of material needs, the social domain of how they manage and improve their relations and group solidarity, and the ecological dimension of how they safeguard the natural resources required (Valdés and Stoller 2002). According to Cucina (2015: 2), heritage lends itself to promote changes that (1) are consistent with the cultural core values, expectations, and mores of the community (cultural domain), (2) strengthen social relations and group solidarity (social domain), (3) increase the maintenance of environmental quality (environmental domain), (4) are oriented towards alleviation of poverty (economic domain), and (5) build on active citizenship and integration with civil society (political domain). From a processual point of view, sustainable development refers to responsibly managing ecological, economic, social, and cultural resource needs, aspirations, and limits over generations – along a historical timeline of past, present, and future. Heritage is commonly regarded as a resource that is inherited from a community's previous generation, adapted and extended by current members of the community, and passed on to its next generation (Jopela 2013: 1). The conservation and interpretation of heritage elements can give people a feeling of stability in the face of the unnerving changes and transformations of the present. Lastly, processes of sustainable development are undertaken by various human actors who have to negotiate vastly different interests, motivations, and degrees of agency. This actor-oriented dimension takes centre stage within the heritage for human development paradigm. Albert (2015: 17–18) argues that developing individual and collective responsibility for the sustainable sharing and managing of available resources among the world's communities requires extensive education and training efforts. Capacity building must facilitate an active participation and engagement of communities in representing their heritage while at the same time acknowledging that it is shared with others and is in fact the heritage of all peoples. Heritage hereby serves as an enabler that empowers human actors to manage social change in response to their contextual needs and limits.

This study draws on different positions articulated in the outlined evolution of the heritage discourse. Based on the institutionalized understanding of heritage classification and distribution, heritage is defined as a configuration of material and immaterial elements that refer to the past of their bearers. The critical perspective lends itself to assess the post-colonial context of the case. Following a constructivist stance, the study hereby uses qualitative methods to explore heritage from the community level with its local interpretations and implications. Yet, in doing so, it also refers to knowledge and dynamics from the global discourse and how they radiate into heritage management processes beyond world heritage and state party involvement. In line with the heritage for human development paradigm, dynamics of post-colonial heritage conservation and management are confronted in view of cultural, social, and economic livelihood creation and sustainable community development.

2.2 Heritage as capital

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's (1998: 7) above-cited definition of heritage as a mode of cultural production can be considered as a reference to Pierre Bourdieu's understanding of culture and the social world. Bourdieu (see 1993; Bourdieu and Johnson 1993) sketches out culture as a field of production in which agents from different milieus and lifestyles compete in producing and commanding resources of meaning-making for the larger society. Production can be understood as the act of bringing forth or exhibiting to view – and, more specifically, describes the process of transforming tangible and intangible resources into finished products. To access the transformation process, Bourdieu adapts the economic concept of capital to cultural and social dynamics. He defines the social world as accumulated history which social actors have at their disposal in different forms (Bourdieu 1986: 46). Cultural capital are the forms of knowledge, values, skills, education, and other advantages an agent (individual, group, or society) creates in response to the environment. Cultural capital manifests itself in embodied form as the agent's mental and physical self-concepts, in objectified form as cultural goods such as pictures, books, instruments, machines, etc., and in institutionalized form as legally guaranteed qualifications such as educational certificates (ibid.: 47). Social capital describes the extent to which the agent can activate and utilize resources of other agents through memberships, relationships, and networks of influence and support (ibid.: 51–52). Economic capital denotes an agent's command over monetary or money-generating resources. Capital accumulation is a cyclic process. For instance, cultural capital is converted into human capital, which makes it expressible in money terms in form of salaries or generated income, which is in turn re-invested in the development and formalization of cultural and social capital. Disposal over capital resources and their conversion between different forms determines power relations between actors in society.

David Throsby and his school of heritage economics adapted Bourdieu's capital concept to heritage studies. According to Throsby (1999: 7–8; 2012: 51–58), tangible and intangible heritage assets entail various cultural, social, and environmental value properties that can potentially be converted into economic and non-economic outputs or benefits in valuation processes. Nowadays, the body of knowledge in heritage studies has widely adopted the term heritage valorisation to describe the purposeful investment of energy and work to add value to heritage resources in different, but interlocking dimensions (Bendix 2013: 48–49). The idea of heritage's value properties or dimensions can be illustrated through Heinrich Klotz' (1971) work on architectural photography. Klotz proposes that a proper photographic depiction of architectural structures should not only depict the building itself, but also its relation to humanity at large, to its environment, to the surrounding society, and to the actual beholder (ibid.: 7). Synonymous with the photograph, cultural heritage in a constructivist sense can be regarded as a carefully arranged depiction of the past. The following questions then serve to determine the significance of the image in relation to its value properties: What universal values of humanity does it connect to? What are the characteristic values of the society it represents? How is it embedded in its natural environment? And, lastly, how can the representation link to the life-world of the actual beholder or consumer of the image?

The capital concept serves as an overarching structural tool to assess the case's heritage resources and the cultural, social, and economic implications emerging from their conservation – as follows:

1. First and foremost, the study conceives cultural heritage as the manifestation of a community's cultural capital. It thus identifies and interprets particular aspects of community culture and heritage in Iringa and discusses how these resources can be made accessible to different audiences – physically, mentally, and emotionally.

2. While Bourdieu regards formalized qualifications in specific areas of expertise as a form of institutionalized cultural capital, the economic livelihoods framework conceives the skills base of particular individuals and the group as a separate category – as human capital (Goodwin 2007: 90). Where cultural capital is the pool of heritage resources available, human capital are the skills and expertise needed for their effect-

ive management. The case study adopts this distinction to address the development of the latter through applied capacity building measures.

3. Heritage is furthermore evaluated as a means to draw on and accumulate social capital in form of community awareness and engagement as well as cooperation and sharing between groups and institutions in society. This also includes the confrontation with colonial history and its post-colonial ramifications.
4. Some aspects of the case may involve the interpretation of the use of environmental capital in connecting the cultural landscape or supporting community livelihoods. However, this form is not the focus of analysis and rather serves to support the assessment of other categories.
5. Regina Bendix (2013: 48–49) emphasizes that heritage valorisation includes commodification through cultural industries and heritage tourism in which living or symbolic cultural contexts are converted into alienable experiences or goods to support community livelihoods. The study addresses such conversion processes between cultural and economic capital. This includes the investigation of financial investments in the conservation and management of heritage resources to generate cultural, human, and social capital – as well as an examination of efforts to commercialize cultural resources by turning them into tourism products to generate monetary revenue for the community.

2.3 Colonial history and shared heritage

> We less and less use the concept of a “shared history” when we interpret colonial remnants. […] Now that we have started to discuss them [from this perspective] again, they might have additional meanings, strengthen cultural self-definition and self-expression to shared community and national identities, values and pride.
> (Audax Z.P. Mabulla 2017: 16)

This section introduces tools to investigate historical heritage from a post-colonial perspective. Where history is the study of the past, heritage refers to the many ways the past is used in the present. Heritage can be understood as an active, dynamic relationship between then and now, formed through an ongoing process of renegotiation, reconstruction, and recreation of what we choose to take from the past with us into the future.[6] Heritage politics is the negotiation of power to remake the past in a way that facilitates certain actions or viewpoints (Harrison 2010b: 154). In societies with a legacy of colonial history, the representation of this history in the present is a central arena of heritage politics.

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[6] Heritage Studies, Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge, https://www.arch.cam.ac.uk/about-us/heritage.

The post-colonial setting of this study can be captured with Mary Louise Pratt's concept of a "contact zone". Pratt (1992: 6) defines contact zone as "the space of colonial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict." A contact perspective views all culture-collecting strategies as responses to particular histories of dominance, hierarchy, resistance, and mobilization (Clifford 1997: 213), including efforts to re-make and use the colonial past as heritage in the present.

From a contact perspective, colonial history and heritage are inevitably shared between the colonizer and the colonized, as well as other actors involved in the encounter. Kamamba (2017: 320) asserts that heritage has more than one owner – usually a designer or creator and several contributors who share it with each other. Sharing derives its value from the creation, usage, conservation, interpretation, presentation, maintenance and management costs invested by the owners, and ultimately by the benefit these investments yield for them. Kamamba (ibid.) argues that the cultural heritage shared between Tanzania and Germany includes both, ethnographic objects and other cultural property that was taken from the former colony and is located in Germany, as well as German colonial buildings and monuments registered in the national cultural register of Tanzania. Harrison and Hughes (2010: 235) add that colonial heritage not only includes aspects of material culture (colonial architecture) but also historical narratives referring to the encounter (the colonial period) with its demographic, economic, and cultural implications.

Reyels (2017: 44, 48) understands shared heritage as the process of developing a shared remembrance culture. For the case of the colonial history between Tanzania and Germany, she observes the development of separate discourses and negotiation processes pertaining to national identity politics. In Germany, the debate revolves around revisiting the memory and representation of the country's colonial history. It has been fuelled by various thematic triggers such as the renaming of imperial street names, demands for restitution of human remains and ethnographic collections to formerly colonized countries, or the reconstruction and future of the Humboldt Forum in Berlin, and is often aimed at deconstructing the institutional narratives of the past. In Tanzania, on the contrary, the focus has been on constructing narratives of nation-building and self-certitude by emphasizing the anti-colonial uprising of cultural communities and their leaders. Yet a direct substantive integration of these separate national discourses – where researchers, cultural practitioners, and other actors from both sides meet and collaborate – is just in the beginning.

According to Smith (2006: 81), all heritage is uncomfortable to someone and is thus always and necessarily contested. It can be claimed by different groups for different purposes and be imbued with different meanings (Deumert 2018: 23). Cultural performances and displays dealing with histories of dominance and resistance thus create a genuine uncertainty, a sustained ambiguity (Clifford 1997: 8–9). In heritage studies, the concept of multivocality seeks to bring forth pluralist narratives of the past that address these dissonances in a sometimes confrontational, process (Deumert

2018: 23). Multivocality helps us to embrace diversity and otherness and fashion a sense of sameness, belonging, and communality out of differences and a multitude of voices (ibid.: 8). Multivocal heritage management involves representing and bringing together the perspectives of professional heritage experts and indigenous or other local heritage laypeople in order to establish a transformative connection between the people and the outcomes of collaboration, research, and action (Jameson 2019: 3).

For this study, the concepts of shared heritage and multivocality serve to address matters concerning colonial heritage in the case, including the collection of historical experiences of the colonial encounter, the ambiguity surrounding colonial sites and post-colonial narratives, and the representation and utilization of indigenous heritage in connection with the physical remnants of colonialism. Shared heritage in particular serves as an access point for me as a German to reflect my personal attachment to the colonial history of Iringa.

2.4 Museums, historic landscapes, and the community

> Heritage focuses our attention on questions of diversity precisely because it is based on its opposite: the affirmation of sameness; that is, the identification of a collective "us" and the discursive articulation of "our" history.
> (Ana Deumert 2018: 15)

The concept of a contact zone is not only an access point to historical perspectives and their interconnections, but also provides a tool to investigate their practical representation in the context of applied heritage studies and management. In a broader sense, a contact zone encompasses a network of cultural relations between a wide range of actors (Clifford 1997: 204) in which the colonial encounter and its implications may be just one element among others. Cultural centres, discrete regions, and territories do not exist prior to contacts, but are sustained through them, appropriating the restless movements of people and things (ibid.: 3). This perspective helps us to understand how claims to cultural universalism and to specificity are related to concrete social locations (ibid.: 213). Museums and heritage sites are such concrete locations where different cultural visions and community interests are presented in response to a shared history (ibid.: 8; 194). They serve as a lens to magnify the intersection of different historical trajectories and how this intersection creates a layered heritage landscape in the location where it takes place. The staging of heritage in these locations through exhibition or restoration can be a complex contact process with different scripts negotiated by impresarios, intermediaries, and actors (ibid.: 199).

This notion of a contact zone as a location in time and space connects with the urbanism discourse and its application in heritage studies. Here, urbanism refers to the constitution of cities and city life through politics, economies, social relations, and cultural forms (Heathcott 2013: 22). Heritage conservation practice in urban areas long revolved around the question of how to save select buildings of architectural merit together with the cultural processes that made such buildings possible in the first place (ibid.: 20). Efforts to answer this question culminated in the landmark adoption of the Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) by UNESCO (2011). Premised on "the dynamic nature of living cities", the HUL approach seeks the "integration of historic urban area conservation, management, and planning strategies into local development processes". Heritage research and conservation practice "should target the complex layering of urban settlements" and move beyond the architectural archetype to embrace historic urban contexts and "the interrelationships of their physical forms, their spatial organization and connection, their natural features and settings, and their social, cultural and economic values" (Heathcott 2013: 20–21). The HUL here obviously connects with Bourdieu's capital concept and the idea of its valorization in the context of heritage.

In line with the HUL concept, key activities from the studied case – i.e., historical restoration, museum exhibition, and their integration with other sites in the cityscape – are examined in the light of local development processes. The heritage of Iringa is regarded as a configuration of material and immaterial elements that refer to the past of different groups and communities and the history of contact between them. Tangible and intangible elements mutually depend on and constitute each other, whereby natural environment and historical sites provide the backdrop for intangible creations, stories, and expressions to unfold, and the values, traditions, cultural manners and peculiarities that fill the landscape with meaning. The heritage resources layered within the configuration are attributed multiple meanings from various contributors and users with diverging interests in conservation and representation. Actors operate at local, national, or international level and include youth and elder cultural practitioners, indigenous groups, rural and urban resident communities, local and national government bodies, local, national and international NGO's, local, national and international commercial enterprises, higher education institutions, national and international tourism and heritage practitioners/professionals, and international organizations. The more actors engage and work together to form a community of practice,[7] the more social capital is created.

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[7] For the purpose of this study, communities are generally understood as groups of people that may or may not be spatially connected, but who share common interests, concerns, or identities and are created through human activity with one another and their surroundings (Jameson 2019: 2). Communities of practice is a concept introduced in learning theory describing individuals from diverse backgrounds and interests who engage in a process of sharing information and experiences to learn from each other, develop personally and professionally, and work together productively on joint goals (see Lave and Wenger 1991, Wenger 1999). Adell et al. (2015) adapted it to heritage studies and management in deliberate distinction to Anderson's (2006) imagined communities as an idea constructed around the assumption of ethnic or cultural homogeneity. The concept serves to recognize the diversity of interests in heritage practice and draws the perception of local community away from a disadvantaged entity that has to be externally supported, towards a more participatory role of active agency and engagement in development. Communities are not only heritage "bearers", but also actors involved in its research, conservation, funding or administration. On the ground, individuals devoted to maintaining, restoring, or reviving a cultural tradition may form a community of practice, not necessarily sharing ethnic identities,

2.5 Heritage-based livelihoods and sustainable development

> Heritage and development are two sides of the same coin. It is not possible to achieve sustainable development in the future without roots in the past. Further, conservation in the face of poverty is likely to be unsustainable, because people living in poverty focus their resources on surviving the present, not preserving the past.
> (Battle et al. 2018: 192)

The conventional development discourse saw culture, in particular pre-colonial culture, as an obstacle to an understanding of development primarily based on economic growth and technological advancement modelled after the example of European societies (Kreps 2003: 116). Following the limited success of this Eurocentric approach, development scholars eventually began to consider culture as a significant resource to foster economic and social development processes. Such culture-based approach supposed that development based on a society's cultural values required an active and participatory involvement of local people in all aspects of development planning, implementation, and management, building on their knowledge, experience, and resources. This also included the revaluation and renegotiation of the role of "outside" consultants, project designers, and sponsors – whose importance became increasingly questioned in favour of local actors (ibid.: 115). Heritage was regarded as an element of culture-based development work which can provide a pathway for job creation, infrastructure development, and educational opportunities in both rural and urban areas (Ndoro 2016: 393). From an economic development perspective, it is specifically tourism – which depends on people's culture and well-maintained natural habitats as the main sources of attraction and entertainment – that is regarded as a promising vehicle to utilize heritage for poverty alleviation and to strengthen community livelihoods. Heritage tourism refers to the utilization of both cultural and natural heritage assets and resources to attract tourists and has always been one of the most significant and fastest-growing parts of the tourism industry (ibid.: 395). In sub-Saharan Africa, touristic development of heritage traditionally concentrated on wildlife, mountain, and marine parks, but a gradual opening of the discourse over the decades led to an increased focus on historical sites, cultural landscapes, and ethnographic displays and experiences.

The question of culture for development still resonates in current debates on heritage conservation in African countries. Many countries in contemporary Africa face widespread rural and urban poverty due to underdeveloped industries and markets

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but cooperating for the sake of shared political or economic interests. The cooperation of scholars from different intellectual traditions and disciplines in heritage studies can also be regarded as an attempt to constitute a community of practice, gaining mutual awareness if not necessarily succeeding in overcoming their disciplinary formation (Adell et al. 2015: 7–8).

and concomitantly limited employment opportunities. Consequently, the creation of economic livelihoods and benefits stands above others as the primary concern of governmental as well as non-governmental development measures. How can one justify to care for culture and heritage within a "sea of poverty" (ibid.: 392) where local communities struggle to sustain their basic livelihoods and make ends meet? How to justify heritage to be a primary concern in comparison to food security, healthcare, or access to education? African countries undergo intensive industrialization processes that involve large-scale projects of resource extraction and energy production. Often the natural and cultural heritage resources found in respective landscapes are seen as obstacles and are sacrificed (Abungu 2016: 385). Another aspect is the actual impact on adjacent community livelihoods created by heritage conservation projects. Ndoro (2016) examines the economic impact on communities of a number of world heritage sites in Africa. He observes that the touristic development has strengthened local livelihoods in some cases – however finding that the benefits did not trickle down to the communities in other cases, so that the sea of poverty surrounding the sites does not necessarily dry out. Abungu (2016: 388) believes that the applied approaches do not correspond adequately to the African context. It seems that in the context of current conservation and management, the contradiction raised in the above quote – that there is no development without heritage while at the same time there is no heritage without development – has not been resolved. Perhaps current approaches to culture-based development treat heritage too overly instrumentalist, as a means to an economic end, to actually work (Kreps 2003: 119).

To address the tension between the two sides of the coin, UNESCO identified two strands for enshrining culture and heritage in the universal United Nations (UN) development policy framework: (1) Culture as an enabler of sustainable and community-oriented development processes; and (2) culture as a driver of economic development, employment generation, and investment processes (Bandarin 2015: 40). In 2015, the United Nations adopted the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) as the heart of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.[8] Following the acknowledgement that all cultures and civilizations can contribute to sustainable development, the SDGs incorporated heritage as a cross-cutting theme for immaterial and material empowerment of the people of the world (Turner 2017: 19–21). Five direct mentions of heritage are recommendations to use cultural assets for; 1. The promotion of well-being for all (Goal 3 – Good Health and Well-Being); 2. Building resilient infrastructure (Goal 9 – Industry, Innovation and Infrastructure); 3. Combating the impacts of climate change (Goal 13 – Climate Action); 4. Promoting sustainable use of ecosystems (Goal 15 – Life on Land); and 5. Strengthening the means of implementation for sustainable development (Goal 17 – Partnerships for the Goals). Moreover, heritage is mentioned in three more specific aims, which are:

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[8] United Nations: 17 Goals to transform our World, https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/, retrieved 19 June 2024.

- to ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including the appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development (Goal 4 – Quality Education);
- to develop, implement and monitor tools for sustainable tourism that creates jobs and promotes local culture and products (Goal 8 – Decent Work and Economic Growth and Goal 12 – Responsible Consumption and Production); and
- to make human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable through efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage (Goal 11 – Sustainable Cities and Communities). Inclusiveness hereby embraces the multicultural city by recognizing cultural diversity and promoting collaborative partnerships to encourage community participation and reduce inequalities. Safety refers to building on the diversity of culture and heritage to foster peace and intercultural dialogue, and to counter urban violence (ibid.: 27–28).

This study follows Turner's preference and adopts SDG 11 with its targets as a concrete tool of analysis. The assessment of inclusiveness and safety in particular are supported by directives 11A – to support positive economic, social, and environmental links between urban, peri-urban, and rural areas – and directive 11.7 – to provide universal access to safe, inclusive, and accessible, green, and public spaces, in particular for youth, women and children, older persons, and persons with disabilities. The toolkit also includes the aforementioned directives from Goals 4 and 8/12 to address educational and tourism components of the case. Finally, in line with SDG 1 – No Poverty, all these parameters serve to evaluate culture and heritage as a basic resource of supporting community livelihoods. Following the concept of heritage-based livelihoods, heritage is thereby examined as one of the varied agricultural and non-agricultural activities performed by individuals and households as they attempt to earn a living and engage with both subsistence and modern market spheres (Bell 2017: 5).

2.6 Summary

This chapter has covered a wide array of theoretical aspects and concepts that refer to and build on each other in narrowing down the study's view on the subject matter. At the beginning, I presented the state of the art of the heritage discourse with its different approaches to heritage studies and management, and expounded how the study draws upon different positions and theoretical schools to address the case. The presentation touched upon epistemological and methodological issues, some of which will be elaborated in greater detail in the methods chapter hereafter. The next section introduced the concept of capital and heritage valorisation as a cross-cutting structural framework for analysis that supports the study's general objective of investigating cultural, social, and economic implications of applied heritage conservation in the case. From there, I laid out a number of conceptual viewpoints to inform the forthcoming chapters of analysis. The idea of shared heritage addresses the post-colonial setting of the case with its discontents as well as opportunities for a multivocal representation of colonial history. It also serves as a tool for me personally to access my own role as a German citizen in relation to the colonial heritage of Iringa. The Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) and the museum as a contact zone expand the idea of shared heritage from the (post-)colonial divide to the case's diverse heritage landscape with its wider scope of interests in conservation and management. And, finally, the heritage for community development approach, in particular through the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDG's), provides an avenue to assess the link between shared heritage management and community livelihoods in the case.

3 Materials and methods

This chapter lays out the materials and methods used in carrying out the study. It begins with situating the reader in the epistemological horizon for knowledge generation, from which the methodological approach is derived. This is followed by an introduction to the case context of heritage policy and practice in Tanzania with particular attention to relevant programmes and measures in the country's Southern Highlands. The presentation of the case itself then details the basic parameters of the applied heritage conservation programme under study, including its general background and history, involved actors, objectives, and activities. The third section specifies the empirical methods in accordance to the case, i.e., spells out the nature of the research process, data sources and collection, analysis techniques, and forms of results presentation. The chapter closes with a reflexive discussion of my own positionality of being an integral part of the examined setting – including arising questions of research ethics.

3.1 Philosophical underpinnings

Research philosophy strives to answer three basic questions of knowledge generation – which are: the ontological question of the nature of reality and what can be known about it; the epistemological question of the relationship between the would-be knower and what can be known; and the methodological question of the strategy of the inquirer to find out what can be known (Guba and Lincoln 1994: 108). In social research, the debate has created an overlay of theoretical paradigms and disputes to which intellectual justification is unavoidable (Atkinson 2015: 5). This section provides such a justification for this study.

This study is an interpretive study that that draws on constructivist assumptions in order to assess cultural, social, economic, and political processes in the context of applied heritage management. From a constructivist point of view, realities are apprehensible in the form of multiple mental constructions, local and specific in nature, and dependent for their form and content on the individual persons or groups holding them (Guba and Lincoln 1994: 110–111). Correspondingly, interpretive research seeks to discover and understand multiple and subjective meanings of reality in their context. Knowledge generated from the research process is derived from the interaction between the investigator and the object of investigation, in particular between the investigator and respondents. Text and other materials arising from the interaction are interpreted using hermeneutical techniques, and the interpretations are compared and contrasted in order to arrive at or refine general theoretical assumptions and specific concepts. Moreover, the study also refers to a critical theory point of view. Critical theory assumes that reality has been shaped in a historical process in which congeries of social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic, and gender factors crystallized into power structures that are now taken as natural and immutable (ibid.). While interpretive research primarily endeavours to reconstruct and understand historically mediated structures, critical inquiry strives to deconstruct and transform them. Although the latter is not so much the aim of this study, the analysis frequently refers to the historical legacy of colonialism with its concomitant structures of inequality.

The combination of constructivist and critical underpinnings is reflected in the theoretical background and the set of conceptual tools of analysis presented in Chapter 2. It was critical scholars from cultural and postcolonial studies who not only introduced critical but also constructivist approaches to the heritage discourse by addressing power disparities resulting from Eurocentric global heritage practice – and by recognizing heritage as a dynamic process of identity construction. Both inputs were picked up in the heritage for human development paradigm, with a stronger focus on the incorporation of diverse local interpretations into the global body of knowledge and integration of heritage with the sustainable development discourse. Bourdieu's concept of capital stands in the tradition of post-structuralist critical theory and opens up the conventional static notion of heritage for constructive processes of conversion, embodiment, and objectification. Shared heritage and the contact zone are concepts that critically interpret the colonial divide and its postcolonial ramifications in a dialogical process. Multivocality likewise is a constructivist concept that aims at contrasting and integrating different and diverse voices, experiences, and meanings to a layered image of a heritage case or landscape.

3.2 Methodology

Based on the philosophical underpinnings discussed above, this research is designed as an ethnographic case study that looks at its subject through the lens of a single case. Miles and Huberman (1994: 25) define the case as “a phenomenon of some sort occurring in a bounded context”. In qualitative research, a case might be an individual, i.e., a child, an adult, a student, a teacher, a person’s experience or phase in life, or a group/collective in the form of a working environment, organization culture, a neighbourhood, or region (Suryani 2008: 118). In health research particularly, case studies often trace specific health-related intervention projects in social settings (Baxter and Jack 2008). In the case of this study, the phenomenon is cultural heritage within the bounded context of an applied intervention programme of heritage conservation and management.

Stake (1995: 3) distinguishes between intrinsic and instrumental case studies. In an intrinsic case study, a case is selected because it is interesting in itself and the intent is to gain a better understanding of it – and not because it represents other cases or illustrates a particular problem, abstract construct, or generic phenomenon. In an instrumental case study, the case is instrumental in providing insight on an issue or helps to refine a theory. The case itself is of secondary interest; it plays a supportive role, facilitating our understanding of something else (Baxter and Jack 2008: 549). This research follows both intrinsic and instrumental motives. It primarily seeks to understand the case in its depth and assess the tangible and intangible, spiritual and emotional, social and cultural, political and economic meanings and dynamics of the investigated heritage. But it is also instrumental insofar that it seeks to relate the investigated local dynamics to wider theoretical and regional contexts.

Case study researchers tend to follow ethnographic methods by providing detailed observations about the reality of their case (Suryani 2008: 126). What makes this study an ethnography in the first place, is my long-term, intensive mental, physical, and emotional engagement in the field (Atkinson 2015: 4, 12). Foster (1995) works out how the visual arts, cultural studies, sociology, and anthropology all share an ethnographic focus on local sites of social relations and cultural forms. An ethnographic approach therefore not only reflects the disciplinary angle on heritage in this study, but also refers to the focus on local context interpretation of heritage articulated in critical heritage studies (Harrison 2010a: 2). Moreover, ethnography is based on the assumption that social actors share cultural resources in the field (Atkinson 2015: 22), rendering it an adequate method to investigate shared heritage. Ethnography involves direct participation and observation, understanding “in situ”, in settings that are brought into being by social actors who collectively engage in their production (ibid.: 4). This again ties in remarkably well with the constructivist idea of heritage as a mode of cultural production.

Ethnography and case study follow similar questions of integrating local circumstances and generic ideas, sharing an approach of juxtaposition between generality and specificity (Atkinson 2015: 65). The extended case method (ECM) captures the intersection between the two. ECM was developed in the 1940s by the Manchester School of Social Anthropology to understand local phenomena in the light of wider global dynamics i.e., to theorize how everyday practices in specific places were related to larger structures and processes (Atkinson 2015: 63; Barata 2010: 3). Typically, a researcher would participate in and observe a number of related events and actions of individuals and groups over an extended period of time. The resulting images of social life and cultural communities brought out conflicts and inconsistencies, many of which they traced to the intrusion of colonialism (Burawoy 1998: 5). Accordingly, more recent applications of ECM have sharpened the method's relevance for shedding light on the micro-ramifications of colonial and postcolonial practices and global forces such as free market ideology and how these affect local cultures (Barata 2010:3). ECM thus provides orientation in addressing the postcolonial African case of this study, i.e., evaluating how national and global heritage dynamics – such as the reappraisal of colonial narratives of history and the integration of heritage with the development discourse – condense in a local community setting. ECM's focus on broader social, economic, and political forces also shows the integration of critical theory with interpretive ethnographic methodology. Its recent elaborations have been particularly influenced by Pierre Bourdieu's poststructuralist practice theory and emphasis on agency (Barata 2010: 3), an influence that connects well with the cultural capital concept harnessed for this study. Lastly, ECM applies reflexive science to ethnography in order to connect the present to the past in anticipation of the future (Burawoy 1998: 5) and, thus, mirrors the inter-generational character of heritage and sustainability.

Setha Low's (2017) ethnography of space and place is another relevant approach of utilizing ethnography in heritage studies and linking it with other fields concerned with space, place, and territory – such as urban studies, architecture, and anthropology (ibid.: 36). Low (ibid.: 68) supposes that space is socially constructed through structures of race, class, and gender, and transformations and contestations of space occur through people's interactions, memories, and feelings that are made into place, scenes, and claims to history, heritage, and collective memory. Space is embodied by the people inhabiting it, whose bodies are producers and products of space at the same time (ibid.: 94). Embodied spaces have trajectories of their social construction, and the ethnography of space and place investigates the intersection of these trajectories to evoke the complex affective and emotional landscape of the city (ibid. 149–150). The concept serves to access the trajectories of the Historic Urban Landscape of Iringa with its contestations and conflicts, and how attachment to places and its inner structures are embodied by different social groups.

3.3 The study area

3.3.1 Heritage and development in Tanzania

Despite considerable economic growth and significant achievements in different areas of development, Tanzania is still struggling with wide-spread rural and urban poverty. According to the Development Vision 2025 (United Republic of Tanzania 1999), the country is working towards three principal targets for attaining sustainable development: to achieve quality and good life for all, to consolidate good governance and the rule of law; and to build a strong and resilient economy that can effectively withstand global competition. Among others, culture is identified as one of the driving forces to make this vision a reality. Accordingly, the National Strategy for Economic Growth and Reduction of Poverty (MKUKUTA II, United Republic of Tanzania 2010) locates "national cultural heritage and identity at the heart of development policy", identifying it as a basic resource to involve people and local actors in their own livelihoods development. Under Goal 5, MKUKUTA II further specifies that smart investment in heritage would result in: 1) employment creation, business opportunities, and increased incomes; 2) enhanced social cohesion and belonging; 3) improved self-esteem, creativity, and innovation; and 4) enhanced cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue. Result No. 1 in particular is supported through the articulation of a national handcraft export strategy aiming at expanding the market for Tanzania's wide array of handcraft products such as basketry, mats, ceramics, beads, pottery, textiles, toys, jewellery, bags, batiks, and wood craft (ibid.).

In Tanzania, cultural heritage management is governed by a number of legal edicts and policy statements. The Antiquities Act of 1964 (Tanganyika 1964) and its amendment of 1979 (United Republic of Tanzania 1979) specify procedures for the excavation, conservation, and export of tangible heritage – including monuments, cultural relics, and ethnographic objects. Intangible cultural heritage falls under the Cultural Policy of 1997 (United Republic of Tanzania 1997), which regulates the documentation and protection of the diversity of Tanzanian arts and crafts, languages, pre-historic and historic heritage sites, regional cultural expressions, and national values and identity, and outlines procedures for the management of these resources, including heritage education, civic participation, recreational utilization, and financing. Both tangible and intangible cultural heritage protection and development are integrated in the Cultural Heritage Policy of 2008 (United Republic of Tanzania 2008), which envisions education, self-identification, cohesiveness, and income generation as developmental functions of heritage.

The Tourism Master Plan for Tanzania of 2002 (see United Republic of Tanzania 2002), identifies tourism as a viable vehicle to drive the investments needed for conservation and management of the country's heritage. Following decades of heavy reliance on wildlife and beach tourism, it picks out heritage, cultural diversity, and authentic experiences as key resources to develop for future competitiveness and sustainability of the sector. Within this context, it emphasizes that local communities living within or around heritage attraction areas should be fully involved in the development and management of these attractions, thus creating tangible benefits for livelihood improvements. The policy proposes to focus on the development of the so-called Southern tourism circuit in order to reduce resource pressure on the well-developed wildlife tourist attractions in the North and marine destinations along the coast, ensuring a more wide-spread distribution of tourism benefits.

A North-South disparity can be observed in the present state of development of the heritage sector in Tanzania. UNESCO Tanzania has successfully nominated and inscribed seven national sites in the World Heritage list.[9] In 2018, a controversy ensued over a major hydropower project implemented by the Tanzanian government inside Selous Game Reserve, leading UNESCO to put the site on the list of endangered sites and threatening to permanently withdraw its world heritage status.[10] The controversy is a notable example for heritage preservation interests colliding with modern industrial development needs in developing countries,[11] as I outlined in Chapter 2. However, the majority of the inscribed World Heritage Sites are found along the coast and in the North of the country. Correspondingly, heritage and cultural tourism activity predominantly revolves around material historical remains along the Indian Ocean coast and the commodification of the culture of particular ethnic communities such as the Maasai and Hadzabe in the North. Regarding the latter, the successful Tanzania Cultural Tourism Programme has done remarkable work in diversifying community-based tourism projects – the majority of which are located in the North-East of Tanzania, while there are only a few established projects in the Southern Highlands.[12]

3.3.2 Iringa and the Southern Highlands

The Southern Highlands of Tanzania are a geographical zone in the South West of the country extending over the six administrative regions of Iringa, Njombe, Mbeya, Songwe, Rukwa, and Ruvuma. The highlands comprise a range of volcanic mountains, partly covered in forest and grassland, which are contrasted with the huge and deep waterbodies Lake Tanganyika and Lake Malawi along the Great African Rift Valley. The Highlands serve as Tanzania's main bread basket and experience the coldest weather in the Republic, especially during the months of June and July. The region also experiences the highest rainfall in Tanzania for part of the year.

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[9] UNESCO World Heritage Centre: The States Parties. United Republic of Tanzania, https://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/tz, retrieved 3 June 2024.

[10] UNESCO: UNESCO concerned about insufficient Strategic Environmental Assessment of the Rufiji Hydropower Project in Selous Game Reserve (Tanzania), 17 December 2019, https://whc.unesco.org/en/news/2071/.

[11] See Chapter 2.5.

[12] Tanzania Cultural Tourism Programme: Popular Destinations, depublicised, version of 24 June 2021 archived at https://web.archive.org/web/20210624132026/https://www.tanzaniaculturaltourism.com/.

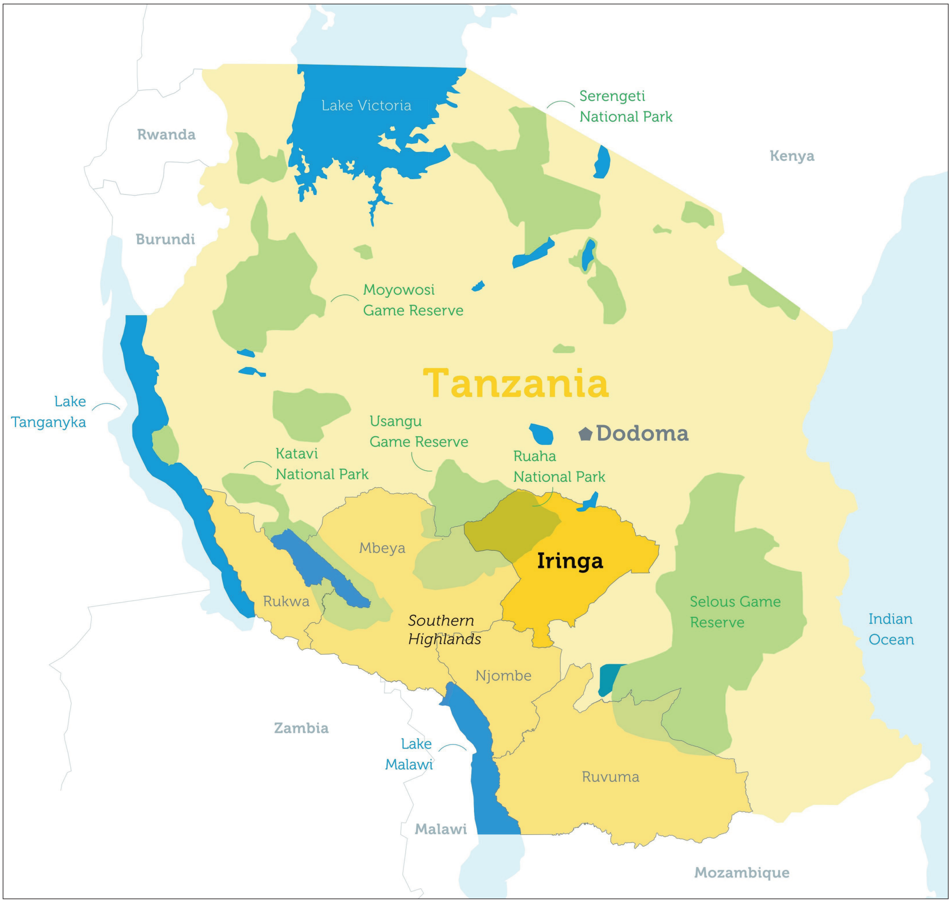
Lake Victoria
Serengeti National Park
Rwanda
Kenya
Burundi
Moyowosi Game Reserve
Tanzania
Lake Tanganyka
Usangu Game Reserve
Dodoma
Katavi National Park
Ruaha National Park
Mbeya
Iringa
Rukwa
Selous Game Reserve
Southern Highlands
Indian Ocean
Njombe
Zambia
Lake Malawi
Ruvuma
Malawi
Mozambique

Fig 3–1: Southern Highlands and Iringa Region in Tanzania.

Iringa Region is the administrative region in the Northeast of the Southern Highlands. On an area of 35,503 km^2, it had a population of roughly one million in 2012 – with about 150,000 people living in the regional capital Iringa Town (United Republic of Tanzania 2013). Iringa offers a diverse heritage landscape with several natural and cultural attractions. Its standout feature is the history of the rise and fall of the Hehe[13] chiefdom during the second half of the 19th century. The Hehe chiefdom rose to power in the course of the booming Arab slave and ivory trade that linked the Indian Ocean coast with the interior, and fell a couple of decades later in the course of the German colonial conquest of Tanganyika. As a stronghold of anti-colonial resistance during the Hehe wars from 1891–98, Iringa also played a prominent role in the history of German East Africa. The rise of the Hehe chiefdom and its fight against the Germans is deeply anchored in the identity of the regional population and has converged with a fascinating living heritage of cultural artisanship in music and dance, basket weaving, and pottery making. Other notable heritage resources include the Isimila Stone Age Site, ancient rock art sites, historical traces of African Liberation Heritage, and the protected wildlife areas Ruaha National Park and Udzungwa Mountains National Park.

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[13] The Hehe people are the ethnic group that is commonly associated with Iringa. To date, they make up the majority of the region's population. The indigenous self-designation of the Hehe people is Vahehe. In Swahili, it has become Wahehe which is the commonly accepted term in Tanzania. Because both prefixes Va- and Wa- stand for people, they are commonly left out in translations to English, and I have decided to stick to that practice and refer to them as the Hehe people. Accordingly, Kihehe is the Hehe language, and Uhehe the Hehe land.

Unfortunately, an effective conservation and utilization of the Southern Highland's and Iringa's heritage landscape has been hampered by several challenges, including a lack of community awareness and engagement, insufficient professional heritage management capacities, and conflicts between heritage protection interests and human development needs. As a result, significant historical and archaeological sites are deteriorating, local craft and cultural practices are in decline, and the cultural tourism industry in the region is underdeveloped in terms of identifying and marketing diversified products. Since the late 2000s, however, the Tanzanian government has begun to implement its policy recommendations from the Tourism Master Plan (2002) and is now trying to open up the Southern Circuit as a major international tourism corridor, with Iringa as the regional hub. Already in 2006, Tanzania as a state party nominated two sites on its tentative list for nomination as UNESCO World Heritage which are potentially relevant for the development of the Southern Highlands and Iringa Region in particular: Firstly, the Central Slave and Ivory Trade Route. This enormous stretch from the Indian Ocean to Lake Tanganyika is linked to the history of Iringa Region because of the involvement of the Hehe people in the trade. Secondly, the Eastern Arc Mountain Forests of Tanzania. This mountain arc reaches into Iringa Region through its South-Western extension, the Udzungwa mountains. As of 2020, both sites are still on the tentative list,[14] and the government's intentions with regard to advancing the nominations remain unclear.

In the early 2010s, key institutions such as the Tanzania Tourist Board (TTB), Tanzania National Parks (TANAPA), and the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT) established regional offices in Iringa. As the next step, major tourism infrastructure development programmes were launched, namely the Strengthening the Protected Area Network in Southern Tanzania (SPANEST[15]) programme supported by the Global Environment Facility (GEF) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and the Resilient Natural Resource Management for Tourism and Growth (REGROW[16]) programme funded by the World Bank. The latter also includes a revamping of the Isimila Stone Age Site and the Mkwawa Museum in Iringa.

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[14] UNESCO World Heritage Centre: The States Parties. United Republic of Tanzania. UNESCO World Heritage Centre, https://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/tz, retrieved 23 June 2020.

[15] GEF: Strengthening the Protected Area Network in Southern Tanzania: Improving the Effectiveness of National Parks in Addressing Threats to Biodiversity, https://www.thegef.org/projects-operations/projects/3965, retrieved 3 June 2024.

3.4 The case – fahari yetu Tanzania

3.4.1 Formation of the programme

I conceived the idea of establishing an applied cultural heritage conservation programme during my tenure as Head of the Department of Cultural Anthropology and Tourism at the University of Iringa. The Department with its BA programme was established in 2005 – with the aim of, firstly, introducing tourism as a subject of higher education in Tanzania and, secondly, contributing to a process of diversifying the tourism industry in the country towards utilizing cultural resources and producing a culturally sensitive workforce for the industry. Tourism in Tanzania up to this point had been heavily reliant on environmental resources such as wildlife and marine areas. Efforts to protect these resources for tourism purposes required restrictions on their common human use patterns, which led to social conflicts with adjacent local communities. Generally, it became evident that effective participation of the people was a bigger challenge than anticipated, and that the benefits from nature tourism activities were limited. The idea of drawing on culture as a more easily accessible resource, also because it is owned by everyone, promised to address the challenge and make tourism benefits trickle down to larger parts of society. In the same vein, the establishment of the Department can also be read as a response to a need to connect and integrate cultural heritage management and tourism in Tanzania. From our departmental activities – including classroom teaching of students from diverse ethnic backgrounds, the annual assessment of student internships in industry enterprises and public institutions, and a graduate tracer-study we conducted in 2010 – it became clear that the integration of culture and tourism could only be successful if we were able to link theoretical knowledge to actual practice by actively engaging with other actors and stakeholders such as the local communities, private sector enterprises, local and national government entities, and international organizations.

The opportunity arose in 2012, when the European Commission published a call for proposals on cultural heritage protection and promotion projects in Tanzania, financed through the 10th European Development Fund (EDF) and administered by the European Delegation to Tanzania in cooperation with the Tanzanian Ministry of Finance. Winning a grant through this call appeared as an appropriate vehicle to address our experiences and ideas and transform them into active implementation. The support would give us both the political mandate and the financial means to combine theoretical teaching not only with research, but also with outreach and practical intervention. Hence, with the help of my colleagues, I outlined the project idea in the form of a concept note, the first step in the three-stage application procedure for the grant. Luckily, our project made it through the concept stage and we were invited to prepare a full proposal in the second stage, now requiring detailed descriptions and justifications of the planned measures, methods, and requested resources. In March 2013, we received notice that the full proposal had been accepted for funding, subject to passing the eligibility verification of the applying institution and its partners. After providing all required verification documents to the contracting authority, the grant award was confirmed at the end of May. At the end of June, I signed the grant contract at the contracting authority's office in Dar es Salaam, agreeing that the implementation of the project should begin on 01 August 2013, and be concluded by 31 July 2016. Our project Cultural Heritage Conservation, Tourism and Sustainable Development in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania had been selected – together with seven other heritage protection and promotion projects in different parts of the country.

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[16] The World Bank: Tanzania: Resilient Natural Resource Management for Tourism and Growth, https://projects.worldbank.org/en/projects-operations/project-detail/P150523?lang=en, retrieved 3 June 2024.

3.4.2 Involved actors

The EU grant project was designed to be implemented by a consortium of partners and further associated actors. Representing the donor, the European Union Delegation to Tanzania naturally had a lot of influence on the project's direction and modes of implementation. As per grant agreement, we had to co-fund 20 percent of the project expenses, which we raised through contributions from the University of Iringa and the partner institutions themselves, and through third-party grants from other external donors, namely the German Embassy to Tanzania, the United States Embassy to Tanzania, and the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD).

The University of Iringa as lead beneficiary of the grant had to engage a number of partners to line up practical expertise in actual heritage and tourism management. From the regional and local authorities, we expected access to the administrative outreach structures needed for the project. Technical expertise in exhibition design and tourism development were supposed to be contributed by the National Museum of Tanzania (NMT) and the Tanzania Tourist Board (TTB), both executing bodies under the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT). International expertise in historical restoration and in environmental conservation we added with the inclusion of the Italian ACRA Foundation and the American Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS). The consortium was completed by a local NGO with practical community development experiences – and the University of Göttingen in Germany to strengthen the academic credibility of the project.

3.4.3 Goals and objectives

The general mission of the programme was to support sustainable community development and poverty alleviation in the target area through conservation, management, promotion, and commercialization of local cultural heritage resources. This holistic aim was to be supported by the following specific objectives:

- to identify, map, and interpret cultural heritage resources in the region;
- to foster public cultural awareness and participation;
- to produce a competitive workforce in culture and heritage management; and
- to commercialize identified resources to marketable tourism products.

When we began to implement the programme, one of the first considerations was to find a supplement to the official, rather technical title Cultural Heritage Conservation, Tourism, and Sustainable Development in the Southern Highlands. We wanted something that sounded more like a slogan and contained a message in Swahili in order to reach the target population in Iringa and Tanzania. We finally agreed to use fahari yetu – Southern Highlands Culture Solutions as the title with which we would publicly advertise the programme. *fahari yetu* is a Swahili term translating to our pride, referring to the programme's guiding principle of making people proud of their origins, culture, and history. After starting as a university project, in 2019 we registered fahari yetu as an NGO that is affiliated to, but legally independent from the University of Iringa. In order to obtain a nation-wide mandate to operate as NGO, the slogan was changed to Tanzania Heritage & Culture Solutions as featured in the programme's logo shown shown on page 45.

The figure in the logo are five Cs entangled in the national colours of Tanzania. The Cs refer to the five strategic objectives of the UNESCO global strategy for implementing the World Heritage Convention (Albert 2012) as they are reflected in the different activity areas of the fahari yetu programme:

1. *Conservation* – activity cluster 1: Iringa Regional Heritage Centre (Boma)
2. *Credibility* – activity cluster 2: Heritage research, mapping, and landscaping
3. *Communication* – activity cluster 3: Commercialization and promotion
4. *Capacity Building* – activity cluster 4: Professional capacity building
5. *Community Involvement* – activity cluster 5: Community outreach and empowerment

3.4.4 Programme activities

Within the five main areas listed above, the following activities have been or are currently undertaken:

1. Iringa Boma – Regional Museum and Cultural Centre

Iringa Boma is a German colonial building that was historically restored by fahari yetu. Since its opening in 2016, it serves as a hub for regional heritage conservation and management, hosting a regional culture and history exhibition, conference/boardroom facility, arts and crafts workshop space, restaurant/café, souvenir shop, cultural tours in Iringa Town and Region, and regular cultural activities and events.[17] Fahari yetu has furthermore connected the Boma with other heritage sites in Iringa, including Isimila Stone Age Site, the Mkwawa Museum in Kalenga, and Ruaha National Park. At the time of writing this dissertation, further projects are underway, including new museum exhibitions, the establishment of a regional archive, physical conservation and enhancement of relevant sites in the surrounding heritage landscape, and the development of a signposted historical town tour. The establishment of Iringa Boma and its integration with the cityscape and regional heritage-scape will be examined in detail in Chapter 5.

2. Heritage research, mapping, and landscaping

Identifying, mapping, and interpreting the available cultural knowledge and heritage resources is another activity area that served to feed the Iringa Boma exhibition as well as its tourism and community outreach activities. Therefore, the fahari yetu research team first conducted a baseline study of compiling a comprehensive Iringa heritage inventory against which any further research project would be set. The team evaluated all available academic literature on cultural sites and attractions in the region, together with documents drafted by relevant ministries and local government partners. The literature review was complemented by interviews with responsible officers for culture and tourism in the respective institutions. Based on this inventory, the team developed a number of thematic field research projects:

- *Worship and Healing in Iringa,* a visual anthropology research and photographic exhibition project presented in the Boma museum. A recent successor is the community research project *Endangered Stories of Enchanted Places,* which documents oral histories and folktales of the Southern Highlands through visual arts.
- *Iringa Urban History,* an empirical investigation based on focus groups discussions (FGDs) in the wards of Iringa Municipality and life story interviews with elder representatives from different social groups in the community.

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[17] For further details, see Iringa Boma: Iringa Boma – Regional Museum and Cultural Centre, https://fahariyetu.net/activities/iringa-boma/, retrieved 3 June 2024.

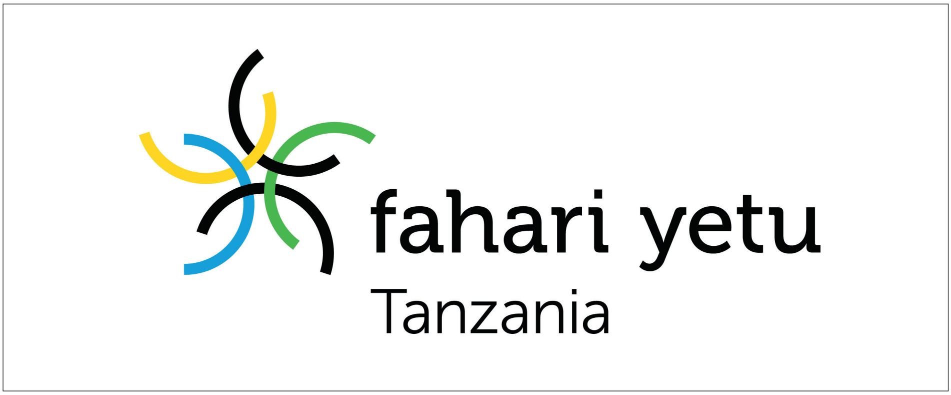

Fig. 3–2: Fahari yetu logo as of 2023.

- *Livelihoods and Culture,* a research project examining the relationship between heritage and the well-being of the local communities.
- *Iringa Regional Archive,* a project designed to collect and make accessible all available historical records from colonial, clerical, governmental, and private sources, as well as the documents, testimonies, and other materials produced by fahari yetu itself.
- *Iringa Heritage Landscaping,* a project which employed GPS technology and PGIS methods to map and visualize culture and heritage configurations related to the identified research topics.

3. Commercialization and Promotion

In line with UNESCO's C of communication, activities in this cluster aim at supporting the people's economic empowerment through the commercialization of culture and heritage. From the very beginning, a central component of promotion has been the planning and conduct of cultural events. During the EU grant period, this included the project launch, the Mkwawa memorial festival 2014, the Iringa district and regional culture competitions in 2015 and 2016, and the grand opening of Iringa Boma in 2016. During the post-EU grant period, we continued to carry out events at the Boma itself, such as Christmas and Easter art and craft markets, International Museum Day celebrations, music shows with local and national artists, and regular movie screenings for the community. At the Boma itself, we are renting out space to selected rural artisan business cooperatives to market their craft.[18] We also offer tours to popular tourist attractions within Iringa Municipality and beyond.[19]

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[18] See Chapter 6.

[19] See Chapter 5.4.

4. Professional capacity building

In this cluster, the fahari yetu programme collaborates closely with its mother institution, the University of Iringa. The Department of Cultural Anthropology and Tourism has been developing and offering courses of study related to cultural heritage and tourism in form of the Bachelor of Arts in Cultural Anthropology and Tourism (BACAT) and the Master of Arts in Tourism, Culture and Society (MATCS). The fahari yetu programme has created various opportunities to involve the students in practical activities to complement their theoretical classroom studies and increase their employability on the job market – such as in exhibition design, empirical cultural research, event management, cultural entrepreneurship, and community outreach. Moreover, the fahari yetu programme itself became a practical vehicle to enhance professional capacities in the target communities, local and regional government entities, non-governmental partner institutions, and the project coordination team itself. The development of human capital through strategic capacity building in culture and heritage management was furthered by providing scholarships to talented university scholars and students, project partners, and community representatives, including scholarships for the MATCS programme, partial PhD scholarships at other universities in- and outside of Tanzania, and scholarships for participation in international exchange programmes with universities in Germany, Finland, and Sweden. A highlight of these programmes was the 2016 *International Summer School: African Heritage and the Pillars of Sustainability,* which was carried out in partnership between fahari yetu, the University of Iringa, and the International Graduate School: Heritage Studies of the BTU Cottbus-Senftenberg, Germany, and involved students and experts from Tanzania, Germany, Canada, South Africa, Kenya, Uganda, Malawi, Nigeria, and Zambia.[20]

5. Community outreach and empowerment

Community involvement is the most recently included strategic objective of the UNESCO global strategy for implementing the World Heritage Convention (Albert 2012). Communities can only be empowered if they are educated about the meaning and importance of cultural heritage for their prosperity, if they are involved in the process of heritage identification and interpretation, if they are trained in relevant professional and entrepreneurial skills to develop marketable products, and if they are connected to a cultural heritage and tourism network providing them with opportunities to sell their products. fahari yetu community engagement started with a project sensitization campaign in 2014, which indicated a relatively low awareness of the scope of cultural heritage and how it could be used to generate household incomes.

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[20] M.T. Albert and J. Kuever (eds.) (2017): Proceedings: African heritage and the pillars of sustainability. Berlin: Institut Heritage Studies, https://heritagestudies.eu/en/proceedings-african-heritage-pillars-sustainability/.

The campaign also made evident that it would be necessary to develop communication skills to inform visitors about cultural resources. In 2015, we collected more specific information from the communities on the cultural resources they possess, on how they could serve as products for income-generation, and how they could imagine Iringa Boma to support their ideas and activities . The results from the focus groups were converted into training and mentoring programmes on heritage conservation and cultural and tourism entrepreneurship for community groups from all four districts of Iringa Region.[21]

3.5 Process of inquiry

Spradley (1980: 40) understands the case as a triangle of place, actors, and activities that are interactively linked. Ethnographic research oscillates between intrinsic motivations of understanding the case (Atkinson 2015: 36), and using it as an example for broader generalizations and making predictions about future events or other settings (O'Reilly 2009: 108). Burawoy (1998: 16–22) proposes to divide the process of extended case research into different elements:

- intervention of the observer to become participant;
- extension of the observations and participation over space and time;
- generalization through connecting the case to other cases; and
- extending theory and the conceptual body of knowledge.

The different elements should not be understood as steps in a linear sequence. For Atkinson (2015: 11), empirical research is a cyclic process of discovery in which the development of analytical themes and ideas is an emergent property of our engagement with the field. The idea of a cyclic logic of discovery between ideas and data goes back to Glaser and Strauss' (1967) development of grounded theory as a method of inductive reasoning where the researcher begins with as few preconceptions as possible, allowing theory to emerge from the data (O'Reilly 2009: 105). Data collection as well as analysis hereby follow theoretical sampling criteria and procedures. In theoretical sampling, the researcher relies on skills as well as intuition, filtering data through an interpretive lens. Data samples are selected in a cyclic and iterative process whereby the analysis of one set may lead to the next, depending on the progress of developing emerging theoretical aspects and thematic narrations. Theoretical sampling usually ends when a saturation point is reached – whether through the conclusion of a narrative thread or an adequate substantiation of a theoretical interpretation.

Today – more than 50 years after its initial formulation – grounded theory is widely accepted as a framework for good research practice (Atkinson 2015: 55) and as such also provides methodical orientation for this study. However, the grounded theory conceptualization of the inductive method raises concerns that need to be addressed to ensure a sufficiently precise procedure. O'Reilly (2009: 108) observes that prevalent induction procedures – even though the results always remain open for revision – are still based on positive science principles of establishing formal laws through a tedious verification of observations through repetition. Procedures like this are of limited use in truly qualitative research methods such as ethnography and extended case studies where we find ourselves immersed in and living amongst a mass of data that is often confusing, messy, conflictual, and changing (Barata 2010: 2). Atkinson (015: 56–57) suggests that ethnography, in its efforts to make sense of this confusion, is instead based on an abductive process of knowledge generation; a process in which – rather than searching for evidence – we follow hunches and omens, reading signs and playing with possible explanations that draw on the things we know, looking for clearer signs or clues. On the basis of observation – understood in a general sense, also including interviews or other data – we draw up what Herbert Blumer (1954) calls sensitizing concepts: tentative ideas that emerge in dialogue with the data and are then used to inform further and more focussed data collection, repeating the cycle of stepping back and forth between the field and our desk (Atkinson 2015: 35, 56–57). Charmaz (see 2006: 16–17) says that sensitizing concepts give ethnographers ideas to pursue or look at certain angles or ask certain questions. Whatever shape they take, they must be revised, revisited, and supplemented as the research progresses.

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[21] See Chapter 6 for a detailed evaluation of the artisan business development programme.

Moreover, the idea of abduction acknowledges that the research process cannot be purely inductive. Everyone starts out with some preconceived theoretical ideas. All ethnography needs a focus of some sort, a boundary, a discipline, a loose framework. Cases are selected for what they can reveal about a topic of interest and depend on the aim and conditions of the study (Harrison, Birks et al. 2017: [25]). Most of us will begin with a research design, a title, and some indefinite objectives. Usually, we will conduct a review of the literature before we begin (O'Reilly 2009: 106). We need a minimum framework of ideas that we bring to the data in order to derive further ideas from them (Atkinson 2015: 11). But our presuppositions, questions, and frameworks are more like prisms than templates, and they are emergent rather than fixed (Burawoy 1998: 11). Analytical generalization is based on deriving patterns from the case, serving for comparison across different settings, to inform further studies, and to draw up inter-textual relations and a common conceptual apparatus (ibid.: 37).

For the case of this study, the starting point for investigation was that the fahari yetu project was accepted and, thus, waiting to be implemented. In anticipation of the project, I began to build my PhD proposal around it. The project setup more or less determined the general topic of the research to be the relationship between heritage and sustainable development. Therefore, I started to look out for first theoretical anchor points for my PhD proposal. Bourdieu's concept of capital seemed to be an adequate tool to address the question of development. The applied project determined the spatial frame of the field to be Iringa Town and region, which lent itself to be accessed as a postcolonial contact zone. The focus on Iringa as a place was furthermore set in deliberate distinction from national or ethnic identifications, allowing to examine heritage as it emerges from the local representation of and interaction between diverse groups and communities in the here-and-now. Based on impressions from different project activities, I decided to keep some of the concepts and discard others. Until now, my research journey has been a cyclic process of revisiting theory and field experiences, with reciprocal influence on each other.

The above description accounts for the complexity of the fahari yetu programme as the case of this study. I knew that I wanted to investigate the heritage conservation programme at large, but was sure that it would not be possible to examine it holistically in all of its facets. The sensitizing process therefore also included efforts to explore different thematic avenues within the project and to identify specific aspects that would serve to illuminate the case in its entirety. Adopting Baxter and Jack's (2008: 550) concept of a single case with embedded units, I thus decided to investigate the entire heritage management programme by examining three embedded aspects:

- interpretations of the history of Iringa;
- Iringa Boma museum and the cityscape; and
- heritage-based local community livelihoods.

The selection of these aspects followed principles of theoretical sampling based on their emergence as key themes in the evolution of the application programme and their concomitant relevance in support of the general objective of the study. Digging into the selected avenues required a specific sensitization of the theoretical horizon for each topic. Sensitizing the concepts in turn had an influence on the way I looked on the relevance of data and the decisions for selecting data sets from different project activities for analysis. All in all, it is evident that the process neither followed a mere deductive nor a pure inductive approach, but unfolded as an iterative cycle in which the field setting at first determined a provisional theoretical horizon, against which the experiences, activities, and observations were compared and adjusted in the next step. Further experiences and activity progress again served to refine the theoretical framework. The same applies not only to the relationship between empirical data and theory, but also to the relationship between the intervention project and the accompanying research. While the intervention project came first, determining the orientation of the research, the research repeatedly provided input for the project implementation, which again fed back into the research output.

3.6 Data sources

The qualitative case study is an approach to research that facilitates exploration of a phenomenon within its context using a variety of data sources. This ensures that the issue is not explored through a single lens, but rather a variety of lenses, allowing to reveal and understand multiple facets of the phenomenon (Baxter and Jack 2008: 544).

Similarly, ethnography implies a variety of possible methods of data collection, used on their own or in combination (Atkinson 2015: 25). Accordingly, this study drew on multiple data sources and methods of data collection, depending on the progress of different project activities and emerging specializations in the theoretical sensitization and sampling process. In the following, they are discussed in their specific application to the case.

3.6.1 Fieldwork and participant observation

First of all, ethnography means writing about the world from the standpoint of participant observation (Burawoy 1998: 6). Participant observation means being attentive to the multiplicity of actions – spoken and unspoken – of the social actors, material culture, spatial and temporal arrangements that together constitute the field (Atkinson 2015: 40). Atkinson himself (ibid.: 25) prefers to use the term fieldwork, denoting the researcher's extensive and intensive engagement with a given social domain beyond the confines implied by observation alone. For this study, I adopted this conceptualization as it captures my engagement in the case beyond research purposes.

Moreover, Atkinson (ibid.) argues that the modes and intensity of ethnographic participation are contingent and protean and a classification into participation typologies thus serves only limited value. By designing and participating in all project activities, I applied to heritage what Thurner (2013: 153) postulates for tourism research: that researchers ought to participate in the heritage management system, experience heritage practice, inside views and realizations, and reflect one's own heritage biography. I have been a member of the Iringa community since 2007, long before the project started, and was able to immerse into the tourism and specifically cultural tourism industry through my job as an instructor and supervisor at the University of Iringa. I started participating in the project in 2012 – with its write-up and by mobilizing partner institutions, going through the different stages of the European Commission funding application process, implementing the EU grant from 2013–2016, and (since then) directing the ongoing activities and focussing on my PhD research simultaneously. Spradley (1980: 61) defines such engagement as complete participation, when ethnographers study settings in which they are already ordinary participants. In Atkinson's (2015: 40) typology, I would be seen as a participant-as-observer of fahari yetu. However, building on these theoretical references, I prefer to use the term observing participant to capture my engagement most precisely.

The deep engagement implies that I have internalized my observations and experiences as a form of embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986) to a certain extent. In order to convert this into the institutionalized cultural capital of a PhD qualification, I had to find a way to transfer it into a coherent narrative. In this process, I had to rely on textual data in form of observation and field notes in which I tried to make a note of everything I saw, felt, or perceived that could be relevant regarding specific project activities. Spradley (1980: 57–58) argues that field notes should be descriptive as well as introspective, providing not only a clear picture of facts and facets but also subjective feelings and perceptions. On top of that, I sometimes added analytical elements to the notes, for example when I noted sensitizing links between the observations and possible theoretical concepts. I often added research field notes to my diary at the end of the working day at the office, but also randomly in the field and in various different places – typed into the notepad-app on my mobile phone. Moreover, a big bulk of notes that went into analysis were not research notes per se, but notes I took in order to guide the implementation of various project activities, i.e., from meetings, for work plans, etc.

3.6.2 Documents and physical materials

Bowen (2009: 29–30) says that document analysis is particularly applicable to qualitative case studies aiming to produce rich descriptions of a single organisation or work programme. He refers to documents and materials that were produced not for research purposes but can provide context, background, and insight to the case and often serve to supplement data from other sources and corroborate findings derived from those. The fahari yetu project activities produced the following types of documents and materials, some of which served to support the narrative of the study:

- minutes of project implementation meetings;
- project activity plans, manuals, and reports;
- video clips and photographs produced for the project;
- grant proposals for activity funding;
- radio and TV programmes reporting on the project and related issues;
- historical records retrieved from physical and digital archives; and
- historical diaries and memoirs obtained from respondents.

Moreover, the project work involved various built heritage resources and material objects. Material things carry social, cultural, and economic meanings, are endowed with special significance, evoke memories and enshrine emotions, and are used to accomplish work and mundane tasks (Atkinson 2015: 118). The following material resources served to support textual data in assessing meanings and perceptions of heritage in Iringa:

- Iringa Boma building;
- other heritage sites in Iringa Town and region;
- display objects in the Boma exhibition; and
- art and craft from rural artisan groups.

3.6.3 Life story interviews

A life story accounts for the ways in which culture has shaped and influenced the life of the narrating person (Atkinson 1998: 70). In this study, life story interviews with key informants or participants serve not only as sources of data but as devices to frame the narratives in different thematic strands of analysis. Interviews were conducted with respondents from the following groups:

- Representatives of different community groups in Iringa;
- former and present employees of the fahari yetu programme and Iringa Boma – Regional Museum and Cultural Centre; and
- members of selected rural music and artisan groups in Iringa.

The life story interviews followed a sequential approach of three phases:

1. Life story narration;
2. probing/elaboration of internal questions/aspects presented in the life story; and
3. preconceived questions related to the aims of the study.

Most of the interviews were conducted in Swahili, some in English, and one in Kihehe. Shortly after the interviews, I prepared memos accounting for the process of recruiting the respondent, the context of the interview situation itself, a rough outline of the information presented, and possible aspects for discussion and analysis. The audio-recordings were later transcribed into textual documents to form the primary basis for systematic analysis. The transcriptions were done by a fahari yetu research assistant who acquired the skills through involvement in the project.

3.6.4 Focus group discussions

One of the key participatory approaches to the establishment of the Boma and in particular the exhibition design was a focus group discussion (FGD) campaign on the identification of cultural heritage resources in Iringa Region, conducted in spring 2015. The campaign was coordinated by the fahari yetu research coordinator and implemented in small teams consisting of Master students of the University of Iringa and representatives of the programme's local partner organizations. The campaign covered focus group discussions in all wards within Iringa Municipality and a selection of villages in the Iringa Rural District.

The FDGs were conducted in groups of 8–10 participants in town. They turned out to bigger in the villages, drawing in up to 15 community members. The research team for every discussion consisted of 1–2 discussion facilitators and 1 recording clerk. The discussions followed a preconceived discussion guide covering a range of topics pertaining to the aims of the campaign. Similar to the life story interviews, the FGDs were recorded with digital audio recorders. Shortly after the discussions, the recording clerk prepared memos reporting on the general conduct, summarizing the discussed content and suggesting possible aspects for analysis. Based on the judgement of the implementation teams, several of the FGDs were later transcribed into text documents as a basis for systematic analysis. Transcription was done by the same research assistant who transcribed the life story interviews, with assistance from other team members.

3.7 Data analysis and presentation

In the iterative research process, the data is interpreted in accordance with emerging theoretical ideas and objectives. Data analysis is pervasive – conducted before the actual field work, throughout, as well as subsequently (Atkinson 2015: 58). Generally, the logic of analytic induction or abduction focuses on developing theoretical imagination beyond a rule-bound set of procedures (ibid.: 66). Pieces from multiple data sources are converged in view of relevant themes rather than being handled individually. Each data source is one piece of the puzzle, with each piece contributing to the researcher's understanding of the whole case (Baxter and Jack 2008: 554). In a theoretical sampling process, the primary concern should not be how many respondents, documents, or interviews were consulted, but which insights and evidence the selected ones contributed in relation to the purpose of the study. We strive for theoretical saturation in a sense that explorative themes or argumentative strands are convincingly exhausted.

However, amidst the participatory learning experience of the fieldwork experience, I had to stimulate the emerging theoretical imagination with systematic procedures applied to the data collected. Before the analysis, I first had to select presumably relevant pieces of information from the wide array of field notes, interviews and FGD memos and transcripts, project and archive documents, photographs, and video clips. Selected data sets were subjected to qualitative coding and interpretation. Coding is a technique derived from grounded theory in which transcripts and other types of textual data are broken down into content markers (codes) which are then grouped into themes and categories. Through the progressing interpretation and integration of themes and categories, theoretical ideas originating from the data are formulated. The recognition of codes and themes is pertinent to the research question. They can be preconceived ideas and theoretical categories, or emergent ones uncovered from the document (Bowen 2009: 32). Gläser and Laudel (2013) distinguish the two approaches of, firstly, theory-guided coding after pre-formed categories and, secondly, open coding based on the data. In the abductive cycle of this study, however, these two aspects are regarded as two sides of the same coin. On the one hand, I assigned sections and quotes from selected documents to preconceived conceptual and analytical categories, e. g. capital types, post-colonial relations, and actor groups and interests. I discarded other preconceived concepts if I could not assign quotes to them. Simultaneously, I coded the selected documents openly to discover new categories or aspects in the data, fleshing them out as the cycle progressed. Here, empirical data is not just compared to the theoretical horizon, but serves to expand it.

Numerous observations and experiences – my own thoughts, memories, and emotions – were, naturally, not available in text form. Nevertheless, these aspects added associative ideas to the text analysis and served to flesh out a thick description (Geertz 1973) of analytical categories and themes. The same applies to material objects and structures, the interpretation of which was mostly used to support and illustrate codes generated from text data or in reference to academic literature. The coding and categorization were done with ATLAS.ti qualitative data analysis software, which proved to be a very helpful tool for creative brainstorming with the data.

It is helpful to make some deliberations on the analysis of interviews, as they serve as a medium of integrating the presentation of the findings. With interviews, we try to uncover subjective experiences of a phenomenon to access it (Atkinson 1998:58). A specific life story illustrates the relation between the storyteller and the world with which they interact and which they share with others. The goal of their interpretation is to establish the meaning of the story and validate the narration (ibid.). Thereby, the key question is not whether the respondent is telling the truth, but if and how they construct a plausible account. Plausibility is a) founded on the theoretical perspective you connect the story to; and b) emerges from your personal, subjective, or experiential frame of reference (ibid.: 61–62). In order to present a compelling story that stimulates not only the researcher but also the potential reader of the study, I have to address the following questions in analysis: Does my theoretical perspective connect to the story and how? How well was I informed about the background of the story? What is the quality of the relationship I have with the storyteller? How was the specific interaction with the storyteller during the interview itself? What is the power relationship between the storyteller and me as the researcher? All these questions were addressed in relation to the following chapters' different lines of inquiry.

The findings of the study are conveyed both through direct interpretations and thematic grouping of data. Data sets are presented as vignettes (episodes of storytelling), quotes, and visual images that are embedded in the discussion of ideas and social processes (Atkinson 2015: 154). In the discussion, the findings are compared and contrasted to relevant published literature in order to situate the new data into pre-existing data (Baxter and Jack 2008: 555). Collected sets of data were analysed separately within the thematic boundaries, in their relation to the other topics, and across all lines of inquiry. Emerging theme-specific as well as cross-cutting ideas were compared with other cases in Tanzania, Africa, and the Global South. The results of each of the topics can stand as independent cases, giving this work the character of a collage of interlinked stories that converge in the narrative of the larger case.

3.8 Positionality – The observing participant

> Susan Krieger (1996)[22] researched a lesbian community in the US in the 1970s, where she had previously been a participant. She eventually left the community armed with 400 pages of "rich data" and sat down to write. But she found she could not do it. For a year she moved, sorted, and copied notes. .... The problem, she eventually realized, was that she had been trying to distance herself from her data. Analysis for her meant revisiting the experience of data gathering, recalling the year of participation, "to feel it as fully and deeply as possible and to analyse my feelings" (1996: 183).[23] .... In the end the process was so personal that when reviewers said *The Mirror Dance* (Krieger 1983)[24] seemed a valid portrayal of the community, she was uncomfortably surprised.
> (Karen O'Reilly 2009: 108)

Fieldwork is intensely personal, and the positionality and biography of the researcher plays a central role in the research process, in the field as well as in the final text (England 1994: 87). The reflexive model of science is a model of science that embraces not detachment but engagement as the road to knowledge (Burawoy 1998: 5), and the introspection of this engagement – to assess how I feel in situations I observe and participate in – is an integral section on that road (Spradley 1980: 57). In reflexive research, the aim is not to create a realist surface as in scientific texts, but an account of a creative process of inquiry involving the author. The ethnographer is commonly present in the text as a character in the action, not just a narrator (Atkinson 2015: 160–162). At the same time, ethnography must make sure not to put too much emphasis on the researchers' experiences. The goal of ethnographic fieldwork is not to amass an array of personalised impressions and experiences, but to collect and analyse data in the interest of developing systematic conceptual frameworks. The field under study is in principle interesting in its own right, and the author's own and other actors' feelings and experiences should just serve to illuminate its structure and dynamics and not be addressed for the sake of itself (ibid.: 6, 22, 166, 170).

I as the author am present in the text through telling from the first-person view to mark my perspective as observing participant and avoid an impersonally factual and authoritative account (Atkinson 2015: 160). I quoted O'Reilly's example as entry point to this section because Krieger's experience quite closely resembles my own struggle with distancing myself from the field and the data in the write-up of this study. Ever since I began to process and analyse the data I collected, I had the feeling that it was too personal and that I would have to emotionally distance myself from my experiences in order to be able to critically examine the case. However, the emotional attachment was there whenever I engaged with the data – inhibiting a critical distancing. As a result, I also spent a lot of time with moving around and sorting notes, concepts, and ideas without translating them into actual narration for more than a year. I countered positive feedback on the bits and pieces I produced not only with uncomfortable surprise, but even with denial. Only slowly did I realise that I would have to embrace my positive as well as negative emotional experiences and make them part of my examination. Yet I would have to find an adequate balance of utilizing them to support thematic analysis in accordance with the research questions. Burawoy (1998: 5) argues that reflexive science starts out from dialogue, virtual or real, between observer and participants, embedding such dialogue within a second dialogue between local processes and extra-local forces that in turn can only be understood through a third, expanding dialogue of theory with itself. Maybe in my case I should add a fourth dialogue to the list, the dialogue between myself as participant and myself as observer, which I needed to address before turning to the other aspects.

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[22] See S. Krieger (1996): *The family silver: Essays on relationships among women.* Berkeley and London: University of California Press.

[23] See ibid.

[24] See S. Krieger (1983): *Mirror dance: Identity in a women's community.* Philadelphia: Temple U.P.

It should be noted that this case bears a constellation or relation between observer and participant that is only implied but not practicably addressed in the relevant literature. Spradley (1980: 54) says that the participant observer has a dual function of, firstly, engaging in activities appropriate to the setting/situation and, secondly, observing the activities, people, physical aspects, and outcomes of the situations/activities. As an ethnographer, you have to learn to play both roles simultaneously, but be able to separate them at the same time – being an insider, as a participant, as well as an outsider as observer who can look at the situation from an analytical distance. What ethnographers observe are settings that are collectively brought into being by social actors (Atkinson 2015: 4). In reflexive science, is it commonly accepted that these settings are influenced, altered, or even produced by the ethnographer, meaning that through his or her presence and writing they acquire a shape and a wider representation that would otherwise not exist. However, the influence, alteration, or construction is a consequence of the intervention of the ethnographer – who is usually an outsider – into an existing social structure. fahari yetu is not a conventional case in the sense that I came and entered an existing structure to observe and participate for the sake of generating knowledge about it. Instead, it is a structure that would not exist without me as the driving force of its creation. This means that I created the case as a participant in a first step, and then came to observe and re-create it in a second step, now as a researcher. The investigation thus could neither be treated separately from me as a researcher nor as a non-researching participant, which is why it has to be reflected against my "extended" dual function as the ethnographer.

3.9 Ethical considerations

Informants allow a researcher to witness, participate in, and converse about issues that might otherwise reach only a more restricted social circle (Atkinson 2015: 176), giving a responsible conduct that protects their rights and privacy primary concern. More quantitatively-oriented studies and fields have established a practice of working with informed consent in written form that has also gained prominence in qualitative research. For this study, I heeded Atkinson's (ibid.: 172–174) advice that ethics regulations for qualitative inquiry should not be predicated on a procedure-driven model of positive science. Atkinson argues that ethnography and qualitative inquiry in general follow an inclusive approach to represent cases and social settings in their full complexity, an approach that automatically gives the researcher a value-driven sense of ethical responsibility. Research that is methodically sound, well-informed, and well-grounded in previous research evidence is most likely ethical, following the principles of fidelity to the description and representation of the setting, its subject, and the involved actors (ibid.: 186–187). When following an ethnographic approach, it is of key importance to develop trust and positive interpersonal working relationships as a basis for proper conduct (ibid.: 184). Ethics is therefore seen as a process as opposed to an event of signing an informed consent form. The process can only be successful when following basic principles of ethical conduct, not only considering the informants' rights, interests, and sensitivities first, but also providing them with adequate information on the aims and uses of the research and making reports and other outputs available to them (Spradley 1980: 20–25).

In common research practice, we are used to granting our respondents anonymity (Atkinson 2015: 177). In the case of this study, this was not necessary as all individually featured informants and respondents gave consent to be presented with their names and pictures – not only in publications related to my doctoral research, but also in project-related publications such as the fahari yetu website or funding proposals and reports to international donors. In the case of some interviewees, permissions for featuring their life story with real name and illustrating photos were renegotiated after analysing the interviews. All interviewees were informed about the objectives of the fahari yetu as well as my PhD research project, together with the potential uses of their contributions. Consent for audio-recording the interviews was sought before switching the recorder on. Similarly, verbal consent was obtained at the beginning of each FGD, and participants consented not to relay group discussions externally. None of the participants declined participation through opting out at that point or rescinded consent throughout the study.

3.10 Summary

This chapter presented the methodological design of the study in four sections. The first section laid out the critical constructivist epistemological frame to justify the applied qualitative-interpretive methodology of an ethnographic case study. The second section was a description of the case in its complexity, outlining its national and regional context, the background of its formation, aims, and composition, and the range of activities. The third section then mapped out how specific strands of investigation emerged and evolved in a cyclic research process, and how data from multiple sources were collected, analysed, and converged to produce the thickest narrative possible. It was pointed out that the presentation of findings takes the shape of a collage of interlinked stories that converge in the narrative of the larger case. In the final section, I reflected on my own positionality of being an observing participant who has transcended conventional levels of participation, before closing with a statement on the applied research ethics. Throughout the chapter, the elaboration of methods and materials was supported with cross-references to the theoretical and conceptual canvas presented in Chapter 2.

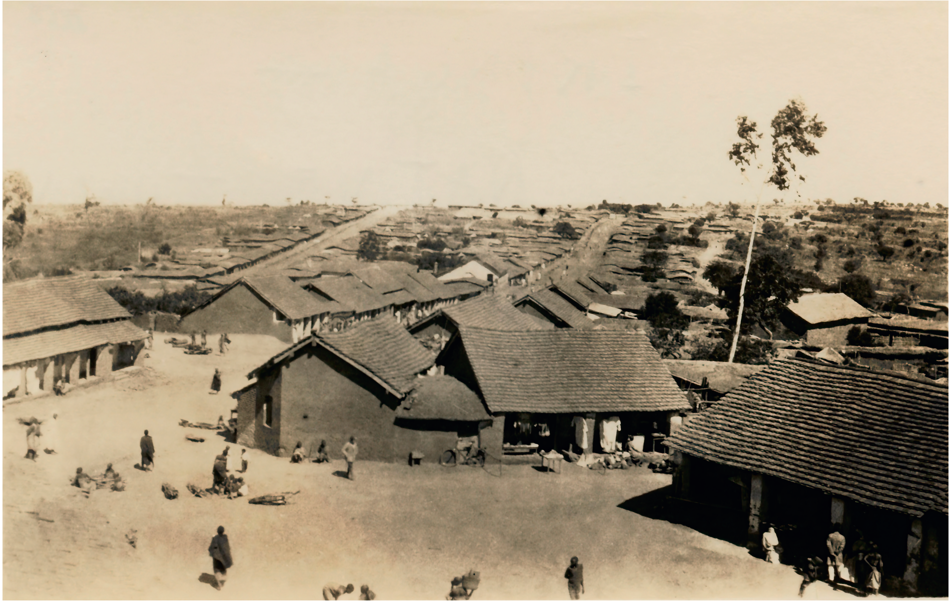


Fig. 4–1: Iringa Town centre in 1924.

4 European footsteps in the land of the Chief – Interpreting the shared history of Iringa

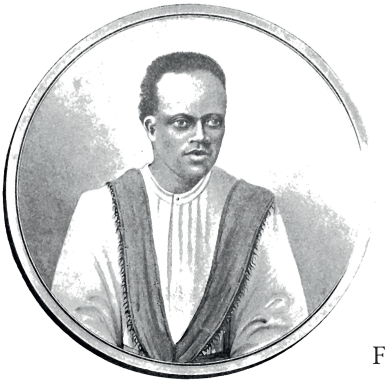
4.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out to reconstruct the history of Iringa from different perspectives to see where they converge to what Iringa Town and Region stand for today. The examination employs the idea of shared history as a conceptual tool to address the conflicting memories and emotions, as well as the commonalities and connecting elements between the different historical representations. Through multivocal storytelling, it seeks to transcend colonial and post-independence historiographies and expose the ambiguous and fragmented nuances between them. Moreover, the collected historical narrations are regarded as cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986) that may be converted into social capital by promoting mutual understanding and cooperative relations between different groups.

The examination employs ethno-historical methods combining historical and ethnographic data. It is an output of the Iringa Urban History research project within the framework of the wider fahari yetu heritage conservation and management programme. In January 2015, the project team conducted a Focus Group Discussion (FGD) campaign within the municipal wards to elicit relevant topics and perspectives regarding the history of Iringa from the local community. In a second phase of data collection, the identified themes were deepened in a series of life story interviews with elder representatives from different social groups in the community – including the native Hehe people, other local ethnic groups, and people with German, British, Greek, Arabic, and Indian immigration background. For this chapter, I decided to unfold the historical perspectives of three selected groups through biographical narrations of their current representatives. The life story narrations are supported by historical photographs, memoirs of contemporary witnesses, and site explorations together with the respondents. Data analysis and presentation followed the procedures set out in Chapter 3.

The first section tells the story of a historical figure of the Hehe people in the wake of German colonialism, to illustrate the indigenous perspective on the history of Iringa. It is empirically accessed through the biography of Serafino Lanzi, a present member of a side lineage of the Hehe royal dynasty. The second section follows the history of a family stemming from the deployment of German colonial troops in Iringa. The narration is based on the biographies of two of the family's present-day descendants, Caesar and Sophia Poppe. The third section evokes the perspective of European settlers in Iringa through the lives of Jobst and Liz de Leyser, a German-British couple that has lived in Iringa since the 1920s. The chapter is concluded with a theoretical reflection of the overarching themes presented in the narrations and how they inform the objectives of the study.

4.2 Mpangile Wangimbo and the history of the Hehe chiefdom



"I am Mpangile Wangimbo the son of Sengimba the beautiful, the one with the most powerful remedy under God. I fed that medicine from her breast so you cannot mess with me!"

Fig. 4–2: Drawn portrait of Mpangile Wangimbo.

Allegedly with these words, Mpangile Wangimbo ranted at his tormentors during his public execution in the garrison town of "New Iringa" on 22 February 1897 (Malangalila 1987:49). He was executed by the same German colonial occupiers who had instated him as the viceroy of the Hehe people just about two months earlier. His older brother Mkwawa, the actual chief and former ruler of Iringa, was a fugitive in the vast mountainous bush land from where he led a guerrilla war against the occupying forces. Mpangile's story, set at the crossroads between Iringa's old days as a powerful chiefdom and a new era of colonial administration, serves as a frame to examine the indigenous history of Iringa.

4.2.1 Biographical access

The representation of Hehe history in this section is based on the story of Mpangile Wangimbo as it was narrated by Serafino Lanzi. We came to know Serafino through different activities within the fahari yetu work programme, for which he provided interpretations of historical sites, connected us to current members of the Hehe royal family, and collaborated in the organisation of an annual regional tourism fair. When I delved deeper into my PhD research in 2018, he assisted me in finding Hehe elders for interviews and accompanied me on different field excursions. During our explorations, I realized that Serafino had a deep personal passion for the history of the Hehe people and the Mkwawa family in particular, and his knowledge would provide a good access point to the indigenous history of Iringa. We conducted his life story interview on 01 September 2018 in the fahari yetu office in Iringa Town. The interview was followed by two further site exploration tours around Iringa region in late 2018 and early 2019, to gain further insights on the raised historical matters.

Serafino is born on 10 December 1971 in Kiponzelo, Iringa Rural District, to his mother Juditha Sengimba and his stepfather Angelo Mfilinge, both identifying as Hehe people. His biological father is the Italian mission worker Luidino Lanzi. His childhood is characterized by the Roman-Catholic Mission context his parents come from – and by irritations in society about his obvious mixed-race background. From 1978–1986, he lives on his maternal grandfather's and great-grandmother's farm in Isalavanu, a village in Mufindi District, not far away from Kiponzelo. His grandfather (head of the Ngimba clan) and great-grandmother (medical custodian of the clan) bring Serafino to learn about the culture, history, and the old ways of life of the Hehe people, which would become a life-long interest and shape his future. After both elders have passed away, Serafino returns to his parent's house in Kiponzelo in 1986 and attends a vocational secondary school nearby to become a carpenter. Shortly after finishing his training, he starts working for a big timber company, but falls seriously ill for months – until he finds cure through traditional Hehe medicine. He does not resume his employment and struggles to find a sustainable occupation around Iringa for a couple of years. In 1993, he moves to live with relatives in Dar es Salaam to undergo further professional training as a driver and electrician. In 1997, he begins to work with Doctors with Africa CUAMM, an Italian NGO protecting and promoting health in Africa. CUAMM relocates Serafino back to Iringa to work for their programmes, which are hosted by the Roman-Catholic mission in the region. In 1998, he marries his wife Veronica, a woman originating from Dodoma, and they start a family. Over the years, five children are born – three sons and two daughters. Serafino's contract with CUAMM expires in 2001, and he begins to work for different tourist lodges in Iringa Region. Serafino decides to settle in Iringa Town, where he works for different tour operators and later on his own account. In tourism, he can combine his love for history and nature as a tour guide and heritage custodian. At the end of the 2000s, he is appointed to the regional tourism committee, which consists of various stakeholders in the industry. Since 2014 he frequently participates in fahari yetu programme activities.

Serafino's life story offers several starting points to explore the history of Iringa and the Mkwawa family in particular. First of all, as an offspring of the Ngimba clan, he belongs to a sideline of the Mwamuyinga royal dynasty. Mpangile's mother Sengimba (= daughter of Ngimba) was arguably the most powerful female figure in Hehe history. As implied in the opening quote of this section, she had derived her power from her command over Hehe medicine, the protective and curative use of which is another recurrent theme in Serafino's life. At the same time, Serafino's story bears references to the social order of New Iringa, such as the aspect of Christian missions becoming a cornerstone of life, and the complicated relationship between different social groups in the racialized colonial system.

4.2.2 From chieftain's seat to death row

It is the 22nd February 1897 in the recently established garrison town of "New Iringa", South-Central part of German East Africa. The Germans had founded the small town in the highlands about half a year earlier, just 15 kilometres away from what they called "Old Iringa" – the fortified capital of the famous Hehe Chief Mkwawa which they had demolished two years before in the course of the Hehe wars[25]. The highland weather is pleasantly moderate, even though occasional cloudbursts can occur at any time during the rainy season from December to May. The German authorities hope that the rain will not interfere with the public execution that is scheduled for the afternoon. They are still hunting for the powerful Chief Mkwawa who has fled into the bush, from where he wages a guerrilla war against the colonial appropriation of his country. As a measure of breaking the resistance, German commander Tom von Prince has introduced regular public executions of alleged collaborators with the chief. The executions – carried out at a designated execution ground located along a local thoroughfare – are public spectacles which the townspeople are forced to attend in order to be deterred from supporting the fugitive Mkwawa (von Prince 1908: 60). On this day, the list of convicts for execution contains prominent names: Mkwawa's brother Mpangile, their half-brother Mgungihaka, and three of Mkwawa's sub-chiefs *(vanzagila).*

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[25] The term Hehe wars, as coined by Alison Redmayne (1968a), describes a conflict between the German imperial forces and the Hehe people in the South-Central part of German East Africa during the final decade of the 19th century. The conflict arose from the Germans' endeavour to control the lucrative caravan trade through the central parts of the colony. Eventually, the conflict culminated in the lengthy conquest of the land against the grim resistance of the Hehe under their famous Chief Mkwawa. Key events of the Hehe wars were the annihilation of the first German military expedition into Uhehe in the battle of Lugalo in August 1891, the destruction of the fortified Hehe capital Kalenga in October 1894, the establishment of the German garrison town of "New Iringa" in 1896, Mkwawa's ongoing guerrilla war against the German establishment in Iringa from 1896–1898, and finally the chief's death by suicide in July 1898. For a detailed course of events in the Hehe wars see Redmayne (1968a, 1968b), Pizzo (2007, 2012) and Ngassapa (2011).

Mpangile is a popular figure among the Hehe. He was born around 1870 (Nigmann 1908: 20) during the rise of the Hehe chiefdom[26] under his father, Chief Munyigumba, and is therefore still a young man compared to his older brother Mkwawa, who was born in 1855. He was raised to become a Hehe warrior and fought in the German wars during the first half of the 1890s. Arnold (1995: 107) suggests that he could have been the commander of the Hehe in the battle of Lugalo in 1891, in which a German military expedition was annihilated. After the establishment of New Iringa, Capt. Tom von Prince wants to harness Mpangile's popularity to undermine Mkwawa's power and influence. Thus, he decides to install him as vicegerent of Uhehe, hoping that Mpangile would be able to bind enough followers to make the Hehe attitude swing pro-German and do away with the spirit of resistance. Mpangile's ceremonial inauguration as Hehe chief is a colourful event that takes place in New Iringa on Christmas Eve 1896.

During the months before and after his inauguration, Mpangile is a regular visitor at the house of Capt. Von Prince and his wife in New Iringa and at the Benedictine mission station in Old Iringa. Available first-hand accounts of interactions with him draw a stunningly charismatic picture. The Benedictine priest Alphons Adams (1899: 54–55), who taught Mpangile to read and write, the use of the German language, Christian religion, as well as European customs and courtesies, glorifies him as a young, handsome king who displayed a free, good, intelligent, and distinguished demeanour, intellectual curiosity, patience, and perseverance in learning. Magdalene von Prince's diary of her years in Iringa (1908) contains frequent entries about interactions with him, in which she praises him as "of imposing stature and energetic demeanour that distinguishes him from his surroundings" (p. 57), "a tall, handsome man with open facial features, a free look, and a generally impressive character" (p. 55), and "confident, conversant, curious, gallant charming" (p. 61–62).

Given these flattering characterizations, Mpangile's execution just about two months into his term as native chief seems all the more surprising. Following a series of attacks on German outposts by Mkwawa and his troops – in which several askari soldiers are killed – Mpangile, Mgungihaka, and the sub-chiefs are detained on 14

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[26] The German Lieutenant Hans Glauning (1898: 5–6) defined the Hehe people as "a mixture of all the peoples that were subdued by a great rulers' dynasty during a time period of 40–50 years". Chief Munyigumba Mwamuyinga, who reigned from 1855–1879 (Nigmann 1908: 9), is commonly credited with subjugating and uniting the local clans and chiefdoms of the area into one people, and expanding the territory in campaigns against neighbouring groups including the Sagara, Bena, Sangu, and Ngoni. The Hehe now had the reputation of being a warrior people. His son Mukwavinyika Mwamuyinga, in short Mkwawa, who reigned from 1881–1898, further expanded the empire fighting against the Kimbu, Nyamwezi, and Gogo in the North, in order to gain access to the caravan trade that went through their lands. For detailed accounts on the history of the Hehe chiefdom see Nigmann (1908), Ngassapa (2011), Malangalila (1987), Arning (1896, 1897) and Redmayne (1968a, 1968b).

Glauning's definition supports Comaroff and Comaroff's (2009: 39) concept of ethnicity to be a historically conditioned, instrumentally motivated construction based on a process of expansion and consolidation of a governance structure. In a discussion during one of our site visits, Serafino also confirmed this conception by conceding that there was never a primordial group of original Hehe people but always an amalgamation of clans of different origin.

February 1897 to spend more than a week in the lock-up of the military station in Iringa. Benedictine priest Adams visits him on 21 February and is shocked to see him chained to the wall, in miserable physical condition. In his account, Mpangile begs him to plead to Capt. Von Prince to spare his life (Adams 1899: 59). Serafino's uncle Salehe, another respondent I interviewed, claims that Mpangile's condition in prison resulted from a self-imposed hunger-strike, and that he played the Marimba, a local musical instrument, to keep himself and his fellow detainees entertained. On 22 February, the accused are court-martialled in the military station, found guilty of treason, and sentenced to death by hanging.

Until today, academic scholars, hobby historians, and community members speculate about the reasons for Mpangile's conviction. The German records claim that Mpangile was sentenced to death for aiding his fugitive brother Mkwawa by leaking information that had led to targeted guerrilla attacks on outposts and the killing of three askari soldiers (von Prince 1908: 70–73). In his account of his personal relationship with Mpangile during the months before the execution, Adams (1899: 56) notices that Mpangile had been in close contact with Mkwawa and apparently was torn between loyalty to his brother and the promising new life in Iringa under the Germans. Adams' and von Prince's accounts corroborate each other in painting a positive picture of Mpangile as a cultivated and intelligent man ready to adopt the way of life of the Germans, whose moral integrity on the other hand led him to remain loyal to his roots and family and betray the German cause.

> Mpangile was collaborating with the Germans to catch Mkwawa, so he started different strategies to draw his older brother to Kalenga and set him up. He slept with Mkwawa's wives to make him come in anger. But Mkwawa sent people to warn Mpangile that he is more powerful than him and that he would kill him for what he is doing. He arranged a big feast in Kalenga with music, food and beer, and spread the word that he would come to attend. The Germans asked Mpangile about the rumours and in his eagerness to ingratiate himself with them he told them that he had set up the event and made sure his brother would come. But Mkwawa did not show up, the Germans were looking for him all night but no one came. Claiming that he had betrayed them, they arrested Mpangile instead, tortured him and finally hung him in town.
>
> – Serafino Lanzi, September 2018 –

Serafino turns around the accusation and draws a less positive picture of Mpangile as a traitor to his brother Mkwawa. Pizzo (2007: 197–198) assumes that the brothers had fallen out since the fall of Mkwawa's headquarter in Kalenga in 1894[27] when

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[27] Kalenga, or what the Germans refer to as "Old Iringa" had been the first urban settlement in the region. In the beginning of the 1890s, it was a prosperous and industrious town of about 4,000–5,000 inhabitants (Schele 1896: 74), which attracted traders and visitors from various other places. It was surrounded by a stone wall of four metres in height and at least five kilometres in length, giving it the

Mpangile began to push for Mkwawa's abdication to ascend the throne himself. Since then, Mkwawa apparently feared that his younger brother would submit to the Germans to fulfil his ambition. However, Mpangile and Mkwawa likely had an ambiguous relationship which may have contributed to the eventual killing of Mpangile. We can also note that Serafino's interpretation takes away the agency from the Germans in the course of events and gives Mkwawa the active role of plotting to stay ahead of his adversaries.

Moreover, the deadly accusations of collusion with Mkwawa as well as with the Germans may have been fuelled by ordinary human emotions. There are stories of Mpangile committing adultery with the wives of the key antagonists on both sides. In the quote above, Serafino accuses him of sleeping with Mkwawa's wives to provoke a reaction. In line with this assertion, Pizzo (2007: 210) cites a key informant saying that Mpangile and Mkwawa indeed collaborated behind Prince's back – but then Mkwawa fell out with his brother, angry because he slept with his wives, so he arranged "evidence" for the Germans that proved their collaboration. On the other side, Magdalene von Prince's diary (1908) displays a striking infatuation with Mpangile in the way she gushily describes him and how they exchanged little gifts (see p. 61–62). Even the hardened soldier Hans Glauning (1898: 60) refers to Mpangile's extraordinary handsome appearance in his early account of the Hehe people and their land. Michael Pesek suggests that Magdalene possibly had a romantic or sexual relationship with Mpangile.[28] It is not implausible that her husband Tom discovered the liaison and ordered to execute the sultan out of jealousy. Even if there was no actual sexual contact between the two, Tom may have Noticed her obvious crush on Mpangile and jealousy eventually biased his judgement in the court-martial. In the end, however, it was possibly the combination of all these factors that led to his death sentence.

4.2.3 Mpangile's execution – Tales of betrayal and redemption

After the sentence, the convicts are to follow the execution procedure immediately.

> My grandfather told me that after the judgement by the commander, the convicts had to walk up the Legezamwendo street to the execution place on the

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appearance of a German town during the 30 Years' War in 17th century Europe (Glauning 1898: 66). Winans (1965: 438) remarks that "the whole Hehe state seems to have operated from a fixed centre, at least for the brief period of two generations which mark its zenith". Towards the end of the dry season 1894, the new German Governor himself, Col. Baron von Schele, led the campaign against the Hehe capital with Capt. Tom von Prince as second in command. The heavy artillery shelling of Kalenga began on 28 October 1894 and went on for two days. On 30 October, the German troops stormed and captured the fort. The massive stone fort was shattered to ruins, but Mkwawa himself had fled into the bush. For a detailed course of events see Ngassapa (2011), von Schele (1896) and Pizzo (2007).

[28] Michael Pesek: Die kleinen Geheimnisse der Magdalene von Prince, *Safari ya bwana lettow –Ein Blog über den Ersten Weltkrieg in Afrika* (blog), 2 July 2017, http://bwana-lettow.blogspot.com/2017/07/die-kleinen-gehemnisse-der-magadalene.html.

> edge of the escarpment. For the executions, they had selected a place on a high point so that the officers at the Boma could see what is going on up there. They had also deliberately chosen a spot along the thoroughfare connecting the old Hehe capital in Ng'uluhe with the fortified one in Kalenga. That means many people were passing there who they wanted to threaten with the executions and the dead bodies. – Serafino Lanzi, September 2018 –

The course of events during the execution itself is another field of contestation. Von Prince (1908: 60) elaborates that convicted prisoners were usually sentenced to death by hanging. When dangling on the gallows, they were given a *coup de grâce* to grant them an immediate death. Adams (1899: 59) remembers that in Mpangile's case the executioners, because they saw no blood running to the ground from the first shot, fired a second shot at him to make sure he was dead. He adds that this need for a second shot led to superstitious interpretations among the Hehe people afterwards.

> They fired at him, but the bullets did not enter his body. Mpangile Wangimbo just looked at them with contempt and boasted in front of them saying *"I am Mpangile Wangimbo, the son of Sengimba the beautiful, the one with the most powerful remedy under God. I fed that medicine from her breast so you cannot mess with me!"* The Germans said "this guy will not take us for fools" and brought a metal hook. They thrusted it into his throat and hung him up to die in a torturous manner. – Serafino Lanzi, September 2018 –

Serafino probably adopted Mpangile's direct speech (in italic print) in this quote from Malangalila (1987: 49). In his version of the story, Mpangile's invulnerability to bullets forced the Germans to resort to a different method of despatch. First of all, this interpretation gives him an active role in the procedure instead of just being victimized and eliminated. Second, the power to withstand bullets is attributed to the war medicine that was crafted in the royal Muyinga family[29] under the great custodian Sengimba. In the quote, Mpangile identifies what he calls "remedy" [30] as the source of his strength to prevail over death in his confrontation with the German oppressor in Iringa. In Hehe tradition, the chief traditionally owed his position partly to his genealogy as member of the Muyinga dynasty, partly to his own ability and intelligence, and partly to *lihomelo,* the war remedy he commanded (Redmayne 1968a: 424, 429). Many Hehe people believe that it was the possession of this medicine that enabled Munyigumba and Mkwawa to unite the Hehe people during the tribal and anti-colonial wars (Redmayne 1968b: 45). Their soldiers would take this medicine of immunizing nature by dint of which they would become invisible to their enemies (Crema 1987: 19). Chief Mkwawa's war medicine is described as a black mass stored in a cow horn, which was carried clearly visible for friend and foe by one of his closest confidants during every war campaign (Fülleborn 1906: 217). A skull of a remedy-carrier in the collection of human remains at the Berlin Ethnological Museum is a physical reminder of this practice (Brockmeyer, Edward et al. 2020: 132).

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[29] Before the 19th century, the Hehe highland was inhabited by a number of clans who had established themselves in small chiefdoms and shared language and culture. While the majority of the population of these chiefdoms was of Bantu-speaking origin, an immigration of Semitic- and Nilotic-speaking groups into the area took place during the 17th and 18th century. According to the Hehe origin myth, the forebear of the Muyinga dynasty was a light-skinned hunter of Habesh origin in Ethiopia, who came into Uhehe from the neighbouring Usagara in the North-West. With the daughter of a local clan chief, he fathered a son who was named *Mwamuyinga,* meaning "son of a nomad" or "son of a roamer" in Kihehe (Ngassapa 2011: 40). Mwamuyinga became the first ruler of the Muyinga dynasty around 1730 (Nigmann 1908: 8). In the 19th century, his descendants Munyigumba and Mkwawa would become the great rulers of the Hehe people. For detailed accounts on the Muyinga genealogy see Ngassapa (2011), Nigmann (1908) and Malangalila (1987).

[30] The Swahili term "dawa" is commonly translated as medicine. Yet its meaning goes beyond the English meaning of treatment against illness and encompasses magic charms or potions used to combat or

> When it was time for him to marry his first wife, Munyigumba decided to marry a daughter of the Ngimba clan because the Ngimbas were known to have very strong war medicine. And because it proved to be true that it was even stronger, he later married another daughter of the Ngimbas.
>
> – Serafino Lanzi, September 2018 –

Sengimba became Munyigumba's first wife at the beginning of his reign in 1855. Until 1879, she gave birth to six children, three sons and three daughters, among them Mkwawa and Mpangile (Nigmann 1908: 20). Soon after their marriage, she became the custodian of Munyigumba's war medicine. This gave her a strong position in the male-dominated Hehe society, Arning (1896: 243) describes her as a woman of extraordinary energetic nature who influenced her husband in how to conduct his war campaigns. In Hehe history, Sengimba is most prominently remembered for sacrificing her life to protect the war medicine from the usurper Mwambambe after Munyigumba's death in 1879. During a site exploration tour, Serafino took me to the place along the Little Ruaha river where Sengimba threw herself into the water, a relatively hidden spot marked by a heap of stones on which the family members put fresh twigs on every visit. The Sengimba legend creates a link of personal empowerment for Serafino as a descendent of the same family. The tradition of female custodianship of medical care and magical remedy in the Ngimba clan is a recurring theme in his life story in which he got invested through his childhood upbringing with the elders in the family.

> When I grew up in Isalavanu, my mother's grandmother wanted me to stay with her in her house – and my grandfather agreed. Later, I was told that she wanted to protect me from witchcraft, she thought many witches would come after me because of my colour of skin. – Serafino Lanzi, September 2018 –

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fend off harm and misfortune. Thus, in my opinion the term "remedy" may be the most adequate translation in the context of forging magical protection against war enemies or other threats and calamities.

The quote contains a reference to Serafino's different colour of skin from most of the people he grew up with. In this context, the association of white skin with witchcraft can be interpreted as a notion of Europeans as a threat, which has remained in the family since the days of the great Mkwawa.

> The Germans tried to get a picture of Mkwawa, but they did not succeed. My grandfather told me that it had occurred to his father Munyigumba in his dreams before he died that there would come people with white skin to the Hehe land. And that these white people would not be good people, that they would come to take the land from us, to govern us, and to make us bow down to them. Mkwawa had to swear an oath to his father that we would never allow the white man to touch or even see him. – Serafino Lanzi, September 2018 –

Available European accounts (Kiepert 1886; Adams 1899; von Prince 1908) unanimously report that Mkwawa never attended European visitors himself but always sent mediators to negotiate on his behalf. There are also no existing photographs of the chief that would give an idea of his personal appearance. Fülleborn (1906: 208) concedes that no European could pride himself of having seen Mkwawa knowingly, except for the corpse after his death. Evading himself from being known and being captured are part of the resistance narrative against the colonial conquest that served and still serves as a source of pride for the people of Iringa. The legend says that, after the heavy losses in the battle of Lugalo, Mkwawa swore another oath on the grave of his father Munyigumba, that he would never again campaign against the white man in open battle (Fülleborn 1906: 209). Instead, he transformed his tactics and shifted to a decentralized, concealed form of warfare based on the uncertainty of when, where, and against whom he would strike. This made him a less predictable and, hence, much more dangerous enemy – truly feared and admired by the Germans. In her diary, Magadalene von Prince vividly describes the unease, fear, and resentment that the people of New Iringa felt during this period of constant harassment and attack. It says "we are facing a people controlled by the will of one person. Mkwawa's mighty hand is tangible everywhere, all our thoughts and worries revolve around 'HIM' (von Prince 1908: 83)." After Mkwawa is finally dead and defeated,[31] she notes "we have to give our highest esteem to the Hehe as the enemy. Many of them loyally supported their former ruler till death (ibid: 157)."

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[31] In July 1898, after almost two years on the run, Mwawa finally could not elude himself any more from the German hunt. Sergeant Merkl provides a vivid report of the tedious pursuit (von Prince 1908: 180–181), ending with how he tracked him down with a small detachment on 19 July in a place called Mlambalasi, where they discovered the dead bodies of the chief and his bodyguard after they had shot themselves.

> "The man they found him with was Mwangimba. He was Mkwawa's cousin, his loyal bodyguard and his closest confidant. When Mkwawa could not run any longer and wanted to kill himself, Mwangimba insisted the chief to kill him first so that he could prepare for Mkwawa's arrival in the next world. They knew that there is God and that after death they would reach to another place and another life. Mwangimba was the uncle of my grandfather Mzee Ngimba."
>
> – Serafino Lanzi, September 2018 –

Adams (1899: 74) reports that Mpangile's last words before dying on the hook were an appeal to his people, shouting "Kapirimbo (Capt. Tom von Prince) wants to kill me; go now to join my brother in the wilderness and wage war!" The words take an admiring stance, drawing a picture of moral redemption similar to Serafino's account. They imply that, in the face of death, after being lost in transition between the old and the new world, Mpangile finally reconciles the differences with his older brother Mkwawa and submits to the cause of fighting for the freedom of his people. His call can be interpreted as a pre-cursor of later anti-colonial resistance movements. Interestingly, the invulnerability to bullets through the war remedy and the killing by hanging appear to foreshadow the events in the Maji Maji war nearly 10 years later. The Maji Maji warriors similarly relied on war medicine to make their bodies bullet-proof, and many of them were hanged in public executions as part of the German strategy to crush the rebellion (see Giblin and Monson 2010).

Apparently, in the months before his death, Mpangile was masterly able to win over the German authorities and became a powerful actor and beneficiary of their administration. At the same time, he secretly assisted his brother in organizing the insurgency. During the German wars, many Hehe supposedly decided to cooperate with the Germans for their own health and safety – yet still deceived them in providing information or assistance. In her diary, Magdalene von Prince observes how allied Hehe still subtly supported or protected their fugitive Chief Mkwawa. She suspects that most local guides who accompanied troop detachments would make sure to not reveal the chief's position and deliberately lead the Germans away when knowing he was near. On march, they would always make sure to scan the area from the hills ahead of the soldiers and find ways to secretly supply the fugitive with food (von Prince 1908: 184–185). In her interpretation, the people were torn apart between two alternatives, the chief as their cultural heritage, and the German establishment as a new opportunity. "The people wanted peace for their land, but they did not want to buy it through betraying their sultan". Less romanticizing, Pizzo (2012) coins the described behaviour as "cunning tactics". He conceives Africans as active, self-interested participants in the colonization process, who played different roles as adversaries, power-brokers, or system beneficiaries. These roles had to be negotiated in a system based on a general inferiority status given to them (ibid.: 75). While openly opposing the colonizers usually led to violent oppression and abuse, a smart approach to collaboration involving covert opposition gave them opportunities to exploit the colonial system for their own benefit. Mpangile, however, possibly overdid his attempt at playing both sides and in the end fell between all stools.

Serafino's words suggest that the death of Chief Mkwawa marks the biggest caesura in the history of Iringa. The quote reads as Mkwawa's final acknowledgment that it was time for him to let go of his kingdom and make way for a new era with a new way of life. In undying loyalty, Serafino's ancestor sacrificed himself to accompany the chief on his last journey.

4.2.4 Aftermath – of human remains and their whereabouts

Another mystery surrounding the story and execution of Mpangile Wangimbo is what happened to his dead body after the execution.

> Most of the dead bodies of the executed were just thrown to the crows and hyenas into the ravine behind where the mosque is nowadays. The ravine was called kisima cha bibi, the grandmother's well. But sometimes the relatives of the dead came to retrieve the bodies. We were told that the two brothers of Mkwawa, Mpangile and Mgungihaka, were buried somewhere near where the Samora Stadium is today. Unfortunately, we do not know the exact location – but they were buried. – Serafino Lanzi, September 2018 –

It seems likely that the Hehe community would not just leave the bodies of two important members of the royal family to the ravens, but secure their bodies for a proper burial. Yet only very few people happen to remember that a burial took place – and, obviously, no proper grave site or gravestone was erected back in the days. Also, there is apparently no recollection among the Hehe or the Iringa community that the Germans decapitated Mpangile's dead body after the execution. They either threw the headless body into the ravine, from where it was recovered by Hehe people, or buried it themselves in the place remembered by the community. Regarding the skull, it was the Iringa Station physician, Dr. Stierling, who took Mpangile's skull in his private possession. In 1898, he gave it on loan to the Berlin Ethnological Museum in Germany (Brockmeyer, Edward et al 2020: 129–130). Under the guise of anthropological research purposes, thousands of skulls and bones of deceased subjects were sent to imperial Germany from the African and other colonies, to be subjected to racist pseudo-scientific measurement procedures. The receipt of Mpangile's skull in 1898 is documented in the digitized archive of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin.[32] Brockmeyer, Edward et al. (ibid.) traced the way of the skull over the years through the correspondence between Dr. Stierling and Prof. von Luschan, the Director of the Africa Department of the Berlin Ethnological Museum. In July 1898, von Luschan acknowledged receipt of the skull on loan from Stierling. However, the skull later turned into an economic asset for Stierling, and he offered to sell it to the museum in 1925. Prof. Luschan had died a year earlier, and because his successors didn't know anything about the case, the purchase offer was not even considered. In the end, in May 1926, Mpangile's skull was returned to Stierling's private possession, and its whereabouts are now unknown.

None of Hehe respondents I interviewed had been aware of the possible removal of Mpangile's skull from Iringa and the course it took through German institutions.

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[32] File "Die Erwerbung ethnologischer Gegenstände aus Afrika 1898", I/MV 0719, p. 158ff. Retrieved from SMB-digital, Online collections database, https://recherche.smb.museum/detail/784967 (DFG-Viewer).

Serafino believes that the souls of Mpangile and other persons executed at Kitanzini continued to live in the hanging tree and took possession of those who came to fell the tree. I could personally observe Serafino's spiritual connection to the ancestors when he spoke to his great-grandfather Mwangimba, Mkwawa's bodyguard and confidant in the German wars, at the grave in Mlambalasi, and to the great Sengimba at the spot in Kikongoma where she committed suicide. Through worshipping the ancestors in these places, their power and strength can be reified as remedy to be conferred upon the descendants. At the time of collecting data for this study, we were not aware that the skull's whereabouts are unknown – and Serafino showed strong interest in trying to find out whether the skull would still be available, and, if yes, to initiate a joint restitution project of returning it to Iringa. In March 2019, he went to trace direct descendants of Mpangile in Iringa and other parts of Tanzania, who also had no idea that remains of their great-grandfather had a storage history in the basement of the Berlin Ethnological Museum. They expressed to be generally open for a restitution project if the skull could be located.

Mpangile's skull is not the only human remain from the Mkwawa family that is said to have been removed by the Germans.. In 1897, the Germans razed the enclosure of the tomb in Rungemba and assigned Dr. Stierling to open the grave and retrieve Munyigumba's remains (Stierling 1957). But the most famous case is the skull of his brother, Chief Mkwawa himself, whose whereabouts were unknown until it was identified in the Anthropological Museum in Bremen and returned to Iringa more than 50 years later.[33] Apart from the skull, Tom von Prince had broken out a tooth from the skull of the great chief and cased it into a golden stamp of the family coat of arms. The tooth remained with the Prince family for more than 100 years until the descendants returned it to Abdul, then reigning chief of the Hehe, on 19 July 2014, Mkwawa's 116th death anniversary. The return of the tooth was documented by a German TV production team which accompanied von Prince's descendants on their visit to Iringa.[34]

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[33] Mkwawa's body was buried right near the site of his demise, while the head was chopped off for evidence and submitted to Capt. Tom von Prince in New Iringa. After having it provisionally dried and treated, von Prince made a photograph of it and kept it in his house for some time, as it is described in detail by his wife in her diary (von Prince 1908: 180). He then apparently ordered the station physician to cook off the flesh, before sending the skull to Dar es Salaam. It remains unclear what happened to it from there. After the end of World War 1, a demand for return of the skull to the British administration of Tanganyika was incorporated into the Treaty of Versailles, committing the Germans to return the skull within six months of coming into force of the treaty (Green 1961: para. 1–2). Although the Germans were willing to comply with the treaty's demand, they failed to trace and identify the right skull in the anthropological museums and archives in question (ibid.: para. 40–41, 43, 47–49). In 1951, the issue garnered attention again, this time fuelled by the initiative of the then governor of Tanganyika, Sir Edward Twining, who had visited Iringa and heard the tale from Adam Sapi, reigning chief and grandson of Mkwawa. Following two years of correspondence with relevant authorities in Germany, it was finally suggested that the skull might be in the Übersee Museum in Bremen (ibid.: para. 50). After measuring the cephalic indices of Adam Sapi and other descendants of Mkwawa, Sir von Twining travelled to Bremen and personally identified the skull in cooperation with the German authorities (ibid.: para. 51–58). Finally, on 19 June 1954, the skull was returned in a plastic casket to Chief Adam Sapi and other Hehe dignitaries in a solemn ceremony in Kalenga. It was placed on a pedestal below a portrait of the great chief inside a mausoleum specially built for this sacred relic (ibid.: para. 59–61). For a detailed reconstruction of different possible trajectories of the skull, see Brockmeyer, Edward et al. 2020.

The human remains cases are surrounded by questions of authenticity and spiritual relations to the ancestors. After the end of the Hehe wars, the Kitanzini area became one of the first settlements for Hehe people who moved into town from the villages. Today, it is a poor neighbourhood in Iringa. The hanging ground in its middle is still remembered by some of its residents, even though it seems that the memory began to fade with the removal of the mango tree from which the convicts were hanged.

> That tree was there for a long time until it was finally cut in the 1980s. We were told that the ones responsible for cutting it went mentally ill shortly after, probably they were haunted by the ancestors who hung from that tree.
>
> – Serafino Lanzi, September 2018 –

Above, we have seen that Hehe medicine can be regarded as a reification of spiritual power that helped the people of Uhehe to cure diseases, to master harsh weather conditions, and to protect themselves against evil deeds. Spiritual power had to be gained or mediated through communication with the ancestors, who would share their advice with the living generation. The Germans noticed the importance of ancestral worship when they were told that the fugitive Chief Mkwawa came to visit his family tomb in Rungemba every full moon to bring offerings and communicate with his deceased father Munyigumba (Stierling 1957: 28). After Mpangile's death, Capt. von Prince gave order to raze the whole enclosure in an act of deliberate spiritual warfare, aiming to crush Mkwawa's morale by disconnecting him from his ancestors. However, the authenticity of the skeleton Dr. Stierling extracted as Munyigumba's remains questionable. In several discussions, Serafino vehemently contested the removed remains to be the ones of Munyigumba. In his opinion, the Hehe, whether the living or the ancestral spirits, would never have allowed the Germans to desecrate their chiefs' graves. First of all, he was convinced that Munyigumba, a man of great vision who had been able to foretell significant events such as the coming of the Germans, would have shielded the grave by ancestral protection which the Germans would not have been able to break. The ancestors reside in the place where they lost their life or where their remains are buried, scaring off hostile intruders in the form of bees, scorpions, or snakes. Secondly, Serafino referred to the subversive attitude and behaviour of the local Hehe people at that time, arguing that they wouldn't have pointed the intruders to the right grave. Indeed, even Stierling's account (ibid.: 28) sounds contradictory when he describes how local Hehe informants pointed him to the right grave, while at the same time complaining about their obstinacy upon his inquiries. However, the "cunning behaviour" (Pizzo 2012) of the people – whether this actually happened or whether it was attributed to them in the present narration – allowed the Hehe to recover command over historical interpretation.

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[34] B. Braun and D. Lerch (2015): Der Zahn des Häuptlings – Versöhnungsreise nach Tansania (TV documentary), 30 min, WDR Fernsehen. Summary under https://web.archive.org/web/20211206124124/https://programm.ard.de/?sendung=2811115670241268.

A similar debate about authenticity revolves around the skull of Chief Mkwawa himself. Although Chief Adam Sapi acknowledged that, the skull he received in 1954 was his grandfather's, the returned skull was never subjected to a DNA test. During our interviews and site visits, Serafino repeatedly suggested that the skull presented in the mausoleum in Kalenga may not be Mkwawa's, but one that was mistaken for the real one. He argued that the Germans did not know what the chief had looked like, and that they were dependent on local Hehe residents to identify the dead body. Because most of the Hehe people were deeply loyal to their chief, they may have tricked the German authorities and presented a body to them which was actually not the right one. Serafino claims that there are Hehe elders who remember that Mkwawa had already been dead, and that his body (including the skull) was secretly buried in either Kalenga, near his old fortress, or at his father's family burial site in Rungemba. In this narrative, Mkwawa bested his enemies one last time, and his corpse remained in the land of his ancestors (Brockmeyer, Edward et al. 2020: 125). As a researcher, I read these assertions as political claims. The story of the violent removal, search, and eventual return of the relic is official historiography that was contrived by the German and British colonial authorities. Re-writing it from an alternative perspective can be regarded as an effort of re-claiming the sovereignty of interpretation over the sequence of historical events that took place. In Serafino's version, the chief eluded himself from colonial capture until after his death and, thereby, from the role of a victim who was mutilated and denied his human dignity. Deceiving the oppressor puts the chief and the Hehe people in an active position of power instead, and receiving a proper burial restores the integrity of the family history. But, apparently, current members of the royal family are divided over the matter. In another interview, Gerald Malangalila, an respected elder in another sideline of the royal dynasty, clearly stated that he believes that the skull in the mausoleum truly is Mkwawa's, and that its authenticity should be accepted without further contestation.

Lastly, in case of the tooth, authenticity concerns did not come from the Mkwawa family but from Tanzanian government authorities. The handover to Chief Abdul had been scheduled as the ceremonial highlight of the public memorial on Mkwawa's 116th death anniversary in July 2014. Before the event, the government through the Antiquities Department of the Ministry for Natural Resources and Tourism interdicted the public handover from happening until the authenticity of tooth would be verified through a DNA test. In the end, the descendants of von Prince handed over the tooth to Abdul in a private setting. In the German TV documentary, several members of the von Prince family describe the tooth as a curse that had brought various misfortunes such as physical and mental diseases over the family. When they finally handed over the tooth, this felt like a huge relief from a massive burden. Interestingly, with the handover, the curse seems to have been transferred to the Mkwawa family.

Only a few months later, Chief Abdul died of a sudden heart attack. Other family members began to whisper that this happened because no clan elders had been involved in the return procedure. Since the death of her father, the tooth is in custody of Abdul's daughter Fatuma Mkwawa.

4.3 Legacies of the *Schutztruppe*

While the demise of Old Iringa was seen an end to a glorious past for the Hehe people, it marks the beginning of the history of other groups in the region. This section investigates the historical perspective of emerging protagonists of the new era, the *Kaiserliche Schutztruppe für Deutsch-Ostafrika* (Imperial Protectorate Force for German East Africa), which consisted of German and African soldiers.

4.3.1 Biographical access

The perspective is illustrated through the history of the Poppe family as it was told by two present day descendants, Caesar and Sophia Poppe. I first got into contact with Sophia in 2015 through the shared Email group of the international community in Iringa, where she introduced herself as a person of mixed Tanzanian-German origin who had returned to her birthplace Iringa. Intrigued by the prospects of her story, I contacted her and she agreed to participate in our fahari yetu urban history research project. A few weeks later, the interview took place in a restaurant in town. After the interview, Sophia connected us to her brother Caesar to obtain further information. We conducted an interview with Caesar in the fahari yetu office, and went on a history tour through Iringa Town under his guidance. I maintained an amicable relationship with both of them after the interviews, met them in town on different occasions, visited Caesar and his wife Nina on their farm near Iringa, and consulted them from time to time to ask them about specific aspects of their story. In November 2018, I was able to meet their brother Zacharia as well, when the family invited me to join a trip to the centenary commemoration of the end of the First World War in Mbala, Zambia.

4.3.2 Grandfather Max and the history of New Iringa

> The records show that our grandfather Max came from Bombay on a German ship called "Bürgermeister" that arrived in Dar es Salaam in December 1912.
> – Sophia Poppe, February 2016 –

The records Sophia referred to in the quote are Max' memoirs, a hand-typed document that was never published. Together with the interviews, it will serve as a basis for examination in this section. The Poppe family history in Tanzania begins with their German grandfather Max Poppe joining the German Schutztruppe in Berlin, and ar-

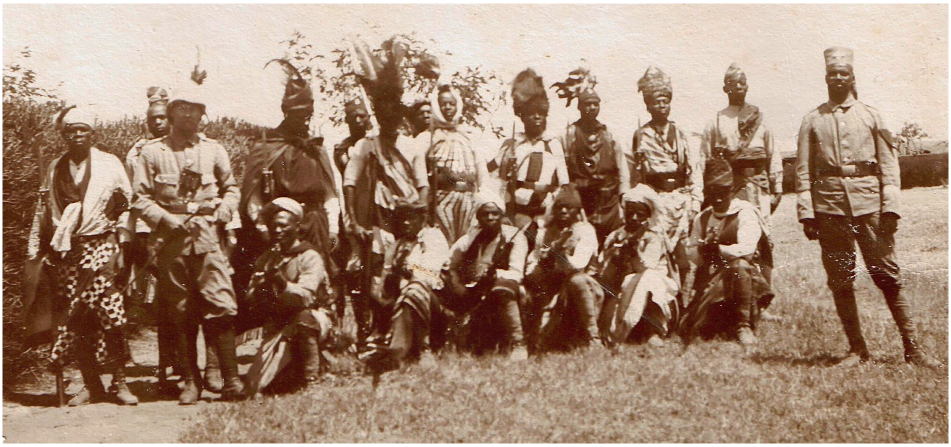

Fig. 4–3: Askari soldiers in Iringa around 1910.

riving in the East African colony in late 1912. The history of the Schutztruppe for German East Africa goes back to the 1880s. In 1884 and 1885, Carl Peters on his own initiative claimed vast stretches of East Africa for Germany with his band of explorers through signing so-called *Schutzbriefe* (protection treaties) with local African leaders. The treaties would become the basis for the authority of Peters' *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft* (German East Africa Company – DOAG) to govern the colony on behalf of the German Empire (Pizzo 2007: 45). The DOAG struggled to administer the colony from 1885–88 and was nearly bankrupt by the eve of the so-called "Arab Revolt". By 1889, nearly every community in coastal East Africa was in full rebellion against the company authority, and the German Reichstag commissioned Hermann Wissmann to assemble a native military contingent to enforce control over the colony (Michels 2009: 79). The troop Wissmann enlisted consisted of 10 officers, 32 non-commissioned officers, and 1200 African mercenaries, the majority of whom he had recruited in Cairo (Pizzo 2007: 106). Among the German officers were the commanders Emil von Zelewski and Tom von Prince, who would play crucial roles in the Hehe wars. With the use of brute force, the "Wissmann-Truppe" conquered the coastal strongholds of the rebels and managed to crush the revolt in 1890. Following the failure of the DOAG to exert control, the German imperial government assumed direct administration of the colony. In 1891, the Wissmann troop received the official designation "Kaiserliche Schutztruppe für Deutsch-Ostafrika" (Imperial Protectorate Force for German East Africa) and Emil von Zelewski became its new commander (Michels 2009: 89).

From 1913–14, Max is deployed to different military stations in German East-Africa, including Kilimatinde-Dodoma, Singida, Tabora, and Bujumbura, to train regiments of African recruits for the troops. The Schutztruppe had spent most of the 1890s pressing into the territory to set up outposts or garrisons at strategic points and trade routes. From these stations, the colonizers and their African recruits attempted to establish military authority and administrative control over the vast area they claimed as their colonial possession (Moyd 2014: 16). In 1914, on the eve of World War I, Col. Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck is appointed to command the Schutztruppe, which numbered approx. 15,000 askari and 3,500 German personnel at the time (Pizzo 2007: 50). When the war against the British allied forces in East Africa begins, Max Poppe coordinates the mobilization of African forces at Kondoa Irangi Station in central German East Africa. Poppe also fights in the battle of Tanga in November 1914, in which the Germans successfully fend off a seaside attack by the British navy. In the battle, he fights alongside Capt. Tom von Prince, who is killed during efforts to push back attacking Indian regiments fighting for the British allied forces (Schmiedel 1959: 50).

18 years earlier in May 1896, Tom von Prince had received order from the German governor to establish a military station in the heart of Uhehe (Morlang 2006: 87). For strategic reasons, he decides to build the station on a mountain with free view over the plains and trek roads, about 14 km to the south-east of Mkwawa's former capital Kalenga. After transporting the building materials up the mountains, the construction of the New Iringa station begins in the second half of July 1896 (von Prince 1908: 39, 42).

Magdalene von Prince arrives in Iringa to join her husband at the end of September, when the house of the station commander is ready to move in (ibid.: 52). In early October, Lt. Glauning (1898: 43) describes New Iringa as a fortified camp with straw huts, livestock enclosures, and a simple house for Capt. Prince and his wife. In the second half of December, he is surprised that it has grown into a little town of about 2000 inhabitants – with provisional houses for the Europeans, a completed officer's mess at the station, and abundant vegetable gardens. He mentions the houses of the African soldiers on both sides of the main street and clean huts with shops run by Baluchi, Indian, and Arab traders, and he also notices that many Hehe people have already settled around the town centre (ibid.: 51). Both Glauning's and Prince's (1908: 63–64) description of Mpangile's installation ceremony on 24 December 1896 illustrate the emerging urban character of New Iringa. They describe a huge, festively decorated crowd of townspeople awaiting the new chief on the parade ground in front of the station, more than 500 African soldiers in military line-up accompanying Mpangile, Tom von Prince and other dignitaries marching in, and ongoing festive activities including a donkey race, prize shooting, and a beef barbecue. During the Christmas holidays, von Prince (ibid.: 67) furthermore observes a domesticated ostrich on the street and regrets the demise of an elephant baby they had tried to raise. In March 1897, she proudly notices that she needed half an hour to stroll through the growing town, estimating that around 3,000 inhabitants had meanwhile settled in and around the residential area for the African population (ibid.: 88). In January 1898, she reports on the progress of construction works, including the near completion of a mosque, the foundation laying for the hospital, and the plans to build a market hall (ibid.: 154.) In May 1898, the town celebrates the opening of a postal station, and everyone wants to try to send postcards (ibid.: 172–173). Mkwawa's death in July 1898 finally leads to further economic upturn and increased construction activity in Iringa. The townspeople and traders have to pay hut taxes in cash to the German administration, while the Hehe and other people from rural areas can provide military service or fatigue duty in road construction (ibid.: 187).

> When the evening fevers did not subside, the doctors advised that I should be exposed to healthy mountain air for some time – and in spring 1915 I was relocated to Iringa station. [...] When we approached, Iringa gave the impression of a small, clean town, and this impression lasted also when I got to know the place better. – Max Poppe memoirs, p. 186 –

The cleanliness is not the only impression Max describes upon his arrival in Iringa Town in 1915. He also notes an instant mutual sympathy with Capt. Styx and his wife – and he remembers the impressive animal paintings on the walls and the crackling fire in the fireplace of Iringa station's officer's mess. Even though Malaria treatment had been the main reason for Max to come to Iringa, he soon engages in several duties and activities to explore life in town. One is to serve as a magistrate, helping to settle disputes among the local population. In this function, he befriends the *wali* (local government administrator), a man of mixed Arabic origin, whose wife's enticing appearance and demeanour fascinates him. The 2. Field Battalion of the Schutztruppe is stationed in Iringa, and major parts of the battalion are deployed to the Southern front of the colony in spring 1915. New soldiers are recruited as replacement, many of whom had grown up in either the Catholic Benedictine Mission or the Evangelic-Lutheran Berlin Mission in Uhehe. Max is the only soldier with battle experience at this time, and he takes on the duty of training the new recruits. They mostly do combat training in the scope of field exercises outside town. He remembers that the battalion had an excellent brass band[35] that could compete with the big ones he had seen in Dar es Salaam and Tanga. Max recalls that the brass band had always attracted an audience when playing for him and the recruits on their way back into town – turning their return into a cheerful parade. He particularly remembers how cute the young Hehe and other African girls had been, often between 10 and 16 years old, when they came to accompany the returning soldiers and the band.

The African Sgt. Sol Pendamoja becomes Max' Swahili teacher in Iringa. Through lessons on evening strolls as well as at home, he manages to improve his language skills and begins with the compilation of a German-Swahili dictionary. Shortly after, Pendamoja hands him over to new Swahili teachers, a wife and a daughter of different Schutztruppe soldiers. Both girls are only 12–15 years old, and they share the latest "town gossip" with him. In exchange for their teaching, the girls are given tea with sugar or fruit juice on ice on their visits, and gifts such as *Kanga* (batik cloths), *Kaniki*

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[35] In Tanzania today, brass bands are a common element at official functions in governmental and non-governmental contexts and occasions such as weddings and graduation ceremonies – although the custom goes back to the German troops during colonial times.

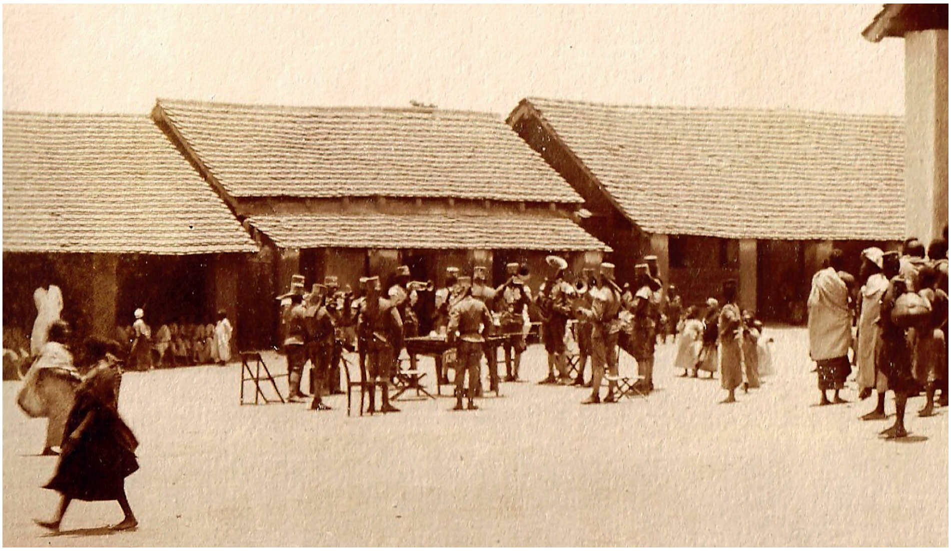

Fig. 4–4: Brass band of the Schutztruppe in Iringa, around 1910.

(Hehe garments for women), and pearl necklaces which they buy from the Indian store on Max' tab. Max describes the girls as pretty, intelligent, and funny – and he really enjoys his Swahili lessons.

> When Max was here in Iringa, he met Taabu, the daughter of an African soldier in the troop called Issa. [...] We think that Taabu must have been 14 or 15 years old at the time, while Max was maybe just over 20. Taabu told us that Max married her secretly without a ceremony because black and white people were not allowed to marry then. But he paid the bride price.
>
> – Sophia Poppe, February 2016 –

The obvious question here is whether Taabu was one of the two Swahili teachers Max mentions in his diary. We know for sure that he engaged in a relationship with Taabu, which would bring forth a son a couple of years later. According to Swahili tradition, paying the bride price would have sealed their marriage, giving him the right to live with her. However, in April 1916 Max is finally declared cured from his health condition and is summoned to Dodoma to re-join the ongoing war campaign. He remembers that his beautiful Swahili teachers accompanied him for several hours on a tearful goodbye march from Iringa.

The tides of the war are more and more turning against the Germans, and in August 1916 Iringa is occupied by the British allied forces (The Times 1917: 414). In 2017, the German troops are forced to retreat further and further into the South-Eastern part of the colony. In July 1917, Max reports that his "boy" Mabruk – a male domestic servant as they were commonly employed in the colonial context – re-joined him in the troops. It is possible that Mabruk brought Taabu along, even though Max never mentions their relationship in his memoirs. Caesar believes that his grandfather may have been too strongly influenced by the racial politics of colonial times, even when writing his memoirs, so he might have only referred to his relationship in coded hints that only insiders would understand. One of these hints could be that Max remembers a couple of relaxed and beautiful days during the march, which he spent with swimming, hunting, washing, and sleeping. This march pause occurred in October 1917 and, thus, could be the time when his son was fathered.

> Max was aware that she was pregnant, and he left them behind when they were going to Mozambique. He said to Issa you cannot continue fighting with me because you need to look after Taabu and our son or daughter. […] If my child is a boy, call him Hans – and if it is a girl, call her Anna.
>
> – Sophia Poppe, February 2016 –

In Mid-November, the Battalion receives marching orders to unite with the rest of the Schutztruppe under Gen. von Lettow-Vorbeck and to cross over to Portuguese East Africa to evade the British forces. The order came together with a directive to send home all accompanying wives. To avoid a mutiny, Max decides to leave it up to his African soldiers to leave together with their wives. A confidant named Issa is not mentioned in his memoirs, but he mentions the sad farewell from two of his favourite sergeants as well as from his "boy" Mabruk. In August 1918, two months after his son Hans is born in Iringa, Max is seriously wounded in a battle in Mozambique. He is captured, undergoes surgery, and finally recovers in British custody. After going through different detention camps in Mozambique and Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), he is brought back to Dar es Salaam in spring 1919, where he survives the "Spanish Flu" that ravaged post-war Africa. After a couple of months in Dar es Salaam, he embarks on his repatriation journey on a British steamer, together with 800 German women and children who had still been in the colony. In November 1919, the ship finally reaches Germany. Between 1939–45, Max fights in Russia in World War II. He does not come back to Tanganyika again and dies in Germany in 1974.

4.3.3 Taabu, Issa, and the story of the askari

> My grandmother's name was Taabu binti Issa – which means "Taabu the daughter of Issa". Taabu's father Issa was a Manyema from Ujiji at Lake Tanganyika. He was a German askari, already stationed in Iringa before Max came. Her mother was a Fipa from Sumbawanga. The askari were moving with their families, so Taabu and her mother were also here.
>
> – Caesar Poppe, February 2016 –

Askari is a Swahili term for guard or soldier. The askari were African soldiers who fought for the German colonial army, the Schutztruppe, in its conquest of German

East Africa. After Wissmann originally enlisted 1,200 African mercenaries in 1889 to subdue the 'Bushiri Revolt', their number slowly grew to 4,700 before mobilization for World War I began (Moyd 2014: 7). During the war, the number swelled to about 14,600 (Moyd 2014: 7) to 15,000 (Pizzo 2007: 50). When the Schutztruppe was formed, most of the interior of the designated colony was not yet under German control and the coastline was in a state of war. The situation made the recruitment of local soldiers difficult, and Wissmann sought to find mercenaries from other places. He found the largest contingent in Egypt, where he recruited 900 Sudanese soldiers who had been dismissed from the army after the collapse of Egyptian control over Nubia. The Sudanese recruits travelled to East Africa with their families, setting a precedence for the acceptance of family presence in the military accommodations of the Schutztruppe (Michels 2009: 85). Apart from the Sudanese, Wissmann was able to enlist several hundred so-called "Zulu" who were actually Shangaan people from the Inhambane region in Mozambique, by then Portuguese East Africa. Perhaps, the use of the name askari for the soldiers in the troop goes back to the 45–50 Swahili-speaking local soldiers from the East African coast, mostly Zaramo people, who completed the original troop (ibid.: 80). The term had been commonly used for the armed guards of the trade caravans of Zanzibari and coastal traders long before the colonial era (ibid.: 23).

> There is a saying in Swahili: "mzigo ukikushinda mpe Mnyamwezi" – which translates to "when the load is too heavy, give it to a Nyamwezi".
>
> – Caesar Poppe, February 2016 –

As recruiting became increasingly difficult in the 1890s, the Schutztruppe began to recruit local soldiers and porters from ethnic groups living along the old caravan routes. During the caravan trade era, the Nyamwezi in particular had been working as porters and paramilitary forces known as *Ruga-Ruga* for the slave and ivory traders. Many of them were recruited as soldiers in the German colonial era, making up a large contingent of the Schutztruppe (ibid.: 2009: 52–53). Apart from the Nyamwezi, the Sukuma were also praised as good soldiers (ibid.: 86). As of 1892, the Schutztruppe furthermore recruited Baganda men from Uganda, some of whom participated in the Hehe wars (Nigmann 1911: 38). Manyema soldiers such as Taabu's father Issa were recruited by the Germans on the Eastern shore of Lake Tanganyika, as well as by the Belgians on the Western shore in the Congo. In one memoir entry, Max remembers how they fought against a contingent of very skilful Belgian Manyema fighters. While coastal Swahili, Nyamwezi, Sukuma, and Manyema already accounted for more than half of the troops in 1897/98, the battalions still consisted of a Sudanese core framed by locally recruited askari. Around the turn of the century, the proportions turned around – and in 1905, the majority of the troops were Nyamwezi, Sukuma, and Manyema (Michels 2009: 86). However, "foreign" soldiers – including Sudanese, Baganda, Somali, Abyssinians, and Bemba – still made up 27.5 percent of the German East African troops in 1914 (ibid: 93).

After the establishment of the German military station in 1896, askari soldiers and their families became the first African residents of "New Iringa", the emerging town around the fort, which would become the Iringa Town we know today. Towards the end of 1896, the askari troops in Iringa consisted of 350 "full" askari and numerous irregular askari (ruga-ruga) and auxiliary troops from chiefs who had subjected to the Germans (Glauning 1898: 44). These troops had to be accommodated. In October 1896, Magdalene reports on the building of residence villages for Nyamwezi soldiers and their families behind the station – possibly referring to the *Miyomboni* area, today's business centre of Iringa, many of whose commercial and residential properties are still owned by descendants of askari families. She also mentions another village for the "Kondoa people" to be built down in the valley, an area through which the TANZAM highway crosses today (von Prince 1908: 59).

Moyd (2014: 21) argues that the Boma (station) economies in German East Africa focused on providing goods and services especially for the soldiers, but also for others who lived at or near the stations and for people passing through the surrounding areas. Askari spending habits infused cash into local economies, thus most probably reshaping socioeconomic relationships beyond the station. Traders of all types took advantage of the concentration of people around the stations to set up businesses. In March 1897, Magdalene von Prince (1908: 97) describes the multicultural life in town – after hearing the different African drum rhythms from Western and Central Tanganyika and from the coast, and observing that life takes place in Swahili style outside on the verandas of people's houses. She also notices that the indigenous Hehe population is growing (p. 101) and mentions a Greek trader (p. 150). In the interview, Caesar points out that most of the askari soldiers were Muslims, which had a significant impact on the urban culture of New Iringa. In a description of an Eid al-Fitr celebration at the end of Ramadhan in February 1898, von Prince (ibid.: 160) remembers how the African, Arab, and Baluchi traders pay her courtesy visits. She singles out wives of Sudanese askari in particular who come by her house in the afternoon in their finest holiday garments. All in all, we can say that the cosmopolitan character of the Schutztruppe made New Iringa a multi-cultural Swahili town that differed significantly from the surrounding areas which were dominated by Hehe culture.

Over the years, the Schutztruppe in Iringa enlisted more and more Hehe soldiers in addition to the askari with Islamic Swahili background. The recruitment practices were infused with a variant of racial thought that ranked different ethnic groups as "martial" or "warlike", based on characteristics that generally had far more to do with how colonizers viewed themselves as soldiers than they did with actual qualities or suitability of one or another group for soldiering (Moyd 2014: 10). Because of their fierce resistance, the Hehe were seen as warrior-people who would make strong soldiers in the Schutztruppe. The recruitment already started during the Hehe wars, in the course of the year 1897 when the number of Hehe auxiliary troops rose from 30 in February to over 1,000 in July, in the attempt to fight and capture Mkwawa (Morlang 2006: 99). After Mkwawa's death, several Hehe warriors joined the Schutztruppe as "full" askari, "all excellent soldiers, of whom most got into superior positions soon"

(Nigmann 1911:71). In the same vein, Max Poppe claims in his memoirs that the Hehe became friends of the Germans and provided some of the best soldiers in the troops. The claim possibly refers to their role in the Maji Maji war from 1905–1907, in which the Hehe fought beside the Germans to defeat the anti-colonial rebels in the south-western part of the colony.[36] In her diary, Magdalene von Prince (1908: 229) expresses her gratefulness that the Hehe fought on the side of the Germans, even if some of her old companions lost their life. She also thanks Capt. Ernst Nigmann, station commander at that time, for mobilizing and leading the 2. Battalion of the Schutztruppe from Iringa in a decisive campaign to crush the rebellion. Indeed, there is a Maji Maji memorial in front of the former Iringa station today – in remembrance of the askari soldiers from Iringa who were killed in the war. It was designed and erected in 1907 by Nigmann himself.

The inscription on the monument shows the names of the African soldiers of the 2. Battalion who fell in the war. The list is a tangible document of the early askari population of Iringa. The list indicates the ethnic origin of the fallen soldiers. Four of them were Sudanese who held higher military ranks compared to the others. We also see several Nyamwezi and Sukuma casualties, underlining that they made up the biggest groups of askari soldiers in German East Africa, as well as one Buganda soldier recruited from Uganda in British East Africa. Three Hehe askari indicate that Hehe warriors had already become a significant part of the 2. Battalion in the mid-1900s. Lastly, a Manyema and a Fipa are commemorated as well, reflecting Taabu and her father Issa's ancestry in the context of the troops.

> When the troops received order to go Mozambique, Max sent Issa and Taabu back to Iringa. […] He said I may never come back so I am leaving you with this money to look after Taabu. […] Make sure our child will get good education and good opportunities in life. – Sophia Poppe, February 2016 –

Following the defeat of German East Africa in World War I, the former askari had to find ways to survive. One strategy was to establish enclave communities in or near places where significant Schutztruppe garrisons had stood, including Tanga, Tabora, Arusha, and most notably, Dar es Salaam (Moyd 2019: 96). Irrespective of Max' instructions, Issa and his family apparently had ties to the garrison community in Iringa close enough to build a life there. Moyd (2014: 4) believes that the askari were attracted to the Schutztruppe not only because of regular and substantial pay, but also because of opportunities for upward mobility and a durable social status of respectable men. The askari version of respectability was characterized by the accumulation of wealth in form of land, real estate, large households, and livestock, and the ability to act as wealthy patrons and power brokers to others.

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[36] The Maji Maji war was an armed rebellion of a united front of different ethnic groups against German colonial rule in the south-eastern part of German East Africa. The war was triggered by German policies of taxation, forced labour, and coerced cotton agriculture designed to exploit the local population – and it lasted from 1905–07. The war resulted in up to 300,000 total Africans dead, mostly civilians from famine. For detailed accounts and interpretations of the war see Gwassa (2005 [1973]), Iliffe (1967), Giblin and Monson (2010).

> That first house I showed you near the market, that was the one Mzee Issa built after the end of the First World War when they came back. I think he already got the plot in the years before the war. He later gave it to Taabu, and our father grew up in it as a child. Issa himself settled on a farm outside of town in Itamba. Our grandmother later sold the house to a Baluchi businessman.
>
> – Caesar Poppe, March 2016 –

Issa obviously invested the funds that Max had left him into building a house for Taabu and her child. Taabu eventually sold the house when she moved further South to Mbeya for some time, but later returned to Iringa and lived in a new house her son Hans had built for her.

> Issa died in 1966 or 1967. I remember seeing him when he went to the labour office, which was there on the other side of the main road from our house. He was among the ones who took their pension from the German government or so for their services in the colony. – Caesar Poppe, March 2016 –

It is interesting that Caesar connects his last memories of Issa with a series of late compensation payments the former askari received from Germany during the 1960s. When Tanganyika became independent in 1961, this (once again) raised awareness for the case among the German public. The Tanganyika Association of former German askari was founded in 1962. The association's chairman, Thomas S. Plantan, brought their plight to the attention of German diplomatic officials in the country (Moyd 2019: 96–97). From there, officials in Bonn then took up the cause, and donations from soldier and veteran associations as well as private citizens in Germany were collected as of 1964. In the same year, Federal Minister Lücke handed over a larger sum to the askari relief fund in Dar es Salaam (Michels 2009: 141), followed by further contributions over the next few years. Thomas Plantan himself travelled through Tanzania during those years to disburse the funds to the ex-askari, and apparently also paid a visit to Iringa. It was short before his death that Issa finally received financial recognition for his wartime service from Germany.

4.3.4 Parents Hans and Anna – From British times to independence

Max and Taabu's son Hans is born in June 1918, and he grows up living with his mother in Iringa. During his childhood, the family gives him the second name Shabani (the eighth month) to reflect the Islamic affiliation of his family. Hans grows up under the governance of the British who administer the Tanganyika Territory under mandate of the League of Nations. When he is old enough, he decides to join and pursue a career in the British Tanganyika police force. In 1938, soon after joining the police force, Hans buys a new plot and builds a house for his mother in the centre of Iringa, close to Issa's former house. Taabu spends the rest of her life in this house. Later, after Hans marries his wife Anna, they purchase land not far from Taabu's house, where they build the family home in which the Poppe children grow up, and which has remained the Poppe family property to this day.

> Our father Hans was a Muslim because of his mother and the family he grew up with, but we ended up not being Muslims because when he married our mom, who grew up in a convent in Tosamaganga, the nuns made it very clear that the condition was that Anna will remain Christian and all their children will be raised as Christians. – Sophia Poppe, February 2016 –

During the second half of the 1940s, Hans meets his future wife Anna at the Roman-Catholic Consolata Mission in Tosamaganga near Iringa. Anna has a mixed racial background similar to his own. She was born in 1933 in Mufindi, to the south-west of Iringa Region, to a Hehe mother of the Kalinga clan. Kalinga was one of the local chiefdoms that were subjugated and incorporated into the Hehe chiefdom by Mkwawa's father Munyigumba in the 1860s. Her father was the Italian engineer Aldo Mercati, who had worked in construction for the British Brooke Bond company, which established tea plantations in the Mufindi area in the 1930s. Her father took her to the Consolata Mission in 1938 before being expelled from Tanganyika as a national of the axis powers on the eve of World War II. When Hans comes to Tosamaganga Mission as a suitor to find a woman to marry, he falls for the teenage Anna. He is told to wait until she would come of age. In 1950, Anna is deemed old enough, and they marry in Tosamaganga. Both of them keep their religious affiliation. In the 1950s and 60s, Anna gives birth to eight children – seven sons and one daughter – and all of them become Roman-Catholic Christians, in agreement with the condition for the courtship.

> When you look at all the different western cultures, the Germans mixed quite a bit, and so did the Italians. The British were very strict, if you see a person of mixed background with a British father, there is no way he would have identified himself as the father or partner of the mother. […] None of the mixed British kids could pinpoint and say this is my father, it was basically the mom got pregnant and she was on her own. – Sophia Poppe, February 2016 –

The story of Hans courting his wife in the mission convent provides an interesting insight into the racial politics in the British colonial system. From the case of Max and Taabu above, we learned that interracial relationships were a common, yet unwanted, reality in the colonial encounter under the Germans, leading Max to omit the relationship in his official memoirs. Under British administration, the structures of racial segregation were apparently more elaborated. On our tour to the centenary commemoration of the end of World War I in Zambia, Caesar and his wife told me that during the British period many many mixed-race children, referred to as 'half-castes' in the colonial era, were taken to Tosamaganga and other missions. As the colonial system did not allow for an official recognition of interracial relationships and children, the European fathers of such children apparently saw this as an opportunity to ensure that they were taken care of, including sound education and opportunities for the future. As notable example the Poppes mentioned the high-ranking Tanzanian military Major General John Walden, aka the Black Mamba. He was the illegitimate child of the British province commissioner for the Southern Highlands, who took him to Tosamaganga just like Anna's father did with her. Walden later married Angela, an older sister of Caesar's wife Nina. Anna's story also creates a link to Serafino's biography, who was born from a Hehe-Italian relationship in the Tosamaganga mission context, but grew up with his mother in his stepfather's household. The legacy of colonial racial politics is evident in Caesar's marriage to Nina Adolf Kirschstein as well. Similar to her husband, Nina carries the name of her German grandfather who was a geological surveyor in German East Africa. She told me that her father Adolf and Caesar's father Hans were like brothers because of their shared ancestry, and that it was common for children from within their "half-cast" social group to marry each other.

> The British were very much dividing the people. In hospital, there were different wings with Europeans, Asians, and Natives, same as in schools. Then there were bars where you had to be a British subject to be allowed in, otherwise you had to go to local drink clubs. Our father worked for the police, so he gave out permits to the British bar owners, but he wasn't allowed to go drink there and drank with fellow Africans in the local clubs. – Caesar Poppe, February 2016 –

In their interviews, both Caesar and Sophia emphasize the racial discrimination their father experienced in his service for the colonial system. The experience would eventually have an influence on his racial and national self-identification. After Tanganyika gains independence in 1961 and fuses with Zanzibar to Tanzania in 1964, Hans sticks to his professional background and pursues a career in the Tanzanian police. He quickly climbs up the ranks to become Senior Assistant Commissioner of Police, the second to highest ranking in the police force. In 1971 he is appointed Regional Police Commander to the West Lake Region, today Kagera Region, on the Western shore of Lake Victoria near the border to Uganda. The appointment is a military strategy to allow him, in his capacity as an experienced commander, to monitor and manage intrusions of the armed forces of Idi Amin, who had seized power in Uganda earlier the same year and soon began to contest the border lines to Kagera. In August 1971, Hans Poppe is shot by Amin's troops when he went to inspect the border with senior members of the Tanzanian defence force and high-ranking security personnel. Testimonies of the people who were with him and of those from Uganda who received his body and prepared it for exhibition later confirm that he died after being shot and that he was possibly targeted as a light-skinned individual. His body is taken and kept at Mulago Hospital in Uganda's capital Kampala until Idi Amin is ousted by the Tanzanian

Army in 1979. In May 1979, Hans' body is returned to Tanzania with a military plane, then buried in Iringa as a national hero with full military honours.[37] The repatriation of his remains is accompanied by two of his sons, Harry and Zacharia, both Captains in the Tanzania Peoples Defence Force now, with Harry flying the plane.

> Our dad was very adamant that he is African, that he is Tanzanian, because his mother is African and his grandfather is African and he was born here. […] He was a very patriotic Tanzanian, I remember as I grew up, I once told him "I'd love to learn German", but he said "no you are Tanzanian, learn Swahili!"
> – Sophia Poppe, February 2016 –

Through his death in the early stages of the conflict with Uganda, Hans Poppe became a war hero for the independent post-colonial state of Tanzania. We can interpret his seemingly strong African self-identification as a cross-generational corrective to the negative label assigned to the former askari after independence. After independence, nationalist historians from Tanzania and Europe (especially Great Britain and, strikingly, the German Democratic Republic) set about the task of creating a "usable past" for the newly independent nation-state (Moyd 2014: 9). On the canvas of representing Tanzania's historical path to independence, they painted the askari and other colonial employees as collaborators and perpetrators of countless acts of coercion and violence against East Africans, and, thus, as enemies of the proto-national heroes who had resisted German colonial rule – such as the Hehe people or the insurgents during the Maji Maji war. Hans' Tanzanian patriotism may be read as stemming from a desire to make-up for the role of his family in the past, and his heroic death at the hands of the enemy concludes his redemption arc in similar fashion to that of Mpangile Wangimbo more than 80 years before. What contradicts this theory is the fact that Hans obviously was proud to retain his German name Poppe instead of choosing a name from his mother's side. This ambiguity arguably shows the complexity of Hans Poppe as a historical actor and represents the multivocality of voices speaking from his family background. Hans' wife Anna spends the rest of her life in Iringa as a school teacher. She dies in 2014.

4.3.5 Sophia, Caesar, and their siblings – Transition to modern Tanzania

Now, we have come to the stories of the interviewees themselves, Sophia and Caesar Poppe. Sophia is born in 1958 as the fourth child and only daughter, followed by Caesar in 1960. They both grow up in Iringa and Sophia moves to boarding school in Dar es Salaam for the rest of her education while Caesar remains in Iringa and completes his education there. Sophia studies at the University of Dar es Salaam at the end of the 1970s, while Caesar is trying his luck as a businessman. In the 1980s, Sophia moves to Australia for her postgraduate studies and decides to build a life there. Two of their older brothers join the Tanzania People's Defence Force in the 1970s, Harry in the air force and Zacharia in the infantry. In the early 1980s, they are implicated in an attempted coup d'état to overturn president Julius Nyerere, led by the former teacher and businessman Pius Lugangira. The coup is uncovered and Zacharia and Harry are arrested in January 1983, just one day before its planned execution. In the subsequent trial Harry is found innocent but his reputation suffered greatly from the wrongful accusation and detention based on bearing the Poppe name. After his acquittal, he decides to leave Tanzania behind and emigrates to Canada. Zacharia is found guilty of high treason and is sentenced for life. He spends 13 years in different prisons in the country before being released on presidential pardon from the outgoing Ally Hassan Mwinyi in the wake of the first multi-party elections in 1995 (Mwakikagile 2010: 683–690). In the 2000s, Mwakikagile (ibid.) interviewed Zacharia on his memories of the events. Asked for his motivation, Zacharia argues that the country was going through a very difficult economic period in 1982, and shortages of essential commodities were an everyday thing. By the time the only viable option viable to change things for the better seemed to be the use of force.

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[37] C. Kizigha: Poppe killed after a year's captivity, 27 May 1979, *The Uganda Times,* transcript of the article in The Honourable Bwana Hans Poppe, *Hans Poppe Blog* (blog), 20 August 2008, http://hanspoppe.blogspot.com/2008/08/blog-post.html.

Around the turn of the century, Zacharia realizes that Tanzanian politics are peacefully transitioning towards the changes he had envisioned and establishes a successful transport and logistics business in Dar es Salaam's blooming economy together with his brothers Eddie and Caesar. As president of the Tanzanian Truck Drivers Association and spokesperson of Simba SC, the biggest football club in the country, he becomes a publicly influential figure in the Tanzanian society. Meanwhile, his younger brother Caesar concentrates on expanding the family business. In the 2010s, he manages the fuel haulage company in Dar es Salaam and ventures into commercial maize, apple, avocado and fish farming and the construction of a family-owned luxury hotel at the site of the former family home in Iringa. In the mid-2010s, Sophia also returns to Iringa with her Australian husband, but in 2018 they move back to Australia.

> You know, in reading historical records of the Germans in Tanzania, I have a deep respect for General von Lettow-Vorbeck as a clever war strategist. In the same light, he was also highly respected by his British opponents. And he was loved very much by his own forces, even the native askari were absolutely loyal to him. – Sophia Poppe, February 2016 –

Sophia's quote passes on a myth of the askari being uncomplicated, heroic and loyalty to their German commander Gen. von Lettow-Vorbeck (Moyd 2014:8) that was created by mainstream German scholarship and politics and widely accepted in the country's public perception after the end of World War I. This loyalty myth is supported in several of the German sources I have used in this chapter, such as in Magdalene von Prince's diary, where she implies how the askari identified with the German cause (Prince 1908: 157), and the descriptions of the battalions' retreat towards Portuguese

East Africa in Max Poppe's memoirs. I could further observe its contemporary persistence at the centenary commemoration of the end of the First World War in Zambia in 2018. Both Zacharia and Caesar were excited shake hands and take pictures with Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck's great-grandson, who was one of the distinguished guests of the commemoration ceremony, and actively participated in remembering the askari bravery and loyalty in supporting Lettow-Vorbeck's commando skills in discussions with like-minded companions in the evening.

The glorifying representation of the askari brought forward in the circle in Mbala stands in stark contrast to their above-mentioned condemnation in post-independence scholarship. From a critical point of view, neither of these perspectives leave much room to study colonial agents as the askari beyond stereotypes (Moyd 2014: 10). At the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century, the askari were in a delicate position of being "intermediaries" between the colonial authorities and local inhabitants in Iringa and German East Africa in general. On one hand, they were perpetrators of exerting colonial violence and exploitation, participating in the numerous punitive expeditions, "pacification" campaigns, and wars against peoples who stood in the way of consolidating German colonial governance (ibid.: 92). On the other hand, they were also war victims. In the case of Iringa, hundreds of them lost their lives in the Hehe wars – including the battle of Lugalo, the capture of Kalenga, and the ensuing guerilla resistance under Chief Mkwawa. Moyd (ibid.: 15) suggests that the askari are best understood as integral parts of the diverse African and colonial histories they helped construct. Ultimately, as this section has shown, they were African actors who helped to shape not only the history of Iringa, but also the political, economic, and socio-cultural landscape of Tanganyika and later Tanzania as a nation.

4.4 A European settlers' perspective

In the wake of the military conquest of the colony, it was civilians who came to fully realize the colonial project. The land needed to be cultivated under effective utilization of the local people's labour force. This section examines the role of European settlers in the history of Iringa and how it transitioned over German, British, and independent governance.

4.4.1 Biographical access

Right from the start, we had identified the European community of Iringa as one of the target groups in the urban history project. I had heard of *Mzee Kaputula* (the old man in short pants) Jobst de Leyser. Rumours said that he was an old German who had been in Iringa for at least as long as the local elders. I met him for the first time at the annual Christmas market and craft fair in 2015, and he was indeed wearing his famous shorts. Obviously, he would be able to provide empirical access to the European version of the history, from a German as well as a British perspective. In

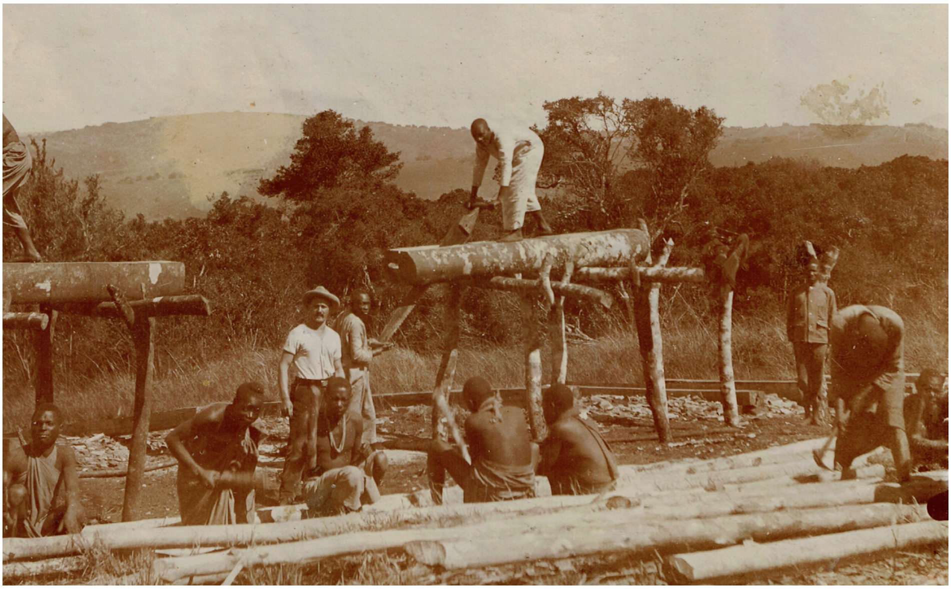

Fig. 4–5: Harvesting timber on a German plantation, 1911.

January 2016, my colleague from the urban history research group contacted Jobst's wife Liz through the "Iringa living" Email group, and the two of us got invited for an open-end interview session with coffee and cookies at their house. It was my first life story interview in the project, and I wasn't quite sure how well it would work out. Our target had been Jobst in the first place, but it turned out that his wife Liz was also very keen on sharing her knowledge and memories with us, so that the session turned into a double interview of three hours in which both of them took turns speaking (and completed and corrected each other's stories). After the interview, we kept in touch loosely, meeting at the opening of the Boma museum and on other social occasions.

4.4.2 Jobst's childhood – Iringa between the wars

Jobst von Leyser is born on 1 May 1923 in Berlin, Germany, as the second child to his parents Polycarp and Lisa. About a year earlier, the British administration has allowed German settlers back to the Tanganyika territory, previously German East Africa, from where they had been expelled after World War I. Apparently, the British are interested in building on the geographical and agricultural knowledge the Germans had already gathered. In 1926, Jobst' father Polycarp decides to come to Tanganyika to establish a coffee farm in Tukuyu, further south. He has signed a contract with the Berlin Lutheran Mission to take 200 hectares (Arensen and Schaffner 2008: 4). The Christian missions fulfil a very important function in the colonialization process, not only proselytizing the colonial subjects, but also establishing schools and hospitals.

On his way to Tukuyu, Polycarp comes through Iringa and meets other German farmers. The other farmers convince him to stay in Iringa District, and he establishes his farm, called Itanga, near Kidabaga up in the Udzungwa Mountains. Because there are very few local people living in the area at that time, farm workers are brought from the Mhanga mission station which is located on the edge of the Udzungwa escarpment. In 1927, he picks up Jobst, together with his mother Lisa and the older sister Christel, in Dar es Salaam to join him on the farm in Iringa.

In 1931, Jobst begins primary education in Lupembe mission school in Njombe, to the south-west of Iringa. In 1934, his younger brother Polycarp Jr. is born in Iringa. In the same year, their father decides to grow pyrethrum instead of coffee (as the first attempts did not yield satisfying crops). Jobst explained that many settlers first tried to grow coffee in Dabaga and Mufindi, only to find out after a few years that this wouldn't work. In the period between the wars, the British colonial government authorities divided the farmland into areas for different crops,and – in order to maintain commodity prices – strictly controlled the planting of these crops. Following the government directives, most of the German farmers in the Dabaga area switched to growing pyrethrum, a type of flower that was in high industrial demand for the production of a natural insecticide of the same name. Mufindi on the other hand became a designated area for tea plantations. The German farmers in Mufindi West were allowed to do so and the first tea bushes were planted in the 1920s. On the outbreak of World War II, the German farms were taken over by the Custodian of Enemy Property and handed over to be run by the Brooke Bond Company, which was well established in Kenya.

After the von Leysers employ a German Lutheran Deaconess to come to teach Jobst and his sister in 1936, Jobst is back in Dabaga for his secondary education. During this time, the settlers from the farms in the region regularly come to Iringa Town to purchase supplies, for official procedures, to pick up news, and to socialize.

> People nowadays confuse the Iringa Hotel with the White Horse Inn. Those were the two hotels in town. […] The British farmers would all meet at the Iringa Hotel when they came to town. […] The German farmers would go to the White Horse. – Jobst de Leyser, January 2016 –

When the family comes to town for supplies, they usually meet other Germans in the White Horse Inn right next to the major Indian-owned supply store. After it was built in the early 1910s, the White Horse Inn had been originally called "Meyers Hotel" (Hasse 2012: 160) before being renamed under Greek ownership during the 1930s. Unfortunately, after decades of dilapidation, it was torn down in 2019. The second hotel in Iringa, the Iringa Hotel, was established in 1926 by Lord Delamere, a British citizen from Kenya, in order to accommodate the growing number of visitors to Iringa. In 1955, the hotel was purchased by the East Africa Railways & Harbours corporation and renamed the Railway Hotel (McPhee 1957: 194–195). Today, the remains of the building are on the compound of the Ruaha Catholic University (RUCU), but have

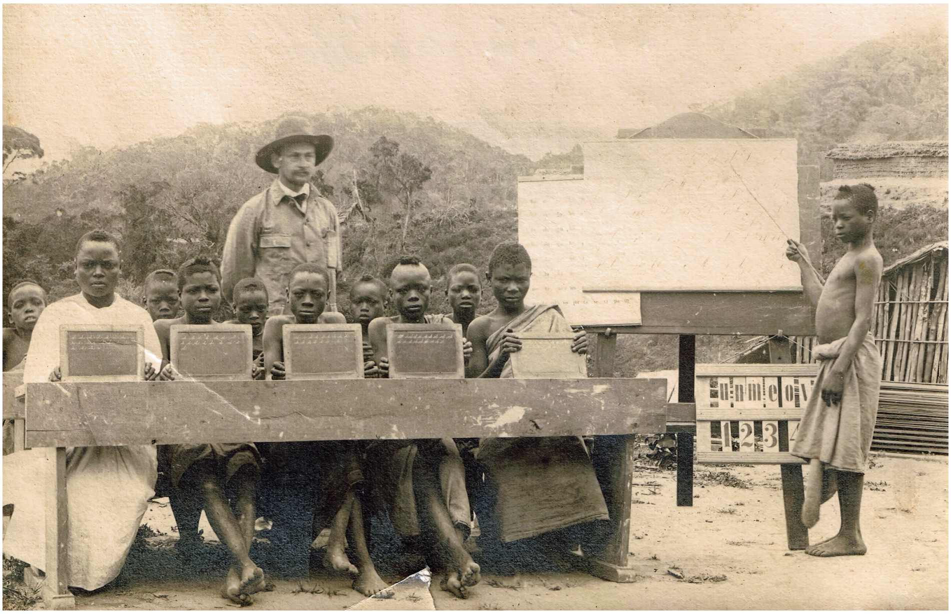

Fig. 4–6: German missionary teaching school class in Iringa, early 1910s.

been rented out to host cash machines of two Tanzanian banks (NBC and CRDB). The former entrance of the hotel is still recognizable.

> I would say the soul of the town were the Swahili people – the people who moved to Iringa with the Germans during the early days.
>
> – Liz de Leyser, January 2016 –

Above, I worked out how the early Iringa Town was characterized by the cultural influences of incoming soldiers and traders with their families. Liz mentions the influence of the Baluchi people in particular, a Swahili speaking group of Sunni Muslims of Persian origin who had migrated into East Africa from the 1820s onwards.[38] Jobst adds that people from India had a significant function as traders and shopkeepers in Iringa in the 1930s. Some of them spoke German, as the settlers were among their most important customers. Among the Indians, the biggest group were Ismaili Muslims – who built an impressive mosque in Iringa in the 1920s.[39] Jobst remembers that the indigenous Hehe population in the town area was still relatively small at that time.

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[38] For further information, see Lodhi (2013).

[39] The intent of the Ismaili community of establishing a house of worship on the plot was already mentioned in a notice of the German station administration from 1914 (TNA G9/7). Jobst mentions that the mosque was built with the help of a German architect – which seems plausible, given the German-style architecture of the building.

While the Hehe residence areas in Kitanzini and Mlandege were growing, he estimates that only about one in five people in the town centre would speak Kihehe. Nonetheless, the Hehe were the majority group in Iringa Region in its entirety and, thus, an important force to reckon with.

> I remember I met Mkwawa's son Sapi here in Iringa in the 1930s when I was a kid. After the Hehe wars, the Germans had taken him to Bavaria to educate him. And then he came back in 1922 and was reinstated as a chief by the British. He lived in Kalenga. – Jobst de Leyser, January 2016 –

The Germans remained wary of the defiant character of the Hehe people even after Mkwawa's defeat, and they sent most of the captured members of his family to the coast (Adams 1899: 53, 68) to estrange them from their home environment. At the coast, they were taken to Catholic mission stations in Dar es Salaam to re-educate them for potential leadership duties in the German colonial administration (Hofer and Renner 1978). Mkwawa's first son Sapi, born in 1879 and legal heir to the Hehe throne, was taken to Dar es Salaam in chains. He had been one of the last two children of Mkwawa to surrender to the Germans, in April 1898 (von Prince 1908: 166). After mission schooling, he stayed in the coastal area and worked as a clerk for the German government. In 1905, he was sent to Germany for further education in the Benedictine order of St. Ottilia in Bavaria, where he lived on colonial government expenses until 1908. Back in German East-Africa, from 1908–12, Sapi worked as leading administrator for the German government, first in the coastal area and later in Dodoma (Brockmeyer 2016: 14–17). In the early 1920s, the country now being under British administration, Consolata missionaries mention that Sapi Mkwawa lived in Iringa again, and that the local population had chosen him as their leader. More than 20 years later, he followed in his father's footsteps as a leader of the Hehe people (ibid.: 18). The British administration noticed the people's recognition and obedience to his authority, and in 1926 officially installed him as the "native" chief of the Iringa District (Baer and Schroeter 2001: 63). His tasks in this position included travelling through the district and providing descriptions of the visited places, installing sub-chiefs to administer smaller unions within the district, and collection of taxes. In appreciation of his work, the British administration awarded him the Silver Kings Medal, a reward for African chiefs that symbolized a successful collaboration between local and British governance.

According to Liz, Jobst first met Chief Sapi on their farm, Itanga. Sapi used to visit his German friends in the Dabaga area and always brought a gift of meat – either bush meat or the leg of a cow. His amicable relationship with the von Leyser family is illustrated by the letter below that he wrote in German to Jobst's father Polycarp in February 1933. In the letter, Sapi thanks Mr. von Leyser for his previous inquiry on planting native type bamboo trees and promises to send him 15–20 bamboo seedlings for planting at the beginning of the rain season in November or December 1933.

> You know… before the war, the majority of the German settlers had become very convinced Nazis. Some of them due to economic considerations because they relied on loans from German Usagara, which was a big trading company – and if you were not Nazi, you had a big problem to get money. […] So, some of the settlers used to walk around here in Iringa in Nazi uniforms.
>
> – Jobst de Leyser, January 2016 –

On the outbreak of World War II, the British authorities begin to detain the male German population of Tanganyika. The men on the farms around Iringa are brought to the Boma in town first, to determine whether they are potential enemies. Hitler-supporters are then taken to Dar es Salaam and later sent to South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. Jobst's father, who had always been a convinced supporter of the British Empire, is released after only two days and the family continues to live on their farm. In 1940, however, the British authorities decide to segregate all remaining Germans in the Southern Highlands region to the vacant Mwakaleli Mission in Rungwe District further south near Mbeya. Jobst stays there for about a year until he finishes his secondary education in home schooling.

In Iringa, the outbreak of the war led to Chief Sapi's falling out with the British administration. One afternoon in April 1940, an obviously drunk Chief Sapi turned up at the Boma, the central administration building in Iringa, and began to cuss the British officials, shouting that this was his country, that he would recognize no European whoever he may be, and that if the Germans would take Dar es Salaam, he would take Iringa back for the Hehe people (Brockmeyer 2016: 23–24). Liz de Leyser believes that Sapi was incensed at the idea of his German friends being interned by the British and threatened to attack the British if they were not released. Following the incident, the British administration ordered Sapi and his family to leave Iringa and move to Mwanza, to the north-west of Tanganyika territory. Sapi would never return to Iringa and died in Mwanza a couple of years later under unclear circumstances. Sapi Mkwawa's life can be regarded as a struggle to negotiate the place of the Hehe in the colonial system after the glorious chiefdom of his father was gone. His story also bears striking similarities to that of his uncle Mpangile Wangimbo. Similar to his uncle, he was able to use his wits and popularity to use the colonial system, now the British version, to serve his own interests (ibid.: 20–22). Still, at some point, he was no longer able to bear the conflict of interest that same system inflicted on him. At the end of the day, he fell from grace with the colonial system and got disposed by it.

In Iringa, the British enlisted Hehe recruits for their African regiment fighting in the war, the King's African Rifles (KAR). In August 2018, Serafino and I interviewed Mzee Pamagila, a Hehe elder who was 102 years old by the time of the interview. From his narrations – which were quite incoherent, due to his old age – we were able to reconstruct that, in the wake of World War II, he had been in the recruitment process to fight in the North African theatre of the war. In the end, he was not enlisted, but his story provided a vivid illustration of the recruitment procedures at that time. The

African soldiers from Iringa who fell are commemorated by a World War II monument in Iringa Municipal Garden, which somewhat resembles the Maji Maji monument for the German askari soldiers erected 40 years earlier.

4.4.3 Meeting Liz – From post-war boom to life in independent Tanzania

While his family remains in the Mwakaleli Mission in Rungwe District during the war years, Jobst takes up his first job in a gold mine in the Serengeti in the far north of Tanganyika after finishing school in 1941. In 1943, his sister Christel gets a job in Chunya, Mbeya, and gets married to a man from Switzerland. Jobst travels to Mbeya to attend the wedding, where his relatives convince him to come back to the south to find a new job. During the same year, he starts to work for the Brooke Bond tea estates, which are by then affiliated with the British troops. It is the same employer for which Anna Poppe's Italian father had worked a couple of years earlier before he had to leave the country. In 1947, Jobst decides to work for a Greek-owned mixed crops estate in Nduli, near Iringa Town, which partners with his close friends of the Ghaui family in Mufindi. His father dies in the same year. In early 1948, he moves to Mbeya to join his brother-in-law's construction company. In 1950, Jobst establishes his own construction company in Tukuyu in Rungwe District to build schools and other buildings. In 1951, he applies for British citizenship and is naturalized on 26 January 1952.[40] Apparently, many of the Germans who remained in Tanganyika after World War II applied to become British subjects and were granted citizenship in 1952.

In 1955, Jobst marries Elizabeth in Mbeya. Liz had come to Tanganyika at the age of three during the second half of the 1930s, when her father was sent from the UK to open a branch of Barclays Bank in Mbeya. During the 1940s, she lived in different cities around East Africa, following her father's several branch relocations. She went to primary school in Mbeya, two years behind Jobst's younger brother Polycarp Jr. It was in school that Jobst saw Liz for the first time – playing with other children – when he visited his brother. After completing her secondary education in the UK, Liz did a secretarial course in Nairobi and then returned to Mbeya as the secretary to the headmaster of the school. A few years later, she met Jobst again at a wedding in Mbozi and they fell in love. Both of their two sons are born in Mbeya, Peter in 1957 and David in 1959.

> After the Second World War, a lot of emphasis was put on native development, they built more schools, hospitals and everything. They also brought labourers from Njombe and Makete here to work on the plantations.
>
> – Liz de Leyser, January 2016 –

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[40] Naturalisation Certificate: Polykarp Karl Jobst Von Leyser. From Germany. Resident in Tanganyika. Certificate O6977 issued 26 January 1952, The National Archives, Kew, http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C11886043.

While Jobst and Liz organized their life in Mbeya Region, the decade after the end of World War II also brought significant development to Iringa. Still under British administration, town planning and infrastructure were consolidated – and Iringa slowly grew as a favourable location for trade and commerce. The regional plantation economy in particular was intensified: the British concentrated on tea and timber, Greek immigrants mainly grew tobacco, and the Yemeni Arabs bred livestock. The plantation owners brought in Kinga, Bena, and other local people from further south to work on their fields. The labourers came with their families and, as soon as they had saved up enough funds, invested in businesses to become independent. The increase and diversification in commercial activities drew more people into town, and the population grew.

> At that time, so many houses in town were occupied by the railway, the railway either built or bought houses in Iringa. If you were travelling from Dar to Iringa, you got the train to Dodoma and from there you took the bus to Iringa. I always arrived by railway bus. – Liz de Leyser, January 2016 –

The East African Railways and Harbours (EAR&H) stand as a symbol for the boom in the 1950s. While the overall headquarter was in Nairobi, the Transportation Department headquarters for Tanganyika were established in Iringa in 1950 with its mechanical workshops situated there. Until independence in 1961, there were several bus services connecting Iringa to other towns and cities in Tanganyika, and a lot of cargo was transported by road. After independence, the organization first remained part of the East African Railways Corporation, and after the collapse of the East African Community in 1977, the Tanzania Railways Corporation took over the provision of services. Since the early 1990s, the road services were gradually closed down and nowadays are not operating any more.[41] Yet the premises are still being used by what is now called the Regional Transport Company (RETCO).

After the war, and after Sapi's banishment in 1940, the British administrators installed his first son Adam as his successor on the Hehe chieftain's seat. Given the family's unbroken popularity, they still saw this as the best option to maintain an effective indirect rule. Chief Adam played an important part in the return of his grandfather's skull from Germany during the first half of the 1950s, thus putting an end to discussions about its originality and bringing the great Mkwawa to rest in his home place. After gaining independence from Britain in 1961, he successfully engaged in national politics, serving as speaker of the National Assembly of first Tanganyika and then Tanzania, from 1962 to 1994. While his father Sapi had struggled to align the Hehe with the colonial state, Adam strived to lead them into the post-colonial nation of Tanzania.

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[41] See D. Snowden (n.d): The History of the EAR&H Tanganyika Road Services: East African Railways and Harbours, https://www.britishempire.co.uk/article/tanganyikaroadservices.htm.

> In 1970, I closed my business. After the Arusha Declaration, it was always a struggle or even impossible to do business. They were very anti-private business, Nyerere's idea was that everything should be under cooperative ownership.
>
> – Jobst de Leyser, January 2016 –

Since the struggle for Tanganyika's independence, first president Julius K. Nyerere and his political party, the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), had envisioned a path to socialist governance in the country. The Arusha Declaration and TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self Reliance of 1967 is widely regarded as the definite political statement guiding the realization of this vision of African Socialism *(Ujamaa).* The declaration stipulated the aim of the government of Tanzania to control the principle means of production to facilitate economic justice and collective ownership of the country's resources (TANU 1967). As a result, many formerly private properties in the country were nationalized, and numerous foreign-owned private enterprises were forced to cease operations. Today, the socialist policy is widely regarded as one of the main reasons leading to the country's severe economic crisis in the early 1980s. Jobst's closing his business therefore draws a line to Zacharia Poppe's motivation to change the government by force outlined above, which was fuelled by a desire for economic privatization and the creation of individual business opportunities. According to further interviews in the scope of the urban history research project, Greek and Arab respondents equally complained about the lack of business opportunities leading to a prolonged economic deadlock in the Ujamaa system.

Bereft of a perspective, in 1970 Jobst and Liz want to migrate to Australia, but then Jobst is offered work in construction projects for the Tanganyika Wattle company. After six years in Njombe, in 1976, the company relocates him to Nigeria where they stay for five years. In 1981, the couple comes back to Tanzania, where Jobst works for the British consultant engineers, Howard Humphries, on the construction of the Songea-Makambako tarmac road, living first in Njombe and then in Madaba. On completion of the road, in 1986, Jobst starts working for Brooke Bond and later for Mufindi Tea Company in Iringa Region. In 1994 he retires and they move to the Kisolanza Farm of the Ghaui family near Mafinga. In 2000, the couple moves to Gangilonga in Iringa Town. In 2017, just a bit over a year after the interview, Jobst passes away in Iringa and is buried on the Kisolanza Farm. As of 2023, Liz still resides in their house in Iringa. Their two sons Peter and David live in the UK with their families.

4.5 Discussion

This chapter has employed a multivocal storytelling approach to reconstruct the history of Iringa from different perspectives. The aim was not to establish a definite historical course or order, but to evoke different strands of history from the memories of the Hehe people and its factions, the African soldiers, the Germans, and, to a lesser degree, the British. Deumert (2018: 7) argues that multivocality not only includes the multitude of audible voices, but also those voices that have been silenced and forgotten. Two questions arise from this in relation to the text. The first is if it has made formerly silenced or forgotten voices audible. While the Hehe history as well as German and British representations of it are commonly accepted mainstream, the case of the askari has probably brought forward a formerly forgotten aspect of the history of Iringa. The second question is whether the text might have silenced voices (and, if so, which ones) due to the selection. It should be noted that there are other groups and experiences that shaped Iringa which are not represented in the text. Deumert (ibid.: 8) believes that unified memory or heritage is simply impossible, no matter how hard we try. Representation work is never accomplished in full – and the absent and/or suppressed voices will always haunt the actual heritage representation in place. We can see examples of haunting in the text, e. g. where interpretations appear to be fragmented due to missing context information about other indigenous groups such as the Kinga or Ngoni, or other immigrant groups such as the Baluchi or Indian Ismaili Muslims. Similarly, even the representation of the Hehe history is told from a certain point of view within their community, and the narrative is haunted by the absent voices of other factions, e. g. when it comes to questions of authenticity of human remains or the appraisal of reasons for Mpangile's execution. The interpretations have shown that heritage is history-as-memory-work and not history-as-fact (ibid.: 5) and that we have to embrace ambiguity and fragmentariness as among the terms of reference for multivocal heritage representation. Nevertheless, further research is needed to add to a multivocal narration of the history of Iringa, research addressing the perspectives of other indigenous ethnic groups, immigrant groups of Asian descent, and other European minorities such as the Greek farmers.

Shared history is a conceptual tool to revisit and renegotiate historical narratives. One major theme emerging from the Hehe perspective is the claim for sovereignty of interpretation over the historical events. Serafino's narrations of the events challenge the authorized historiography laid out in academic literature. The accounts of Mpangile's behaviour in prison as well as defiance on the gallows call can be read as political arguments for the recognition of the Hehe as active key players in the course of events. The same applies to the cases of questioning the removal of human remains from the Hehe royal family. While the common historiography has the victimized bodies under the colonizers' disposal, the presented alternative versions elude them from foreign control over their fate and restore the chief's human integrity and dignity.

From a multivocal point of view, we find that the different narrations share a strong admiration for Chief Mkwawa as the towering figure in the history of Iringa, whether it be in colonial records, memoirs of askari soldiers, or the memories of European settlers. This shifts, whether unwillingly or not, the focus of the general narrative from the colonial conquest to the resistance against it and, thus, renders the Hehe with a remarkable degree of agency. The representation of Mpangile is more ambiguous. On the one hand, Serafino pictures him as a traitor to the fight of his brother. Even if the majority of the Hehe community does not share this interpretation, he would, due to his opportunism and indecisiveness, not lend himself as a heroic figure. With the words he put in his mouth on the gallows, however, Serafino furnishes Mpangile with a heroic demeanour consistent with the German colonial literature and thus grants him moral redemption. Mpangile's whole arc of opportunism, mediation, and eventual reconciliation with his people resembles that of the askari soldiers navigating from colonial to post-colonial realities. We have seen Hans Poppe's efforts to prove himself a patriotic Tanzanian in the face of a discursive denigration of the askari in post-independence scholarship. Another generation later, Zacharia and Caesar bolster up a positive representation of the askari in the context of German colonialism and their war campaigns. In both cases, the underlying theme may be the claim for recognition and representation of their contribution to the history of Iringa and Tanzania, which is also reflected in their keenness to actively participate and support the research and exhibition development under fahari yetu. The same applies to the European settlers, who found themselves in a similar in-between space of having to justify their presence in postcolonial Iringa.

We have seen further intersections between the different groups, such as the recurring theme of the influence of the Christian missions on the history of Iringa. While Serafino's and the Poppe family's story was significantly shaped by the Roman-Catholic mission context, the Evangelical-Lutheran Mission facilitated the de Leyser family's settlement in Iringa and their separation during the war. We have also seen a shared subjection to colonial racial politics and their ramifications in post-colonial society, which prominently influenced the cases of Serafino and the Poppes being mixed-race citizens, but also resonates in the memories of the de Leysers. All these themes are good examples of shared heritage with its conflicting as well as corresponding interests and power relations that need to be balanced in the course of current re-interpretation and management. Shared heritage is characterized by the ambiguity of interpretations, and it is this ambiguity with its doubts and uncertainties that creates ongoing mystery around heritage resources and, thus, adds to the overall attraction.

Lastly, the presented historical narrations open up options for utilization as capital resources to generate cultural, social, and even economic benefits for Iringa. First of all, the stories with their various emotional, social, and discursive adaptations of the past to the present are cultural capital in itself as they expand the available stock of references for identification. As cultural knowledge, they can be transmitted and embodied through educational measures as part of school curricula and offers of physical and digital exhibition. While this is an academic presentation of cultural knowledge, it still needs to be converted into other forms of presentation to make it accessible to the people of Iringa and elsewhere. Secondly, several social benefits of reconstructing the history in this project are evident. Deumert (2018: 5) defines heritage as memory work that requires the engagement of actors. Similarly, multivocality stands in the context of a participatory culture, where individuals, groups, or the public do not act merely as consumers, but also as contributors or producers (Jameson 2019: 5). The respondents from different social groups in the history project have created social value through their engagement, and especially the de Leysers, Poppes, and Mkwawas have invested responsibility and commitment to their representations. Clarifying their own perspective in a participatory manner has likely supported a general understanding of the diversity of contributions to the development of Iringa as a town and region. Finally, from an economic perspective, the various stories with their visualizations may be intriguing enough to eventually be converted into touristic products in connection with respective sites in the heritage landscape of Iringa.

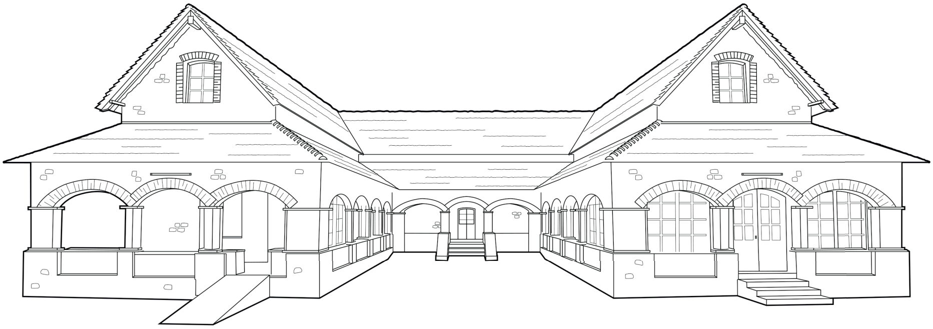

Fig. 5–1: Sketch of Iringa Boma after restoration, 2016.

5 Iringa Boma and the cityscape – Exploring the politics of shared heritage conservation

5.1 Introduction

The historical dynamics elaborated in the previous chapter have left various tangible and intangible traces throughout Iringa Town and Region. This chapter examines the conservation of material heritage resources within the Iringa heritage landscape and their endowment with immaterial meanings and interpretations, particularly in the case of Iringa Boma – Regional Museum and Cultural Centre. The examination is guided by the following questions:

1. How did the Boma project emerge, how has it evolved over time, and how does it intersect with the urban and regional landscape of Iringa?
2. What were the social relations, interests, and tensions between different actors involved in the process, and how were they articulated and negotiated?
3. What are the perceptions and impacts of the project in the community of Iringa?

The efforts of conservation in the Iringa heritage-scape are explored from an urban studies perspective. Iringa Town and Iringa Boma can be most accurately conceptualized in terms of recombinant urbanism; they are sites of rich, unstable and shifting human dramas that flow through – and are shaped by – urban space over time (Heathcott 2013: 22–23). In this case, recombination is not limited to urban space alone but also encompasses its interaction with rural areas. In line with the UNESCO Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL), the analysis seeks to investigate the case of Iringa in the light of community development. Moreover, it is framed by James Clifford's (1997) idea of museums as contact zones. The notion of the contact zone that is traversed by things and people is hereby not limited by the museum's boundaries and extends into the surrounding HUL and wider regional heritage landscape of Iringa. Conceiving Iringa Boma and its surrounding HUL as a contact zone captures not only Iringa's colonial heritage, but the multivocality of cultural trajectories intersecting in the city and the embodiment of space by different social groups (Low 2017). Lastly, historical restoration, exhibition design, and heritage site conservation are examined as efforts of accumulating objectified cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986) and creating social capital through a cooperative engagement in conservation. In this vein, the examination is aligned with SDG 11 – Sustainable Cities and Communities and its social development targets of promoting safety, inclusiveness, and rural-urban integration.

Drawing on Marcus' (1995: 106–108) "follow the thing" technique, the chapter's themes and arguments are developed from tracing material objects and structures, in this case the Boma building, the culture and history exhibition, and other heritage sites in the wider cityscape of Iringa. The themes explore people, stories, and conflicts in relation to the material structures by using a variety of data sources. The main source were narrative interviews with the former Iringa Boma Museum Coordinator and the fahari yetu Assistant Programme Manager. The examination is supported by results from a Focus Group Discussion (FGD) campaign,[42] Boma visitor testimonies, and historical archive documents – embedded in my own observations and experiences from directing the fahari yetu cultural heritage conservation programme. Data analysis and presentation followed the procedures set out in Chapter 3.7. I utilized verbatim quotes from the respondents together with field photographs where possible, in order to situate the reader in the individual narratives as well as in the Iringa heritage-scape at large.

The first section examines Iringa Boma as a built heritage site. It addresses the history of the building, the process of its rehabilitation to become a cultural centre, and perceptions of the place in the local community. This is followed by an evaluation of thematic aspects and community responses to the culture and history exhibition housed in the Boma. The third section discusses outreach efforts into the cityscape as efforts of physically integrating the Boma with other heritage sites across Iringa Town and Region. The chapter concludes with a conceptual reflection of the overarching themes presented in the preceding sections and how they inform the overall objectives of this study.

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[42] For further details, see Chapter 3.6.4.

5.2 Iringa Boma – The built heritage

5.2.1 History of the building

One of the first steps in built heritage preservation is the identification of the complex history of ownership and use of the targeted buildings (Heathcott 2013: 35). The history of Iringa Boma goes back to the 20 years of German colonial administration in the region around the turn of the 20th century. The period began in autumn 1896 with the foundation of the garrison town of "New Iringa" in the heart of the land of the Hehe people (Uhehe). The military station being the first building that was completed before the end of the same year – followed by a market, a school, and several other buildings and residential houses in the following years. Iringa Boma was constructed in 1914 as one of the last buildings under German administration, serving as a hospital for the growing European population in Iringa (TNA G7/191). The approved original budget for construction was 7,500 German East-African Rupees, an amount corresponding to approx. 53,000 Euros in 2019.[43]

> Before the war, Capt. Styx had begun with the construction of a hospital for Europeans. Now, after the beginning of the war, all construction works were supposed to be suspended, but he just continued to build because he wanted to complete it before the start of the rain season.
>
> – Diary of Elizabeth Schäfer, p. 51 –

Elisabeth Schäfer was the mother of a German settler's family who lived in Iringa from 1907–1917.[44] The quote is dated early August 1914, around the time German East Africa entered into World War I against Great Britain and its allied forces. Architect and engineer of the hospital was Iringa Station Capt. Eugen Styx himself. Styx also appears in the memoirs of Max Poppe [45] (p. 186) of his deployment in Iringa in 1915, in which Max notices several appealing buildings in town that show Styx' talent as a lay architect.

However, the German administration of Iringa ends when the British allied troops capture the town in August 1916. Following the end of World War I, Great Britain receives the mandate over Tanganyika from the League of Nations in 1919 and begins to consolidate their administration of the territory. They choose the former hospital as their administration centre for Iringa province. Jobst de Leyser, son of a first-generation German settler in Iringa Region in the time between the wars[46], remembers the building from visits to town in the 1930s.

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[43] In 1904, the value of 1 Rupee was fixed to 1.33 Deutsche Mark (see "Das Geld der deutschen Kolonien", MünzenWoche vom 27.9.2009, https://muenzenwoche.de/das-geld-der-deutschen-kolonien/). The Federal Bank of Germany applies an exchange rate of 1 Deutsche Mark (1914) = Euro 5.30, so the amount of 7500 Rupees x 1.33 x 5.30 leads to an estimated Boma construction value of Euro 52,867.50.

[44] For more details, see Chapter 4.5.2.

[45] See Chapter 4.4.2.

> It was a German hospital – but when the British came to power, they turned it into an administration centre, the District Commissioner's Boma. […] My father used to go there for any official documentation like land rent or whatever he would need to settle. – Jobst de Leyser, January 2016 –

The Tanzanian government kept the building in the same use from the country's independence in 1961 until 2014. It served as administration office, offering civil services such as issuance of birth and death certificates and civil marriage ceremonies, first for Iringa Region and later Iringa District.

In autumn 2012, the concept of the fahari yetu cultural heritage conservation programme was accepted by the evaluation committee of the European Union Delegation in Tanzania, and we were invited to prepare a full proposal. In the concept note, we had only indicated that the core of the programme would be the establishment of a heritage centre in Iringa Town, but we hadn't yet designated a premise or building to house it. Following the acceptance of the concept, it was the then Vice Chancellor of the University of Iringa, the late Prof. Nicholas Bangu, who suggested to seek permission to move into the old District Commissioner's Office, which was to be vacated in 2013. Everyone on the project team immediately embraced the idea.

In October 2013, the fahari yetu management, together with local government representatives, submitted a request for permission to restore the Boma building to the Antiquities Department of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT). The project delegation was requested to perform a full site assessment to develop and submit a sustainable building rehabilitation and use plan. After delays due to the pending vacation of the building by the district administration, the rehabilitation and use plan was fleshed out in the period from August-October 2014, before we were able to present it to the Antiquities Department in November. In December 2014, the Department issued an official license for complete restoration of the building to establish a regional culture and history museum – to be carried out by fahari yetu in collaboration with the University of Iringa, the Regional Commissioner's Office, the National Museum of Tanzania, and the Italian ACRA Foundation.

> The MNRT authorities gave us the condition that the construction supervisor should preferably be either Italian or German, with a track record of architectural heritage restoration projects. It was this condition that eventually gave Fritz the supervision job. He had the aura of an elder with proficient experience in historical rehabilitation, and the fact that he spoke mostly German added to his perceived credibility. – Jimson Sanga, January 2020 –

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[46] See Chapter 4.5.

Jimson Sanga serves as Assistant Manager of the fahari yetu programme since 2013, being responsible for liaison and mediation with government authorities including the MNRT and the Regional Commissioner's Office. He was born in 1972 and grew up in Kilolo District in Iringa. In 1994, he moved to town in order to work for the regional Lutheran church. From 1997–2000, he took a Diploma in Music in Bukoba in Northwest Tanzania and developed a passion for African heritage through his studies. From 2003–2006, he did his BA in Ethnomusicology at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa. In 2011, he was employed as an instructor at the University of Iringa where he completed his MA in Tourism, Culture and Society (from 2012–2014). With his indigenous background, his role in the programme was to represent the local perception of and interest in Iringa heritage.

Jimson's quote implies that the experts in the Antiquities Department were well aware of the fact that most of the remaining historical buildings from the early 20th century in Iringa were either built by German administrators or Italian missions – which explains the general preference for a German or Italian architect to implement an authentic rehabilitation in line with the demands of the European Union. The tender procedure for the restoration works began in early 2015 under supervision of a tender committee consisting of representatives of all partners specified in the restoration license. In May 2015 a rehabilitation contract was awarded to the winning bidder and the works began. After the official roofing ceremony in July 2015, the supervising architect identified a number of variations, which the contractor performed in addition to the original contract agreement. In April 2016, the works were completed. The building was now completely renovated and restored to its original architecture – combining African, coastal Swahili, and European styles. After furnishing the premises and installing the exhibition, it was re-opened as Iringa Boma – Regional Museum and Cultural Centre on 25 June 2016.

The name Iringa Boma was deliberately chosen to reflect the vision of being a cultural fortress that serves to protect heritage for the present and future generations. Iringa Boma's four mission goals are:

- to collect, preserve, and present the rich culture and heritage of Iringa Region;
- to provide a platform for the communities of Iringa to express their voice;
- to serve as a point of access for visitors to learn more about Iringa Region; and
- to support community livelihoods by developing cultural tourism products and activities.

In addition to the culture and history exhibition, the centre offers a boardroom facility, restaurant/café, souvenir shop, cultural tours in Iringa Town and Region, and regular cultural activities and events. As a hub for regional heritage conservation and management, it has steadily expanded its services through furnishing upstairs workshops to support local artisan groups, and the establishment of a public Iringa library and archive. The approach of restoring Iringa Boma for re-use as a heritage resource

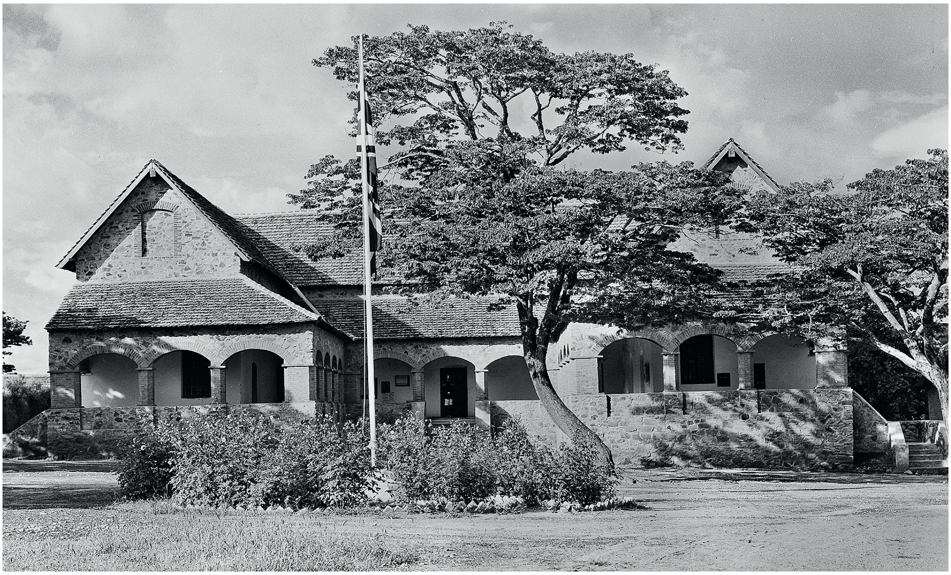

Fig. 5–2: Iringa Boma in 1934.

centre was preceded and succeeded by other Tanzanian examples of turning former colonial buildings into museums, including the Swahili culture museum in the Old Fort in Zanzibar Town, the Tanga Heritage Centre in the Old Boma of Tanga, the Dar es Salaam Centre for Architectural Heritage (DARCH) in the Old Boma of Dar es Salaam, the Natural History Museum in the Old Boma of Arusha, and the Caravan Serai slave trade museum in Bagamoyo.

5.2.2 Community notions

There is a small wheelchair ramp leading to the exhibition wing of the Boma building, a minor modification of the building structure made in the restoration process. The ramp has been noticed by international interns and visitors – with different thoughts. In an assignment to reflect on her personal impression of the Boma, one of our Swedish student interns positively listed the ramp in its obvious function of allowing people with special needs to access the building without help. A visiting scholar from Italy, however, suggested that the ramp could rather be understood as a physical symbol of creating community access to the Boma. In her opinion, the provision of a ramp is a very European notion of inclusion, building on individual physical mobility and accessibility. In the Tanzanian context, she believed, it would be much more important to create cognitive and emotional access to the Boma. If we wanted to establish a transformative connection between the people and the site (Jameson 2019: 3), we would have to lower deep-rooted barriers harboured in the community. Only if they would be able to make sense of it in relation to their lives, they would begin to make use of it

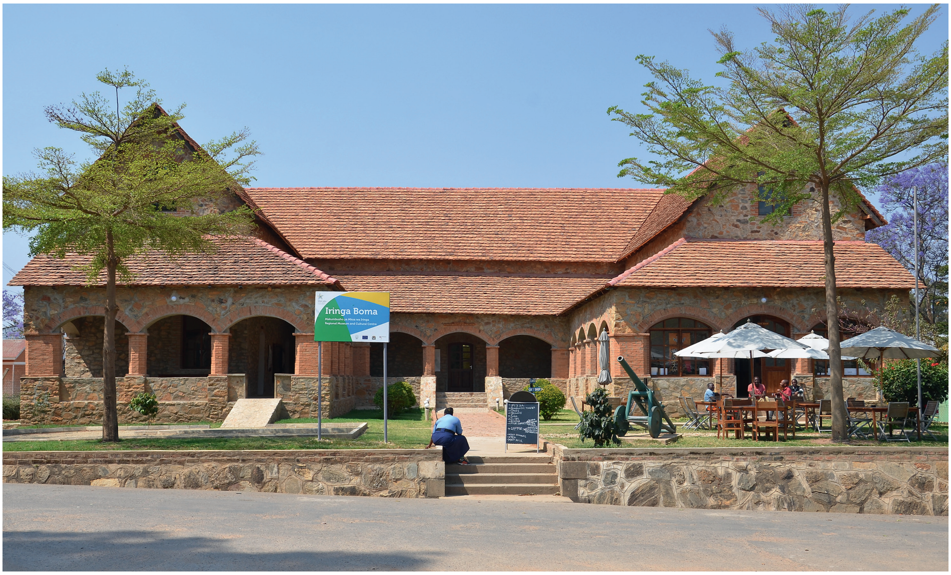

Fig. 5–3: Iringa Boma in 2016.

and regard the Boma as a resource that includes and connects the different people of Iringa instead of separating them.

The fact that it is housed in a former German colonial building is the most distinguishing feature of Iringa Boma – Regional Museum and Cultural Centre, both positively and negatively. In the eyes of visitors as well as our Tanzanian and international university students, the fact that the building is a piece of history itself makes it a perfect venue for a museum. The international students, who came from Sweden, Germany and the US, pointed out how the welcoming look of the natural stone walls and brick-supported arcades create an attractive aura of sociability and hospitality. Many of the domestic students, coming from different parts of Tanzania, looked at it more from a business perspective, assuming that the Boma's attractive historical flair might be an advantage over other properties in Iringa. Its easily reachable location in the vicinity of the commercial area of the town centre would furthermore add to its business potential. Both groups of students, domestic and international, identified the old cannon outside of the building as an intriguing icon referring to conflictual debates on colonial violence and patterns of resistance.

However, we soon also received signals that parts of the local community seemed to hold reservations and ambiguous feelings towards the new museum and its location. The feedback on further investigations revealed that a lot of these reservations revolved around three aspects related to the colonial history of the Boma.

> In short, the local people see the Boma as a German building. They label it according to the rulers who built it, and those were the Germans in this case.

> Until now, they call it German Boma, even after decades of using it for civil services and now as a museum. – Jimson Sanga, January 2020 –

The first aspect mentioned by Jimson is the ownership if the building. In his comparative investigation of coastal Swahili townscapes, Heathcott (2013: 22) employs the term "instabilities of heritage" to describe how dynamics of social inequality – such as the ruling classes' Arabic origin myths, the racial foundations of oppression, religious tensions, and the legacies of slavery – can potentially undermine the economic development potential of historic preservation. He observes that, all along the Swahili coast, heritage consultants and bureaucrats continue to map essentialist racial categories such as African, Arab, and Indian against batteries of built environment traits, ultimately reifying colonial categories and exacerbating the social and economic cleavages of Swahili cities (ibid.: 34). When we apply the concept to the case of Iringa, comparable instabilities of the built heritage come to light in reservations towards Iringa Boma as an effort of reconstructing colonial nostalgia for tourist consumption instead of embedding historic cultural resources within the daily life experiences of the communities. In her case study of Russian heritage representation in the Chinese city of Harbin, Koga (2008: 223) analyses feelings of discontent with colonial heritage conservation within the community. She observes that parts of the community of Harbin perceived the restoration of what has long been invisible as disloyalty to the post-colonial state, as an exposition of things that should not come to the fore. Before its restoration, Iringa Boma maybe hadn't been invisible, but rather unremarkable – and its colonial implications were more or less forgotten or ignored. The exposition through restoration then brought the association with colonial times back into public awareness and triggered a revived debate on the colonial legacy of Iringa.

> The challenge is that some people question why we have placed a Hehe exhibition inside a German building instead of putting it into a traditional Hehe building. They believe that the museum would be a real Hehe museum if it was housed in a traditional style building called Making'a. Others ask why we are not using a building that stands for the local history before the Germans came, when the centre of Uhehe was the fortified town of Kalenga. They tell us that they wish to see how that town looked like, while our building stands for the history of the Iringa Town that the Germans built. What about Mkwawa's Iringa?
> – Jimson Sanga, January 2020 –

The quote contains an interesting reflection of the representation of the German origin of Iringa Town through the restoration of the Boma building. Koga (ibid.: 225) traces a comparable debate on the origin of the city of Harbin, whose birth was marked by the advent of the Russians in 1898, turning a small fishing village into a modern city. Similarly, Iringa was founded by the Germans as a colonial force in 1896, only that it did not replace a random village, but the pre-existing urban centre of Kalenga

(Old Iringa), Mkwawa's capital of the Hehe chiefdom.[47] Apparently, the local people saw the restoration of Iringa Boma as an investment in the colonial past, while Kalenga would have been a more appropriate showcase for the peoples' history as well as the local culture of the region. By instead preserving a perceived piece of German colonial heritage, the project hence appeared in line with a Eurocentric tradition of accentuating architectural heritage in Tanzania which is attributed to creators from outside the continent, such as in the case of the Swahili towns along the coast of East Africa and their supposed Arab origin (Abungu 2016: 378). For the case of the coast, Heathcott (2013: 35) observed similar instances of conservation provoking yet another round of resistance, with residents contesting representations of the past and raising questions about how certain historic built elements come to be supported by public investment while other elements are not considered in the conservation narrative. In the same vein, Clifford (1997: 204) conceives heritage conservation as a renegotiation of borders that were historically structured in dominance, whereby funding mechanisms and curatorial control vested in Eurocentric conservation practice can trigger community hostility and miscomprehension. Deborah Lubawa, the former exhibition coordinator at Iringa Boma, remembers that a visitor once contrived a conspiracy theory according to which the Boma was to be seen as an attempt of the Germans to re-colonize the Hehe land. Even though this seems to be a rare individual view, it shows how the legacy of colonialism keeps on shaping the perceptions and evaluations of the people.

> I would love one thing to be understood clearly by the people: that when they stand and say this is a German building, they are speaking colonial language. This is our building, and we are the ones who constructed it, even if under German supervision. The Germans brought their engineering technology, but us black Tanzanians, we built it. And from building, we learned the technology and broadened our architectural skills, so indirectly what happened was knowledge sharing. – Jimson Sanga, January 2020 –

Nonetheless, resistance and criticism can lay the ground for the next step of crossing the borders and creating community ownership through reinterpreting the colonial imagery of the Boma building. Kamamba (2017: 320–321) encourages Tanzanians to take a fresh look at the remaining German colonial buildings in the country. While the Germans designed and commissioned their construction, the buildings were constructed by local labourers using locally made materials, and later used and modified by Tanzanian government administrators. Hence, both the Germans and the Tanzanians would be rightful owners of these buildings and share the responsibility for their proper and effective preservation and management. Iringa Boma is one of the buildings Kamamba is referring to. Indeed, it is specifically stated in the original construction budget from 1914, that askari soldiers stationed in Iringa would procure the cobble stones and other materials, produce the roof tiles, and execute the construction works (TNA G7/191). At the time of construction, the vast majority of the askari troops in the German army were recruits from various ethnic groups all over the colony.[48] Jimson picks up Kamamba's idea of reinterpreting the value of the colonial building and encourages the community to appropriate its ownership. Acknowledging that local people invested the actual labour of construction makes it their property and a piece of tangible Tanzanian and in particular Iringa heritage.

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[47] See Chapter 4.4.

> And it was not as if the Germans just imposed their technology, they also adopted local elements and styles and integrated them into their architectural engineering, based on scientific calculations and measurements. If you look at the walls made of cobble stones and clay soil, they look almost exactly like the walls of the old fort in Kalenga. Or the ceilings made of twigs and clay, they resemble the ceilings we had in traditional homesteads in Iringa. It is like a harmonic approach of fusing local and foreign inputs to get something new and outstanding enough that we still discuss it today.
>
> – Jimson Sanga, January 2020 –

In addition to Jimson, the use of indigenous building techniques and materials such as cobblestones, clay soil, and bamboo twigs was repeatedly noted by our Tanzanian university students together with the suggestion to emphasize this fact in the exhibition as well as community outreach activities in order to foster a local connection to the building. Jimson draws a connection between Iringa Boma and the old fort of Chief Mkwawa in Kalenga, linking New Iringa with Old Iringa not only to show the continuity of urbanization in the region, but also crossing the colonial divide.

In the case of Harbin, Russian churches that had been deliberately destroyed during the Chinese Cultural Revolution were reconstructed in the course of heritage conservation. Their reconstruction demonstrates a transformation similar to other Chinese cities as they reinvent their pasts to reposition themselves in the changing global economy with its declining industries and growing service sector (Koga 2008: 222–223). With the historical preservation strategy that started in 1996, the Harbin municipal government has turned once purposefully neglected and dust-covered symbols of colonialism into part of Harbin's historical heritage – instead of demolishing them (ibid.: 227). For most locals, Japanese colonial violence persists as a trans-generational pain, whether directly or indirectly experienced. Yet cognizance of the global tourist desire for colonial narratives and their potential to bring economic benefits may be a compromise, and most locals do not seem to be opposed of harbouring colonial nostalgia (ibid.: 247). Along the Indian Ocean coast, which has been a major tourism destination in Tanzania for decades, Heathcott (2013: 35) observes that the communities can at once be proud of their built heritage and at the same time cognizant of the global tourist desires served by that heritage. Similar to Harbin, the understanding of heritage as an economic incentive brings citizens a sense of control over their own history as they imagine a future for their past. While independent Tanzania never pursued a state doctrine of demolishing built colonial heritage, most of the inherited building structures in Iringa were left for dilapidation and gradually replaced with new constructions. However, in the context of the current government policy of unlocking the Southern Circuit as a major international tourism corridor, their rehabilitation for tourism consumption has become a potential agenda of economic development. Just like in Harbin, the memory of colonial violence persists for many people in Iringa, and the local community has no interest in romanticizing nostalgia, but the reutilization of buildings for the benefit of the community is slowly being embraced as an opportunity. The Boma restoration project in particular has brought more and more actors to slowly consider colonial heritage as a tourism asset that may contribute to economic growth in the region. While Harbin receives mainly Russian and Japanese tourists, the Boma attracts historically and culturally interested visitors mostly from Western European countries and the US.

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[48] See Chapter 4.4.

5.3 The exhibition – Representing the culture and history of Iringa

The exhibition consists of an introductory section and five thematic rooms, each with a specific theme: “Iringa history”, “Iringa worship and healing”, “Iringa culture and ethnography”, “interactive display”, and “explore Iringa Region”. Visitors are received by the museum guide at the reception and then instructed to start from the introductory section. Heathcott (2013: 35) advises that the socially constructed nature of heritage should be reflected in any historic buildings open to the public – through practices such as leaving small sections unrepaired or peeling back layers of construction to reveal original materials. In the case of Iringa Boma, such references to the historical background and evolution of the building are embedded in the exhibition with different objects and accentuations of the building structure, including original German artillery in the yard, a peeled layer of the original wall structure of cobblestones and clay in the archway, an area of uncovered original clay tile floor at the reception, and a replica of the original twig-based ceiling structure in room four. After receiving inputs on the building’s history and the museum establishment in the context of the fahari yetu programme, exhibition visitors are referred to thematic room number one. All signs and panels throughout the exhibition are in Kiswahili and English in order to address both Tanzanian and international visitors.

5.3.1 Exhibition collection and design

The Iringa Boma culture and history exhibition was designed parallel to the building rehabilitation process. The exhibition development was coordinated by Mawazo Ramadhani, a senior officer from the National Museum of Tanzania, together with Deborah who served as day-to-day coordinator in Iringa. The tandem was assisted by

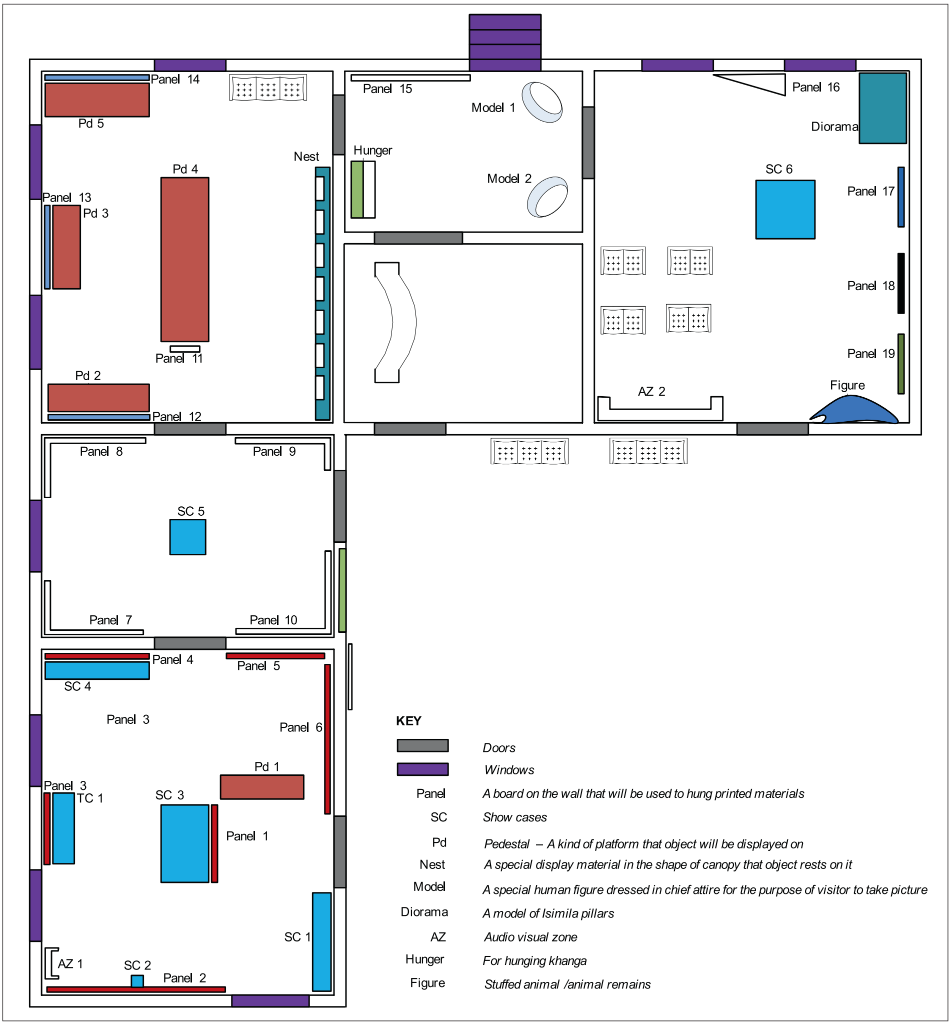
Panel 14
Pd 5
Pd 4
Nest
Panel 13
Pd 3
Panel 11
Pd 2
Panel 12
Panel 15
Model 1
Hunger
Model 2
Panel 16
Diorama
SC 6
Panel 17
Panel 18
Panel 19
AZ 2
Figure
Panel 8
Panel 9
SC 5
Panel 7
Panel 10
Panel 4
Panel 5
SC 4
Panel 3
Panel 6
Pd 1
Panel 3
TC 1
SC 3
Panel 1
SC 1
AZ 1
SC 2
Panel 2
KEY
Doors
Windows
Panel A board on the wall that will be used to hung printed materials
SC Show cases
Pd Pedestal – A kind of platform that object will be displayed on
Nest A special display material in the shape of canopy that object rests on it
Model A special human figure dressed in chief attire for the purpose of visitor to take picture
Diorama A model of Isimila pillars
AZ Audio visual zone
Hunger For hunging khanga
Figure Stuffed animal /animal remains

Fig. 5–4: Boma Exhibition floor plan, 2016.

a team of university students, myself on behalf of the fahari yetu programme management, and an international museum consultant from the Netherlands. After identifying the museum's aim and objectives, the team proposed a number of provisional exhibition themes and strategies of exhibition collection.

> People from the different communities voluntarily provided information about what and where to collect for the exhibition. We had just prepared some guiding themes and questions that would provoke them to explain themselves what they know, feel, and cherish about their culture and history.
>
> – Jimson Sanga, January 2020 –

In the second step, the local communities of Iringa were consulted in a Focus Group Discussion campaign in early 2015.[49] In the focus groups, the project of establishing the Boma museum was introduced, and the community members from all wards of Iringa Municipality and various villages all over Iringa District contributed interpretations of objects and historical events, suggested how they would think those should be presented in the exhibition, and identified locations of useful exhibition resources and available artefacts in the communities.

> We formed small groups for the actual collection of the objects in the communities. All the things we have displayed here were collected by the local people themselves. The citizens of Iringa provided not only the objects, but also their explanations and interpretations. We have not composed anything ourselves, we are just showcasing what came from the people in the communities.
>
> – Jimson Sanga, January 2020 –

Following the FGD campaign, the provisional exhibition topics together with the community inputs were converted into actual exhibition collection, research, display, floor and work plans as well as a financial budget for the collection. The actual collection of artefacts took place in September 2015, carried out by four collection tandems consisting of exhibition team members and representatives of fahari yetu partner institutions. The campaign produced an impressive collection of ethnographic objects together with according interpretations from the community. Historical material was compiled through a series of life story interviews with elders from significant social groups in Iringa.[50] The collected ethnographic and historical information was aligned with available academic literature in order to provide accurate narrations. The last step in the exhibition design was to design the information and illustration panels. All produced text pieces, pictures, and maps were then given to an international design consultant who drew up panel sets for the outdoor area and rooms 1–5, each dominated by another colour from the fahari yetu corporate design.[51] The consultant also prepared the final design of the regional and municipal heritage maps to be displayed in the museum.

In the last phase, the exhibition was installed in the designated space inside Iringa Boma. The task was coordinated by our partner from the National Museum of Tanzania, who obtained quotations for the required furniture from three manufacturers in Dar es Salaam. The selected supplier came to Iringa with a team of craftsmen for two visits of several weeks to install the furniture, mount the exhibition objects, and fix the exhibition panels to the designated walls/spaces. Wiring fixtures for exhibition lamps were installed as well, to ensure an adequate lighting of the display in the exhibition rooms. The exhibition panels and pictures were printed and mounted on MDF boards by another supplier in Dar es Salaam. The installation was completed on the day of the ceremonial opening of the museum – on 25 June 2016.

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[49] Please see chapters 3.6.4.

[50] See also Chapter 4.1.

[51] See Chapter 3.4.3.

> If I were in the position to give advice to the European Union, I would question their practice of sitting in Brussels and discuss African heritage from their very different cultural perspective. They discuss culture from their chair in the office, and not based on the local African reality. In my opinion, they would need to involve African mediators when they send consultants to assess projects like ours. – Jimson Sanga, January 2020 –

Jimson's advice refers to a coaching visit of an external consultant sent by the European Commission about half way into the project. The consultant advised us to involve a foreign exhibition expert in order to ensure our exhibition to meet international museum standards. The donor intervention is an interesting example for how the international funding setup for heritage conservation tends to influence decision-making in African heritage practice. It felt like we were on the one hand entrusted with the task of decolonizing African culture and heritage, while, on the other hand, remaining dependent on a system that perpetuates the colonial relationship.

However, together with the chief curator, we drew up a shortlist of three candidates from Sweden, the United States, and the Netherlands. In the evaluation process, we once again had to deal with repercussions of colonial history. After independence, African countries established heritage-related institutions (such as national museums, antiquities departments, and wildlife authorities) based on European examples with their Eurocentric taxonomies of architecture, exhibition, ethnography, history, science, and academia. In my opinion, one outcome of this historical background of Tanzanian museums is a predominantly didactic approach to exhibitions based on visitors' cognitive learning. This museum didacticism makes post-modern exhibition concepts of dissolving linear forms, scaling back authoritative interpretations, and supporting experiential self-discovery of meanings, which are increasingly gaining traction in European and North-American museums, difficult to appeal to the domestic audience in Tanzania, for whom we were making the exhibition in the first place. Our curator and team leader from the National Museum of Tanzania had crafted the exhibition concept accordingly, visualizing the messages to convey within the available space along didactic taxonomies. Following these considerations, we awarded the consultancy to the applicant from the Netherlands in September 2015.

> From my opinion, it was good to work with her. Myself and Mawazo are Tanzanians, we have our perspectives which are maybe easy to harmonize. But this museum is visited by people from different countries, so it was a good thing to integrate the thoughts of someone from outside.
> – Deborah Lubawa, November 2018 –

The consultant joined during the concrete exhibition production phase and assisted the curator and his team in practically realizing the conceptual ideas, dividing the space, and designing showcases and panels. As the above quote suggests, she and Deborah got along very well, and the two of them developed a mutual appreciation of their work. Her working relationship with the chief curator from the National Museum on the other hand seemed to be characterized by feelings of competition concerning authority and decision-making. At the end of the day, the friction turned out to be fruitful and has contributed to an exhibition with relatable content for people from different backgrounds. While it follows rather conventional linear themes, it also gives space for alternative interpretations and elements of discovery and participation.

5.3.2 Narrating colonial history and resistance

In Room One – The History of Iringa Region, visitors are able to learn about important historical events and developments in Iringa. The presentation starts with a general introduction to the historical background of the region before going through different eras chronologically. The sequence begins with the formation and rise of the Hehe chiefdom, followed by a section on the war of resistance against the German colonial conquest. It then addresses the colonial era with its socio-economic changes, with references to the German and the British period, before finally depicting new developments after independence and in times of globalization. The historical narration is supported with photographic material and tangible objects such as a weapons, trade goods, and religious items. Much of the presented information was extracted from the life story interviews conducted within the urban history research project, some of which I conducted myself.[52] I also co-wrote several of the exhibit's text panels, based on the collected information and on an extensive historical literature review.

Harrison and Hughes (2010: 257–258) refer to the museum as an "authorized space" for remembering, talking about and reconciling difficult and painful historical events. For the case of Iringa, the violent dismantlement of the Hehe chiefdom in the course of the German colonial conquest is such a painful event. On the other hand, the story of colonial violence is mirrored in its inherent narrative of resistance, which serves as a source of pride for the people. The exhibit obviously had to depict both sides, the pain and the pride inherent in colonial history.

> Also, I can say it is a story of being proud of, because Chief Mkwawa was going against the exploitations, the humiliation from the colonizer. (…) Mkwawa is a great figure and a symbol against oppression. His story teaches us and our fellow Africans that we can always stand against oppression.
>
> – Simon, University of Iringa student intern at Iringa Boma, personal communication December 2018 –

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[52] See Chapter 4.

In the data collection process, we relied on consultation with current members of the Mkwawa family, who not only provided in-depth knowledge of the Hehe history but also claimed a far-reaching degree of authority in representing Iringa as a whole. Serafino, one of the historical biographers in Chapter 4, challenged one of the pictures illustrating the chief's life. According to the literature and to oral accounts, Mkwawa avoided meeting the Germans or other white-skinned foreigners in person – for strategic reasons, to keep them from creating an image of him. In a German publication, we surprisingly found an alleged picture of him in front of one of his houses (Hasse and Gabriel 2005: 140). When we tried to confirm the source in Berlin, the picture could not be found. Despite the unconfirmed source, we decided to put the picture up in the exhibition to provoke the people to build an opinion. Serafino not only questioned the authenticity of the picture but also the legitimation to display it in the exhibition. In his opinion, to even suggest that a picture exists would diminish the legacy of the chief of being able to elude the colonial grasp, thus marring the narrative of resistance. We can surmise that, in his perception, the narrative was further undermined by the fact that the photo of all things came from a German publication.

Fatuma Mkwawa, the chief's great-great-granddaughter brought forward a more emotional concern against another picture showing the severed head of the chief, which the Germans had taken to the station after his demise.[53] In her opinion, it would be impious to put the colonial brutality on display and undermine the family's integrity. We agreed to her concern and removed the photo from the exhibition.

> My feeling was that the exhibition sidesteps an honest representation of the true nature of the colonial relationship. On some panels, it sounds like it was a partnership between the Hehe and the Germans. Colonialism was never a partnership but always a forced and unlawful appropriation of land and people. Even if it was a long time ago, the people cannot honestly leave that experience of violent oppression and humiliation behind and be ok with it. Even if they try to suppress their feelings, it will still be simmering inside.
>
> – Clara, exhibition visitor, August 2020 –

After her visit to the exhibition, Clara – a woman from Northern Tanzania – requested to see the museum director to express her criticism. Following a short exchange in my office, we went back to the exhibition to go through her specific concerns. All concerns turned out to be related to the representation of the colonial encounter between Chief Mkwawa and the Germans. At first, she took umbrage with the pictorial juxtaposition of the chief and adversary Emil von Zelewski, commander of the German forces defeated in the battle of Lugalo.[54] Through the equally sized pictures, von Zelewksi would appear to be on par with Mkwawa, which would neither do justice to the historical relationship between them, nor represent the chief as a heroic figure as a

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[53] See Chapter 4.3.3.

[54] See Chapter 4.2.

Tanzanian museum should do. If at all necessary, she emphasized, von Zelewski or any German adversary should be depicted much smaller compared to Mkwawa.

The images are an illustration of a text panel on the reign of Mkwawa as chief of the Hehe people. The text closes with the sentence that Mkwawa committed suicide when he was cornered by the Germans, on 19 July 1898. Clara criticized that this sentence makes his suicide sound too easy, as if he had just tried to find an easy way out of the troublesome war by taking his own life. Instead, the information should be put into context that Mkwawa at this point had been the target of a large-scale manhunt for several years during which he had lost most of his followers. The suicide was his last resort to avoid getting captured or being killed by the enemy, and instead retain his dignity by dying as a free man in his own kingdom.[55] Right on the following panel – the one focusing on the legacy of Chief Mkwawa – the text says that the resistance ceased after Mkwawa's death, and that the Hehe became loyal to the Germans. Clara took issue with loyalty being an inappropriate term to describe the post-war relationship between the Hehe and the Germans. In her opinion, people do not become loyal after such an experience of violent subordination and abuse. Some of the people, acknowledging that the war was over, might have acted in an opportunistic manner, trying to fit in with the new socio-economic system. However, she was convinced that deep inside they must have kept on harbouring a spirit of resistance and resentment towards the colonizers, so it would be grossly misleading to speak of true loyalty or an emerging partnership.[56]

The bottom line shining through Clara's criticism was discontent with a trivializing representation of colonial history in our exhibition. Clara reacted with disbelief when I told her that we had developed the exhibit without the Tanzanian team members, including the chief curator, voicing the same concerns. I asked myself if it was possible that they were inhibited to speak out openly, or maybe just as unsure as I was in how to produce an adequate representation. At the end of the day, I think the present perception of history is ambiguous also within the Tanzanian community, and not everyone automatically would perceive the initial display inside the Boma as trivialization. However, Clara's critique shows that the representation of colonial history and anti-colonial resistance is a delicate matter, the emotional effect of which on the exhibition visitors cannot be underestimated. After her visit, we took her concerns into account and modified the panels accordingly.

Members of the Poppe family provided another perspective on the colonial history of Iringa. Because their grandfather had been a German soldier stationed in Iringa during World War I, their stories tended to emphasize the contribution of the Germans to the development of Iringa. On the other hand, the family grew up in the community of African soldiers who had fought for the German troops before settling in Iringa.[57]

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[55] See ibid.

[56] Clara's assessment of the Hehe people's motivations after the war connects with Pizzo's (see 2012) conception of "cunning tactics" which is introduced in Chapter 4.2.3.

[57] See Chapter 4.3.

Caesar and Sophia Poppe, both biographers in the urban history research project,[58] saw the Boma exhibition as an opportunity to bring the askari perspective forward to the public, and they were enthusiastic to participate in the historical collection process. While their narrations still acknowledged the strength of Mkwawa and his reign, they also pointed out that living under German administration was beneficial for the local people in terms of economic participation, creation of wealth, education, and development of infrastructure. I remember when Caesar once disagreed with the interpretation of a specific site in Iringa Town that my colleague Jimson Sanga had expressed in a local newspaper, and urged me to revise it for presentation in the exhibition. I replied to him that our stance was not to believe in only one true story to be told but to include different relevant viewpoints and leave it to the visitors to decide for themselves which one to follow.

Museums tend to reflect unified community visions rather than overlapping, discrepant histories. In the case of the Boma museum, distinct audiences brought differently attuned historical experiences to the exhibition. Which meanings should be highlighted? And which community groups or actors have the authority to commonly validate their narrations of history? Smith (2006: 81) asserts that heritage is always and necessarily contested, and its representation – as a performance of culture – involves processes of antagonism that cannot be fully contained (Clifford 1997: 9). Sharing heritage means negotiating these dissonances together in a, sometimes confrontational process (Deumert 2018: 23). The process first of all involves efforts to establish a relationship of trust between all the relevant groups and individuals. In the case of the history exhibit, I would say that we succeeded to a reasonable extent in communicating and listening to the different audiences over several years. A relationship of trust has brought Mkwawa family members as well as descendants of askari soldiers to agree to the ambiguity of meanings and the ambivalence of emotions, a willingness to accept interpretations different from one's own as valid alternatives. The Boma has thus fulfilled its function as a contact zone that brings together different historical representations. Harrison and Hughes (2010: 250–258) discuss the example of the Lari Memorial Peace Museum, which depicts the historical insights from the Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya. The exhibit represents both the points of view of the Mau Mau resistance fighters and of the British loyalists. Its non-judgemental approach to representation has successfully promoted understanding and reconciliation between these formerly opposing sides in the conflict. Even though the relationship between the Hehe and askari descendants is less obviously conflict-laden, we can speculate that the Boma exhibition will eventually have a similarly positive effect. Another interesting reference for the Boma is Koga's (2008) case study of Russian colonial heritage representation in the Chinese city of Harbin. In her analysis of a community-run photographic exhibition, housed in a historically restored Russian cathedral, she notices a significantly more positive portrayal of Western influence compared to Chinese state museums. Where state museums tend to concentrate on exploitation and atrocities, the community exhibition focusses on the colonial-yet-cosmopolitan history of Harbin (ibid.: 231–232). The history exhibit at Iringa Boma takes a similarly ambiguous stance by portraying aspects of socio-cultural development introduced through colonial conquest and administration – such as the Christian mission and industrial agriculture – without trivializing their problematic base in violence and injustice.

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[58] See Chapter 4.4.

5.3.3 Interpreting indigenous culture

> Room 3 is my favourite because it displays the living culture of Iringa.
> It is not showing life in the past, it is still like that in the present!
> – Jimson Sanga, January 2020 –

In Jimson's opinion, Room 3 directly represents the indigenous way of life of the people in the communities and, hence, is an important effort to preserve this way of life in a changing world. The dominant section of the room is the ethnographic exhibit "from Land to Plate", which illustrates rural life of the Hehe people following the agricultural cultivation cycle. The visitor gets to see items related to different practices of land cultivation and resource extraction, harvest and storage, food processing and cooking, and finally serving and eating. In addition to Swahili and English, all objects exhibited also carry their names in Hehe language. The room's other section, named "Object Stories", showcases exemplary objects representing other ethnic groups and communities, including the Bena, the Maasai, Germans, British, and Greeks. All items were collected from the communities in Iringa Region by fahari yetu.

> The people who contributed the objects maybe said I used this mortar for this particular thing, the grinding stone for that, the sickle to do that, the ankle bells have this specific meaning for me, and so forth. Or some made bells for cows, others for donkeys, others for sheep, and others for goats, showing us the particular sound they make. So, the meanings are always embedded in a very specific context and very specific stories. – Jimson Sanga, January 2020 –

Deborah remembers how challenging the ethnographic object collection and interpretation was. First, it was necessary to condense the vast array of objects to fit the limited space of the exhibition. Then, it was not always easy to first identify the right names for the objects in Kihehe, and then to find adequate translations into Swahili and English. At this stage of interpretation, the exhibition team decided to conduct another short series of Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with representatives from different villages where the objects came from – to see if there was a basic consensus about names and meanings in the rural population. Clifford (1997: 189) reflects on how his expectations were countered in a Native American heritage exhibition project. He had "anticipated that the elders would comment on the objects in a detailed way, telling us, for example: this is how the mask was used; it was made by so-and-so; this is its power in terms of the clan, our traditions, and so forth." The actual experience in contrast taught him that meanings of material things are not always clear-cut and uniform, and that they often depend on the audience they are conveyed to. Deborah went through a similar learning process, learning that different people within the Hehe community attached different meanings and interpretations to the objects, that the according stories differed from one interpreter to the next – depending on the specific person who contributed it, and on which part of Uhehe they came from – and that not every elder knew every story associated with certain objects.

> We are welcoming community members and other visitors to challenge our presentation or interpretations in case they feel they are not correct. It happened several times that people came to call our attention to specific names or translations they deemed wrong, or to missing information to add to the explanations. – Deborah Lubawa, November 2018 –

As in the case of different historical narratives, the question remains who in the community wields the authority to validate common interpretations of objects. Indeed, who speaks for "the Hehe"? The contestations and corrections expressed might be only those of specific clan leaders, of men, of a certain generation, of "insiders", of cultural brokers or "translators" (ibid.: 174). Deborah concluded that it is not possible or useful to try and find the one true and accurate meaning for cultural creations – but that it is the curator's job to moderate it by consulting various groups and people in society. Clifford (ibid: 189) suggests to circumvent the challenge of ambiguity by personalizing the objects, presenting them in their previous owners' individual context. In the case of the Iringa Boma ethnographic exhibition, this approach brought intercultural differences to light. The Dutch consultant proposed to present the objects through the individual stories of their contributors – for example, to present a three-legged stool with the specific narrations provided by its former owner and to support the presentation with pictures of the elder himself and the object in his household. I strongly supported the approach because it puts the objects into a relatable context that evokes plausible meaning. However, the Tanzanian team members rejected the approach. The lead curator from the National Museum of Tanzania argued that individual stories could not provide an interpretation valid for the entire community and that it would be questionable to entitle individuals to represent common goods of culture. Deborah, Jimson, and the student assistants supported his opinion, and we proceeded in developing generally acceptable statements about the objects detached from individual stories.

5.3.4 Representing community diversity

> We deliberately called our museum Iringa Regional Museum and not Hehe Museum. Yet still the exhibition is mostly about Hehe history and culture, which leads some visitors to believe that there were no other people here. So, there is information missing about people from other ethnic groups who came to Iringa in the course of colonial rule as well as after independence. These people and their contributions to the growth of Iringa are maybe not yet represented prominently enough.
> – Jimson Sanga, January 2020 –

> We don't really have anything really that represents the Arab and Indian communities in Iringa. Also, tangible objects representing the British influence are missing, while the German story is there. Or a more palpable recognition of other ethnic communities that came to this town such as Kinga or Ngoni. We have to put things that clearly represent their identity, so that the visitors understand that these communities are part of Iringa, that we are with them, that Iringa is not just for Hehe and Bena people.
> – Deborah Lubawa, November 2018 –

Clifford (1997: 208–210) notes that exhibition collections tend to be held in trust for a wider community – defined as a city, class, caste or elite, nation, or projected global community. Even the most locally defined of such communities are usually not homogenous. On the contrary, museums in the colonized world have often promoted unity from diversity within artificially created colonial boundaries (Kaplan 1999: 61). Diversity was usually understood in a national context, as a strategy of nation-building after gaining independence. It is safe to assume that the same postcolonial national diversity is reflected on a smaller scale, within the boundaries of cities or regions, and – as Jimson articulates in this quote – Iringa Boma aspires to showcase the heterogeneous reality of postcolonial Iringa. In the previous section, I sketched out Mkwawa and the Hehe people against the German colonial conquest as the dominant motif in telling the story of Iringa. The Boma exhibition has duly put this storyline in the centre of its presentation. On the other hand, the exhibition clearly acknowledges that the Iringa community is more diverse and has included the representation of less well-known perspectives, such as that of the askari community. For Jameson (2019: 5), multivocality stands in the context of a participatory culture, where private individuals (or, collectively, "the public") do not act merely as consumers, but also as contributors or producers. In this vein, the commitment and participation of Mkwawa family members, the Poppe family, and the De Leyers can definitely be regarded as one of the success stories of the Boma exhibition.

However, both Deborah and Jimson observe that the exhibition does not adequately represent the entire community of Iringa. While Jimson is predominantly concerned with the representation of other local ethnic groups, Deborah's view is more cosmopolitan. In her opinion, the British period of colonial administration comes short, partly due to the fact that she and the team did not find enough relevant objects during the collection campaign. She suggested to intensify the search once again, so as to be able to replace certain German objects with British ones in order to have a more balanced representation of colonial history. Deborah also complained about the missing representation of the Arab and Indian communities in Iringa, both significant contributors to the town history. Such lack of representation could lead to limited interest in Iringa Boma on the part of these groups, as they would not perceive the place as theirs. For Deumert (2018: 7–8), negotiating multivocality includes not only the multitude of audible voices, but also those voices that have been silenced and forgotten. The absent and/or suppressed voices will always "haunt" the actual heritage representation in place. Jimson and Deborah's quotes can therefore be read as expressions of us impresarios being haunted by the incompleteness of the exhibition, whether it is being haunted by the absent cultural interpretations from within the Hehe community, the silencing of other ethnic groups through the dominant Hehe narrative, or the lack of representation of Arab, Indian, and other groups of foreign origin. The process of engaging actors in the memory work and, thus, making their voices audible remains as pressing as unfinished as ever.

5.3.5 Engaging visitors

> And then in Room 4 we decided to give the visitors some relief, the opportunity to physically try out a few things after three rooms of intensive cognitive engagement.
> – Jimson Sanga, January 2020 –

Urry and Larsen (2011: 141) observe that the provision of participatory content for visitors to engage with the exhibition has become an integral part of the modern museum. The Iringa Boma exhibition offers an interactive section in Room 4, a small room behind the reception. Visitors are invited to try traditional clothes, to stomp maize in a mortar, and get their picture taken as a Hehe chief or chieftess painted on a wooden board. The room also directs the visitors' attention to the original ceiling board, which consists of twigs and mortar, and to the original brick-tile floor. Virginia, the Boma exhibition guide, identifies the room as her favourite:

> I personally like Room 4 most because of the reaction of the visitors I am guiding through. When I encourage them to take a picture, they usually end up putting their faces in the cut-out board and start enjoying. Many begin to make jokes about men choosing the women figure or make funny faces to the camera. The interaction makes the room less formal compared to the rest of the museum and allows the visitors to step out of the observer role.
> – Virginia Vangayena, December 2018 –

Jesse – an American exchange student who did an internship at the Boma during autumn 2019 – also finds the interactives to be the most exciting part of the exhibition, as they ensure a deeper connection between the visitors and the presented stories, making the content accessible in particular for children and youth visitors. He remembers how he, as a foreigner, particularly enjoyed grinding grain with pestle and mortar and asks the question whether it would be the same for local visitors. The exhibition targets both visitor groups, foreign and local, and both need to be enticed to interact with the exhibition to feel represented. The interactives section – in particular the pestle and mortar and the "chief and chieftess" cut-out-board – has furthermore proven to be the most appealing for photo shots with official visitors to Iringa Boma such as Tanzanian ministers and international ambassadors.

5.3.6 Community responses

> In the beginning, it was difficult. After a first wave of people coming to see what is inside, the number of visitors dropped, especially the number of local visitors from Iringa. It took me some time to realize that local people were lacking awareness of the place. .... Others had misconceptions about what was presented inside. They believed that – because this is a German building – what is presented inside must be German colonial history. But the notion is not true, most of what is presented is based on testimonies we collected directly from representatives of different groups in the community. Our aim was to create harmony among the people of Iringa, and slowly the people begin to understand that.
>
> – Deborah Lubawa, November 2018 –

Knowles (1999: 124) asserts that the essential factor to the success of a museum is the creation of a sense of ownership in the community, a sense of belonging, a sense of recognising oneself in the museum and feeling comfortable enough to enter – and welcome when one is inside. Soon after finally opening the Boma museum, we realized that such sense of recognition and ownership is not as easy to create. Deborah's observation on community ownership was supported in a series of mini-surveys on local perceptions of the Boma that our students conducted with passers-by and other community members. Many of the interviewed community members were not sure of either what Iringa Boma is and what there is to do and see inside – or what the exhibits, services, and activities actually meant. This lack of awareness contributed to a reluctance of the people to visit and explore the place. Deborah remembers that the people often were curious enough to pass by and observe the building from afar, but that they were hesitant to come inside, even when encouraged by our staff. Obviously, there were barriers holding people in the community back, barriers that we would have to address in our efforts.

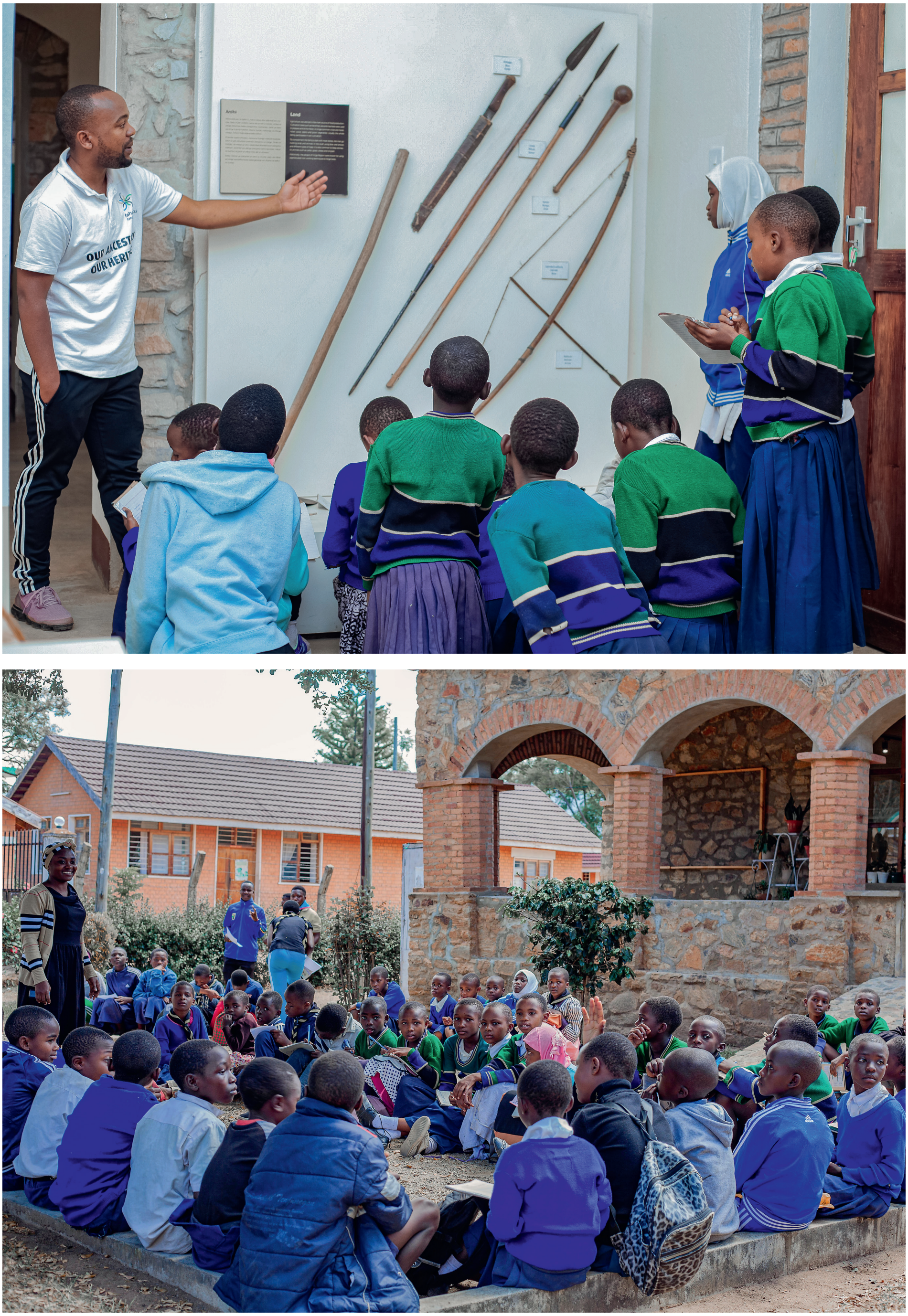


Fig. 5–5: Impressions from the Iringa Boma school outreach programme, 2021.

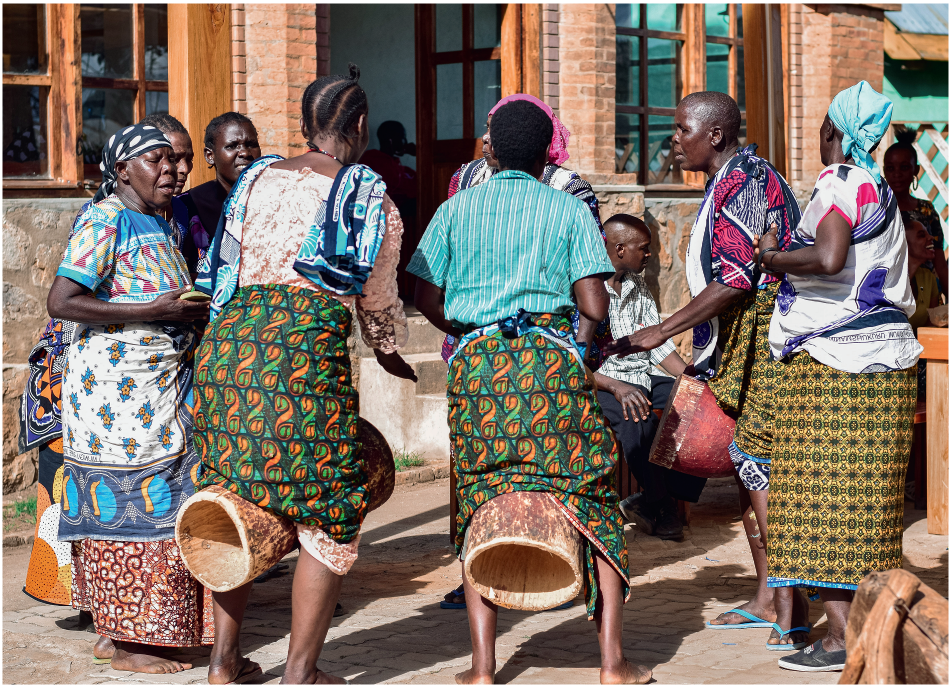
> In Tanzania, heritage has always been passed on through oral histories. We used to learn and keep memory through being told by elders or other local authorities. In my opinion, I would say that to a large extent we still trust in verbal narrations more than in printed documents, scientific research, and museum displays in showcases. – Jimson Sanga, January 2020 –

The first barrier for the community was the Western idea of the museum itself. Clifford (1997: 9) says that the proliferation of museums can be seen as a symbol for global hegemony of Western cultural representation. The reproduction of western-style, professionally oriented museum models has led communities to view museums as alien institutions existing for outside interests and purposes (Kreps 2003: 115). Sinamai (2020: 3) argues that in African knowledge systems, the intangible preserves the tangible (not the other way around) and that heritage is not only a place, but a state of mind. Preservation of the intangible is therefore paramount in order to understand the tangible, and it needs to be done under involvement of people from the communities as authorities and curators. These statements serve as a valid lens to assess community responses to the Boma museum in Iringa. While the people in Iringa have an elaborated idea of what culture means, museum exhibitions are first of all not part of it. If we wanted to make the museum part of their culture, we would have to engage the community according to their cultural logic.

The second barrier were different perceptions of what was actually displayed in the Boma. Confirming Deborah's above quote, in the student surveys several respondents stated that they believed the place would depict the German history of Iringa and not represent the native population. Seeing white people coming and going made them believe that the museum is a place for foreigners and tourists. Many quantified this perception with a complaint about high admission fees which would bar them from entering and exploring the Boma. On a closer look, this notion of high fees doesn't hold up to reality. Admission to the exhibition, with TZS 3,000 for adults and TZS 1,000 for children and school students, lies in the average range for similar services in Tanzania, and is perceived as reasonable by most visitors who actually enter. In my opinion, the price argument rather epitomizes underlying class barriers projected onto Iringa Boma.

> For a long time, the people have been made to believe that the local traditions are primitive, backwards, superstitious, and that they are the cause of poverty. Now, all of a sudden, they are told to uphold them again, like to wear the traditional garments, to conduct ancestral worship ceremonies, and explain divination rituals. After this culture has been devalued and destructed for more than 100 years, it is not easy to turn around and make people understand like within two years that it is something precious that needs to be protected and shared.
>
> – Jimson Sanga, January 2020 –

The class barriers are also visible in the lack of appreciation of the actual display of indigenous culture that Deborah refers to in her quote. Apparently, as Jimson says in



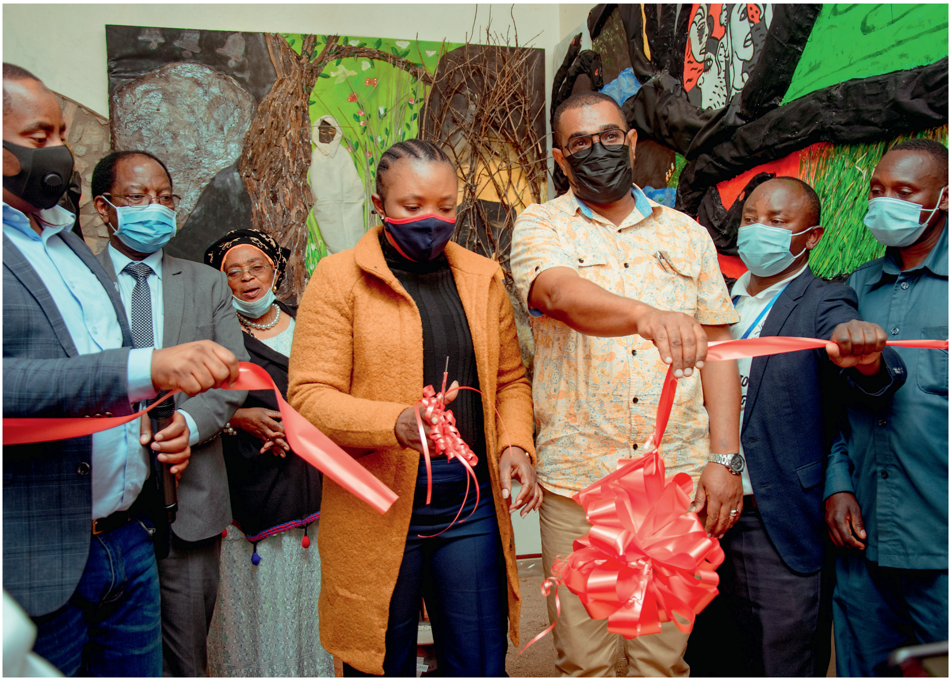


Fig. 5–6: Events at Boma: Easter market 2022 (above), exhibition opening 2021 (below).

his quote, the colonial devaluation of traditional culture as a source of poverty is still prevalent. Why would someone go to see their inferior culture on display in a colonial showcase such as the Boma building?

So how were we supposed to address and deconstruct these barriers in the design of the offered services and activities? Education is the central function of a museum which supports social and cultural development in a community. Iringa Boma strives to educate people through sharing, transmitting, distributing and evaluating knowledge on cultural heritage found in the region. Deborah believes that it requires a lot of awareness-raising to take the local community on board to participate and collaborate. We would have to make sure that the people know about the place, that they know what we do and offer at the place, and – above all – that they comprehend the offers and activities. It is the task of the Boma to educate the people about what a museum is and what its functions are – what the community is and who is part of it, what can be seen inside, and how individuals can participate. In her opinion, community education also needs to address why there are fees to pay, so that the people will stop seeing the fees as an obstacle to visit, but regard them as their contribution to the ongoing sustainable provision of the services. Awareness raising and education has been done through strong public relations and advertising efforts in local and national media in Tanzania and school outreach programmes in secondary schools in the region.

Another strong vehicle of raising awareness and making representatives of different social groups interact are regular cultural events at Iringa Boma. The events serve as a showcase for local culture and artisanship – featuring music and dance performances, local cuisine, and marketing handmade craft products such as baskets, pottery, and tailoring.[59] By creating such practical links to economic livelihoods, the project is able to deepen its outreach into the local community.

Multivocal heritage management is about promoting participative processes in reflexive social environments (Jameson 2019: 8). The aim is to deliberately create new relationships with heritage sites, apart from the technical or scientific interpretations, to let modern and traditional voices speak from the same sites, and to promote social engagement of participants for personal reasons – such as gaining confidence, working with others, or giving their present more meaning (ibid.: 3). For the case of the Lari Memorial Peace Museum in Kenya, Harrison and Hughes' (2010: 249) argue that such a participatory and inclusive approach has led to a reversion of the disdain for their own cultures and languages the communities had been taught. At Iringa Boma, we can see a similar dynamic through recent activities of introducing performative exhibition displays that accommodate local conceptions of heritage. In the course of the Coronavirus outbreak in Tanzania in spring 2020, the Boma team decided to launch a workshop series on traditional healing knowledge. During the days of the workshops, a number of well-known male and female healers in Iringa conducted teaching performances for interested community members to learn how to process, cook, and burn curative leaves, bulks, and roots of different medicinal plants. The people in the

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[59] For a detailed analysis of the artisan business development programme, please see Chapter 6.

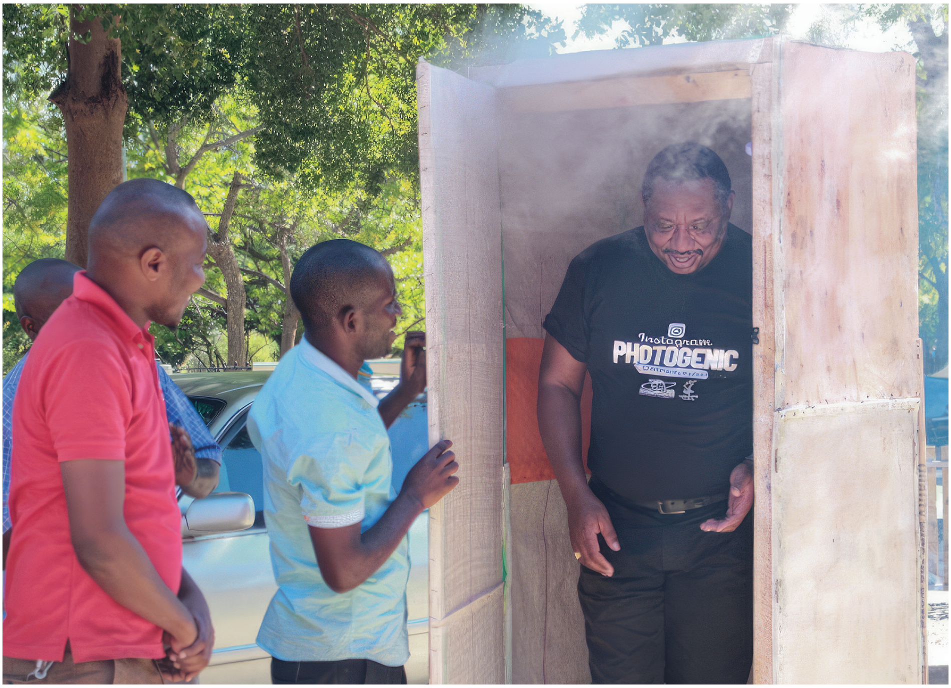

Fig. 5–7: Steaming treatment against flu at Boma workshop, 2020.

audience furthermore were given the opportunity to become patients and undergo a specific steaming treatment for the flu – in a wooden shed erected for the purpose. In order to adhere to the distancing rules due to the coronavirus, the number of audience participants at a time was limited, but coverage of the workshops was broadcasted by several local and national media to create wide publicity. The public outreach of the activity was strengthened by prominent workshop participants, including the Mayor and the District Commissioner of Iringa. At the end of the day, the performative exhibition workshops were a successful attempt at breaking with the conventional Eurocentric exhibition concept and its class connotations and boosted the Boma's appreciation within the community.

Conclusively, inclusive exhibition approaches can serve to maintain the integrity of the community as a whole, improving social and economic conditions (Kreps 2003: 114). In this vein, the exhibition at Iringa Boma has triggered a debate in the community about questions of ownership and sharing of cultural resources, and it sparked interest and participation in their conservation and management.

> I would say what we are doing is educating the people about ideas and approaches to culture, history, and heritage. We have created a platform for people to voice their views and questions concerning these things, things they hadn't been talking about for a long time. It also creates a stronger link between

> Germans and Tanzanians, or between Western people and Africans in general. None of us in our generation has participated in the terrible things that happened in history, but it is us who can redefine the past in a positive way that we have learned from each other. – Jimson Sanga, January 2020 –

5.4 Reaching out into the cityscape

Iringa lies on a rise above the highway connecting Tanzania with Zambia, and it is best described as a mountain town. It is surrounded by mountains peaks, sprinkled with large rocks on the hillsides, and is blessed with a lush vegetation due to the moderate climate. The city is centred around the historical core, which was founded in the 1890s in the course of the German colonial conquest of the region. The centre is the commercial heart of Iringa, with a great diversity of people and various businesses and institutions – including the main market, rows of shops, the bus terminal, as well as rickshaw and motorcycle stands. Mixed into this framework, we find churches and mosques, several high-rise office and hotel buildings, petrol stations, and fast-food restaurants. The sprawling centre is surrounded by large squatter areas that emerged in the course of an increasing influx of local immigrant groups. Over different historical eras, the settlements expanded to the north, along the road towards the national capital Dodoma, to the north-west towards the old Hehe capital Kalenga and the plains of Ruaha National Park, and to the north-east and the south-west, following the TANZAM highway beneath the city in both directions.

> I can say that things have changed on the side of getting information on Iringa Town. Before Iringa Boma was there, people were probably just trying to connect bits and pieces from different sources because there was no specific place that would tell them the full story of Iringa's culture and history. Now Iringa Boma is this place, when visitors come here, they get the full map of Iringa Municipality and of the whole region. Room 5 of our exhibition has been designed to make people tour other places in Iringa after they leave the museum. So, a visit to Iringa nowadays starts with the Boma because it gives the visitor an orientation what there is to see – and where. If someone asks for cultural information, she will be sent to the Boma. Tourism information? ... sent to the Boma. Socio-economic profile of the region? ... sent to the Boma.
>
> – Jimson Sanga, January 2020 –

Iringa Boma – Regional Museum and Cultural Centre is located near the main market on a relatively quiet end of the town centre. Being part of the social and physical fabric of the cityscape of Iringa, it corresponds and connects with the wider heritage landscape of Iringa Town and Region with its historical and memorial sites. Battle et al. (2018: 193) evaluate their strategy to expand the cultural tourism offer and enhance the attractiveness of the region in a similar project around Kilwa Kisiwani World Heritage Site on the Southern Tanzanian Indian Ocean coast. The project was based on the compilation of an inventory of existing cultural and natural resources in Kilwa District, which were worked into cultural tourism products to combine with the World Heritage Site. Then, a tourist information centre was built in Kilwa Masoko, the small town near the site, for the purpose of receiving visitors and operating the tours. Similarly, Iringa Boma functions as an information centre that actively integrates the museum with the heritage landscape – making its sites, stories, and their connections recognizable and marketable for tourism purposes. Linking and integration is achieved by showcasing various sites in Room 5 of the exhibition. The exhibit begins with locating identified sites on a regional and a city map. The visitor is then introduced in further detail to a selection of cultural and natural attractions, including the Isimila Stone Age Site, sites representing different layers of history in Iringa Town, sites on the regional Mkwawa history trail, and Ruaha National Park as the most famous tourism attraction of Iringa. Informing the visitors about these places implies that there is much more to see in the region, and the museum itself turns places into destinations.

5.4.1 Upgrading of selected sites

In the scope of the EU funding, fahari yetu coordinated the protection and upgrading of three sites within the Iringa cityscape. One of them is Gangilonga Rock, a prominent viewpoint over all of Iringa Town. It has been well-known as a tourist attraction for a long time, but reoccurring incidents of mugging had limited the number of visitors. The security issue was resolved after fahari yetu constructed a guard hut and visitors' washrooms, and the Municipal Council installed a permanent guard on the hill. *Gangilonga* is a Hehe word meaning 'the stone that speaks'. There are two explanations for the origin of the name. One says that the rock was traditionally used by the Hehe as a place for worship and speaking to the ancestors. The other is that Chief Mkwawa used it as a vantage point to monitor the German movements and activities in Iringa Town during his guerilla resistance years 1896–98. This interpretation is supported by Magdalene von Prince's (1908: 166) diary entry from April 1898, where she notes that Mkwawa's trace was found at a rock that offers a great overview of the area around the station. Sophia Poppe, one of the interviewees in the urban history research project,[60] added to the story that Mkwawa's scouts imitated bird-cries to pass on significant news from one post to the next over far distances. The interpretations are now introduced on a big explanatory signboard which fahari yetu installed at the site entrance. Iringa Boma operates tours to Gangilonga Rock in collaboration with the Iringa Municipal Council. When visitors ask for the tour, the staff on duty assists them in buying admission tickets from the nearby Municipal Tourism Office and offers them a guide for the foot-walk up to the rock. The site represents an era of transition from the old to the new Iringa. From there, Mkwawa and his soldiers were able to observe the construction of the Iringa that would replace theirs.

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[60] See Chapter 4.4.

Igeleke Rock Art Site represents another layer of history that lies far further in the past. It is a rock-shelter that was once sacred to local communities who used it for rituals. Archaeological remains from ground excavations indicate human activity around the site from the Late Stone Age 40,000 years ago, through the Iron Age until far into the historical period. The rock art paintings consist of more than 30 well preserved naturalistic human and animal figures, including giraffes, wildebeest, elephants, and candelabra trees. The development of the site through fahari yetu was an initiative from the Regional Commissioner's Office in cooperation with the local NGO that is managing it. The protection and upgrading measures included the fencing of the area and the construction of a fortified footpath up to the rock. When visitors book the tour at the Boma, they are taken to Igeleke by public transport, where they are met by site guides from the NGO in charge. In addition to taking a look at the paintings, the tour walk includes a visit to a cave in the rock and the NGO's tree planting and honey-making activities. Igeleke serves as an entry point to the topic of pre-historic heritage in Iringa Region. There are numerous other rock art sites with equally significant art distributed over Iringa and Kilolo District. What makes Igeleke stand out is that is quite easily accessible, as it is situated on the outskirts of Iringa Town while most of the other sites are located in remote places much more difficult to reach. Iringa Region furthermore harbours Isimila Stone Age Site, one of the most important archaeological sites in Tanzania. Isimila is a gorge stemming from a shallow prehistoric lake in which a huge number of stone tools from the Acheulian period, Middle Stone Age, and Late Stone Age was found. The site was discovered and excavated in the 1950s.

While Gangilonga and Igeleke are heritage sites based on environmental structures, Kitanzini Hanging Ground reminds visitors of the violent social practices of establishing colonial administration in Iringa. *Kitanzi* is a Swahili word meaning hangman's noose. When Chief Mkwawa began striking guerrilla attacks against the German troops, alleged Hehe colluders were executed there in order to increase pressure on the chief. The convicts had to walk from the military station to their place of execution in a public procession. It is said that they were first shot by firing squads, and later hanged from a massive mango tree. Among the victims were several Mkwawa family members, including his younger brother Mpangile.[61] A couple of years later, the area around the execution site became the first residence quarter for Hehe people moving from the villages into the new Iringa Town. Today, the neighbourhood is one of the poorest in Iringa. The German town planning origin is still evident in its symmetric street arrangement pattern. The execution site was repeatedly mentioned by participants in focus group discussions conducted for the urban history research project, as a place to remind us of the cruelty and injustice of the colonial regime. In response to this feedback, fahari yetu assisted the Municipal Council in erecting a memorial combining sculptural renditions of the tree, the hangman's noose, and the names of the most prominent victims. Iringa Boma offers visits to the site as part of a historical walking tour through the city centre.

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[61] See Chapter 4.3.

5.4.2 Towards an integrated urban history trail

From the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) perspective, heritage conservation is both a spatial and a temporal discipline, and its practice should not result in the sublimation of change over time in favour of a typological reification of space (Heathcott 2013: 34). In hindsight, one may argue that the outlined development of the three sites rather followed such a typological approach of taxonomic categorization (i.e., pre-history, colonial history, tourism attraction). Even though the descriptions produced were revelatory to a certain extent, the individual sites remained separate from each other and lack an integrating narrative. In recent efforts, the focus of connecting Iringa Boma to the urban landscape has therefore shifted towards making the origins, meanings, and changing functions of buildings and sites in Iringa visible in their relation to each other (ibid.: 22). Planned protection and conservation efforts are fine-tuned against considerations of the level of significance, degree of need, current uses, and local interests in the sites (ibid.: 35).

fahari yetu is engaged in the development of an international standard history trail that makes history accessible to all Iringa inhabitants and visitors. Selected sites and spaces are planned to be connected and integrated by installing signs and plaques around Iringa Town and district, with short descriptions in Swahili and English. In addition to trail markers and information panels, the proposed programme also includes the restoration and enhancement of specific target sites on the trail.

> I think the first major project would be to rehabilitate the original Boma, I mean the German military station. The former main building was torn down, but there is one dilapidated building left which should be preserved in its original design. – Jimson Sanga, January 2020 –

The military station is the first building of the garrison town “New Iringa”. It was built in the second half of 1896 under commander Tom von Prince.[62] While the station’s main building doesn’t exist anymore, the old officers’ mess is still standing, surrounded by brick stone barracks which originally provided accommodation for the African askari soldiers fighting in the German troops. Today, the building’s ground floor is used as a storage facility of the central police in Iringa, but the second floor has been vacated because of the building’s dilapidated state – and the government is looking to solicit funds for a thorough restoration project. The barracks are still used to accommodate police officers and their families, but many of them are seriously run-down. fahari yetu has proposed to restore the old station buildings and a number of the surrounding barracks in order to repurpose and furnish them as a historical hotel and guesthouse. The commercial business approach will reduce the project’s independence from international grants and donations and, thus, support a self-sustainable continuation of fahari yetu culture conservation and community outreach activities. The refurbished military station could furthermore serve to expand the fahari yetu artisan business development programme[63] by providing space for more community artisan groups to develop their products and services and market them in the town centre.

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[62] See Chapter 4.3.2.

> The second site to protect in order to strengthen socio-economic welfare would be the old market. That is the historical place where people met to do petty business. To restore it to its original design would be a great way to make people aware of this town's history. – Jimson Sanga, January 2020 –

The plan to construct a market building in Iringa was first mentioned in January 1898 in the diary of Magdalene von Prince (1908: 154). After a few years of delay, the market was probably built in the early 1900s. After the Germans had consolidated political and military control over Iringa, the construction can be read as an effort to also relocate the commercial centre of Iringa from Mkwawa's old fort town (Kalenga) to the new German settlement. In the shape of a cross, the building is carried by numerous pillars and covered with a roof of clay tiles. Except for a few modifications done in the course of repair measures, the original building structure is still intact today. However, it is hardly visible because the market is mantled with iron sheet covered shop frame constructions filling the spaces between the axles of the cross. Heathcott (2013: 24–25) discusses the market in the Old Stone Town of Zanzibar, a similar example in which a market originally engineered by colonial forces was re-designed in a makeshift fashion after independence. He observes how conservation officials decry the ramshackle additions and how they detract from the architectural integrity of the "original" British colonial structures. The conservation discourse emphasizes the architectural form over the social utility and human creativity embodied in the market landscape. Discussions regarding the old market in Iringa raise similar considerations. My own as well as my colleagues' ideas for rehabilitation are inevitably based on dismantling the market and restoring the visible and physical accessibility to the colonial structure. On the other hand, we are well aware that the additions serve the purpose of meeting a commercial demand that has gradually grown over the decades. The livelihoods of a great deal of shop-owners, petty business operators and their families depend on the makeshift additions, and any intervention with this business microcosm would likely stir up serious contention and conflict of interest.

Heathcott (ibid.: 35) suggests that a concept of investment parity might help to address and reconcile such areas of conflict. He proposes that conservation officials should advocate a linked development process where capital sums invested in "historic" neighbourhoods are matched by similar sums invested in "non-historic", especially low-income neighbourhoods. This would be not only socially just, but also good preservation practice. The idea was reflected in our discussions with local government officials concerning possible conservation plans for the market as well as the military station. Officials from the Municipal Council, the District Commissioner's Officer,

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[63] For a detailed assessment, see Chapter 6.

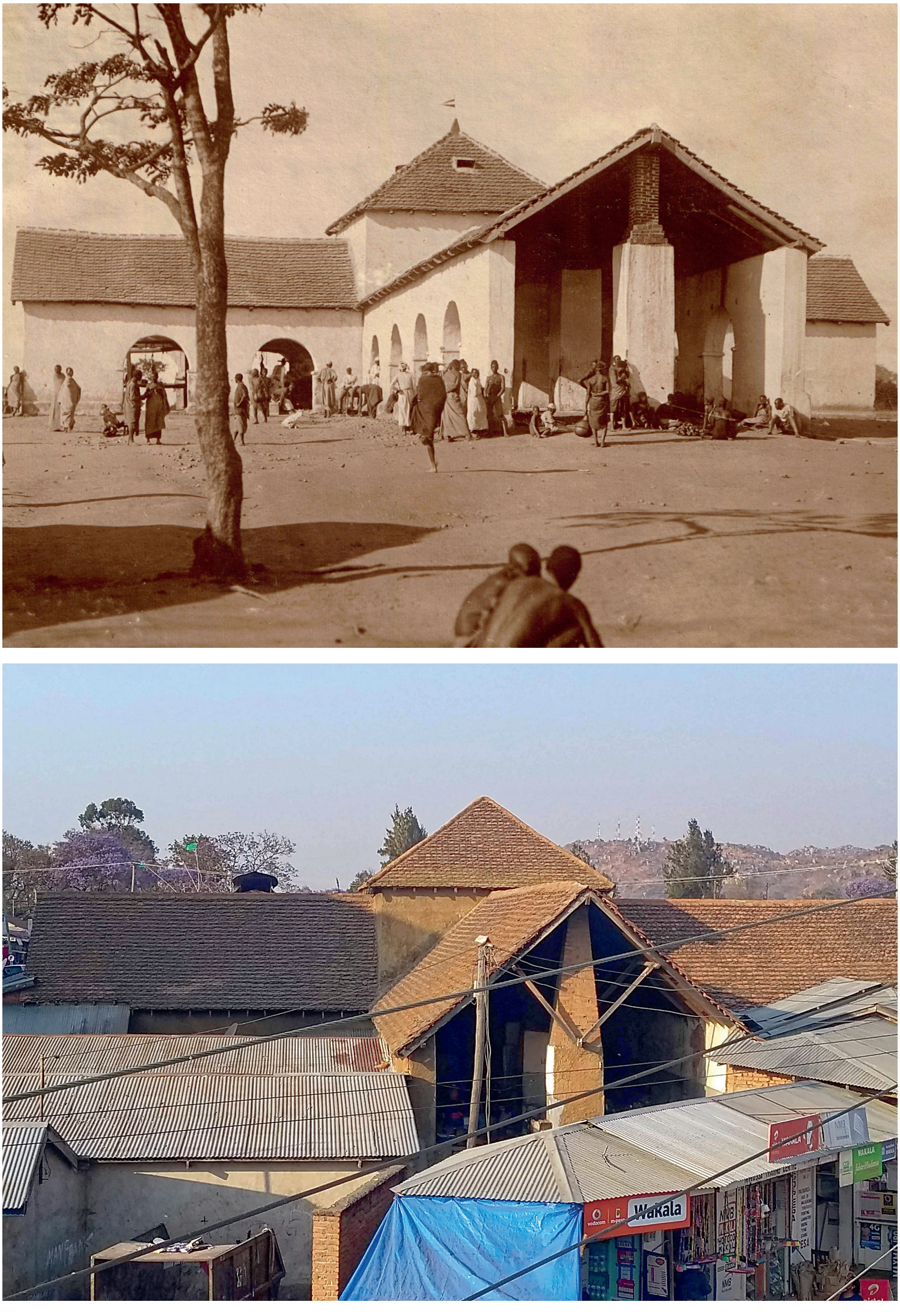

Fig. 5–8: The old market in 1909 (above) and in 2019 (below).

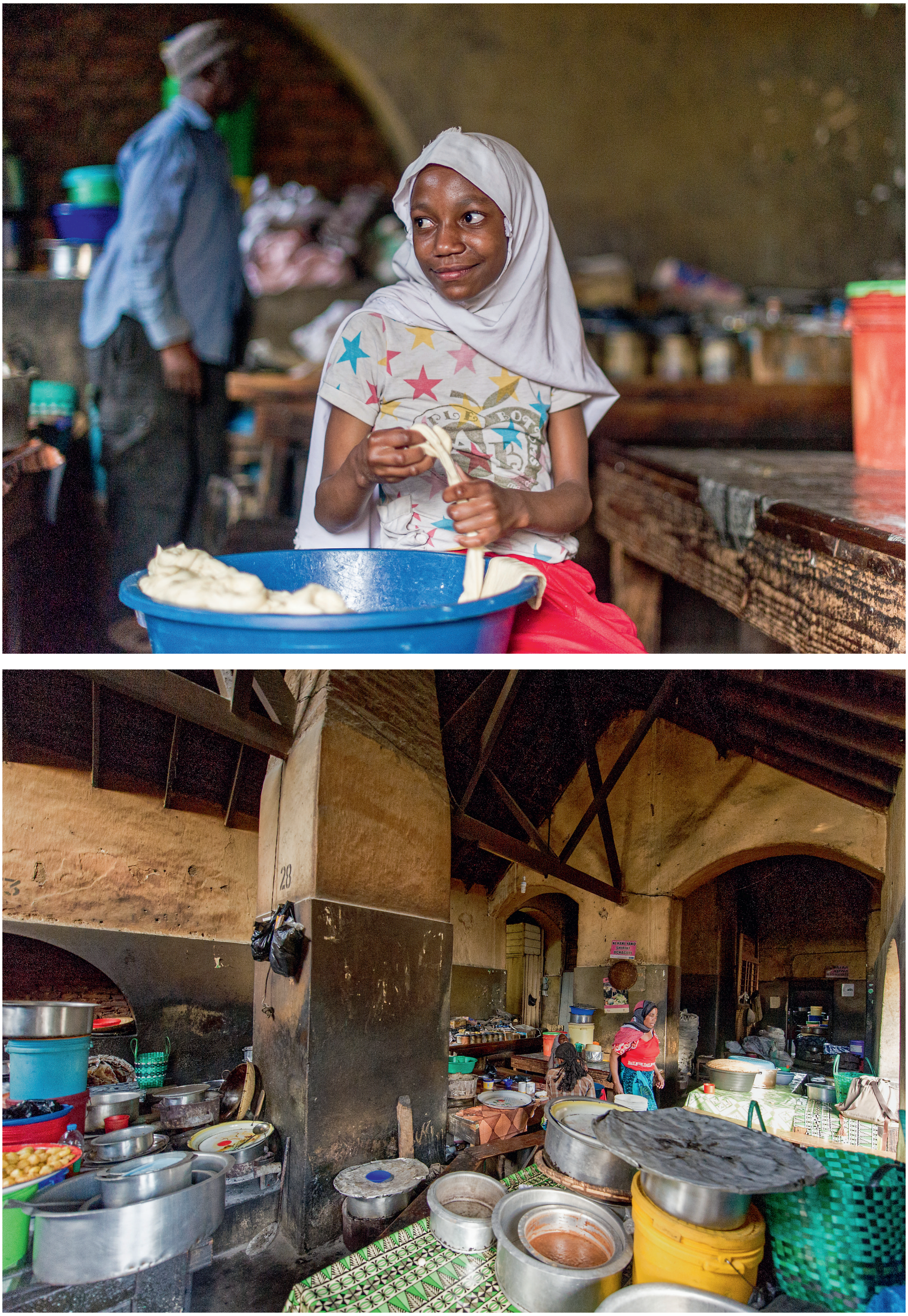

Fig. 5–9: Inside the market, 2016.

and the Regional Commissioner's Office always emphasized that heritage conservation projects should first of all ensure immediate socio-economic counter value. In the case of the military station, such value could be created with the construction of a modern residence building which would not only replace but upgrade the run-down garrison houses and give the conservation positive PR in the local community. In the case of the market, a similar solution would be to construct a new market building to accommodate the petty traders and business people living off the makeshift additions. A replacement could secure their livelihoods as well as a revenue flow to the government generated from their commercial activities. The question remains where to find an adequate, comparably central location for the market.

Apart from the selected historical buildings, the urban history trail includes a number of other sites that connect and integrate the old town centre of Iringa. One is the Uhuru Garden, which lies along the footpath between Iringa Boma and the market. The Uhuru Garden is a public recreational park with historical significance. The original establishment of the park during British administration is witnessed through a memorial for African soldiers from Iringa District who fell in World War II. In the wake of the war, the British sought to enlist Hehe recruits for their African regiment, the King's African Rifles (KAR). However, local residents refer to the park as the place where the first Tanzanian president Julias Nyerere himself conducted regional meetings during the struggle for independence *(uhuru),* which was gained in 1961. During his presidency, the country underwent a period of African socialism *(ujamaa),* a policy culminating in the Arusha Declaration of 1967 (TANU 1967). The name Uhuru Garden thus hearkens back to an era of political and social transition at the national scale, evoking past promises for a better future. The importance of the country's independence is symbolized by the Uhuru Torch Monument, which carries the motto of the Arusha Declaration: *Uhuru na Kazi* (Freedom and Work).

After passing through the Uhuru Park, the tour visitor comes out on Miyomboni Street, the first residence area in Iringa Town where the askari soldiers and their families originally settled, including the Poppe family's mother Taabu.[64] The military station lies at the south-eastern end of Miyomboni. In front of it stands the Maji Maji war memorial, which honours the fallen askari soldiers from Iringa during the Maji Maji uprising from 1905–07.[65] The Indian Street begins westwards after passing by the old market. The street was already laid out during the German colonial period, but it was under British administration that it grew into one of the most important commercial streets. The street is characterized by the colourful multi-storey houses built by Indian merchant and trader families, similar to the typical architectural forms in Dar es Salaam designed by C.A. Bransgrove, French and Hastings, Anthony Alameida, B.J. Amuli, and H.L. Shah between the late 1940s and the early 1970s (Heathcott 2013: 31). Yet the outstanding building – and architectural icon for the Indian contribution to the history of Iringa Town – is the Jamat Khana mosque and community centre, built by the Ismaili community in the 1920s,[66] to which the other name of the street, Jamatini Street, refers. Parallel to the Indian Street runs Legezamwendo Street, which used to connect the military station with the hanging ground at Kitanzini, on which the procession of convicts to their execution took place.[67] Kitanzini is the site after which the history tour turns around and takes visitors to sites on the northern side of Iringa Boma, including the Iringa Hotel,[68] Retco,[69] and the Commonwealth Cemetery. The latter was established by the Germans already during the 1890s, and later expanded and developed by the British as a war cemetery. Separate monuments for the German and for the British soldiers who lost their lives during World War I connect the place with the Maji Maji and World War II monuments around Miyomboni. Today, the cemetery is managed and maintained by the Anglican church in Iringa, supported by the Commonwealth and the German War Graves Commissions.

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[64] See Chapter 4.4.3.

[65] See ibid.

5.4.3 Integrating Old Iringa with New Iringa

> And the other thing that I dream of is to do something to preserve the memory of the old Hehe capital in Kalenga. We have pictures from the Germans of how the fort looked like, and we know how the traditional houses were built. My wish is to create something that gives people an idea of how that town looked like when it had more than 7,000 inhabitants.
>
> – Jimson Sanga, January 2020 –

Beyond the urban history trail, another main objective of the Iringa Boma outreach is integration with the heritage of Old Iringa. In the collective Tanzanian memory and that of the Hehe in particular, the old capital of Kalenga stands for a free precolonial society and a strong anti-colonial resistance. In the early 1890s, Kalenga was an industrious town fortified by an impressive stone wall – four metres high and five kilometres long.[70] What is left of it today is a village and a few piles of stones from the former town wall. The Mkwawa memorial site and museum in the village displays the famous skull of Chief Mkwawa, which had been taken to Germany as a war trophy and was later returned under British administration.[71] A feasible approach to restoring an idea of Kalenga's former glory would be the reconstruction of a representative part of approx. 25 metres of the old stone wall of the fort, including a replica of its impressive double bastions near today's Mkwawa museum. Next to the wall, appropriate signage should tie with the museum and the memorial site. Furthermore, there is a mound in the middle of the village, formed in the 1880s through the symbolic fill of soil from all conquered provinces of the Hehe chiefdom. It served as a stage from

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[66] See Chapter 4.5.2.

[67] See Chapter 4.3.3.

[68] See Chapter 4.5.3.

[69] See Chapter 4.5.4.

[70] See Chapter 4.3.2.

[71] See Chapter 4.3.4.

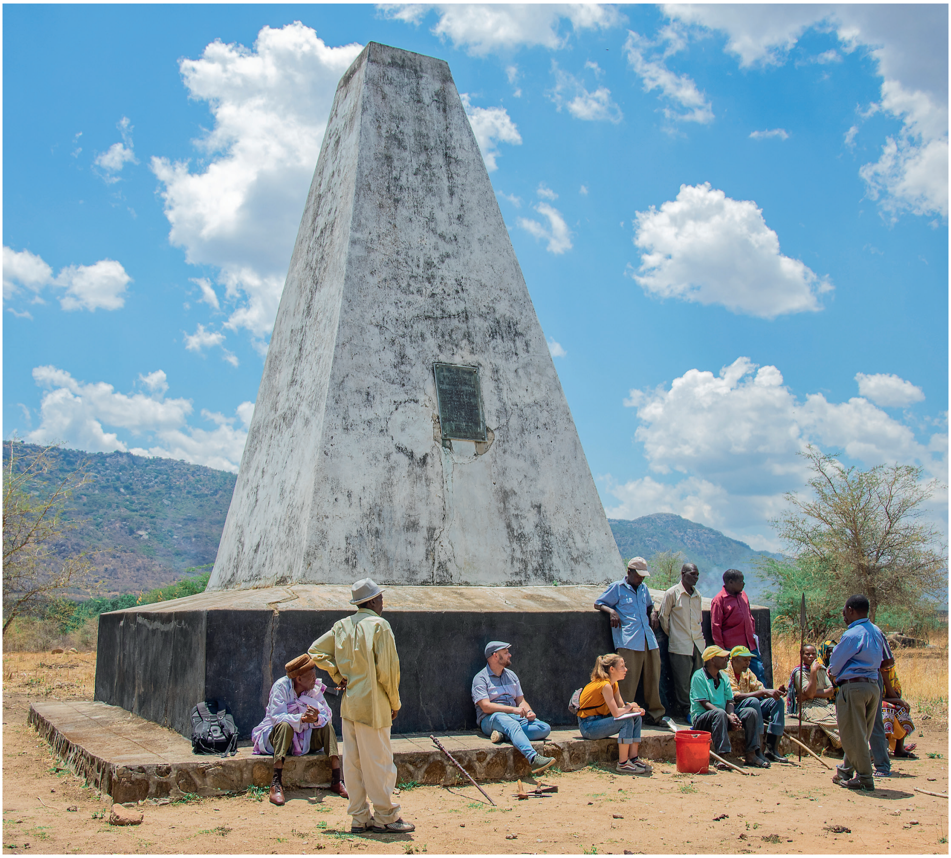

Fig. 5–10: Focus group discussion at the Lugalo monument in 2021.

which the chief addressed his troops and people. The mound should be demarcated with signage corresponding with that on the stone wall and fenced off from the adjacent football pitch.

Thematically, Kalenga connects with the German military station in town, both representing political and military power and control, and its transformation over time. Funding of the envisioned conservation measures may be conceived as a form of ensuring investment parity, as mentioned above. In negotiations with the German Embassy in Tanzania regarding the possible financing of a restoration of the military station, the local government representatives repeatedly emphasized the importance of supporting the preservation of Kalenga in order to strike a balance between colonial and indigenous heritage. Hence, the current rehabilitation concept for the military station considers the interest of both sides, and it has earmarked the delegation of funds to the development of Kalenga. The combined measures will enhance the touristic marketability of both sites – independently or as integrated history tour packages connecting New and Old Iringa.

Another significant site on the Mkwawa history trail is the Lugalo Battlefield located about 20 km from Iringa Town, the site of defeat of the first German Schutztruppe expedition into Uhehe in 1891.[72] The site is marked by a massive concrete monument that the Germans built after the death of Chief Mkwawa in 1898 to remember their casualties. The memory of the battle – manifested by the monument – is as a source of pride of anti-colonial resistance, not only for the Hehe but for Tanzanian people at large. The site should be meaningfully developed through the installation of road signs, interpretation boards in Swahili and English by the monuments, and a perimeter fence demarcating the memorials visually and physically from the surrounding fields.

Further sites commemorating the history of Chief Mkwawa and his dynasty are Munyigumba's grave in Rungemba,[73] Kikongoma – the Bridge of God (the site where Sengimba committed suicide),[74] and Mkwawa's grave in Mlambalasi.[75] All of them are part and parcel of the Iringa heritage-scape and, thus, should be integrated in heritage tourism development efforts. Apart from historical sites, Jimson mentions traditional building styles as part of the old Iringa heritage landscape. An integrated approach to heritage should also include the harnessing of vernacular culture in this and other forms. As a consequence, the landscape will maintain its integrity and have a positive influence on the visitors' experience – and therefore on the development of the local economy (Battle et al. 2018: 197). Iringa Boma undertakes such harnessing through a community culture and artisan business development programme that supports selected music and dance, basket weaving, pottery, and contemporary arts groups.[76]

5.5 Discussion

This chapter examined different aspects of Iringa Boma as a case of shared heritage conservation and management. It has shown that the Boma as a heritage resource carries different associations and meanings for a variety of actor groups, some of which are inconsistent or conflicting with each other. Sharing the heritage means to include these different associations in the public presentation and representation of the site and its services under participation of different stakeholders. This involves to address and bear with possible ambiguities and conflicts instead of omitting them in favour of a self-consistent narrative. Due to different perspectives as well as a generally low level of cultural and intercultural awareness, we have furthermore seen that there is not necessarily much interest in conservation across the different groups. The active engagement of various fractions in the community did not happen from one day to the next, but was a time-consuming process that required a lot of efforts from fahari yetu as a coordinating agency. The culture and history exhibition hereby provided the outlet for diverse community groups to not only voice their representation to the public, but also articulate disagreements with other versions presented, triggering a sensitive negotiation process. Several individuals and social groups were enticed into the Boma, little by little, through other services – such as the conference room, which has become a popular venue for wedding committee meetings among the long-established population of Iringa; the Boma Café, which has become a meeting point for the local chapter of the ruling political party in Tanzania; the upstairs workshop facilities, which have drawn in cultural artisan groups and local businesses; and the cultural events and art exhibitions, which have garnered a following among musicians, artists, and expatriates. While these actors might not directly relate to the building and its historical implications, the offered services brought them to the project, their interests into the site. Still, the above analysis has made it clear that the potential of the Boma has not yet been fully realized and that sustaining community participation requires ongoing efforts of making the site accessible for further groups, creative uses, and diverse interpretations.

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[72] In June 1891, after a series of failed negotiations, the Germans sent commander Emil von Zelewski on a scorched earth expedition on Uhehe, burning huts and fields in the North-Eastern lowlands he passed through before moving up the Uhehe escarpment towards Mkwawa's capital Kalenga. On 17th of August, they were ambushed by the Hehe near a small stream called Lugalo and the entire expedition – except for the rear guard – was wiped out in the ensuing battle. Commander von Zeleweski was killed – together with 9 other Germans, approx. 200 askari soldiers, and 96 porters – making up about one quarter of the German Schutztruppe in East Africa at that time (Pizzo 2012: 80). The Hehe themselves incurred an even higher number of casualties, Ngassapa (2011: 103) estimate around 1,000 soldiers. For a detailed course of events in the battle of Lugalo see Redmayne (1968a), Pizzo (2012) and Ngassapa (2011).

[73] See Chapter 4.3.4.

[74] See Chapter 4.3.3.

[75] See Chapter 4.3.3.

[76] For a detailed analysis of the artisan business development programme, see Chapter 6.

Some of the actors involved or targeted in the conservation and management process look back on a history of conflictual or controversial relationships rooted in the shared history of colonialism. The analysis worked out that the act of restoring and reutilizing the Boma has brought a deep and complex postcolonial consciousness back to the surface. Efforts of its articulation address how the colonial conquest has not only left a legacy of social inequality that breeds reservation among the indigenous community until today, but has also brought forth a tale of resistance to rally behind as a source of pride and identification. The narratives of colonial rule and anti-colonial struggle furthermore are powerful enough to tie a number of local, national, and international actors together in their interpretation. I frequently guide visitors through the exhibition, in most cases distinguished national or international guests. While I always put the shared colonial history of Iringa in the centre of my narration, I find myself telling it differently according to the perspective of the visitors. When I lead a Tanzanian delegation, I usually speak Swahili and tend to focus on the narrative of resistance and the strategies of the Hehe to give the invaders a hard time. When I guide in German language, I tend to create an imagination from a German perspective, based on the life of German officers and settlers in Iringa and the traces they left behind. When I guide visitors from other countries (in English), I rather try to give neutral descriptions of the historical events and weigh their implications between the Tanzanian and the international perspective. The fahari yetu and Iringa Boma research and practical conservation activities have contributed to carve out these different perspectives on the shared colonial history and how all of them contributed to shape Iringa as it is today. The development of new temporary or permanent exhibitions furthers the exploration of the colonial encounter in Iringa. One theme is the possible restitution of human remains of deceased subjects that were sent to Germany during the Hehe wars under the guise of anthropological research purposes. An exhibition could trace the stories of the remains of Chief Mkwawa, his father Munyigumba, his younger brother Mpangile, and other Hehe people – presenting one or more of their skulls as the result of a collaborative repatriation procedure. Another exhibition is planned to showcase the history of the askari soldiers in Iringa, addressing their roles as perpetrators of colonial violence and exploitation, and at the same time African actors who contributed to re-shaping the political, economic, and socio-cultural landscape of Iringa. Lastly, in response to Deborah's critical observation above, exhibitions specifically representing the British, Indian, and Arab communities – all of which owe their presence in Iringa to the dynamics of colonial history – are in the making.

Going beyond the aspect of promoting education and providing physical and intellectual access to collections, Knowles (1999: 117) argues that the functions of a modern museum also include efforts to tackle social exclusion by encouraging participation and reaching across social and economic barriers, thus stimulating urban regeneration and supporting economic prosperity of the communities. We have seen how the Boma museum and cultural centre has become a driving force in conserving and developing the Historic Urban Landscape of Iringa Town and beyond by meaningfully integrating urban and rural sites and making them accessible for local inhabitants as well as visitors from outside. Iringa Boma and its surrounding heritage-scape has become a contact zone for a heritage community of practice to form and evolve, in which the heritage resources neither belong to the Hehe nor the Germans nor the Tanzanian government, but are shared by those who care about them and make them theirs, including cultural artisans and practitioners, indigenous and immigrant groups, rural and urban resident communities, local and national government bodies, NGO's, commercial enterprises, higher education institutions, tourism and heritage professionals, and international organizations. In line with SDG 11 – Sustainable Cities and Communities, Iringa Boma has created social benefits and prospects for the community. It provides a safe and inclusive public space that offers educational, recreational, and business opportunities that foster positive links within and between the urban and rural areas of Iringa.

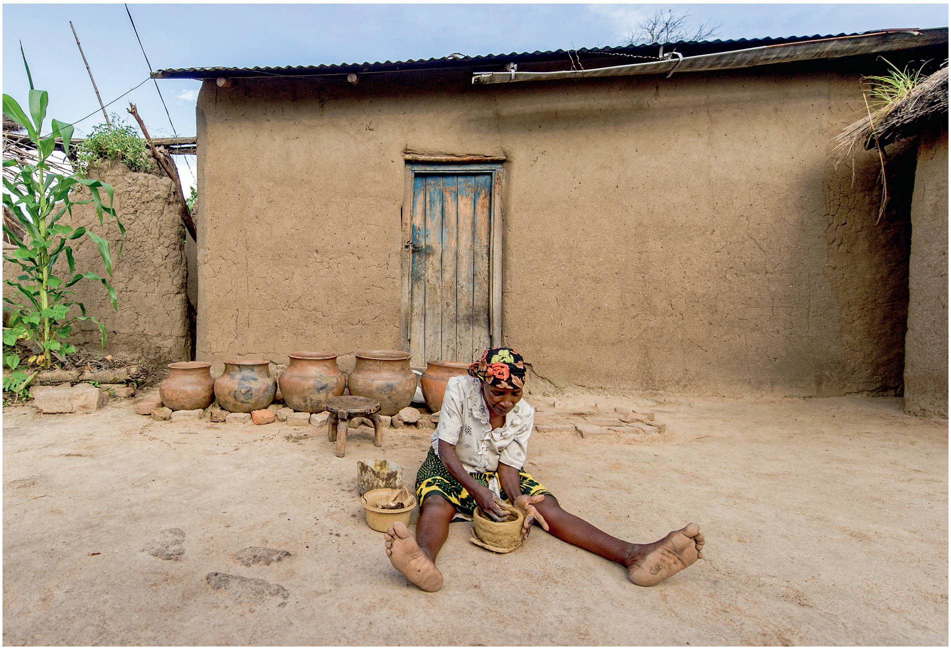

Fig. 6–1: Pottery craftwoman in Kalenga, 2016.

6 Vernacular culture and heritage-based community livelihoods

6.1 Introduction

Iringa Region harbours a unique living heritage of cultural artisanship in music and dance, basket weaving, and pottery making, and this heritage is conserved by small-scale artisan groups and individuals. These groups do not consist of professional artists, but are to be seen as loose associations of farmers, day labourers, or housewives who represent the different indigenous groups in the region with their cultural particularities. This chapter explores the potential of cultural arts and crafts as a pathway to local community development in Iringa Region. Based on project experiences, it examines local actors' efforts of practical heritage conservation and discusses prospects of invigorating and sustaining heritage-based livelihoods of community groups based on the participatory management of these resources. The historic, socio-cultural, and urbanistic aspects examined in previous chapters provide background for the assessment.

The examination approaches the case from a development studies perspective, a broad field which seeks to understand, among other things, rural livelihoods and their change and diversification in the Global South (Bell 2017: 1). Parts et al. (2011: 401) conceive local craft as a form of intangible heritage that serves to sustain heritage-based livelihoods depending on several related phenomena – such as economic sustainability of the crafts, intergenerational transmission of skills, changes in the relationship between the artisan and the customer, and relevant implications for crafts-related institutions and policies. In reference to the heritage for human development paradigm, arts and crafts are furthermore examined as a form of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986) which is sought to be converted into financial income and into social benefits. Sustainable heritage-based livelihoods with their socio-economic implications are accessed through the UN Sustainable Development Goals, in particular SDG 11 – Sustainable Cities and Communities, SDG 4 – Quality Education, SDG 12 – Responsible Consumption and Production, and SDG 1 – No Poverty.

The examination employs a qualitative approach of evoking arts and crafts conservation in Iringa through individual biographies of participants in the fahari yetu artisan business development programme. The programme started in 2015 when fahari yetu organized district culture competitions in cooperation with the local authorities in all four districts of Iringa Region, in which a total of 40 groups of 10–15 members each participated. In a second step, the participating groups were invited to a joint culture and tourism entrepreneurship training programme conducted by a professional evaluation team. Based on the assessment criteria product diversity, technical skills, product presentation, and group organization, a pre-selection of 11 groups for a coordinated coaching and mentoring programme was made. In 2016, all 11 groups were visited in their respective local environments, and the visits identified the following specific needs from extensive talks and observations:

- support with regard to a formal registration of the groups;
- physical space for product manufacturing and display;
- equipment, e. g. music instruments, uniforms, sewing machines, potter's wheels;
- coordinated marketing and promotion;
- training in business administration and entrepreneurship;
- training in communication and presentation skills; and
- training in culture conservation and interpretation.

Following the needs assessment campaign, the number of groups was further reduced from 11 to 5 to ensure a reasonable allocation of time and resources to address all these points in the support programme. In the end, the best group in each of the following categories was selected:

- local music and dance;
- handicraft 1 – pottery making;
- handicraft 2 – basket weaving;
- community conservation of a local rock art site;
- contemporary art – painting and cartoon drawing.

Each of the selected groups has been assigned space within the premises of Iringa Boma in form of finishing workshops, storage room, studio space, and involvement of their products in offered cultural tours. Guided cultural tours to nearby and farther sites and attractions are a core activity of Iringa Boma, including historical town tours, viewpoint walks, and village visits. The groups participating in the programme are integrated into these tours to directly market their product to tourists. The groups and their products are also featured in regular cultural events at Iringa Boma, e. g. music and dance performances or craft markets.

After Marcus' (1995: 106) "follow the people" technique, themes or ideas are developed from tracing people and soliciting stories about their everyday life activities. For this chapter, I decided to showcase the examples of three different artisan groups by tracing the life stories of their representatives. The first example examines the musical heritage of Iringa and its relevance in the present through the story of Bonnie Lulenga, a musician and instrument maker from rural Iringa. Local pottery making as a livelihood opportunity is showcased through a rural women's cooperative, represented by its chairwoman, Tumsifu Ndendya. The third example is Vikapu Bomba, a market-oriented women's basket weaving social company directed by Catherine Shembilu from Iringa Town. Data processing, analysis, and presentation followed the procedures set out in Chapter 3. The examination takes an artisan's-eye view to evoke the dynamic natural, social, and economic landscape surrounding their craft – mostly letting the empirical data speak for itself. I have utilised verbatim quotes from the respondents together with field photographs where possible in order to situate the reader in the narrative and lifeworld of the interviewees themselves. The narration is supported with my own observations and experiences from site explorations with the respondents and from managing the wider artisan business development programme, linked to academic literature on relevant themes and concepts. The chapter ends with a theoretical discussion of crosscutting themes between the different types of craft presented in the narrations and how they inform the objectives of this study.

6.2 Bonnie Lulenga – Living heritage through music

> I sing songs of the region and make instruments from local materials. My aim is not to break with tradition but to develop it. I am searching for a market to develop myself and be more independent.
>
> – Bonnie Lulenga, May 2018 –

Bonnie was born in 1977 in Kising'a village, Kilolo District, Iringa Region as one of 12 siblings in his family. Kising'a village is situated on the slopes of the Udzungwa Mountains, a fertile area providing an agricultural subsistence base for its inhabitants. The major food crops grown by the communities are maize and beans, supplemented by smaller yields of manioc, carrots, tomatoes, onions, and green vegetables. Bonnie is a member of the Lulenga clan, a Hehe clan scattered predominantly over the South-

Eastern part of Iringa Region. At a relatively late age, from 1989–95, Bonnie visits primary school in his home village before moving to Iringa Town in 1996, where he works as a phone technician for the Catholic Church. Conflicts with other people in the mission lead to his decision to return to Kising'a in 1998 to become a farmer. In 2003, Bonnie marries a girl from the local church choir he sings in. In 2015, Bonnie joins the fahari yetu artisan business development programme and regularly performs at Iringa Boma – Regional Museum and Cultural Centre since its opening in 2016. As of 2018, he has six children to raise in his household, four from his wife and two from another woman with whom he engaged in a relationship during a temporary separation from his wife.

6.2.1 Inheriting the craft

Bonnie sings songs from the region, songs that he accompanies with music on self-manufactured instruments made from local materials: drums, whistles, cowbells, bass strings, and mortars, for example. Traditionally, Hehe music is composed of singing and dancing to the sound of drums, whistles and ankle bells. In Hehe culture, music used to be played for purposes of relief, invocation, or entertainment on social occasions such as weddings, mourning and burial ceremonies, initiation rites, and ancestor worship rituals. A notable portion of musical ceremonies were part of the agricultural cycle, including rain ceremonies in times of drought, relief during the heavy field labour season, and thanksgiving for harvest. Bonnie's first musical memories are his father and grandfather dancing with ankle bells on such occasions, dressed in traditional Hehe garment. He remembers how impressive the accompanying joyful cheers and shouts of the women were and how the atmosphere made him and the people feel good. He claims to harbour a love for music ever since, an inner emotion that fills his heart and soul and makes him participate whenever he hears the rattles of people who gather to dance.

Bonnie identifies the craft of manufacturing musical instruments as a family tradition that he traces back to his great-grandmother. He didn't get to know her in person – but she is said to have been an outstanding craftswoman, who passed on the tradition to his grandfather, who passed it to his father, who finally passed it to Bonnie himself. Bonnie estimates that he was about eight years old when his father started to teach him how to make musical instruments. A few years later, his teachers in primary school were the first to notice his talent and strong dedication to the craft. While he lived in Iringa Town, where he worked for the Catholic Mission in the 1990s, he got to know various forms of music – an experience that he sought to convert into his instruments after returning to the village. From now on, he tried to add creativity to the common tools and began to construct more elaborate and refined instruments. Slowly, the elders in his community began to respect him for his work, telling him that he was the heir who would bring the creative skills of his great-grandmother back to life and, in doing so, preserve the heritage of the people.

> It came to me one night in my dreams. In my dream, I saw myself assembling a special instrument, like the drum I am using in my set now. And then I saw myself making another one. After I woke up, that dream stuck in my mind and I began collecting items and materials like buckets, planks, wire, animal skin and the like. I started constructing, listening to the voice that I had heard in my dreams. After finishing one step, I listened again to know what to do next, how to improve what I had started, what to add to make it sound better. That's how I came to the instruments I have today. – Bonnie Lulenga, May 2018 –

The quote captures well how Bonnie began to make the instruments following his intuition, and how his creations became more and more complex. Today, Bonnie has a repertoire based on six different styles – which he plays on the various instruments in his set, and the process is still ongoing. To keep the family tradition alive, he has begun to teach his children the craft, hoping that they will follow his footsteps and eventually become heritage custodians.

6.2.2 Between preservation and innovation

> My music and craft represent the spirit of the Hehe culture. Most of the tools and materials I use are local materials springing from local customs and activities. These stand for our origin, our base as a people, for where we come from. At the same time, Hehe culture and society has always been open to accommodate foreign influences and incorporate foreigners to become part of it. This openness and integration of new ideas is represented by the parts and materials of my music and instruments that are not traditional. They can enrich our culture, provided they are incorporated in such a way that they enhance the original base.
>
> – Bonnie Lulenga, May 2018 –

In reference to inheriting the skills and creativity from his great-grandmother, Bonnie conceives himself as a cultural custodian whose primary task – in a figurative sense – is to preserve and revive the forgotten ways and elements of Hehe culture through music performances. For him, heritage conservation also raises the question of where we are going with it in the future, and how – after acknowledging where we came from and where we are at present. Being aware of where we came from and who we are may make it easier to adopt the benefits of modern education and to cope with the struggles of modern life. Many of his lyrics recite the history of Hehe Chief Mkwawa. Thereby, remembering this glorious story serves as an orientation in trying to find the right ways in the present.

Interestingly – in order to accomplish this task and become a true custodian – he identifies the need to make creative inputs and develop the inherited craft tools and skills further into something that has not been there before. He recognizes that culture

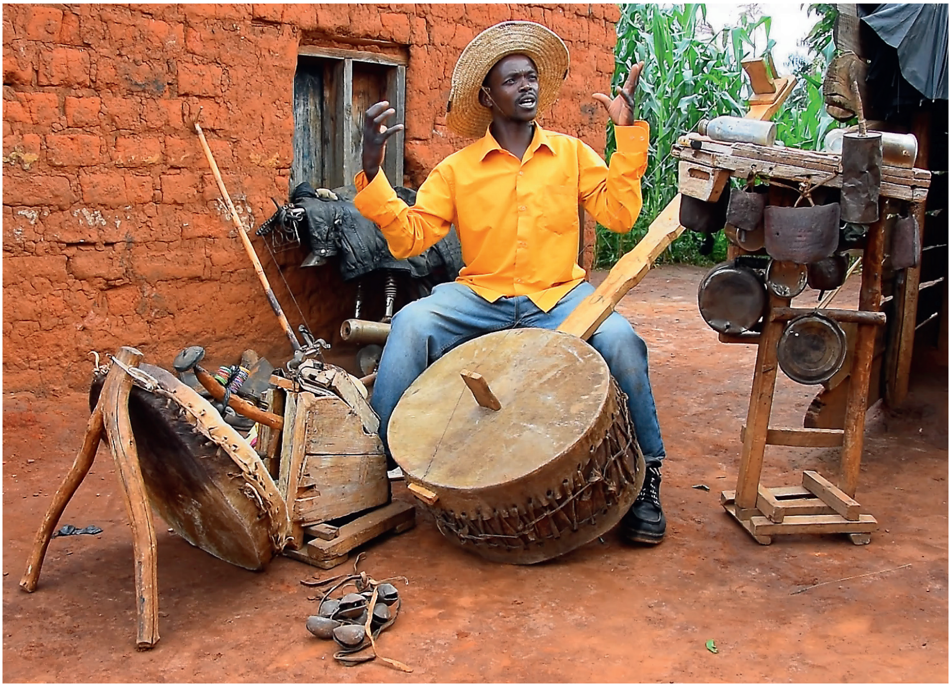

Fig. 6–2: Bonnie performing in Kising'a, 2018.

is subjected to change coming from the outside, and in order to retain the societal values of the past, heritage has to be actively adapted to these changes. The Hehe chiefdom was a construct of political expansion and integration, and so the culture is based on accommodating and blending various influences. The same process continues in the present. In his opinion, Hehe music today is not only performed for Hehe people, but is also received by Tanzanian, African, and international audiences, and should be able to serve and connect anyone who is interested in the skill, craft, or message.

Bonnie's understanding of heritage appears to fit well with Smith and Campbell's (2016: 443) definition of heritage as "an embodied cultural performance of meaning-making". Bonnie performs interpretations of traditional culture for different audiences, and therefore contributes to the recreation of its local embodiment. His performances aim at delivering messages to the audience, messages revolving around how to deal with challenges and obstacles in life, offering legends of the great chiefs of the past as reference points for orientation. To convey his messages, he draws on traditional Hehe songs in Hehe language to a good extent. But the times have changed – and many Hehe people of the younger generation don´t understand the language anymore. Thus, he writes lyrics in Swahili language – the national language of Tanzania – to ensure that his message is heard. From his point of view, the songs in Hehe language are traditional songs, and the songs in Swahili are modern songs, and his music is a blend of both.

In the opening quote of this section, Bonnie makes it very clear that the aim of modifying artistic instruments and practices is not to abandon the tradition, but to develop it further and open it up to wider audiences. The use of different languages is a good example of acknowledging foreign influences to be part of culture, that culture cannot be isolated from a growing audience. In 2018, a British musician came to Iringa Boma in search for Bonnie – and after we connected them, they spent a couple of days together making music. In reflection of the experience, Bonnie argues that welcoming foreigners to listen makes them take your culture to other places and integrate it into theirs as well. For him, arts and music performances are proper channels in a mutual exchange process. Despite the fact that he does not speak English or any foreign languages, he envisions this exchange process to be international. Through music, he can communicate with European visitors as well, as music is a language that speaks without words.

6.2.3 Creating livelihoods

Local, and in particular indigenous life in Iringa depends to a large extent on the agricultural cycle of preparing the maize and beans fields in time for the rain season, cultivating side crops after cessation of the first round of heavy rains, harvesting after the rain season ends with the second round, and concentration on small animal husbandry during the dry season. While the cycle determines the life of the people, it leaves idle time of being economically unproductive during the year. Bonnie regards music as an opportunity to remain productive and create income during these waiting periods. For him, music currently serves as a livelihood supplement to farming as the main source of income. While he acknowledges farming to be the backbone of Hehe culture and society, he also realizes the confinements of the cycle. Music bears the promise of becoming his main source of income one day, enabling him to leave the fields behind without worries, and he is willing to give his all for that. He believes that his family and close friends also see the potential in him to achieve this dream, and that he can rely on their support.

> For real, I would leave farming activities completely, but so far, I cannot because my family depends on the crop yields. I could just concentrate on music as the one thing to do and focus. Even at home, they say you can do it – they encourage me to focus on the music as my way out of dependence.
>
> – Bonnie Lulenga, May 2018 –

As if to underline his rootedness in the agricultural cycle, Bonnie integrates various everyday livelihood items into his music making, some as part of his instruments – such as cowbells, plaited mats, clay-pots, baskets, and mortars – and others as tools to make the instruments, such as knives and hand-hoes. These objects reflect all the pillars of Hehe craft, namely iron-smelting and welding (hand-hoes, knives, cowbells), weaving (mats, baskets), pottery (clay-pots), and carving (pestle and mortar), and are combined through the artistic outlet of music. Bonnie knows that the actual utility value of handmade items of this kind has declined drastically in the face of a growing availability of factory-made products of the same functions, and the number of people who craft such items by hand as well as the number of actual hand-made items has become smaller and smaller. His music becomes a purpose for keeping the craft alive, even if it is for respect and remembrance only. His music becomes a living museum of artefacts that everyone remembers to have been part of the household or everyday life once.

Still, in the environment of rural Iringa, at the end of the day everything comes down to getting food on the table, and this also applies to art and craft. Bonnie remembers that his grandfather made rattles and other instruments in exchange for goats or cattle. Today, there is still a market for conventional drums that are made in some specific villages in the region and bought by customers from other places. Bonnie himself remembers receiving direct economic benefits from his craft since the 2000s, when elders and other community members began to give him chickens and other presents to express their appreciation. Gradually, they started booking him for different occasions such as graduations, weddings, and holiday celebrations. In the beginning, people took it for granted that he would play for food and drinks only – and it was a particular challenge for him to cover the costs of transporting the instruments to the performance. Hence, he decided to negotiate his terms in advance, to see how serious clients were. If he was able to negotiate a good payment, he began to hire support singers or dancers to perform with.

Apart from economic livelihood and conservation purposes, Bonnie's narrative also implies significant non-economic benefits arising from his work as a music custodian. As an example, he presents the story of two German students who volunteered as interns at Iringa Boma. As part of their duties, they recorded professional video footage of him and his music in his home village environment. During their visit, they took shots in the hills and fields, in and around Bonnie's house, and on the village square, everything in close interaction with the villagers. For Bonnie, their visit was of great importance on different levels. First, he observed that the people in the village saw it as a great honour to receive European visitors for this purpose, the credit for which was given to him personally. Suddenly, the public eye looked at his work with much more respect than before, and people saw the potential of music as a livelihood resource. On a deeper level, Bonnie believes that the visit furthermore made the people realize – whether consciously or semi-consciously – that their tradition and culture is worth something, and that they as their bearers are important enough to relate to different people in the world through it. In Bourdieu's (1986) terminology, I would understand this realization as an example of how culture is turned into cultural capital – which, in the form of identity and self-esteem – can be called forward in interaction with others. It is also a starting point for social capital accumulation when it puts the people in the position to build networks and relationships with people from outside. More concretely, this connects with SDG 11's target of creating positive socio-economic linkages between urban and rural areas, at this stage of non-economic nature but already implying economic opportunities for potential exploration.

6.2.4 fahari yetu and Iringa Boma

When the district government officials noticed Bonnie's talent, they advised him to obtain a permit for performances, and he got registered as a cultural performer in the 2010s. As a permit holder, he says that the number of performance invitations and his general recognition in the region grew further. Bonnie got into contact with fahari yetu for the first time in spring 2015, when the District Cultural Officer selected Bonnie to represent Kilolo District in the programme's district culture competitions. His participation in the regional cultural entrepreneurship training in Nzihi in October 2015 can be seen as the starting point of his permanent association with us. In early 2016, Bonnie was included in fahari yetu's coordinated culture and artisan business development programme. In the conducted needs assessment, he articulated the need for a spare set of instruments to be able to coordinate transport to performances more effectively. fahari yetu agreed to facilitate the crafting of a complete new set and purchased the set for storage at the new Iringa Boma – Regional Museum and Cultural Centre. After the opening of the Boma in June 2016, Bonnie had become the house artist to be featured at events and other activities.

> fahari yetu is supporting communities to revive the forgotten culture. In the beginning, they brought together artisan groups from different districts. Exchange with others gave me a lot of exposure and I learned new styles and skills. I got to know more people and got more opportunities for paid performances. I am deeply grateful to fahari yetu as their support has lifted me up, it has made me grow as a musician as well as a business performer. Without them, I would have remained dormant in the village. – Bonnie Lulenga, May 2018 –

Since 2016, Bonnie has performed at almost all events hosted at Iringa Boma, including Christmas and Easter markets, International Museum Day celebrations, and several night events. Also, fahari yetu supported him in performing at the Isimila Festival 2016, at a partner hotel in Iringa, and at the Welcome Southern Circuit Tourism Fair in 2017 and 2018. At the events, he sometimes played alone and was sometimes supported by a dancer. His performances have been strikingly appealing to foreign audiences. Several foreign listeners expressed the idea of making professional studio recordings of his music, which could be marketed internationally as world music. Luckily, in autumn 2019, the opportunity to implement this idea arose through the visit of a Polish studio technician and world music researcher who conducted a recording session with Bonnie on the upper floor of the Boma. The produced mini-LP of his music is being marketed online since through a website from which the songs can be either downloaded for a fee or ordered for shipping on audio CD. Bonnie has signed a distribution agreement that guarantees him 60–70% of the proceeds from the sales. Although the revenue from selling his music in central and Eastern Europe is still low, it marks a significant contribution to the livelihoods of a man from the rural areas of Kilolo District in Iringa Region.

In addition to marketing Bonnie's music through events and audio recordings, Iringa Boma has included him as part of the itinerary of cultural tours to the area of his home village. The idea came up from different excursions with project visitors who were not only glad to have the chance to meet Bonnie, but also by the breathtaking scenery offering fantastic mountain hiking opportunities. Experiencing Bonnie and his craft in situ can furthermore be combined with visits to the women's basket weaving groups of Vikapu Bomba in the neighbouring village, who will be introduced in the next section. Moreover, exchange with Bonnie is often hampered by the limited mobile signal coverage in the village and the difficulties of commuting to Iringa Town. The solution could be the establishment of a small outreach centre in the tour area, from where tourist visits can be coordinated. This would further strengthen the linkage between urban and rural areas of Iringa and facilitate direct community benefits in the participating villages.

6.3 Juhudi na Maarifa – Moulding life through pottery

> I make pottery – but I also do farming, maize, beans, peas, etc. If the pottery doesn't provide enough income, I still have the food crops. If the harvest turns out bad, I can still earn some money with the pottery. As a woman, I should better avoid just loafing around and focus on providing for my family.
> – Tumsifu Ndendya, March 2018 –

Tumsifu Laurent Ndendya was born in 1990 in Wanging'ombe District in Njombe Region South of Iringa. She came to Rungemba, her village of residence in Mufindi District, Iringa Region, as a grown up after she got married to a man originating from there. Tumsifu has three children. Two of them are in school, and she takes the youngest to work with her. Rungemba is known as a pottery village, and Tumsifu got interested in potter craft when she saw other women improving their lives by practicing it. In 2010, she formed the organized pottery cooperative Juhudi na Maarifa[77] together with eight other women and two men. With a small grant from the USAID-funded Women Group' programme, the group was able to register as a community artisan group with the cultural office of Mufindi District in 2012 and build a shared showroom and workshop in Rungemba, right next to the TANZAM highway. With Tumsifu being the chairwoman, Juhudi na Maarifa makes a range of earthenware products including cooking pots, stoves, beehives, flowerpots etc. as well as building bricks from clay for the local market. The group maintains shared bookkeeping and administration through a designated bank account. Profits are reinvested into a collective microfinance scheme which is informally set up between the group members.

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[77] Swahili for "Effort and Knowledge".

6.3.1 Pottery making

The pottery making process of the Juhudi na Maarifa cooperative is divided into several steps – as we were able to document on video as part of the fahari yetu artisan business development programme in 2018.

Step 1 – harvesting clay

> The get the clay for our pottery from a marshy low ground called Ikekeke near Rungemba, you can get it only there. During the rainy season, the whole place often gets flooded so we try to make sure that we take enough home to our workshop before the end of the dry season in November or December – so that we don't need to go to the swamp again. – Tumsifu Ndendya, March 2018 –

Tumsifu explains that while the common soil in the Southern Highlands is usually red in colour, the Ikekeke low ground is the only place in the area that has the thicker black soil that is needed for the pottery work. To get to the clay, the women have to scoop the water out of a selected swamp slough first. Then, they dig with hand hoes to detach the clay from the mud ground before lifting it out of the hole with their bare hands. As soon as they have enough for a daily load, the clay is put in buckets or sacs and transported to Rungemba village in hired delivery vehicles, such as pickups, transport tricycles, or sometimes even ox carts.

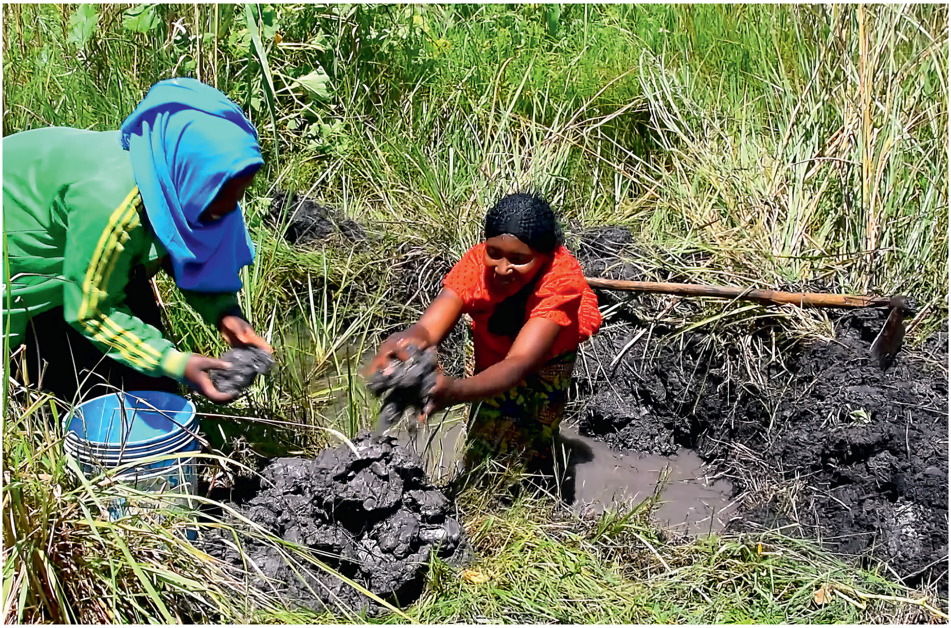

Fig. 6–3: Tumsifu and Zena collecting clay from the slough, 2018.

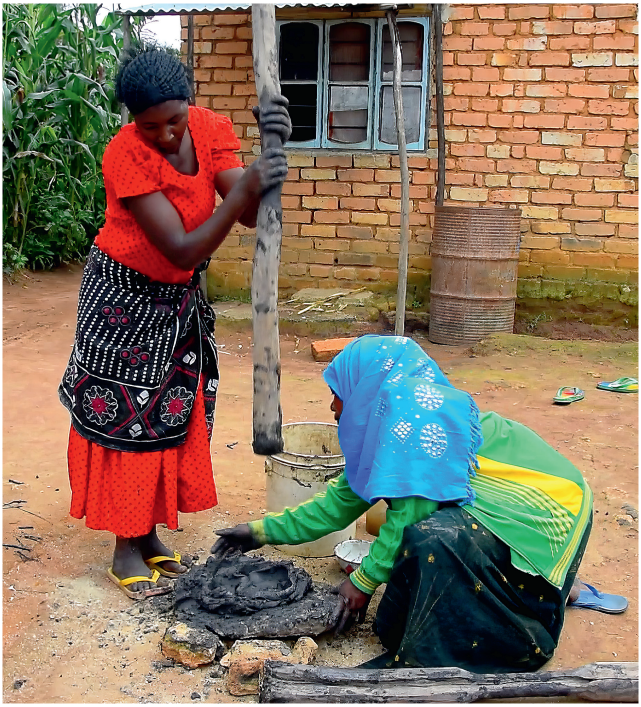

Fig. 6–4:
Tumsifu and Zena pounding clay behind their pottery workshop, 2018.

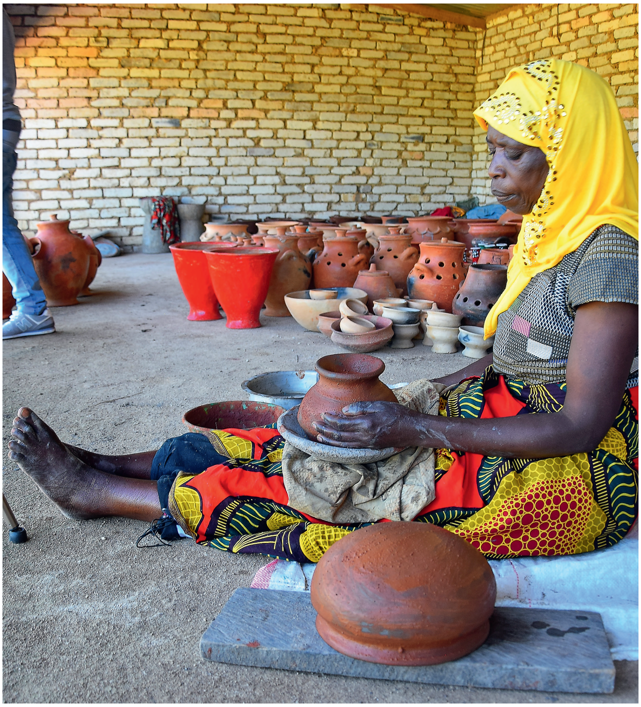

Fig. 6–5:
Eliza shaping pots in the pottery workshop, 2018.

Step 2 – pounding the clay

> We pound the clay with wooden pestles on a flat stone. Doing the pounding alone is very tiresome, so we usually work in pairs: one person does the pounding while the other one puts the clay back in position and mixes in sand. And then we take turns. – Tumsifu Ndendya, March 2018 –

Back at home or at the workshop in Rungemba, the clay is put into small pits or on tarpaulin, and it is watered regularly so that it doesn't dry out too quickly. The second step in the procedure is to pound the freshly harvested clay to an even and smooth mass that can be used for moulding. The sand is mixed in to make the mass a bit dryer, allowing the pots to harden stronger without breaking during the burning. Working in pairs makes the workflow much better and faster. When the clay is evenly ground, it is put it into a bucket or on nylon paper to keep it fresh for moulding.

Step 3 – moulding

> I use different tools to shape the pots – such as corncobs, pieces of thin metal sheets, coconut husks, and pieces of cloth for levelling the surface.
> – Tumsifu Ndendya, March 2018 –

Shaping the clay into earthenware is done a day or so after pounding it, or at least before it begins to dry out. The shaping/forming is usually done by one person who uses a shard or pottery tile on a flat piece of wood. At first, the clay is spread into a flat circle. After forming it into shape, the mould has to be evened. It has to be as symmetric as possible without weighing more on one side or in one direction, and it should be as light as possible while remaining robust. Different tools are used to rub it again and again to even out dents and other uneven spots. After the first mould, it is left to dry in the sun for half an hour. In the next step, the women use colour extracted from red clay and paint the pots with it. The painted earthenware is once again left to dry for some time, before it is evened again with a soft stone until everything looks smooth. It is put into the sun for a third time to dry. The procedure may be repeated until the artist deems it to be even and shiny enough. The procedure can also include embellishing the pots by carving patterns into the surface. Finally, the pots are left to dry in the shade for one day, and for another day outside in the sun. Then, they are ready for burning in the fire.

Step 4 – burning the pots

> First, we pile firewood on the ground of the pit – on which we place the pots. Then again firewood on top of the pots. We also use a lot of reed grass to set the wood on fire. While it burns, we have to make sure to keep the heat up around the pots. – Tumsifu Ndendya, March 2018 –

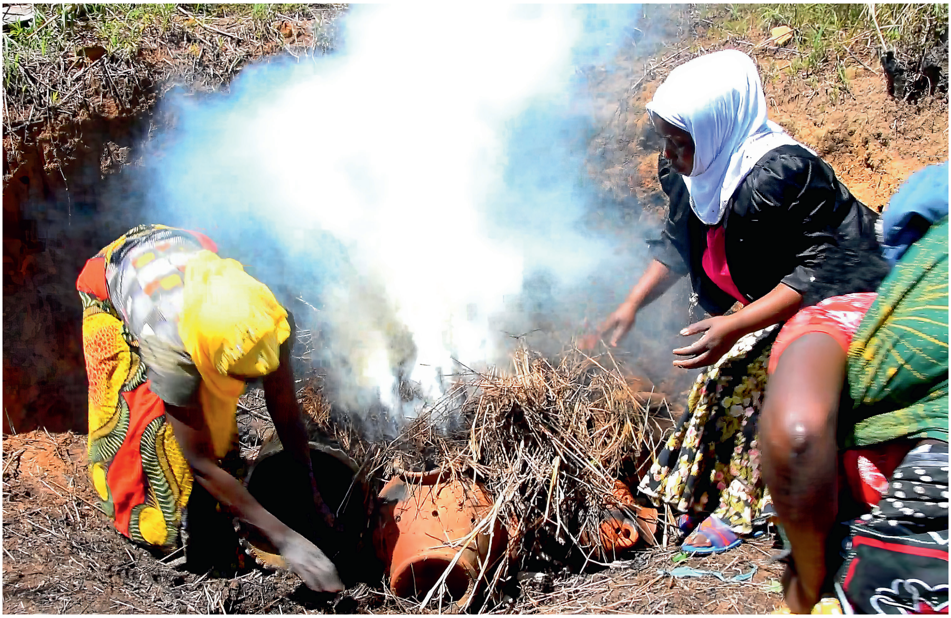

Fig. 6–6: Tumsifu, Zena and Eliza tending the fire, 2018.

The burning of the earthenware is done with firewood in a relatively big pit near the pottery workshop. The pots, the firewood, and igniting materials such as dried grass and corn cobs are stacked carefully whereby the pots should be fully covered by the firewood. Then, the fire is lit and the pots are burned. During the burning, the women have to make sure to rake the wood and other burning agents back into the centre with the pots to maintain the heat in the right place. The parts underneath the pot, where the pot stands on the firewood, often turns black. The burning procedure usually takes at least 45 minutes, depending on the burning materials and successful maintenance of the heat around the pots.

6.3.2 From conservation to innovation to empowerment

> Some of the women inherited the craft from their grandmothers, you could say they are the original pottery makers here in Rungemba. […] The pottery making has a strong cultural value because we are using natural materials. When we make earthenware from them, it is like we are preserving our tradition and where we come from.
> – Tumsifu Ndendya, March 2018 –

Making earthenware from local materials first of all is an act of preserving culture and, thus, a merit in itself. As a craft, it used to be inherited from one generation to the next i. e. from the grandparents' to the grandchildren's generation. Inheriting from the grandparents apparently is a common pattern, as we have also seen in the case of Bonnie Lulenga and his music. Nowadays, however, learning pottery making through family inheritance is supplemented by the deliberate acquisition of the skills as an economic diversification strategy. Tumsifu herself acquired the craft through seeing and learning from others when she was an adult, driven by practical motivations of generating additional income for the family. The Juhudi na Maarifa group consists of women of both types, working together to preserve and spread the craft in society.

> I first saw my fellow woman making pottery and earning money from it, helping them to make their ends meet. So, I said let me try, and when I tried, I also earned money. Nowadays, the money from the pottery helps me to send my children to school, we were able to connect running water and electricity to our house. It has brought personal development for me.
>
> – Tumsifu Ndendya, March 2018 –

While economic considerations are a driving force that justifies local heritage preservation as an end in itself, in combination they bring cultural innovation and development. Tumsifu recalls that when they started to do pottery as a business, everyone was trying to sell pots separately near the road, without a building. When the road was widened in a big rehabilitation project, they thought they should use this as an opportunity to strengthen their presence. The way to go was to join forces and do business as a group. By forming and registering a cooperative, they were able to access funds from USAID in 2012 and began to construct their workshop and showroom. Competent in firing clay, they were able to make the bricks for the walls themselves and only needed to hire bricklayers to assist the construction. Improving their pottery skills and applying them to construction helped them in building their own houses as well. Making bricks themselves did not only save money, but their knowledge and the possibility of using top quality material led to more solid houses and, thus, a better life for themselves. Moreover, the artisan business brought significant development to the range of earthenware products. Traditionally, the women in Rungemba and other places in the Southern Highlands made clay pots predominantly for cooking food. But the demands of urban and supra-regional customers are different or have changed, and the group has tried to respond by making various types of utensils, including flowerpots, stoves, and others.

Another interesting aspect of innovation and empowerment is gender. In the opening quote of the section, Tumsifu emphasizes the importance, for her as a woman, of investing time in the pottery craft instead of loafing around. In another part of the interview, she equals challenges to the business with setbacks to her development as a woman. Apparently, she perceives feeding the family as a woman's responsibility. The diversification of income-generating activities such as pottery making strengthens her position as a woman, not only in the family but in the community and in life in general.

> But we are not only women in our group, there are also men making pottery. Nowadays, some of them are interested in learning it because it is the cultural tradition of all of us. – Tumsifu Ndendya, March 2018 –

On the other hand, she identifies pottery-making not only as a women empowerment tool, but as a tool for economic and cultural empowerment that bears potential to alter men's gender roles as well. While pottery is still commonly regarded to be women's work, there are also men in their group who have decided to invest in it.

6.3.3 Challenges and the role of fahari yetu

Tumsifu and her cooperative have to deal with a number of challenges that impede the pottery making business, many of which are of technical nature.

> One problem is to dig up clay during the rainy season. […] It is a health hazard for us to dig when the sloughs have deep water. We can get sick if we stay in the water for several hours. In the standing water, we easily contract different types of germs, worms, bugs, and fungus. – Tumsifu Ndendya, March 2018 –

The high water-level during the rainy season is not only a health risk for the women. It also complicates the transport of the clay from the swamp to Rungemba village, for example if the transport vehicles get stuck in the marshy grounds. A remedy could be a proper transport vehicle at the group's disposal instead of having to rent whatever is available. A transport vehicle would also ease the distribution of goods i.e., to Iringa Town. However, the dependence on the seasons lowers the productivity of the group. In her analysis of community basket weaving cooperatives in Botswana, DeMotts (2017: 376) describes the physical labour and adversities the weavers endure in the process of making the baskets, including the long distance involved to harvest and carry home materials, digging for roots for dye, cuts from sharp palm leaves, the labour of preparation and boiling, and other factors. Even though transport in the pottery case is done with vehicles, we can see a similarly demanding labour investment in harvesting and processing the clay together with obvious health hazards involved.

Another helpful tool to increase productivity and product quality would be potter's wheels. The group received two wheels through USAID funding in 2012, of which only one was still functional in 2019. With potter's wheels, the women are able to produce more symmetric and thin vessels. Otherwise, the pots tend to bend in one direction or turn out to be too heavy. Even though the wheels mean another transformation of the craft, it is a change the women strongly desire. The same applies to a kiln as another device to improve the product quality. A professional oven would allow for a more even burning of the earthenware, making it less fragile. The burning in pits usually causes the bottom of the object, where it stands on the firewood, to turn black – which many customers perceive as an aesthetic deficit. Stacking the pot in an open fire also often causes pieces to crack or break, so that they cannot be sold anymore.

> The biggest issue is access to the market. Our aim is to open a showroom in Iringa Town to put our earthenware on display. In town, there is a lot of commotion, especially when it comes to tourists and other visitors from outside Iringa.
> – Tumsifu Ndendya, March 2018 –

Access to markets is the crucial obstacle. Although Juhudi na Maarifa's workshop is located right next to one of the major roads in Tanzania, not many tourists stop at the roadside. Even if the group was to put up better visible signs on the road, this aspect would remain a challenge – unless the products were to be advertised in- and outside of Iringa Region, or even outside of Tanzania. Distribution on a wider market would not only help the group to generate more income with the craft, but also make its preservation much more relevant. What the group needs is training and support in media advertisement and promotion, how to create and maintain a visual presence, and how to present itself with its members and products. Capacity building furthermore needs to include training regarding market-oriented design of the products. From Tumsifu's perspective, their craft has already undergone remarkable changes and innovations. From a foreign tourist's point of view, however, the products may still lack suitability to some extent. The group would benefit from training focussed on addressing this intercultural gap between producers and customers. Generally, communication with non-Swahili speaking customers poses a challenge when it comes to sales conversations. Along with equipment and technical know-how, the women need support to better understand the principles of wholesale and retail pricing, and in communicating their pricing structure. Moreover, design training could explore the opportunity of developing custom-made pieces for hotels and artwork installations.

Opening an office in Iringa Town would be the first logical step in the process. Iringa Town has a relatively diverse population, including a potential middle-class customer group for pottery products. For these customers, a showroom at Iringa Boma might be a much more attractive outlet than the roadside workshop all the way out in Rungemba, allowing them to browse and discuss orders. Also, tourists and other visitors to Iringa stay in hotels in town, most of them in walking distance from the Boma. Yet, although we have reserved space upstairs for Juhudi na Maarifa, this option hasn't yet materialized, due to the commitments the women have in Rungemba as farmers, mothers, and wives. Nevertheless, the collaboration through the artisan group development programme continues. At craft markets at the Boma, the group is usually present to advertise and sell their products. The pottery project is featured prominently on the fahari yetu website and we have conducted trainings to address communication, design, and promotion issues.

6.4 Vikapu Bomba – Empowering women through basket weaving

> Vikapu Bomba champions the empowerment of our community by leveraging local resources and traditional skills. Vikapu Bomba modernizes traditional basket weaving through innovative approaches and a commitment to sustainability, making it relevant and impactful in today's society.
> – Catherine Shembilu, September 2019 –

This section evaluates the story of Vikapu Bomba[78], an Iringa-based social company that markets local woven basket products made by women's cooperatives in rural areas of the region. The discussion is based on a life story interview with founder and director Catherine Shembilu. Catherine is born in Lushoto in the Usambara Mountains in north-east Tanzania in 1987, as the second child in a family of four siblings. After undergoing primary, secondary, and high school education in her home region, she comes to Iringa in 2007 for her undergraduate studies in Counselling Psychology at the University of Iringa. During her BA studies she receives a scholarship for a one-year field practicum at Ilembula Lutheran Hospital in the far south of Iringa Region. Through the practicum, she develops an interest in the psychological challenges of rural women in Southern Tanzania which are characterized by a strained socio-cultural environment and economic difficulties. During her internship, she befriends a medical psychiatrist from Finland who engages her in a rural women's empowerment project through sourcing and procuring handmade products from Tanzania, such as earrings, bead necklaces, kitenge bags, pottery and baskets. After finishing her undergraduate studies, she remains in Iringa to work in this business.

Catherine is not satisfied with the quality of the baskets that are sold on the main market in Iringa Town. In her opinion, customers from Europe and other countries were buying baskets of low quality as charity, to help rural women in Tanzania, even if they were not truly satisfied with the product. Thus, Catherine wants to help develop better products that customers would buy out of sincere demand and content with the quality. She knows that if she wanted to improve the quality, she would have to access the producers directly. Luckily, one of the wholesalers on the market in Iringa Town directs her to Lulanzi village in Kilolo District on the slopes of the Udzungwa Mountains. When she visits the village for the first time in 2011, she is introduced to an elderly woman who is known as a basket weaving artesan. But the old lady, Mama Atweluche, tells her that there are no buyers nowadays, and that she now only weaves baskets occasionally, as presents for family use or for special occasions such as wedding ceremonies. DeMotts (2017: 369) reports on a similar attitude among women in basket weaving communities in Botswana, who increasingly deem basket making to be an unsustainable course. But Atweluche agrees to weave baskets for business on a trial

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[78] Vikapu Bomba is Swahili slang that translates to "fantastic baskets".

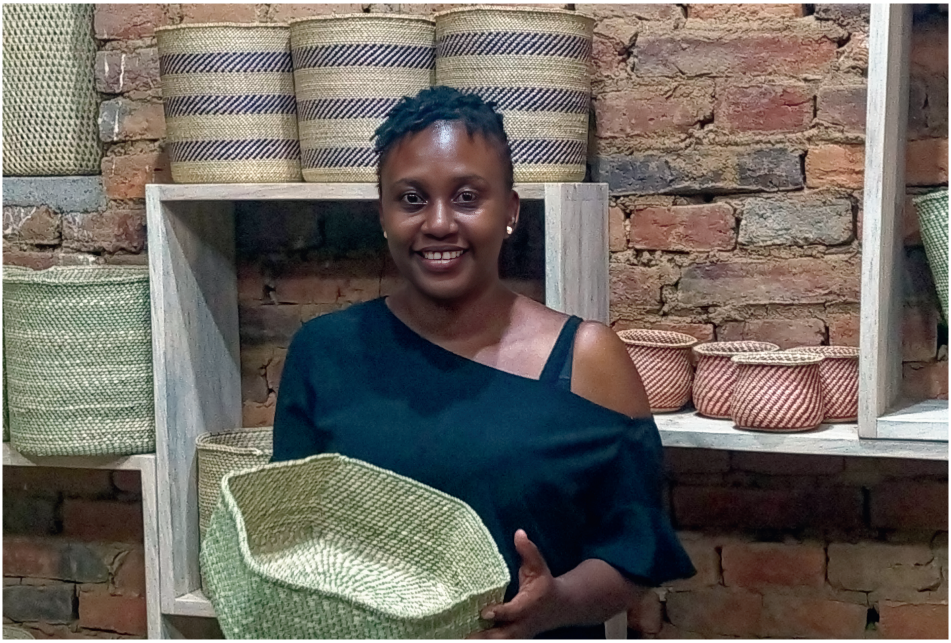

Fig. 6–7: Catherine presenting baskets in her shop at Iringa Boma, 2019.

basis. All other Mamas refuse, as they do not believe that Catherine would come back to buy the goods, let alone regularly. When Catherine returns to the village after three months, she finds out that Atweluche had woven only six baskets for her, which she wants to sell at a ridiculously low price. Catherine quickly decides to pay her almost three times the amount requested.

Raising the price turns out to be the right strategy to win more mamas for the project. On her second visit in 2011, five more of them join – and the number of involved women increases from six to 12 on her third visit in early 2012. Later that year, she gets employed in an Iringa-based public health research project of the Muhimbili University of Health and Allied Sciences in Dar es Salaam. Catherine now has a core group of producers in the village and begins to train them in improving their weaving technique and new styles. With the new styles, she further increases the prices, causing even more women to want to join. But the new recruits are women without significant prior weaving skills, so they need intensive training first. Catherine decides to make the original 12 weavers their trainers. In autumn 2014, she enrols at the University of Iringa again, this time for the Master of Arts in Community Development and Project Management. In 2015, she registers Vikapu Bomba as a social business, and the business begins to grow and flourish significantly. The producer numbers shoot up to reach 70 mamas weaving fulltime in the first village, Lulanzi, and 20 more in the neighbouring village of Mlowa in 2016. The significant rise in production between 2014 and 2016 is supported by an internationalization of the applied marketing and distribution channels. Through her employment with Muhimbili University, she gets into contact with a Swiss business partner who agrees to help her find new ways to access markets. The business partner not only helps with shipments and distribution in European countries, but also with developing professional photography and visual design to set up an international standard website,[79] product tags, and various promotion material. From 2016, Vikapu Bomba begins to participate in international trade fairs around East Africa and the world, including exhibitions in Zanzibar, Kenya, Germany, and the US. Vikapu Bomba has arrived where it wanted to be since its beginning – a high quality and innovative product that could compete on domestic as well as international markets.

In 2017, Catherine decides to concentrate full-time on her business and postpones her studies at the University of Iringa. After expanding to Njombe District, Vikapu Bomba has employed 155 women in 2018. Still, the enterprise has no physical establishment in Iringa. In mid-2018, Catherine begins to negotiate with fahari yetu and, in 2019, opens their first basket shop and store at Iringa Boma – Regional Museum and Cultural Centre.

6.4.1 Marketing Iringa baskets – Conserving heritage through innovation

> When I began researching hand-made products, I learned that Iringa has a longstanding tradition of basket weaving and that the baskets from Iringa are unique in style compared to baskets from other places. We have basket weaving traditions in different regions of the country, but Iringa baskets are different in terms of material as well as the typical colour embellishments. And if you look on the international market, you will see that Iringa baskets are better known than other baskets from Tanzania.
> – Catherine Shembilu, September 2019 –

DeMotts (2017: 368) asserts that Botswana baskets are both an emblematic cultural symbol and a popular tourist souvenir – crafted by women, made from natural materials, and reflecting gendered experiences of work, creativity, and resource use. In the quote, we see a striking similarity to Iringa baskets. Catherine identifies the baskets made in Iringa Region as a traditional form of art which is distinct from other places, not only in style and material but also international renown. In her opinion, there are two features that make them unique. The first is the material they are made of: a local reed grass called Milulu. The second is a particular colour dye used to embellish parts of the baskets, a dye which is cooked from the roots of a tree endemic to the region. Baskets in Iringa were made and used for multiple purposes: as strainers to purify liquids, drinking cups for local brew, sifters for grains, and above all as storage facilities for flour, rice, beans, and other types of food. In all their forms, the baskets are household items serving subsistence needs that all women in the family learned to make when they were girls.

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[79] See https://www.vikapubomba.com.

The baskets were also exchanged between households as gifts, especially at weddings when daughters-in-law or neighbours' daughters married. Baskets furthermore served as barter trade goods that women could exchange against corn, chickens, or other things. After the introduction of the money economy, baskets were sold at village auctions, among other goods. As the reed gras Milulu only grew in certain areas, basket producers from these regions traded or sold it to people in areas where it did not grow.

DeMotts (2017: 376) broaches the issues of dependence on natural materials for the basket weaving in her study on Botswana baskets. Based on a review of several studies from the 1980s to the 2000s,[80] she traces an increasing shortage of basket materials due to overharvesting. For the case of Vikapu Bomba, we can see a similar dependence on the availability of natural resources. While Catherine does not refer to a complete unavailability of *Milulu* reed grass, she repeatedly mentions challenges in its procurement from remote places or from middle people. Another problem is the quality of the grass the women sometimes buy from the suppliers. To meet international standard quality, they depend on properly dried, firm, and clean reed material, which is not always guaranteed when it is bought from external suppliers. In order to alleviate the challenge, Catherine has begun to train the women to grow the grass themselves, and to harvest and process it accordingly. In some cases, the women's husbands have become suppliers, which ensures a certain degree of control over the product as well.

The previous decades brought a decline in social and cultural valuation of the baskets, due to their gradual replacement with plastic tools such as storage containers, buckets, and cups. Bell (2017: 65) observes the same in her study about local pottery in the Peruvian Andes. In her case, the decline in production of earthenware over the past 20 years or so has been attributed to the influx of cheap metal and plastic vessels. However, the actual impact of these new products on aspects of pottery exchange beyond the quantity of pots traded – such as pot value and exchange rates, or relationships between trading partners – remains unclear, as does the impact of the introduction of plastic vessels on the value of Iringa baskets beyond a decline in socio-cultural valuation.

Facing the lack of a commercial market, the village women stopped making baskets, except for cultural occasions as wedding gifts or dowry items. The decline of cultural value also brought along a decline in basket product quality. In Catherine's opinion, the baskets were always limited in their use and marketability beyond the local setting. When she began her research, she often found herself not satisfied with the colour composition, the lack of different sizes, poor weaving or finishing, the use of unclean materials, and other shortcomings. Right from the start, she identified a need for innovation and quality assurance to make the baskets more marketable. Catherine

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[80] See M. E. Terry, (1986): *The basket industry of Gumare and Tubu.* Gaborone; A. B. Cunningham (1988): *Botswana basketry resources: resource management of plants supporting the Ngamiland basketry industry, 1982–88.* Gaborone; J. E. Mbaiwa (2004): Prospects of basket production in promoting sustainable rural livelihoods in the Okavango Delta, Botswana. *International Journal of Tourism Research,* 6 (4), 221–235.

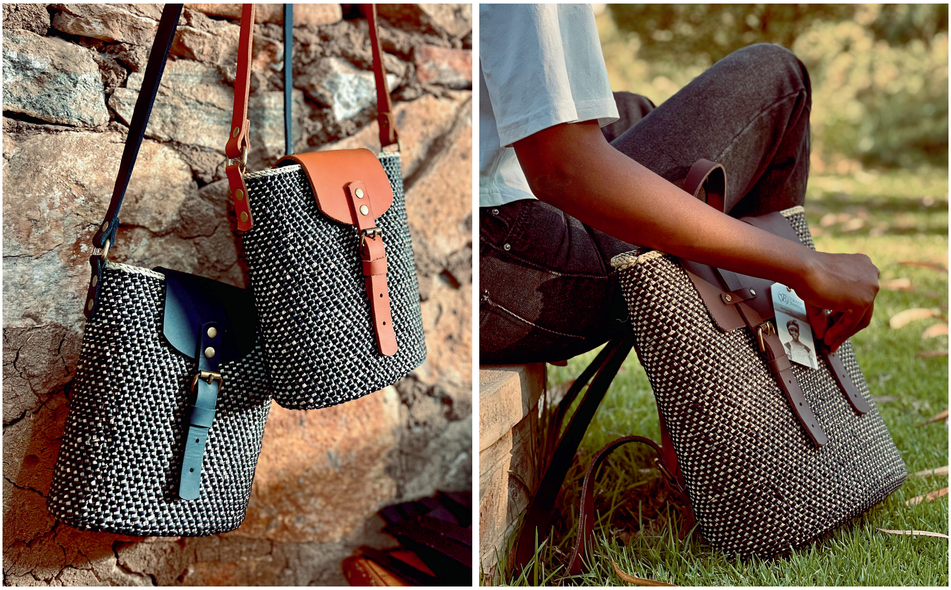

Fig. 6–8: Vikapu Bomba basket products.

began training her initial core group of 12 weavers to improve their design and weaving skills. The trainings were based on weaving by pictures she shared and discussed with the women, and techniques to improve the baskets' shape and colour composition. Together, they also discussed why people were not buying the old-style baskets anymore and if this could be because of a lack of quality or limited usage possibilities.

As a result of the training and evaluation sessions, the group first worked on improving the quality of the traditional Iringa baskets, including the materials used, the weaving structure, and the finishing. In 2013, they began to produce tote bags as a new basket design, in addition to the traditional forms. The tote bags proved to be an innovative product that responded to the changing market needs, helping Vikapu Bomba to develop a distinguished product identity. The next innovation came in 2014/2015 with putting tags with a photo and a short description of the manufacturing woman on the baskets. The idea behind that was to break the anonymity of the product and to create a connection between the buyer and the producer. While Catherine had been the face of Vikapu Bomba before, the mamas themselves now represent their work. In 2015, the project introduced so-called round baskets as another new product, baskets that are round at the bottom, but go straight up at the sides, as opposed to the traditional belly-shape. In 2016, Vikapu Bomba began to produce the round baskets in different sizes, with exact standard measurements, as many customers had asked for over time. Now, customers are able to purchase sets of baskets of different sizes, fitting into one another – and there are now also square ones in addition to the round, based on the same weaving design. 2017 brought the latest shape innovation so far: the significantly bigger, trapezium-shaped laundry baskets.

The diversification in shape went hand in hand with increasing the possible uses of the baskets. Vikapu Bomba baskets can still be used to store grains or beans, but they are also handbags, flowerpots, toy containers, lamp shades, or laundry bins. Considering all these changes, I asked Catherine if her work would help to preserve local cultural heritage, or whether it abandons and replaces it. She replied that her work is a strong effort of heritage conservation and management. In her opinion, innovation is not something that dilutes culture or puts it at stake, but something that is part of culture. Culture needs to adjust itself to the changing demands of life to survive and justify its existence, so innovation and improvement is inherent in heritage. If you want the world to remember Iringa baskets and the Hehe to remember the skills to make them, you need to produce baskets that are marketable nowadays. For Catherine, the design changes do not distort culture. For her, the main criterion is that they remain hand-woven. Abandoning culture would rather mean not to make and use baskets at all anymore.

> When I told the mamas that I wanted them to make baskets without colours, they first refused straight away. They said it is their culture and tradition to put colour stripes, and that baskets without them would not look nice. So, we started with coloured baskets and I convinced them slowly to reduce the number of stripes until we made baskets without any colour. In the end, the colourless designs sold very well, and they had no objection anymore. But still they were very happy when we resumed to produce coloured baskets later, claiming that the work would be much more enjoyable, as weaving without coloured reed grass would hurt the eyes. – Catherine Shembilu, September 2019 –

Catherine's example of changing the colours illustrates the dynamics of conservation and innovation. It was difficult for the women to change their familiar customs or the way they were used to weave. Realizing that the change would bring an economic advantage made them to agree to it. Nevertheless, they still felt an emotional need to preserve their traditional heritage, which was satisfied through the opportunity to return to the traditional style. At the end of the day, innovation for economic purposes has helped to preserve the culture and the skills. In the Vikapu Bomba villages, the people have reverted to teaching the next generation basket weaving again, as it has been given new meaning and purpose.

6.4.2 Community livelihoods and economic empowerment

The life of the communities involved in the basket project depends very much on the rain-fed agricultural cycle of seasonal farming. Depending on the rainfall, the yield of their harvests differs from season to season. If the yield fails because of a drought or overwatering, they face the threat of food insecurity. When the yield is good, the selling price for their crops drop and their profits become marginal. In any case, there are always waiting times between the seasons, in which the farmers are not economically productive. Their dependence on this form of agriculture makes life a constant struggle with imminent poverty. Even though the commercial value of basket-making was recognized on a local market level, it is usually not perceived as a profitable business but rather as something ordinary that one does for personal use. Most women viewed basket-making as an activity of relaxation after work in the fields or in the household, as a cultural activity not geared towards supporting their economic prosperity. Catherine does not deny the importance of this leisure value in the basket craft, but she knew that she would have to change this perception in order to succeed with her project.

> To change their mind-set was not easy, of course. But our advantage was that basket weaving is something that they all knew since they were little girls. We were not bringing in something new from outside, something that does not fit the local rural context. Now, they can work on something that always has been there in their communities. – Catherine Shembilu, September 2019 –

In this quote, Catherine highlights the importance of heritage as a development resource. She argues that it is easier to induce changes in society when they are based on an intrinsic element of it, even if it seems to be neglected and forgotten on the present surface. In her opinion, completely new and extrinsic ideas require much more effort and patience before they are accepted. Heritage as an intrinsic capital resource can be activated comparably easier, also promising to be more sustainable. A major challenge causing neglect, especially in the face of the rise of plastic tools, had been the low local market prices. Not only buyers from the communities, but also foreign buyers from town used to take advantage of unfair prices that did not create enough income for the producers. DeMotts (2017: 376) raises the same concern for the case of Botswana baskets. In her opinion, it is very important to improve communication in customer as well as distribution networks to create an understanding of the labour involved in making baskets – emphasizing that, even under favourable circumstances, collecting and preparing materials for weaving is a tremendous investment of time and energy. Catherine's approach was to apply a fair-trade policy and build up her business on a proper valuation of the work invested in making the baskets. She calculates that a weaver works on one product for 6–10 days, meaning that very low prices are exploitation of labour. The fair pricing policy paid off not only in terms of motivating the women to get past their neglect, but also began to boost their income significantly. Catherine estimates that 90% of the women involved have been able to improve their lives through the business. As an outstanding example, she presents Maila, a woman with disabilities, who makes round baskets.

> Maila for example is one of the women who have benefitted a lot. She has a limp, so she cannot work in the fields. She does basket weaving only, the round baskets When we sell one of the natural laundry basket for 120,000 Tanzanian Shillings, she gets 60,000 of those. That is a lot of money for these women. [...]

> Maila has been able to buy a land plot, built a house, installed a solar energy panel, and breeds small livestock now, all from the basket business.
>
> – Catherine Shembilu, September 2019 –

Catherine sells the round baskets for approximately 50 Euros, of which Maila receives more than 25. If she makes five baskets in a month, she earns 100 Euros. That is a significant amount in the village in Iringa, an amount that would be very hard to earn through selling food crops. In addition to the women's direct income, the project has created economic benefit also for the men, who increasingly participate in collecting reed grass and sell it to the women.

While generating significant economic improvements for the women involved, sustaining Vikapu Bomba as a business has remained a challenge. The fair pricing has posed a barrier for customers who find the baskets too expensive, especially on the Tanzanian market. Despite acknowledging the superior quality of the product, many are not willing or able to pay the fair price. Yet, the enterprise would have to sell bigger numbers of baskets to become profitable and conveniently cover its operation expenses in connection with weaving and design training, product finishing, transport and distribution, the office and the shop, marketing, the website, exhibitions, etc. Fortunately, in early 2024 Vikapu Bomba has received a USD 100,000 grant from the United States African Development Foundation (UASDF) USADF for expanding production capacity and optimizing production cost[81] .

6.4.3 Aspects of socio-cultural empowerment

Reviving the heritage of basket weaving can be seen as a form of empowerment that has created several social and cultural benefits for the rural communities in Iringa. First, making basket products for national and international markets has given involved community members significant cultural exposure. Catherine has observed that the people in rural areas are not exposed to many things outside their environment and, until today, their access to globalized products is limited. If at all, they receive feedback only from the local circulation market which is restricted to the same perceptions they hold themselves. Hence, it is not easy for them to put themselves in the shoes of external customers with their demands for quality or to think about creative uses of their baskets. With Catherine's approach of product innovation, this has changed. Through elaborate processes of awareness raising and training, the mamas have realized that they are now making baskets of much higher quality compared to the past. Even if the product has been modified, the improved quality gives the traditional heritage back its value – and the people a sense of pride for their culture.

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[81] L. Ndilwa: Tanzanian entrepreneur wins $100,000 for rural empowerment, *The Citizen,* 03 February 2024, https://www.thecitizen.co.tz/tanzania/news/national/tanzanian-entrepreneur-wins-100-000-for-rural-empowerment-4512952.

Exposure also comes into play in their reaction to European visitors Catherine takes to the villages from time to time. On the one hand, the appearance of white foreigners triggers the connotation that Catherine or Vikapu Bomba must make a lot of money with their business, and this connotation at times leads to dissatisfaction with the proceeds they receive. This challenge can only be accommodated by repeated interaction and education. On the other hand, Catherine observes that the foreigners' interest also makes the villagers proud of their culture, and of the improved quality of their goods.

> What happened in the beginning was that their husbands took the money they earned from the baskets and went to drink bamboo liqueur. That's why we started to train the women how to save their funds for certain acquisitions or purposes. We helped them to form savings groups in which they follow clear procedures and conditions for depositing or borrowing money.
> – Catherine Shembilu, September 2019 –

The quote shows that, if the project was to create a sustainable impact, the women needed training not only in manufacturing baskets but also in governing their own financial affairs. Thus, cooperative financial training and management became part of the group activities of Vikapu Bomba, and the project succeeded in supporting not only economic but also social independence of the women from their husbands. Another issue that had to be addressed was the culture of secrecy and envy that kept the women from prospering further. When the project started, the women were reluctant to share their skills and information about the opportunity. The mamas tried to protect their own benefits by avoiding competition with others, keeping their knowledge exclusive. It took quite some time to engage in awareness and capacity building with regard to the importance of social capital to make them understand that the business depended on sharing and cooperation in order to succeed and increase its market share. To achieve this, Catherine used traditional structures of hierarchy, initially paying the "old members" more than the recruits they brought. This incentive made the members of the core group feel adequately recognized in their position, boosting their motivation. The result was the first major increase in the number of participating Mamas, from the core group of 12 to 24 in 2014, when each mama brought in an apprentice whom they did not see as a competitor.

> Furthermore, it creates a deep connection between the village people when the mamas gather and work together in a certain place. When they come together, they don't come together for weaving only, they also come together to discuss the challenges they face in their everyday life. Working together brings great social benefits as well, they develop mechanisms to help each other and learn from each other how to deal with problems and improve their lives.
> – Catherine Shembilu, September 2019 –

In a nutshell, *Vikapu Bomba* significantly contributes to accumulating social capital through fostering social coherence and solidarity in its production villages, and the project has given the women the exposure and confidence to make changes in their life happen, to become agents of their own destiny.

6.4.4 Partnering with Iringa Boma

> Now, we have a place to store all the baskets, and a place to sell them from. [...] We were looking for something different – I don't know how to say – something distinguished, and the Boma seemed very attractive. I like this combination that the Boma is cultural heritage, just like our baskets are cultural heritage. It feels like the right place because the Boma and us, we are doing things that belong to each other.
>
> – Catherine Shembilu, September 2019 –

Another challenge Catherine had to address as her business grew was to find space for her company′s office administration, finishing, storage, and a shop outlet for the baskets. When Catherine started to supply the souvenir shop of the Boma Café in 2016, she soon realized that Iringa Boma would be the right place for her business to thrive further if she was able to establish her own space inside the building. She understood that Vikapu Bomba's community empowerment approach matched the fahari yetu principles of conserving cultural heritage for community access and utilization. After the departure of the first café tenant, Catherine considered taking over the entire café and gift shop, but did not have the capital needed to invest in rent, equipment, and furniture. Instead, she opted for the modification and furnishing of the attic space, which did not require an investment on the same scale. After negotiations with the fahari yetu management and following financial and technical preparations, Vikapu Bomba finally moved into the *Boma* in January 2019, in order to sell baskets on the upper floor.

A few years into her tenancy, Catherine evaluates *Vikapu Bomba's* presence at Iringa Boma positively. She has been able to establish her business in the city centre of Iringa, and customers appreciate the unique setting of her shop in the restored flair of the historical building. The connection to Iringa Boma and fahari yetu has brought her business more attention and recognition, in particular at a local and national level, for instance through regular events at the Boma, visits of Tanzanian ministers and foreign ambassadors, and joint representation at tourism fairs in different parts of the country. On the other hand, she is aware that the presence of her business also adds value to Iringa Boma and its activities, as it is a community development enterprise with national and international marketing links, and a customer base whose attention is directed to the Boma through the partnership. All in all, the partnership has proven to be mutually beneficial as two formerly separated visitor and customer groups have been pooled together.

As of spring 2020, Catherine continues to furnish her space at the Boma. Modifications made by fahari yetu to the staircase and further partitioning of the upper floor have strengthened Vikapu Bomba's position as a partnering yet independent unit within the premises. Moreover, Vikapu Bomba and Iringa Boma have developed a joint training programme for the basket weaving programme, which was launched in late 2019. The training programme addresses different aspects of cultural heritage resources, turning them into a business with the aim of diversifying the livelihoods of Iringa women and their families. In participatory sessions, the participants first discussed strategies and measures to valorise basket weaving as an entrepreneurial resource, to transform basket products according to the modern market, and improve organisational structures of the cooperative. In a second component they then learned to weave new basket designs in form of small handbags.

For the future, fahari yetu and Vikapu Bomba have planned to find ways to build a rural community conservation centre in Lulanzi village where the women can weave or store their baskets and where trainings will be conducted. Moreover, the centre will serve as a coordination point for collaborative outreach activities such as joint cultural tours to the villages in Kilolo District. Customers will be offered overnight visits to Lulanzi and Kising'a village to witness the basket weaving process and interact with Bonnie Lulenga and his music performances. The rural environment of the Udzungwa Mountains also invites to hiking tours in combination with the cultural experiences.

6.5 Discussion

When we compare the presented cases, several crosscutting themes become evident – illustrating how local crafts manifest themselves in different forms of capital and how these are converted into each other. In all cases, we see economic motivations are the driving force for the protagonists to engage in heritage preservation and performance. Poverty is particularly widespread in the rural as well as urban areas of Iringa. In response, the craft is seen as an appropriate means to increase individual and household income. Whether it be musicians, potters, or basket weavers, the cash they earn from the craft is vital, since it helps them to send their children to school, supply their households with food and necessities, and cover other basic needs. Commercial value is seen as inherent in the tradition of arts and crafts, and the artisans strive to capitalize on it in their quest to build economically independent lives. DeMotts (2017: 374) notices that generating income through basket products is accompanied by a feeling of empowerment that comes with the entrepreneurial experience of producing something for sale. While a plurality of women still insisted that the income was the most important thing, they clearly articulated other important benefits including personal enjoyment, using the products at home, improving their skills, or the cultural significance of the craft. In Iringa as well, empowerment is mainly perceived as an economic aspect – in an entrepreneurial sense – but it is also to other spheres of life.

In all three cases, heritage craft is seen as a resource for livelihoods diversification. Different from the Eastern European context investigated by Parts et al. (2011: 403) where the commodification of craft is applied as a livelihood strategy instead of agriculture, in Iringa it is regarded as a complement to rainfall-dependent cultivation. DeMotts (2017: 381) points out how the weaving women's livelihood strategies shift between planting and farming and basket making, depending on the time of year. Accordingly, Bonnie and Catherine refer to idle times in the agricultural cycle, which they seek to use for alternative income-generating activities, namely their craft. Vice versa, the rain forces potters from Rungemba to refrain from pottery making and focus on their farming activities. DeMotts (ibid.) continues that the seasonal character of basket production in Botswana leads to production gaps, which at times can be at odds with tourist demands for craft items as souvenirs. Applied to the case of Iringa, Bonnie Lulenga and Juhudi na Maarifa are less developed projects. So far, the demand is too little to cause bottlenecks in supply. Failure to supply has been observed in the case of Vikapu Bomba. At the end of the day, the women are dependent on their agricultural yield, even though they receive orders through Catherine. Because the orders from customers obviously do not consider the agricultural cycle, this has repeatedly caused delays in production and delivery.

In all three cases, the artisans emphasize the cultural significance of their craft as its second most important value after the economic aspect. Bonnie, Catherine, and Tumsifu assert the preservation of traditional culture as an end in itself, reassuring them personally and as a community in a changing society. However, while the crafts stand as cultural references to the past, they are at the same time regarded as resources to which changes and modifications must be made as a strategy of conservation and even as a necessity for its survival. All three protagonists conceive innovation not as a disruption, but as an inherent and constitutive function of heritage in its self-adjustment to changing demands of life. Parts et al. (2011: 402) link heritage-based crafts to entrepreneurial concepts of knowledge and innovation management, based on the idea that human societies have entered a 'knowledge era' in which individuals and organisations must always stay on their toes, constantly learning and renewing themselves. In rural societies and communities, they continue, innovation has to rely on applications of tacit knowing. Coined by the philosopher Michael Polanyi (1958), tacit knowledge is knowledge that, in addition to facts, relates to the practical performance of various acts that require contextual skill and connoisseurship. It cannot be acquired by reading a manual or following a recipe, which limits the spread of skills to their possessor's circle of personal contacts. A similarly tacit approach to knowing is reflected in the anthropological concepts indigenous knowledge and local knowledge and also featured in the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICHC), in which intangible heritage includes social practices, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe, and traditional craftsmanship (UNESCO 2003: 2). In this vein, Bonnie's music and instrument making, Juhudi na Maarifa pottery, and Vikapu Bomba baskets represent tacit cultural capital that bears potential for innovation within their rural development context.

> What we are doing is still culture, because the weaving is the culture, not the shape. We don't change a bit in the weaving technique, we just weave different designs and of better quality. It is still traditional, but we have tried to twist the styles in a way that fits the market. – Catherine Shembilu, September 2019 –

Multivocality can entail to amplify and compare modern and traditional voices speaking out of the same heritage site, object, or skill (Jameson 2019: 4). Yet it remains difficult to convert heritage based on tacit knowledge into modern market-oriented products. In her study on pottery and livelihoods in the Peruvian Andes, Bell (2017: xi-xii) observes the failure of a commercial pottery development project geared towards the tourism industry, as a consequence of which the participating communities returned to making the usual clay vessels for cooking and storage of foods and beverages. The project had taught the local women a ceramic production technique completely distinct from the tradition that had existed in the community. The way the project conceived pottery as an object for market sale and, thus, to derive cash income was completely different from the way the residents actually used pots. The Iringa cases can be discussed in their limitations in adapting the craft to the market as well. A successful shift to cash income generation is the declared aim of all portrayed artisans. At the same time, there is still a discrepancy as far as the cultural or class gap between the local rural producers and the cosmopolitan urban consumers is concerned: The tacit logic of the groups is different, which makes translation difficult. The potters and basket weaving women clearly assert that their products remain their own culture and heritage only as long as they are hand-made. The materials they use, such as the clay, the reed grass, the paint and the dye, are exclusively local – and the designs differ significantly in style and quality from mass-produced or local goods found elsewhere. But for the case of Juhudi na Maarifa, the question is what would happen if they receive new potter's wheels and a kiln, or begin to apply chemical glaze paints instead of the local clay paints. Would this bereave the craft of its tacit local style and heritage character?

The three types of craft used to carry different local values: the music carrying a leisure value for relaxation after work in the fields, a domestic use value for the case of baskets and pots, and a social value of bringing the whole community or the women together. These local functions to a lesser extent used to create a market value for trading baskets and music instruments within the region and its communities. The market value was based on the availability of materials and skill traditions in certain areas and villages. The challenge identified by all narrators – Bonnie with regard to his music, Tumsifu with regard to pottery, and Catherine with regard to the baskets – is to translate the understanding of commercial value oriented to local markets into an understanding of commercial value oriented to wider national and international markets. In the case of the baskets, Catherine has assumed the role of a translator or mediator between the local and the wider context. For the cases of Bonnie Lulenga and Juhudi na Maarifa, fahari yetu has assumed that role to some extent and is still growing further into it. The question to discuss is how far it is necessary to have an educated intermediary such as Catherine to bridge the intercultural and interclass gap between producers and consumers and between a decontextualized market product and the tacit meanings of the craft. Even though fahari yetu is trying its best to connect the rural communities with wider audiences, the model of having an intermediary from within or being part and parcel of the group appears to be a more sustainable approach. One can say that successful heritage-based entrepreneurship requires the translation of tacit knowledge of the community members into formal human capital or professional capacities to understand wider market dynamics and run business accordingly.

In terms of social significance, we have seen that the crafts facilitate togetherness and cohesion in the community. Bonnie emphasizes his personal passion and enjoyment of music. In a Tanzanian context, personal well-being is usually conceived in relation to others, and his enjoyment of music is thus largely connected to shared experience on social occasions. For the case of the pottery and basket weaving women, we have also seen that the craft provides a venue for social interaction and bonding that goes beyond accomplishing the tasks. DeMotts (2017: 381) describes this as an "iterative series of group and individual conversations among women". Their entrepreneurial engagement with heritage furthermore creates links to people and networks from outside the community, and they notice that it creates foreign interest in their local life sphere. All this can be regarded in view of social development in gender relations. In the case of the baskets as well as the earthenware, the women are committing to conserve resources on their own, they assume power to preserve, protect, change, construct, rehabilitate, and restore cultural knowledge in relation to environments (ibid.). The craft empowers them to manage their own financial affairs, enhances their status as family providers, and furthers their economic and social independence from men. This in turn has also sparked positive feedback from men in the community who countered traditional gender roles by joining the pottery cooperative or serving as suppliers to the basket weaving network.

In the previous chapters, I examined aspects of shared heritage arising from the colonial history, public exhibition, and the built cityscape of Iringa. These concepts shine through the community heritage of arts and crafts as well, most prominently in the basket weaving case. Iringa baskets are part of the community heritage of the Hehe people in Iringa Region, and in slightly different fashion and style also of the Bena people in the neighbouring Njombe Region. What should be noted is that Catherine never refers to the baskets as Hehe baskets or Bena baskets, neither in her promotional material nor in personal communication. Instead, she still gives them a local reference and identification by consistently referring to them Iringa baskets or Njombe baskets, respectively. Iringa baskets as a concept does not create exclusive ownership, yet still a local reference and identification of the heritage. The branding works with an inclusive idea of heritage, making heritage a community resource that is traced to a local origin but in the present can be owned by any community member who is willing to invest in it. The principle is reflected in Tumsifu's description of inheritance and acquisition of the pottery skills. She explains that their group is a mix of "original potters", natives of Rungemba who have inherited the craft from their grandmothers. But it is open to people like herself who have migrated into the village later in life and were taught by the "founders" following their interest and initiative to learn. Also, Tumsifu does not refer to the pottery as a Hehe tradition or an otherwise ethnically defined culture, but assigns it to the specific locality of Rungemba.

As introduced in the beginning, the entire fahari yetu artisan business development programme builds on SDG 11 – Sustainable Cities and Communities. In the described cases, it has not only created positive socio-economic links between the rural area and the urban centre of Iringa Region, but it also linked the rural heritage and lifestyle with the globalizing world of today. The links have supported economic livelihoods and socially and culturally empowered the participating community groups. Another target of SDG 11 is to provide access to safe and inclusive spaces. This has been achieved on a village level in the case of Vikapu Bomba, where the basket weaving business has created space of social interaction and economic independence for the women, as well as for the case of Juhudi na Maarifa with their pottery workshop in Rungemba. The Boma in Iringa Town has furthermore provided space for the promotion and marketing of basket weaving, earthenware, and music products to a wider and diverse community. The programme has shown that the goal of working towards sustainable communities through heritage conservation and utilization goes hand in hand with other SDGs and their targets. SDG 4 – Quality Education aims at raising awareness of cultural diversity and culture's contribution to sustainable development. The three protagonists refer to this as a key impact, in the sense that the project supports an understanding of cultural diversity in terms of making the local baskets, the earthenware, and the music styles known to the world – while at the same time exposing the producing communities to new interpretations of their heritage. The connectivity in this regard becomes a sustainable development outcome that allows people to manage their own way into the future. SDG 4 also targets at developing entrepreneurship skills as an alley to sustain livelihoods, which is supported in all cases through efforts of adapting tacit knowledge to market demands. In the same vein, they stand in line with SDG 12 – Responsible Consumption and Production, which aims at developing sustainable forms of tourism that create jobs and promotes local culture and products. It should be noted that Vikapu Bomba is much more advanced in this regard compared to the early stages of the other projects – but, in principle, they are all oriented towards community-based cultural tourism. Lastly, all the discussed measures work towards the overarching vision of SDG 1 – No Poverty as they support rural community members in generating additional income and in sustaining their families.

7 Concluding reflection and outlook

The previous chapters followed the study's three specific lines of inquiry that were identified in the introductory chapter – thereby drawing on the respective toolkits of theories, concepts, and methods as laid out in Chapters 2 and 3. Chapter 4 investigated historical representation and memory as a form of heritage work, in particular regarding the question how the colonial history of Iringa can be re-interpreted and negotiated as shared history from different perspectives. Chapter 5 expanded Clifford's idea of the museum as a contact zone to the Historic Urban Landscape, in order to examine the Boma museum and its surrounding cityscape as sites of cultural performance and multivocal heritage negotiation. And Chapter 6 employed the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals to evaluate the potential of traditional art and craft to support heritage-based community livelihoods. In all three chapters, data analysis was cross-cut by Bourdieu's concept of capital, with a focus on cultural capital accumulation in Chapter 4, social capital accumulation in Chapter 5, and economic capital accumulation in Chapter 6. Bourdieu's concept also serves as a framework to synthesize the results from the separate lines of inquiry in view of the study's general aim of investigating the relationship between cultural heritage and sustainable community development. The synthesis starts with formulating a number of general theoretical implications of the case before addressing overarching methodological issues that stuck out in the examination process. Both theoretical and methodological issues are interpreted in view of their relevance for the emerging discipline of heritage studies, underpinned by suggestions regarding possible new alleys of exploration, examination, and confrontation.

7.1 Theoretical synthesis

7.1.1 Cultural implications

The previous chapters showcased how the fahari yetu project accumulated cultural capital through heritage work in in regard to time, space, and within the community. In Chapter 4, the investigation of historical narratives illustrated how representations of history have expanded the pool of cultural knowledge and self-references available to the community. The examination of historical restoration, exhibition design, and heritage site conservation in the Historic Urban Landscape of Iringa in Chapter 5 brought to light the various meanings of Iringa's spatial heritage resources – also showing how their exposition and exhibition provide an outlet for different community groups to voice their associations to the public. Further, the assessment of local arts and crafts promotion and marketing in Chapter 6 identified vernacular traditions with their underlying tacit cultural knowledge as a source of self-reassurance and -reinvention as a community in a rapidly changing society.

> For all this time, we have this colonial legacy of buildings, monuments, and structures in the country – and didn't really know what to do with it. Iringa Boma is a really good example of how we can value and make use of this heritage for our own empowerment and development.
>
> – Dr. Frank Kimaro, Lecturer in Cultural Anthropology and Tourism,
> University of Iringa, personal communication April 2020 –

One notable aspect to discuss in the context of cultural capital accumulation is the value of the shared heritage of colonialism in the development process. In the European discourse on collections of cultural property from former colonies and respective human remains kept in European museums and archives, the idea of shared heritage is discussed with ambivalent connotations. In their report on *The Restitution of African Cultural Heritage. Toward a New Relational Ethics,* Sarr and Savoy (2018) regard the history of the African collections as an illustration of the entire colonial system of appropriation and alienation, which makes them part of European as well as African history. They recommend a complete and unconditional restitution of the collections to the societies of origin. This recommendation follows the idea of a shared colonial history that becomes shared heritage in a sensitive confrontation and negotiation process between museums, academia, and the community in the relinquishing and receiving societies. The discussion on shared heritage in this study did not focus on looted African collections that are kept in Europe or Germany – but emphasis was placed on the buildings, monuments, narratives and other German colonial remnants in Iringa and Tanzania at large. According to my observations, these are attached to similarly ambiguous connotations in the communities and require the same procedures of sensitive confrontation and revision. I thus believe that shared heritage is a useful concept to tackle this pool of heritage resources and their potential valorisation as cultural capital.

> Colonial history is what happened in the past – and today, we are talking about a redefinition of power. Instead of banking in how things were then, we are negotiating the past in view of benefitting from it in the present. […] fahari yetu functions as a tool to raise arguments in this discussion. It gives different people the opportunity to propose where we came from and where we are heading. […] We don't embrace the colonial approach of war and enmity any more, but who we are as people and how we want to relate to each other in the present.
>
> – Jimson Sanga, January 2020 –

Werner Bloch cites a Tanzanian historian and journalist who complains that a critical confrontation with the colonial past and its repercussions in the present has never taken place in Tanzania.[82] After independence, the Tanzanians just kept on using colonial buildings and infrastructure without questioning their implications or actively revisiting the space. Iringa Boma is an example where such a critical reappraisal of shared heritage has taken place, thus positioning it in the context of cultural capital and development. In mid-2020, the strengthened Black Lives Matter movement triggered a debate on tearing down monuments associated with slave trade and colonialism in Europe and North America. I have repeatedly referred to the Maji Maji monument and the World War II monument in Iringa. Especially the Maji Maji monument commemorates perpetrators of colonial violence, so what is the value of letting it stand as part of the Historic Urban Landscape? What about the vacated old military station building? Have these sites so far only been preserved due to the people's ignorance of history? Of course, one outcome of the community's critical confrontation with such heritage sites could be that they have no value for development and need to be torn down.

Another leitmotiv of the study is the multivocal and hybrid nature of the investigated heritage resources. In Chapter 4, I evoked and contrasted colonial and anticolonial perspectives on representing the history of Iringa, as well as perspectives in-between. The layers of the Historic Urban Landscape depicted in Chapter 5 are manifestations of these perspectives and their recombinant integration. For the case of coastal Swahili heritage, Heathcott (2013: 34) calls for historic preservation narratives that go beyond "African" or "Indian" or "Arab" attributions and capture a more diverse and intertwined set of influences on the built environment that, together, create hybrid and cosmopolitan landscapes. Iringa Boma picked up on this call for the interior of Tanzania, positioning itself as a place where the cultural trajectories of a diverse community intersect.

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[82] Werner Bloch: Der afrikanische Blick: Tansania und die Kolonialzeit (radio feature), *Deutschlandfunk Kultur,* 26 February 2019, audio and transcript at https://www.deutschlandfunkkultur.de/tansania-und-die-kolonialzeit-der-afrikanische-blick-100.html.

> My music and craft represent the spirit of the Hehe culture. […] Hehe culture and society has always been open to accommodate foreign influences and incorporate foreigners to become part of it. […] They can enrich our culture, provided they are incorporated in such a way that they enhance the original basis.
> – Bonnie Lulenga, May 2018 –

By acknowledging that it has been characterized by the incorporation of outside influences, Bonnie refers to the cosmopolitan character of Iringa's heritage craft. His music as well as the pottery and basket weaving examined in Chapter 6 stand as cultural references to the past, which are inherently subject to changes and modifications. Clifford (1997: 182) suggests that it depends on peoples' phenomenological perspective whether they tend to perceive hybridity in the sense of taking things apart – or in the sense of joining them together. The communities in Iringa don't see hybridity as taking their culture apart, but as a process of joining together traditions, practices, artefacts, and commodities. Change and innovation can thus be understood as part of their conception of authenticity. This idea of hybrid authenticity also applies to an active appropriation of shared historical narratives and revalorisation of sites in the Historic Urban Landscape. Accepting the multivocal and hybrid nature of shared heritage, without disregarding the particularities and contributions of different actors, helps us to fashion a sense of sameness, belonging, and communality out of differences and a multitude of voices (Deumert 2018: 8).

This discussion points to several areas of further study and application. First of all, Chapter 4 recommended to expand history research by recording and interpreting the perspectives and voices of other indigenous cultural communities, immigrant groups of Asian descent, and other European minorities such as the Greek farmers. Moreover, their presentation should not be limited to academic formats but needs to be converted into different educational formats in order to be transmitted and embodied by the people, i.e., as part of school curricula. They also need to be represented in the physical space, through temporary and permanent museum exhibitions, refurbishment of further buildings and sites in the heritage landscape, and with regard to their connection to the Boma – as proposed in Chapter 5. If undertaken in a participatory manner, these measures may also serve to examine dynamics of the embodiment of cultural and historic space in the community, as suggested by Low (2017). And, finally, to position vernacular culture as a significant livelihood opportunity, the local artisan business development programme should not only be continued, but intensified in the course of cultural events at the Boma, integrated into cultural tours in the landscape, and presented in the media.

7.1.2 Social implications

This study conceived heritage in the sense of a contact zone, meaning that it emerges and evolves in its diverse forms from encounters, interactions, and negotiations between different groups of people. If these interactions are channelled in a positive way, conservation and management support the generation of social capital in the society or community. In Chapter 4, I identified the biographers' pride in their own representation, and a growing sense of tolerance for other views as social capital derived from reconstructing historical narratives in the case. The narratives were made accessible to the public in the form of museum exhibitions and site interpretations, which has led to a growing willingness in the community to confront long ignored historical perspectives, to rediscover dormant places and spaces in the heritage landscape, and to revive aspects of vernacular culture. In line with SDG 11 – Sustainable Cities and Communities, Chapter 5 showed how Iringa Boma has created a safe and inclusive public space that offers educational, recreational, and business-related opportunities for a wide range of target groups. A similar result has been achieved in the rural artisanship cases examined in Chapter 6, where the basket weaving and pottery initiatives have created spaces of social interaction and economic independence for women, and Bonnie's music performances open up spaces of shared passion and enjoyment. In all three cases, the artisans' engagement with people and networks from outside the community has linked rural heritage with the globalizing world of today – fostering a sense of pride in their local life sphere.

> Different from some years back, the people are not ashamed of talking about their culture any more now. Today, the people are vigilant and expressive about their culture. When you ask them to talk about their culture, they will tell you with joy. Local culture has meanwhile become something to be proud of, while before it was still seen as something barbaric. – Jimson Sanga, January 2020 –

However, the overarching social achievement of fahari yetu is a growing sense of community awareness and appreciation of culture, accompanied by a critical questioning of the programme and its activities. Iringa Boma and its surrounding heritage landscape have become a contact zone for a heritage community of practice to form and evolve, in which the heritage resources are shared by those who care about them. We have to bear in mind that a common interest in heritage conservation across vastly different groups is neither automatically given, nor does it come from one day to the next. It is a time-consuming process that requires continuous effort and investment from the stakeholders involved. The question remains how sustainable the achieved community curiosity and engagement will be in the long run. What we do in Iringa has to be understood as a long-term project, an ongoing process that may take 20 years to put down roots. It took a lot of time and it will continue to take time to bring the people together as an urban community. In the beginning of the programme, we found that several stakeholders were reluctant to share and cooperate – due to social and individual mistrust, envy, and protectiveness. It took years to persuade representatives of government authorities to support the programme by providing access to networks and resources. However, over the course of the programme's progression, such self-serving contentions over heritage interpretations have become constructive propositions, and dissent over representations has given way to a spirit of mutual understanding and sharing. More and more contributors now accept Iringa Boma as a connecting platform for telling the different stories of Iringa and its connections to the world.

A long-term observation of the social dynamics of community-based heritage conservation is an obvious avenue for further research. At the same time, comparative studies tracing these dynamics in different settings will help to shed more light on the matter, which is why such studies should be an integral component of potential project replication in other parts of Tanzania, Africa, or the Global South. Moreover, in the context of shared heritage, the social value of intercultural dialogue is worth to be investigated through research accompanying human resources exchange programmes, international funding mechanisms, cultural property restitution initiatives, and joint museum exhibition projects.

7.1.3 Economic implications

Lastly, the study tackled the accumulation of economic capital from heritage following principles of integrated development as reflected in the concept of heritage-based livelihoods and the Sustainable Development Goals. Chapter 4 hereto introduced the idea of converting historical narratives into touristic products in connection with sites in the heritage landscape of Iringa. The idea stands in line with SDG 12 – Responsible Consumption and Production, which aims at developing sustainable forms of tourism that create jobs, promoting local culture and products. Chapter 5 discussed efforts of practical implementation through the services offered at Iringa Boma, which connect the museum with the communities and other sites in the landscape. First of all, the Boma has created employment opportunities for a number of people, including a curator, an education officer, a receptionist, tour guides, an accountant, a gardener, a cleaner, and security guards. Income generated from museum admissions, boardroom bookings, sub-letting of business space, and tours offered to sites and places in and around Iringa help to sustain these positions and to cover other operational costs. The Boma furthermore supports the economic livelihoods of local entrepreneurs, such as the tenant running the café and restaurant, the small business operators who have rented space upstairs, community initiatives responsible for visited sites on the offered tours, selected tour operators who receive visitors for tours that the Boma is not offering itself, and providers of recreational events.

Above all, the Boma links the rural artisan groups to markets – as elaborated in Chapter 6. We have seen that the economic motivation of increasing the household income is the driving force for the artisans to engage in heritage preservation. In line with the overarching vision of SDG 1 No Poverty, the cash they earn from the craft helps them to send their children to school, supply their households with food and necessities, and cover other basic needs. The craft empowers women in particular to manage their own financial affairs, enhances their status as family providers, and furthers their economic and social independence from men. In all three cases, heritage is seen as a resource for livelihoods diversification, i.e., as a complement to rainfall-dependent cultivation. So far, the crafts are not sufficient as a sole source of subsistence, and a dependence on the agricultural cycle persists – a dependence which in turn causes seasonal bottlenecks regarding the supply of handicraft goods. It also remains difficult to convert heritage based on tacit knowledge into modern market-oriented products. There is still a cultural or class gap between the local rural producers and the cosmopolitan urban consumers they target, calling for mediation and translation in the development and marketing of goods. Even though fahari yetu is trying its best to mediate between the rural communities and their wider audiences, the Vikapu Bomba model with Catherine as an intermediary from within the group appears to be best practice in view of sustainability.

Despite positive indications, it is at this time difficult to measure whether the programme has a sustainable impact of alleviating poverty and economic empowerment. Above, I discussed the long-term nature of achieving a sustainable spirit of responsibility and engagement, and the same applies to the commercialization of cultural resources based on the growing capacities of the people. Economic and social development through heritage are mutually dependent, and a spirit of ownership and shared conservation is not likely to be sustainable without an economic incentive whose attainment in turn requires true commitment and dedication. The critical relation between heritage and financial means is also observable in the prospects for a sustainable continuation of fahari yetu. Much of the programme's infrastructure was established through a grant from the European Commission, awarded from 2013–2016. Since closure of the grant, it is financed through income-generating activities of Iringa Boma and resources shared with the University of Iringa. Unfortunately, the available resources are limited and hardly even sustain the operation of the museum and cultural centre. The Boma building is still owned by the Tanzanian government and operated by fahari yetu on lease. We are not sure what will happen when the lease expires. In order to be able to further develop our existing activities and introduce new conservation and capacity building projects, we are still dependent on funding from external donors. While we received the seed funds from the EU and subsequent smaller grants for activity-based projects, most donors do not support overhead expenses incurred in institutional operation. However, the scarcity of funds reflects the perception of culture and heritage in society in general and in development practice in particular. While it is on the one hand identified as a precious resource for the people to build and nurture their life spheres, the required continuous financial investment into this process is on the other hand often ignored. As it seems, the conversion into economic capital is the most delicate step in the cycle, and it should be recognized by development policy, represented through national and international donors, that this cannot be achieved from one day to the next.

> To be sustainable at some point, we would need a donor who is ready to support us in consolidating the base we have created. Otherwise, it will always be trial and error: Today, they are funding it, tomorrow they are cutting it off because it is not going fast enough. Like that, it will not be possible to collect significant contributions to the cultural wealth of the world, if that really is the aim of the European Union. fahari yetu has really struggled to revive the culture here, and now that we have finally gained momentum, we have no more financial support. – Jimson Sanga, January 2020 –

The discussion of weighing economic investment against projected returns in the case refers back to the debate on culture-based approaches vs. economic instrumentalism in development studies.[83] Despite all the positive effects, it still seems to be early to foresee how far-reaching and sustainable initiatives like fahari yetu will be. At the end of the day, it turns out to be difficult to devise use plans for conserved heritage assets that outweigh modern commercial development approaches in creating direct benefits for local communities. Although the participants in the examined programme have begun to change their perception, the notion of culture and heritage as something of cherished intangible value but counterproductive to achieve economic prosperity is still pervasive in the Tanzanian context. Perhaps more than anywhere else, African heritage theory and practice needs to embrace a path to direct individual economic empowerment through heritage, to work out the commodity value of heritage for the communities. At the same time, it has to be ensured that a focus on commercialization does not diminish the intrinsic values of culture that give meaning to the life of the people. The examples have shown that the path to follow in this endeavour is inclusive engagement and creation of ownership open to various actors within the community.

Both heritage-based livelihoods and the Sustainable Development Goals are approaches to an integrated development that balances socio-cultural and economic needs. Hence, they both provide meaningful directions of further study. While the heritage-based livelihoods concept needs to be refined and loaded with meaning, the SDGs still have to be more specifically adapted to culture and heritage. In order to capture the heritage-related livelihood realities of communities more comprehensively, it may also add value to approach them with quantitative methods such as surveys on household income generation through arts and crafts. Moreover, the field of tourism research has only been touched in this study, and deeper insights into cultural product development and marketing would be highly valuable for efforts to intensify the touristic utilization of heritage resources in the fahari yetu programme in Iringa – and for initiatives to apply its ideas and approaches to other locations.

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[83] See Chapter 1.5.

7.2 Methodological issues

7.2.1 Ethnography and the juxtaposition of generality and specificity

This study employed ethnographic methods for the in-depth investigation of fahari yetu as a case of applied heritage conservation and management. In Chapter 3, I described the research process as an iterative cycle of going back and forth between empirical data from the case and a targeted theoretical horizon. Nevertheless, I sometimes felt at odds with myself when trying to decide on what to lay the focus of the work – the contextual evocation of the heritage landscape of the case or on deriving theoretical generalizations from its investigation. By the time of my final write-up, I was a visiting scholar in the Department of Sociology at Lund University in Sweden. In a departmental colloquium I came across Timothy Pachirat's *Among Wolves* (2018), a fictive play through which the author addresses central debates around ethnographic fieldwork and the ethnographic method at large. In Act Four, the play confronts the question of context vs. theory in ethnography in form of a disputation. Proponents of contextual evocation argue that the greatest value of ethnography lies in its ability to depict the particular and the specific by showing the lives and social situations of the people it studies (ibid.: 30, 33). A proponent of theoretical generalization retorts that the expansion of theory is the most important and enduring contribution of ethnography, which should thus be guided by conceptual objectives (ibid.: 31). The disagreement is carried further in a dispute over the importance of the location vs. the object of study in ethnography, whereby one character's insistence on the primacy of the local specificity – and the researcher's commitment to long-term immersion in a place – is countered with another one's opinion that the location only needs to work as a showcase for the object (ibid.: 28–29). However, the form of a dispute serves to illustrate the interdependence between the opposing positions. The study object/subject is general, like the relationship between heritage and development. However, as an ethnographer, I need to study it in a specific location I can immerse into. Therefore, when I study heritage for development in Iringa, I have to investigate the intersection between the subject and the location, the general and the specific.

In Chapter 3, I argued that this study on one hand clearly followed intrinsic motives of assessing the dynamics of the case itself, with its applied measures and strategies of heritage conservation and management, and evoking the heritage landscape of Iringa as a unique manifestation of the world's cultural diversity. It should be borne in mind that the fahari yetu programme is not over yet, and an intrinsic assessment of its achievements and setbacks will therefore be valuable to devise ways of sustainable continuation. On the other hand, it is evident that a single case never exists in a vacuum – and creating a better understanding of it necessarily happens through relating it to the broader horizon it is embedded in, including theoretical frameworks, policy environments, and other cases. fahari yetu is a case of applied heritage management that was designed to be applied to other contexts and settings. A deep understanding of its particular dynamics thus helps to devise and refine concrete strategies for replication.

I have also articulated above that the study pursues instrumental motives of subjecting the specificity of the case to theoretic-analytical generalization. The analytical generalization was based on the derivation of patterns from the case, serving for comparisons across different settings, to inform further studies, and to determine inter-textual relations and a common conceptual apparatus (Burawoy 1998: 37). Each of the three lines of inquiry had its own set of conceptual reference points – or comparative concepts – which were all tied to a common theoretical horizon guiding the analytical generalization process. However, Clifford (1997: 10–11) reminds us that analytical generalization based on comparative concepts is always a kind of situated analysis. Comparative concepts are approximations made in relation to a specific case, making their application to other cases inherently contingent and partial. While applications like this are suitable to create inter-case and inter-textual relations, these equivalences are imperfect and are constructed at the expense of the cases' particularities and singularities. During the analysis of the case, I personally experienced the situated-ness and imperfect translation of the developed concepts. While their application seemed to work out well in close conjunction with the empirical material in Chapters 4 to 6, their detached presentation in Chapter 2 and further-reaching reflection in this chapter felt much more imperfect and inconsistent. It was a challenge to embrace this imperfection as a way to address the diversity and ambiguity of heritage without neglecting the development of a common conceptual apparatus. Whereas such open methodology may be an established approach in disciplines with a long-standing qualitative-interpretive tradition – such as social anthropology, sociology, and cultural studies – this is still a fairly new approach to heritage studies, and this study could make a relevant contribution by applying it in the field.

7.2.2 Reflexivity and positionality

> Jan Kuever, let me tell you something. You may come and do research and get to know everything that is written in the books and what the people tell you. But there will still be something that only natives can know or feel about the things that happened, something that you cannot feel or know because you cannot be as close to it on the inside!
> – Serafino Lanzi, September 2018 –

The investigation of the case was based on my long-term participation in it – with a focus on creating an interpretive understanding of its nature and dynamics. My positionality as a researcher as well as heritage practitioner who gathers, interprets, and conveys knowledge about the heritage of Iringa is another methodological aspect that requires concluding reflection. Even though he doesn't say it directly, Serafino's statement first of all reminds me that I make translations from a position of power when I interpret Hehe perspectives. I conducted this study in a post-colonial context that evokes a historical-anthropological research setup of a foreign white (and often male) ethnographer gazing on non-white native subjects. In my case, this evocation was furthermore augmented by the fact that I am a German researcher, looking at a local heritage configuration strongly shaped by German colonial history. In this respect, I remember one experience from an early fahari yetu project presentation event in Kalenga, the old political centre of the Hehe chiefdom. A group of Hehe elders had dressed up in traditional garment to illustrate the cultural importance of our project, and I met Fatuma Mkwawa, the daughter of the then reigning chief, for the first time. After the event, we passed by the Mkwawa Museum and Memorial Site for a photo shooting. I remember how irritated I was when Fatuma greeted me very brusque and apparently avoided to pose with me in front of the family gravestones. The elders accompanying us obviously felt bad about this and tried to explain. While in their opinion the Hehe people in general nowadays have a joking relationship[84] with the Germans, they said that she still feels emotional about the violent subjugation of her ancestors – and about the fact that I, as a German, had come to lead a new project of historical conservation and representation. The anecdote illustrates that heritage is a contact zone in which shared histories are remembered from different perspectives. Heritage work requires a reflection of the past and present positions of the actors involved in this renegotiation process. I have to acknowledge that, despite all the knowledge I have gathered on the matter, I cannot be the local voice. At the end of the day, as a German living and working in Tanzania, I still represent a hegemonic view of the world. The heated debate in 2020 on sustained structural racism and sensitive approaches to address colonial history in Western countries has brought the concept of white privilege to public attention. To some extent, it has certainly been white privilege that put me into the position of recollecting historical representations, coordinating the development of culture exhibitions, and supervising the restoration of heritage sites in a local African setting like Iringa. From that realization, my designated role as a foreign researcher and heritage manager might be to simply make use of my privilege and share and mediate local interpretations to German and international audiences as alternatives to common hegemonic narratives.

> Cross-cultural translation is never neutral; it is enmeshed in relations of power (Asad 1986)[85]. One enters the translation process from a specific location, from

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[84] Joking relationships is an anthropological concept coined by Alfred Radcliffe-Brown (1940) describing a relationship between two people that involves a ritualised banter of teasing or mocking. It takes place, for example, between a man and his maternal mother-in-law in some South African indigenous societies. The joking relationship is an interaction that mediates and stabilizes social relationships where there is tension, competition, or potential conflict – such as between in-laws and between clans and tribes. Hehe people commonly identify themselves as having a joking relationship with the Ngoni people, through which the long-standing history of war between the two groups is mediated. Seemingly more recently, many Hehe characterize their present relationship with the Germans as a joking relationship as well, indicating that there should not be resentment any more, without denying the burden of enmity and colonial violence from the past.

[85] See T. Asad (1986): The concept of cultural translation in British social anthropology. In J. Clifford and G. E. Marcus (Eds.): *Writing culture: The poetics and politics of ethnography* (pp. 141–164). Berkeley and London: University of California Press.

> which one only partly escapes. In successful translation, the access to something alien – another language, culture, or code – is substantial. Something different is brought over, made available for understanding, appreciation, consumption. At the same time, the moment of failure is inevitable. […] I use the dramatic word "failure" because the consciousness of being cut down to size, refuted by a constitutive "outside", is painful. […] Such an awareness of location emerges less from introspection than from confrontation (you are white, European, etc.) and from practical alliance ("on this, at least, we can work together").
>
> (James Clifford 1997: 183)

The failure Clifford describes here is the second challenge Serafino's quote poses to me. He asserts that my translation will inevitably lack a certain taste of originality because there are some intangible meanings and emotions that I cannot access as an outsider. The colonial ethnographic gaze brings into question the tensions between the self and the other (Atkinson 2015: 5). Spradley (1980: 61–62) cautions that the more you know about a setting as an ordinary participant, or the more of an insider you have become, the more difficult it is to study it as an ethnographer, as an analytical observer. On the contrary, the less familiar you are with a social situation, the more you are able to see the tacit cultural rules at work. In the case of fahari yetu, I was (or am) a European researcher investigating my own work initiative in an African cultural setting involving African and non-African actors. This means that the conventional distinction between insider and outsider, between the self and the other, is blurred: On the one hand, I look at the cultural setting and heritage landscape of Iringa from an outsider's perspective that has sensitized me for the tacit cultural and intercultural rules at play. On the other hand, I look at a set of activities within that frame that I have created in the first place, and am therefore not gazing on the colonial other from a European point of view, even though that gaze is undeniably also a part of my observations. In my case, the line between "their world" and "my world" is blurred, and the engagement with this "in-between space" (see Bhabha 1994) for this dissertation has provoked recurring feelings of vulnerability and anxiety. For quite a while, this lack of distance made it difficult for me to accurately describe the case from an external point of view required for academic analysis. Yet, in analogy to the aforementioned discontents of ethnographic generalization, I may likewise have to accept the imperfection and ambivalence of intercultural translation as a productive challenge that does not diminish my work, but puts it in line with efforts of decolonizing intercultural communication in heritage studies and management.

> There are personal explorations scattered throughout the book. I include them in the belief that a degree of self-location is possible and valuable. Hence, the struggle to perceive certain borders of my own perspective is not an end in itself but a precondition for efforts of attentiveness, translation, and alliance. I do not accept that anyone is permanently fixed by his or her "identity"; but neither can one shed specific structures of race and culture, class and caste, gender and

> sexuality, environment and history. I understand these, and other cross-cutting determinations, not as homelands, chosen or forced, but as sites of worldly travel: difficult encounters and occasions for dialogue.
>
> (James Clifford 1997: 12)

7.3 Conclusion

In the end, what is left for a final conclusion? The study introduced, followed up, and evaluated a wide array of thematic areas, theoretical concepts, and methodological approaches to address the relationship between cultural heritage and sustainable development. It revealed that purposeful heritage conservation and management strategies serve to effectively support and integrate cultural, social, and economic development. As it turned out, successful strategies for the case under investigation were shared historical memory and representation work, the rehabilitation and reconfiguration of heritage sites and landscapes, and the strengthening of local community livelihoods by reviving vernacular culture. Yet – as stated in the introductory chapter – the presented results only provide glimpses of one viable path among others. The study is manifestly unfinished work, which calls for further research to pick up the loose ends of theoretical sensitization, methodological refinement, and technical advancement of cultural heritage management.

On the side of applied heritage management practice, the fahari yetu programme has created a solid infrastructure for community-based heritage conservation in Iringa. In its centre stands the Iringa Boma regional museum, which has not only become a hub for cultural life in and around town, but has also significantly contributed to tourism development in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. The Boma itself, together with its various community outreach activities, offers numerous opportunities for project continuation, including expanded culture and history research, exhibition and archive development, restoration and development of further heritage sites, systematic community artisan tourism business incubation, and urban and rural education and training programmes. The combination of historical, socio-spatial, and heritage craft work can be regarded as a best practice approach that lends itself for replication in other cases and contexts with potentially similar heritage landscapes. In the African context in particular, with its numerous challenges but immense untapped resources, theoretical as well as applied approaches should help to redraw a heritage discourse that is diverse yet inclusive, respectful of the local yet global and cosmopolitan, and (above all) cares about the people and their well-being (Abungu 2016: 388). This is what the route outlined in this work stands for.

> In the end, everything we did has shown us the value of appreciating our culture, because there is no development in the world without a cultural basis. All progress has its historical or cultural background. Today, we are trying to bring the forgotten past to light as a representation of the world's heritage.
>
> – Jimson Sanga, January 2020 –

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Primary data

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Tumsifu Ndendya interview and video recording session. Conducted on 23 March 2018 in Rungemba, Iringa Region. Copyright by fahari yetu. Video footage and transcript accessible at Iringa Boma Archive, Iringa.

List of abbreviations and acronyms

ACRA	Cooperazione Rurale in Africa e America Latina
BACAT	Bachelor of Arts in Cultural Anthropology and Tourism
BTU	Brandenburg Technical University
CRDB	Cooperative Rural Development Bank
CUAMM	University College for Aspiring Missionary Doctors
DAAD	Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (German Academic Exchange Service)
DC	District Commissioner
DNA	Deoxyribonucleic Acid
EAR&H	East African Railways & Harbours
EC	European Commission
ECM	Extended Case Method
EDF	European Development Fund
EU	European Union
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GEF	Global Environment Facility
GPS	Global Positioning System

HUL	Historic Urban Landscape
ICHC	Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention
IDC	Iringa District Council
IMC	Iringa Municipal Council
KAR	King's African Rifles
MATCS	Master of Arts in Tourism, Culture and Society
MICAS	Ministry of Information, Culture, Arts and Sports
MKUKUTA	Mkakati wa Kukuza Uchumi na Kupunguza Umaskini
MNRT	Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism
NBC	National Bank of Commerce
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NMT	National Museum of Tanzania
NSGRP	National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty
PGIS	Participatory Geographic Information Systems
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
RCO	Regional Commissioner's Office
REGROW	Resilient Natural Resource Management for Tourism and Growth
RETCO	Regional Transport Company
RUCU	Ruaha Catholic University
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SPANEST	Strengthening the Protected Area Network of Southern Tanzania
TANAPA	Tanzania National Parks
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
TANZAM	Tanzania-Zambia Highway
TCTP	Tanzania Cultural Tourism Programme
TNA	Tanzania National Archives
TTB	Tanzania Tourist Board
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UoI	University of Iringa
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
USADF	Unites States African Development Foundation
WCS	Wildlife Conservation Society

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This book explores cultural, social, and economic links between cultural heritage and sustainable community development in an applied heritage conservation programme in Iringa, Tanzania. Based on ethnographic approaches, it seeks to understand the case in its context by following three specific lines of inquiry. The first line of inquiry addresses historical memory and interpretation as a form of heritage work, exploring the history of Iringa from different perspectives. The author works out that colonial history carries ambiguous connotations across different social groups, which require sensitive procedures of joint confrontation and re-interpretation. The second line of inquiry investigates the socio-spatial heritage of Iringa, examining built heritage as a contact zone of cultural performance and intercultural communication. The author argues that the establishment of a regional museum and cultural centre has created a safe and inclusive public space that offers educational, recreational, and business opportunities for various social groups in the community. The third line of inquiry focusses on the economic harnessing of cultural heritage, evaluating the potential of local art and craft to support community livelihoods in rural Iringa. The author shows how the investigated artisan initiatives link heritage craft with the globalizing world of today and support economic independence of women in particular. The study concludes that the integration of historical, socio-spatial, and heritage craft management can be regarded as a best practice approach that lends itself for replication in other contexts. However, the study results call for further research to theoretically sensitize and methodologically refine sustainable approaches to cultural heritage management.

Jan Kuever is an anthropologist and heritage practitioner who studied sociology, ethnology amd heritage studies in Göttingen and Cottbus. Since 2007, he serves as a lecturer and administrator at the University of Iringa in Tanzania. Since 2013, he directs the applied heritage management programme *fahari yetu Tanzania* and its offspring *Iringa Boma – Regional Museum and Cultural Centre*. He is also engaged in collaborative provenance research projects on collections of colonial origin between fahari yetu and German universities and museums.

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