INTANGIBLE HERITAGE, TOURISM AND RAISING AWARENESS ON KILWA KISIWANI AND SONGO MNARA

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FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS
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OVERVIEW

ORGANISATION

Section I contains relevant background data on the area and the subject of the study. It also outlines the main features of Kilwa Kisiwani and Songo Mnara, identifies the villages in which the case study took place, and gives a brief description of Kilwa society. Section II describes the kind of intangible heritage that is found in the islands and which aspects of it are actually endangered. This section also focuses on the first objective of the report: the general development of tourism in Kilwa and its effects on intangible heritage. Section III deals with the tourism industry and describes tourism as it is practised. It also gives an account of the actual results from the field study. Section IV, while describing how tourism has been developed in Kilwa in the past, proposes recommendations on how it may be developed in the future. The socio-political effects of tourism, by looking into possible socio-economic changes and the possibility of spin-off activities, are also touched on. The final section gives insight into the external and internal factors related to the local activities which influence the overall development of heritage and tourism.

METHODOLOGY

This study was conducted during a period of six months, from May to October 2008. The fieldwork research was divided between the following activities: discussions with representatives of the Antiquities Department in Kilwa Masoko; data collection on the development of tourism in the region; data collection on the socio-economic effects of tourism; visits to other areas (Kivinje, Songo Mnara, Pande); and preliminary data analysis.

To fulfil the objectives, various social science methods had to be used in order to gather as much information as possible. To collect information on heritage and tourism awareness, several meetings were held with representatives of the local communities (elders, religious leaders, teachers, etc.), and key informant interviews were combined with relevant secondary material.

Structured interviews were made with a few people of Kisiwani and Songo Mnara, mainly elders, in order to assess the current values of specific aspects of local intangible heritage. A questionnaire was worked out regarding household composition, socio-economic features (possession of goods, food consumption, etc.), incomes and use of income, consumption patterns, etc. Informal talks and interviews with strategically chosen individuals were conducted as well to get information on certain segments of life in Kilwa. For instance, discussions on cultural heritage in the islands and its possible revival were held with many witch doctors and elders. Such informal talks were
numerous as discussion soon became part of my daily life in Kilwa Kisiwani, where I lived during the fieldwork.

**OBSERVATIONS AND IMPORTANT REMARKS**

During my six-month stay in Kilwa, I tried to live as close to the villagers as possible, taking part in their daily life. A large bunch of information was received from informal talks with the villagers. One objective of this research was concerned with grasping local views and perceptions. As is the case with many ethnographers, I combine two research strategies: the local-oriented one, which investigates how local people think; and the scientist-oriented approach, which focuses on processes and the causes that often determine social behaviour. With regard to the local-oriented approach, I use quotation marks every time I quote local explanations or interpretations in this report in order to highlight how local populations perceive and categorise their own beliefs, that is, what has meaning for them. Investigating local perceptions and understanding of social reality is crucial for ethnographers who aim at unveiling the rationale underlying practices and discourses, such as when the people of Kilwa say, for instance, that their jetty is nothing more than a mount of rocks. The scientist-oriented approach, on the other hand, allows focusing on the objectives processes or causes which local people often do not admit.
SECTION I
KILWA: SOCIO-ANTHROPOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

Kilwa Kisiwani is an agglomerated village, with houses built close together. Around 900 people live in the village. On Songo Mnara, the houses are scattered in different places where nearly 600 people live more sparsely. On both islands, most houses are built of raw coral stones cemented with lime-chalk. The roofs are constructed of poles tied together with coir ropes and covered with “thatched palm leaves” (makuti). Nowadays, houses of cement bricks are being built and roofs of corrugated iron-sheets are also used. Villages have no electricity or piped water. Fresh water is fetched from stone worked wells outside the villages. Children and women fetch water in plastic or metal containers. On Kisiwani the water is of good quality and wells never dry. On Songo Mnara, the water is salty due to the intrusion of salt water.

All of the villages have mosques. Children of school age, both boys and girls, participate in the “Koranic schools” (chuo) every afternoon. There is a primary school in every village (classes from standard one to ten are taught). Currently the population of the District is estimated to be about 175,000 persons, which is a density of 12.6 people per km². 47% of the population of the district is literate.

On Kisiwani and Songo Mnara, ethnic composition and land tenure systems are part of a wider complex of differences between the populations of the rural areas and those of the semi-urban localities (Kivinje and Masoko) and mainland villages. It should be noted first that the village of Kisiwani is almost entirely composed of people either from the mainland (Mavuji, Njinjo, or Pande regions) or with “ethnics” originated from the mainland (see Appendix 2).

In this context of social differentiation, two main factors govern the harmony of the society as a whole. The first is the “family group” (ukoo) which brings together all those who are related by blood; the family group is always connected to others through marriage. The second is land, not in the sense that every family has a right to a piece of land, but in the sense that it is the soil that nurses the “spirits” (koma) of the dead for eternity. Having the ancestors buried near the village creates a sense of identity. These principles can be seen in traditions and every-day practices. Compared with Masoko, where life is more consistent with individual rights of ownership of land (note that the people of Masoko also use electricity and TV, which are characteristics of an urban way of life in general), in the islands, practices are mostly connected to local rituals and rites of passage (“circumcision” (jando), marriage, etc.) referred
to as “local customs” (*mila*). These practices do favour communal ownership and cognatic (meaning that a person’s family includes his mother’s family as well as his father’s, and also all the four of his grandparents’ families) inheritance patterns (meaning that both men and women are connected to systems of “descent groups” (*nasaba*), which might claim rights to certain stretches of land). Kin groups are inter-connected in a complex system; that is to say an individual may be a member of many groups (connected to both Pande and Songo Mnara, for example).

On Kisiwani (not on Songo Mnara) agriculture was affected by the villageisation programme (known as the “*ujamaa* policy” during the 1970s). Farmers who were previously living scattered in the countryside (i.e. Mavuji, Njinjo regions on the mainland) were forced to move to villages where social and health services were supposed to be provided. Many “foreigners” (*wageni*) living in the vicinity of Kisiwani have their origin on the mainland and were forced to live on Kisiwani during this socialist period. Most of them are still living on Kisiwani. Numerous islanders complain that many changes had occurred when these outsiders came and occupied local lands.

The villages have a CCM party branch with an office. The party branch functions as a local government. However, decisions concerning the whole village have to be discussed in meetings, where as many villagers as possible are expected to gather. These gatherings take place outdoors; women and men sit in separate groups on the ground. In addition to the party, the villages also have a Committee of Ruins. Elders still have to be heard regarding every question involving important matters for the village, but on Kisiwani elderly men have lost legitimacy since they are regularly accused of “witchcraft” (*uchawi*).

Kisiwani has its own dispensary which cannot treat serious diseases, but which provides vaccinations and information about family planning. A few private shops have a stock of goods that includes rice, wheat flour, and sugar, as well as some other things like soap. No shop sells such items as plastic buckets, pots, underwear, cloth, or children’s clothes as most people prefer to go to Masoko to buy these goods. No village has a market place. There is neither a cooperative nor informal savings groups in the village of Kisiwani. On Songo Mnara, some women participate in activities such as handicrafts. At present, no village has a local guesthouse, although one is planned to be built in Kisiwani.

The average size of a household is roughly five members. The medium household is a nuclear family: two parents and one to three children. However, the majority of the households include other relatives. Elderly people often live together with their grandchildren who may come from relatives living in other villages or in other parts of the village.

When a woman marries a man, she normally follows him to his village. The Muslim law says that a man is allowed to have more than one wife. There are...
many examples in the villages. “Divorces” (talaka) are common on the islands and it is mostly men who take the initiative to divorce. The high divorce rate and the system of “polygamy” (matara) indicate a highly complex structure of family relations. This complexity also features the villages’ relative isolation from the urban area and the prevalent tradition of inter-marriage between villages.

The relative autonomy of each sex is noticeable in the division of every day habits. Women and men have separate grounds, even if they intermingle when they take part in public life. This is true for adults, but not for youngsters and children. The head of the household is always a man who is supposed to support his family with the necessities: i.e. shelter, clothes, and food. It is always the man who goes to the shop or market to buy food and he goes to the beach to buy fish when the catch is landed. This duty is laid down in the “Islamic laws” (sharia). It is also the man who sells the cash-crops and the surplus from the joint agriculture farm. If a woman wants to sell what she has farmed in her fields, she has to go through a man in order to do so. When she wants to buy something – clothes for her children or for herself – she has to ask for permission from her husband. Nowadays, the sale of fish tends to be a daily activity for women; they go to the mainland to do this business. They leave the island early in the morning and come back to Kisiwani when they have sold their buckets of fish. This is a new trend since the need for cash is growing in the communities. Traditionally, the purchase of fish was exclusively made by the men who used to give the fish to their spouses: these days many women assemble spontaneously on the beach where the sailing canoes come to shore. They themselves buy the fish and go and sell them.

Changes in Kilwa are particularly visible in the division of the household economy. If men have obligations to cater for their families’ needs, women keep their own sphere of autonomy and often have their own property. Women can have their fields, farm coco palms, and own “livestock” (mitugo). When a woman gets income, she does not have to share what she earns with her husband. The fact is that women are very often dependant on middle men who sell what they produce – handicrafts, fish, shells, wood, and other items. Moreover, women are home-caretakers: they fetch water, collect “firewood” (kuni), and take care of the children. During the “dry season” (kiangazi) (from June to November), they spend most of their time caring for the agricultural farms (with harvests in June, July), and the fishing or picking of seafood in the tidal flats and the coral reef. These earning activities give them a low income, but most of them do these jobs as only a few have wage earning jobs (female teachers and nurses are not numerous). Many have small trading businesses in their homes: they sew, embroider, twine coir-ropes, or work on the beach to prepare “coconut husks” (usumba). Some women make “doughnuts” (maandazi) for sale; others plait different items of palm leaves or work as day-wage earners carrying water, sand, stones, and other building materials for construction work. If they are lucky, they earn 2000 Tsh a day. The practice of employing “labourers” (vibarua) on a day-to-day basis is also used in agriculture where
they are employed for clearing or weeding. Their positions in the community are unenviable. It should be noted that women are always working and, when they meet each other, they often produce something: plaiting a “mat” (mkeka) or a basket, cooking, sewing, or embroidering on the verandas.

Men have their own activities. It should be noted that villagers are seldom committed to only one occupation, usually having several. The main occupations for men are “fishing” (uvuvi) and “farming” (kilimo). Of these, the fishing takes up most of their time. This situation is a recent trend which has been generated by the hard drought of the last years. The every day life – mainly during the dry season – is connected to the sea. A great share of the fishing is done by foot, during low-tide on the tidal flat or on the coral reef. Women collect shells and sometimes fish octopus using spears. The men either fish with nets or cages or they go further outside the reef to dive for fish or lobster. Fishing outside in the deep sea is mainly done from canoes or small boats, by using nets or lines and hooks. Only men fish from boats. When they get a surplus, fishermen sell most of their fish in the nearby mainland town of Masoko, but during the dry season they dry and smoke most of their catch to transport the fish to other places on the mainland (to Masasi for example). Many young men are sailing to fish far from their home, near the mainland or in other places in the islands. These voyages take a couple of months and the fishermen come back home when they have earned enough cash income.

The old farming system based upon the planting of “sorghum” (mtama) and shift cultivation is falling apart. A few families go on practicing this old farming system which consists in cycles of three to five years of cultivation and four to five years of fallow; in this farming system, slash and burn cultivation is practiced. People have to live long periods (nearly three months) in the fields to be able to guard their crops from domestic or wild animals (monkeys, wild pigs, and small antelopes). All the farming land belongs to the village community and the farmers do not own the land, but only the crops and the fences they build to protect their cultivation from animals. The farmers have a right to the land through kinship relations. If farmers want to establish new farms, they have to consult the neighbouring farmers as well as the elders to find out if the claimed land is occupied. Many families have shifted to cultivate “cassava” (muhogo) and “banana trees” (migomba) since these plants are important for most of the families’ support, both as a cash income and as a daily provider of food. Moreover, it is not necessary to stay at the farm to grow these crops. Nowadays, sorghum and millet could not cater for the needs of cash income.

Both men and women work in agriculture, although they do different tasks. Men are predominantly engaged in the preparation of the farms and in the harvest, while women maintain and weed the crops. But the division of tasks is not bound to be followed; there are many examples of men and women farming alone.
There are two farming zones for each village, especially on Kisiwani: One zone is a bit far away and the other is sometimes located inside the village itself. The closest fields are reserved for crops for every day use (banana, vegetables, pawpaw, pumpkins, and tomatoes...), while more distant fields are planted with cash-crops and grain (sorghum, cassava, maize). The most common food item for daily consumption seems to be rice, which is grown in the swamps on both of the islands during the rainy season. But this local production of rice cannot cater for the rate of consumption and so many people have to buy it in the market since rice is becoming a daily part of their diet.

Yield (of traditional crops i.e. sorghum and rice) has been decreasing for years due to the terrible “drought” (ukame) and the exhausting of cultivable lands. Certain crops, including rice and coconut, have also been devastated by disease and insect infestation. Recently, more and more people became full-time fishermen as a result of the rapid increase of food prices and other living expenses. In this context of crisis, men have several money-generating activities: tree cutting for construction material, “lime” (chokaa) extraction and “charcoal” (mkaa) burning (especially on Songo Mnara), trading sea-cucumbers, etc. It is common also to have a few goats or a few cows. Livestock is kept as a subsistence security and may be slaughtered as well in times of celebration. The animals are allowed to wander freely, grazing in the nearby bush and fields, without any supervision; this is a major problem nowadays since these grazing animals cause many conflicts in the community.

Thus, the communities have different ways of dealing with such a critical situation, all more or less equally ineffective and unsatisfying from an external point of view. The greatest change has occurred in work-tasks competing with agriculture during the harvest (June-July). In particular, the spear fishing of octopus, the collection of shells and sea-cucumbers, and the cutting of the “mangrove” (mikoko) have increased so dramatically that these activities are threatening the eco-system. Traditionally, social differentiation was more based on acquired status. Now it seems as if it is changing towards a differentiation according to occupation and material well-being. Inequalities have increased and seem to be a potential cause of quarrels in the villages. Divorces, witchcraft, and quarrels between neighbours are almost everyday situations.

We should not forget that intangible heritage is almost always a means to cope with difficulties in life. In the islands, “sacred woods” (mizimu), always associated with graves, have existed for centuries and have been used for different purposes: as “burial grounds” (makaburi or matembe), for habitation, as defence barriers during times of war (like old wells), and as worship places, among others. Today, theses places are faced with extinction, if the issues of their sustainable management and use are not addressed. The use of these sacred woods points to the fact that indigenous knowledge can play an important role in resource based protection. Nevertheless, even if most people have abandoned old rites of passage (especially life-cycle transitional
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rites such as circumcision), they continue to have a kind of default-ritual rule, and most of them keep on believing that local identity requires a determined effort, a notion of exactly what one should do instead. Visiting graves, attending “rituals of affliction” (chuchizo or pungo) or dealing with witchcraft should not be considered as features of a so-called Swahili traditional culture (even the “Assembly” (Bunge) has its witchcraft affairs): they are methods of settling disputes with a minimum of bloodshed.

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SECTION II
INTANGIBLE HERITAGE

Intangible heritage is both traditional and living at the same time. It is constantly recreated and mainly transmitted orally. On Kilwa three main factors played a great role: slavery, Islam, and colonisation (Arabic and European). This history gave rise to the major living heritage that one can find nowadays on the islands: the “rituals and music” (ngoma and local taarab), as well as know-how and skills in handicrafts. Furthermore, this past is a recursive process in oral performances and “healing rituals” (ngoma ya shetani). Living heritage is the result of centuries of exchange of cultural ideas across the Indian Ocean, moulding Arabic, African, and Western inspirations with local rhythmic, melodic, and verbal sensibilities.

KNOW-HOW, SKILLS, AND KNOWLEDGE IN TRADITIONAL CRAFTSMANSHIP

Basket work (kazi za kusuka ukili), “plaiting” (kazi ya kusuka) and “sewing” (kazi ya kushona), wood work (kuchonga), “pottery” (ufinyanzi), and “metalwork” (uhunzi) are all technical skills found in the archipelago. Nowadays, most of the inhabitants know how to make baskets, sieves, barriers, fish traps, etc., but only a few still know how to thatch a roof on their houses. These activities have decreased due to recent developments: the increased urbanisation, mass production, large-scale migration, rural exodus, and so forth.

Scope and content

Two fields of activity are to be distinguished:

• Activities for which the transmission seems insured includes most of the “basket work” (kazi za kusuka ukili) and some woodwork. Women sew together narrow lengths of “plaited leaf-strip” (ukili) coming from the dwarf palm (mkowe or mkoma); the strips are stained with various “colours/dies” (rangi) and bound round the edge (then called mkeka wa rangi). These handicrafts are the ordinary occupation of women when not engaged in cookery or other household work. They mainly consist of “mats” (mikeka) that are usually oblong. Other kinds of mats are: a “piece of floor matting” (jamvi) of a common coarse kind, used in houses, mosques, shops, and especially on verandas for guests to sit on; a “praying-mat” (msala) that is usually oval; a small piece of “matting that is circular in shape” (kitanga), used as a prayer-mat, and sometimes to lay out food or goods for sale; a kind of “mat” (utanga) on which women do the grinding of grains such as...
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sorghum. Men plait “wide-mouthed flexible baskets” (usually called kikapu) of coconut-strips or grass used for all purposes. Other natural bags or baskets plaited by men include: a kind of round basket of plaited grass, usually with a cover (jamanda); a round flat basket (tunga or kitunga) used for sifting “husks” (wage); a kind of light basket (pakacha) used for carrying fish or fruit; a round flat basket (ungo) used for sifting grain (rice or cereals), a small round basket or bag (kifumbu) used for squeezing coco-nut and straining the “juice” (tui la nazi), etc. However, the making of these crafts are threatened by the import of plastic utensils. They require a systematic emergency survey. Mention must be made of the woodcrafts which obviously show that the inhabitants of this region have a tradition of forestry and joinery. Nowadays, this skill is still practised, and has been concentrated in the small craft industry (making boats and sailboats) and in carpentry (making windows, stools, chests, posts, etc.). These crafts are men’s activities and are practised everywhere in the region. Women sometimes work together in small cooperatives, which is the case on Songo Mnara. Nevertheless, it must be noted that, in the context of modernity, these crafts are being forgotten and are sometimes locally associated with old fashioned ways of living. They are no longer valued.

- Activities whose transmission is threatened include “pottery” (ufinyanzi), and those that are likely to have disappeared include “metalwork” (uhunzi or ufundi vyuma). In the past, pottery used to be part of everyday life. But now, pots are being displaced by modern vessels made of aluminium, enamelware, and plastic. The skill is dramatically endangered. The techniques of pottery are no longer practiced, although some old women are still making earthenware pots, using earth, a few stones, a twig and some firewood to create objects of enduring beauty and absolute utility. “Clay” (udongo) is rarely suitable for use and must undergo treatment prior to being formed. Most of the time a kind of “grog” (nyiso), ground-down broken pottery, may be added to reduce the stickiness of the clay before it is formed. Some potters prefer dung, ash, straw, or sand to reduce the water content of the clay. The prevalent technique is by pulling the clay (there is no wheel), and the wall of the pot is always scraped against a “rib” or a “leaf” (mbapa) while it is supported on the inside by the other hand. Pots are predominantly round-bottomed and are stood in depressions in the ground. They are used for cooking over the traditional “three-stone hearth” (mafiga), for the storage of water, and for keeping bulk solids such as grain, but they are also important as receptacles for valuables of all sorts. In addition, pottery provides latrine-linings, “lamps” (taa), and smaller vessels such as plates (msavya). All these pots were in use in the region, but are now disappearing. Various pots have been identified, from the smaller to the bigger: mkungu, kikaango (for cooking fish), gae (for cooking a kind of sorghum bread called mofa), chungu (for cooking porridge, uji or ugalì), mtungi (for storage of water, holding the content of two buckets), vuja (holding five buckets of water), nkambo (for storage of water in the bathroom), and msalani (for fermenting cassava or sorghum).
When pots are broken, some people call them *masekengende* (pieces of pottery). Moreover, pots often provide sites for spiritual essences (ancestors, nature spirits, or djinns). No transmission of potter skills seems to be insured nowadays. The crisis is indicated by how young women prefer to buy plastic buckets and how many intangible aspects such as sacred taboos have died (to fetch water at the wells with buckets of plastic used to be prohibited in the old days). Neither data collection nor tape recording has been done so far.

### Proposals

Considering the stylistic and craft unity which characterises the coastal world, both from the point of view of history and modern exchanges, several solutions can be considered to remedy the bankruptcy of the skills and of the knowledge formerly prevalent on the islands:

- **Reinforce skills.** In order to strengthen carpentry, one safeguarding strategy should be to reinforce the skills of the younger generations. Selected young carpenters native to Kilwa could be sent to workshop in Zanzibar, where craftspeople in fields such as door carving, girders, and other woodwork have already been recognised.

- **Promote craft products.** Regarding pottery and ironwork, the major safeguarding measure is to promote local and traditional markets for craft products. An inventory of the know-how is to be recommended as a matter of urgency, followed by a viability study. The main challenge here is competition from mass production: many craft skills cannot compete with low cost industrial goods provided to villagers in local markets.

- **Support cooperatives and marketing.** Regarding craft production, one could stimulate and promote the grouping in cooperatives (*chama*). The marketing of the handiwork should be made in a shop with strong tourist visibility (in the rest houses for example). A prize could be awarded for the most beautiful objects as part of the UNESCO programmes.

### ORAL PERFORMANCE: TALES, SONGS AND POETRY

On Kilwa, oral performance consists of “tales” (*hadithi*), “proverbs” (*msemo*), “poetic jousts” (*manganja*), and “sailors’ songs” (*kasia*). This intangible heritage domain must be considered as a priority for conservation. It indeed represents a field of expression which was formerly particularly alive and which, therefore, has remained a sensitive subject for many Kilwa Tanzanians. Numerous tales tell about historical events but are treated in a specific imaginary way and feature sultans, slaves, and palaces. The exceptional value of this linguistic register of creation need not be demonstrated. It is to be protected and to be passed on as it is particularly significant for the durability of the cultural group. The visibility and the
relevance of oral collection have been underlined by three recent publications (see bibliography).

**Scope and content**

- Tales are found on the islands and in all the villages around the archipelago (namely Pande, Masoko). Tales come from the oral tradition and so the transmission is based on “orality” (*simulizi*) within the family context (as community performance died a long time ago). They are all fictional stories, traditional in content, and a part of folklore. Fairy and folk tales are frequently about “ogres” (*zimwi*), “witches” (*wachawi*), and “djinns” (*shetani*). Fables (about animals, plants, inanimate objects, etc.) are fairly rare nowadays. A collection has been established and published by the author with several storytellers, all of them natives of Kilwa. Also to be mentioned are the tales from Songo Mnara that are performed in the dialect of the island (sometimes called Kisongo): a small selection has been collected from elders since the performance has definitely died out among the youth. The tales all include references to the coastal civilisation and refer to the addressed issues: animals, ogres, historical events, origin myths, and moral issues. Tangible aspects of the local way of life are very often associated with this oral literature: way of life, agriculture, fishing, and various aspects of daily life. Performers are elders and usually women. Their status is no longer recognised within the community since there are no professional performers in the society. Some of them admit that a few tales in the repertoire originate from the mainland, near the coast, but from other ethnic groups (for instance Mwera or Yao tribes). The tradition is seriously endangered: the art of telling tales is still alive but is very threatened. It is not relying on the community any more; storytelling now happens only at the request of the teller’s close relatives. Today, tellers are ageing and listeners are no longer very keen on participating in performance (especially young people and children).

Relevant publications include collections of tales in Swahili with translation into French by the author. Each tale is preceded by a description of the main subjects, the motives and the keywords. Tape-recordings, movies, and digital data have also been compiled over a ten year period (1998-2008).

- Proverbs and sayings are very influenced by written literature and radio broadcasts. This art form is still alive, practised by children. A tape-recording was done in 2005.

- “Sailors’ songs” (*kasia*) are still sung. Coastal people often sail in groups, either because it is the fishing season or because they go together to a specific place to collect salt, take cargo, or to cut wood from mangrove swamps. To encourage themselves, these sailors row and sing songs which are characterised by a high level of “loose language” (*matusi*). These songs are relevant to understanding the dynamic registers of the language. The
performance also includes elements of mainland and Arabic culture, such as language and poetry. This genre is sung on Kisiwani and Songo Mnara. Intangible elements associated with these songs include issues of astronomy, ornithology, and botany. Tangible elements include agriculture and fishing. Performance is pretty good within the villages of the islands. Specialists have been identified, and include many young people. Data collection (tape recordings and movies) was done in 2006 and 2007.

In another domain, the Ramadan fast periods are the occasions of numerous “songs” (daku), nowadays falling into disuse, but the memory of which is still alive. This genre of oral tradition is still alive on Songo Mnara and Pande, but has died on Kisiwani. The content of these songs is related to local affairs and touches on various subjects: adultery, theft, witchcraft, malicious gossip, etc. The language always includes slang and loose vocabulary. Specialists are always teenagers, singing in groups of four to six people, going through the village from one house to another, after breaking the fast. Performers are sometimes tipped with a small amount of cash after a performance. Transmission and performance are seriously threatened. Data collection (tape-recordings and movies) was done in 2006.

Another occasion for performance worth noting are the ceremonies which take place thanks to the big Sufis gatherings which occur every year in the archipelago to celebrate the memory of Sheikh Hussein, founder of the Tanzanian branch of the Moslem “brotherhood” (tarika Shadiliyya). These gatherings occur every year and take place in Pande, on the mainland, since the main centre of the brotherhood on Kisiwani has been declining for years. Thousands of people from Tanzania and abroad actually gather for a few days in Pande for praying and chanting together at the Sufi centre (Zawiyah) of Pande. Most Sufi leaders have moved away from the region to live in Dar es Salaam. It seems that the brotherhood is declining in the region. Languages used include Arabic and Swahili. Neither recordings nor accurate observations have been done as yet.

The poetic and verbal jousts (manganja) disappeared in the 1970s. There are only some elders remaining that have this verbal skill, which is still present in minds of the youngest in the form of pastiches. These pieces of oral literature used to be declaimed during the rites of passage, particularly during the ceremonies preceding the “circumcision of young boys” (jando). All the community was concerned as these jousts were conducted by the elders who used to take the opportunity to further strengthen their local power in the region. Close links were established to reinforce the social cohesion between the villages of the region (ties were to be made amongst the members of the communities to choose the proper specialists to conduct the ceremonies: the “circumciser” (ngariba) and the “tutors” (nyakanga). Strong meanings were associated with the performance of the poetic jousts: a lot of intangible and tangible heritage
aspects were mentioned in the poems, since these poems were chanted and used many metaphorical and allegorical figures (issues, for example, included weddings, sexuality, adultery, rivalries within the community, etc.). The language used in these jousts was voluntarily spoiled and tinged with Kisongo, which used to be the dialect of Songo Mnara and Pande up to the middle of the nineteen seventies. Of note is that this literature disappeared prior to the death of Kisongo. Data collection (tape recordings) has been made with the elders of the region on Kisiwani and Pande Malalani (but very few elders are still alive who know manganja). Relevant publications include an article written by the author (see bibliography).

Proposals

- **Support the art of storytelling**: Telling tales should be stimulated in partnership with schools by encouraging the tellers and the schoolteachers to implement educational projects about this heritage. Studios should be established on Kisiwani where recognised tellers could pass on their knowledge and skills to groups of young apprentices preparing themselves to become modern tellers in a few years. The teachers could make use of audio-visual equipment, recordings, and texts, but the main transmission process should remain inter-personal and traditional in its essence. The safeguarding project should encompass: (i) awareness-raising campaigns in order to revitalise the art of storytelling among young people (some of them are well-known in the region); (ii) it should also encourage the Tanzanian government to establish a national prize in order to officially recognise exemplary bearers of oral literature and to encourage them to continue developing and transmitting their knowledge and skills (financial coverage – treatment, allowances, etc. – should be delivered); (iii) it should enhance publishing and broadcasting in Swahili, through available appropriate technologies (media, video, photo, etc.) and radio channels.

- **Safeguard and support sailors’ songs** (*kasia*): Competitions and boat races used to be practised in the late 1950s; sailors’ songs are part of an oral heritage that is still valued by young people; the concern here is to lean on tradition to provide the push. Safeguarding should focus on three main lines of action: (i) undertaking of an ethnological survey, (ii) elaboration of an inventory in the form of an electronic database in close cooperation with the respective custodians, (iii) raising awareness about the importance of safeguarding the sailors’ songs as part of maritime practices (organising meetings, promoting workshops, holding competitions, etc.).

- **Safeguard and support the Muslim musical tradition**. The music of Sufi gatherings and singings during the Ramadan should be promoted. This field of intangible heritage is not endangered, yet documentation should be gathered leading to the publication of notations and recordings of Sufi songs. Measures for promoting Muslim performing arts should focus on making inventory, researching, documenting, and archiving.
MUSIC AND DANSE: NGOMA AND TAARAB

Two fields of musical heritage are to be distinguished: “healing rituals” (ngoma ya shetani) and secular music (taarab, and msondo).

Ngoma healing rituals go back to ancient times, when they developed as a means of overcoming traumatic experiences of oppression such as “slavery” (utumwa), and they further developed as a healing dance under German and British occupation, though forbidden by Christian missionaries. In becoming possessed by spirits, people could express their mental trauma in a way that was accepted and understood by the surrounding society. For the coastal people, these ngoma rituals have artistic value and a therapeutic function that complements other forms of medical treatment. They are still practised in rural areas, but they are falling into discredit in the context of modern life and scientific medicine.

The ngoma ritual is a transverse domain (tangible and intangible aspects of heritage are intermingled) which deals with the craft (the preparation and making of musical instruments which include a range of specific skills), the inventory and distribution of instruments in classes or families, the art of performance (techniques of playing), and the learning methods to reach a master’s competence. Together with music, dance is also part of intangible heritage which establishes a powerful identity vector with regard to ethnicity, sexuality, age group, and social hierarchy.

Specialists or “custodians” (waganga) of this heritage are men and women. Some of them conduct small “cult groups” (kilinge) and focus on rituals of possession (sometimes called rituals of affliction): “Practitioners of these cults” (wateja) are possessed by local spirits or “djinns” (shetani). These ngoma rituals are still practised on the islands and in the villages of the region (Masoko and Pande). They disappeared in Kisiwani in the 1980s, but seem to have recovered a sort of revival of interest, probably due to local demand and external factors. People attending these ngoma are mainly women, but young men seem to be attracted again by the performance of the ngoma on Kisiwani (it might be occasional). That means that access to the performance is not strictly governed by rules or strong customary practices. One can assist or even dance without getting possessed. Nevertheless, practitioners have to be holders and are supposed to join one cult regularly. This is quite understandable since each cult has its own performance and preferences (songs, dances, and rites are specific to each cult): transmission is based on oral performance. Performance may sometimes last a few days thanks to cults (pungo) gathering followers originated from many villages of the region and sometimes from Dar. Songs, prayers, offerings, and sacrifices are performed while using dialects (Kisongo, and sometimes Mwera, Yao, or Matumbi) and vocabulary that is either loose or specific to the adept. These cults are not specifically identified as “Swahili” even if people recognise that mainland cults have their own way to deal with
**The “secular music” known as taarab is an orchestral sound produced by a variety of acoustic instruments (violins, kanun, ud, accordion, nai, and small percussion instruments).**

affliction (*shetani*). Data collection (movies and tape-recordings) has been done for a few years (since 2004).

“Secular music” (also *ngoma*, meaning drums, songs and dances) known as *taarab* is an orchestral sound produced by a variety of acoustic instruments (violins, *kanun*, *ud*, accordion, *nai*, and small percussion instruments). It is the result of centuries of musical exchange across the Indian Ocean and among Arabic, Indian, African, and western countries. It used to be traditionally played on Kilwa Kisiwani up to the 1950s. Nowadays, it has disappeared in the Kilwa region, but various *ngoma* - still feature in the festive life of the inhabitants, namely - poetic jousts, and so forth (*msondo*, *unyago*, *manganja*). These musical forms are sometimes played at weddings and other celebrations (i.e. circumcision). Recently, taarab shows from Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar have played in Kilwa Masoko, which proves that taarab is still appreciated by the local inhabitants of Kilwa. Neither recordings nor data collection has been done.

**Proposals**

*Ngoma* healing rituals:

- **Promote the retention and transmission of skills and music.** In this field, an action plan should focus primarily on the transmission and strengthening of the relations between specialist and apprentice. But the following proposals should also be considered:

- **Safeguard musical instruments.** Conduct an ethno-musicological survey with the purpose of making inventory, as no survey has been made to this day. An inventory and typology of instruments are to be made as a matter of urgency and should focus attention on the most threatened domains. This inventory based on field research has to be undertaken in close cooperation with the practicing community.

- **Seek legal protection** so that *ngoma* healers know their intellectual property rights.

- **Increase public awareness.** This can be done by organising dance festivals, thematic workshops, and discussion panels to be broadcast on the radio and television, as well as by distributing educational leaflets in Swahili language.

- **Preserve both music instruments (especially frame drums) and the techniques to make them.** A specimen of every type of instrument present in the region could be preserved and presented within the framework of temporary exhibitions. Drum-making workshops with scholarships for students could also be organised.
**Taarab and secular ngoma**

- **Safeguard this musical heritage.** In order to contribute to a better understanding of the importance of the protection of cultural diversity and given the need to respond to challenges posed by modernisation and globalisation, safeguarding actions should support the training of young musicians. For example, the opening of master classes and scholarships for students (by using taarab sessions in Zanzibar) could help re-launch the tradition of local taarab (groups sometimes perform in Masoko or Kivinje).

- **Encourage the transmission of ngoma songs**, especially the skills of the old masters, to younger generations.

- **Increase public awareness** through an awareness raising campaign and the dissemination of recordings, with the production of promotional documentation such as CDs, DVDs, and books.

**INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE OF THE ENVIRONMENT**

This domain includes knowledge (classifications and native taxonomy) in the areas of botany, ethno-zoology, and traditional healing systems, as well as practices and representations in interaction with the natural environment. These areas of knowledge are directly correlated to the practices which implement them: fishing, farming, cutting wood, collecting small fruits and shells, and local medicine, etc. There is a need to preserve the natural environment and to understand how its degradation may force changes in the lives of communities and in the ways they express their culture.

**Scope and content**

It is necessary to distinguish different domains of activity:

“**Fishing**” (*uvuvi*) and its techniques require a detailed knowledge of the marine environment. Encyclopaedic, toponymic, and atmospheric knowledge are factors to be studied in a holistic way. Their functions in the balances of the environment are well known. Specialists have been identified.

**Picking and gathering natural resources** such as salt, wood, shells, and crabs are commonly done in the mangrove swamp. Some know-how has disappeared. For example, “*Brugiera gymnorrhiza*”, the bark of which produces tannin, was formerly used to make a pigment of purplish colour. Specialists have been identified.

The exploitation of some plant species is crucial for the **manufacturing** of window frames, bed springing, joists, the details of a boat (skiffs and ribs), as well as boat riggings (mast, foresail, and bow-sprit). Many trees are appreciated for
the carving of small woodwork such as mortars, small drums, tambourines, and footboards. In this domain, know-how, ethno-botanic knowledge, and language are strictly mixed factors. Specialists need to be identified.

The activity of picking medicinal plants requires the transmission of knowledge related to the identification and use of local plants. It would first be useful to identify a few endemic plants in the region. A systematic inventory, difficult to conduct because of the confidential character of the knowledge, is also to be recommended.

**Proposals**

- **Conduct a complete inventory.** In order to encourage skills transmission, action cannot be made without a complete inventory of local naturalistic classifications in an ethno-scientific perspective: carrying on classification studies, making an herbarium, drawing toponymic maps, making technical catalogues, etc. Documentation based on photos and videos should be created, but the data collection should be formulated with an educational purpose in mind.

- **Build capacity of both practitioners and apprentices.** Capacity building among master practitioners (fishermen, traditional healers, farmers, etc.) and training workshops for young apprentices should be supported by the distribution of educational materials (leaflets in Swahili). Young people should be selected for their ability to promote indigenous knowledge with regard to the natural environment. An expert anthropologist could work with them to organise:

  - Training courses in a rigorous and systematic knowledge of the environment: establishment of botanical, zoological (notably ornithological), and naturalist catalogues in Swahili.

  - Educational units within primary and secondary schools to present, in detail, the resources of the environment and to promote among youth the necessity of protecting these resources.

- **Increase public awareness.** Conferences and workshops with the villagers should be conducted regarding the necessity of protecting endangered species (plants and animals) and species that are used by the community.
THE RUINS OF KILWA ISLANDS REGARDING THE STATUS OF THEIR INTANGIBLE HERITAGE

Kisiwani and Songo Mnara have prominent stone monuments, ancient mosques and palaces, which are part of local and global history. So far systematic research efforts have been carried out along two main complementary lines: archaeological and historical. The scientific results of these academic approaches are well-known. They focus on buildings, architectural remains, and other features such as numismatic evidence and documentary sources, which underlie the tangible heritage of the islands, but unfortunately neglect the intangible accounts. Scholars have always attempted to highlight overseas connections, but have never considered the strong local heritage, which proves that history is always a matter of reinterpretations. To date, no investigations have been undertaken to explore this ‘indigenous’ history: Doing so would require consideration of how Kisiwani and Songo Mnara are also the islands of Solomon’s tomb, the land of Madina Than, the region where the second version of the Holy Koran was lost, the place where many descendants of the Prophet Mohamed (Sharifu) were buried and the world where djinns are still living to protect the holy places and to ensure the preservation of Islamic beliefs.

We have to bear in mind that an inventory in the field of intangible heritage is particularly difficult to conduct because of the confidential character of knowledge. As a matter of fact, many villagers claim that the stone ruins called magofu (i.e. the monuments placed on UNESCO’s World Heritage list) are to be protected and maintained by the government as they do not belong to them, while the graves are patently part of their own history. For the inhabitants of Kilwa, being able to manage this specific knowledge provides a pedigree and sense of legitimacy within the community, as it is a kind of secret knowledge that only a few people possess. The reason of this is not to invoke an Arabian origin or to demonstrate a Muslim identity, but to emphasise the specific features that are required to belong to the community (i.e. to be buried in one of the local cemeteries, to be associated with a local mzimu (spirit places) heritage, to have inherited a djinn who is belonging to the coastal habitat, etc.).

Scope and content

It is necessary to distinguish two kinds of sites:

• The ruins placed on UNESCO’s World Heritage list: Neither beliefs nor ritual practices are so far associated with these monuments. For many people in the communities, these ruins are not relevant to understanding the real local history. It is clear that the ruins are at stake in the disputes between the communities and the State. For islanders, they are just places where goats, monkeys, and the occasional tourists go to rest when it is hot.

• The monuments still in use for ritual purposes such as graves, tombs, holy places (mzimu, old trees), and wells: The use of these various monuments
Intangible Heritage, Tourism and Raising Awareness on Kilwa Kisiwani and Songo Mnara

requires a detailed knowledge of the history of each site as well as the relevant practices for visiting them (prayers, sacrifices, offerings, etc.). Some know-how passed away while the monuments were falling into discredit in the Islamic context, but some practices seem to be born again, maybe because of the severe draught which has persisted in the region since 2006. It should be noted that only these monuments are associated with intangible heritage by locals. As a matter of fact, few people know the location of monuments such as graves or mizimu. It is always a matter of secrecy. Practitioners who want to use them have to undergo training or small rituals to proceed to the place. Severe restrictions are being made on foreigners who try to visit these monuments without local permission. Specialists have been identified on Kisiwani and on Songo Mnara.

We should note that all the sites referenced below – except the monuments to be visited by tourists and places used by the Antiquities Department staff – used to be associated with a strong beliefs. Most of these beliefs have now disappeared (in the table below I use the minus sign ‘-‘ to indicate this bankruptcy).

It is necessary to distinguish beliefs by domains of activity:

- Beliefs related to "graves" (matembe): one may “visit the grave” (kuzuru) of one’s parents or other “ancestors” (koma), leave incense in order to “respect, honour and look after ancestors” (kurehemu) in their afterlives, as well as possibly seek their guidance for the living descendants. These places may be used as well for bad purposes, such as to “curse” (kuapiza) or conduct witchcraft.

- Beliefs related to the “local places of spirit” (mizimu): These places are located in wells and old trees where old lineages have their own forefathers and “ancestors” (koma). Going to the mizimu means to ask for a kind of “social or individual acceptance or approval for some event” (kutambika).

**Proposals**

As ruins-related intangible heritage is endangered and considering the fact that this is a very sensitive topic, both with regard to indigenous history and current political issues, a very few solutions can be considered to remedy the vanishing of skills and knowledge formerly prevalent on the islands. The following proposals should be made:

- **Restrict access to holy sites.** If we consider that ruins-related practices and beliefs might foster social cohesion in the communities, we should remove the holy places from the maps available to tourists and classify them as ‘holy places not to be violated’ [author’s quotation marks]. Tourists should not be permitted to visit these places. The following places should
notably be restricted: On Kisiwani, Sheikh Arobaini, Sheikh Ndembo, Bulazizi, Chaani, and Sake; and on Songo Mnara, Kivurugo, Uziwa, Ngomba ngoma, and Kifuko.

- **Seek legal protection.** As some individuals continue to remove architectural fragments which decorate tombs or other pieces of monuments, as well as profane and violate some of the forty Sheikhs, we should encourage the government of Tanzania to enhance conservation of the site. Staff from the Antiquities Department who work on the islands seem to be very concerned with this kind of destruction and decay. These staff work hard (sometimes on the week-end and often on holidays) and we must understand how difficult their job is. Protecting the sites will remain a difficult task as long as the people themselves do not demonstrate their willingness to cooperate.

- **Include local history and heritage in the education curriculum.** We have to consider that awareness-raising is impossible to strengthen as long as there is no improvement in the educational standards of people living in the proximity of the ruins. Local history and intangible heritage should be included in the educational curricula of both primary and secondary schools as many students on the islands that I spoke with do not know anything about their own tangible and intangible heritage.

- **Increase scope of knowledge among the Antiquities Department staff.** The personnel of the Antiquities Department are well trained, know the site very well, and could not be recruited at a higher level of education. Most of them are very versed in the history of the site itself, but they still need to visit other places in Tanzania in order to reinforce their skills.

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*We have to consider that awareness-raising is impossible to strengthen as long as there is no improvement in the educational standards of people living in the proximity of the ruins.*
SECTION III
TOURISM: FINDINGS AND DATA

In general, a site’s inscription on the World Heritage list often coincides with a boost in visitation rates. Kilwa, however, attracts tourists in very small numbers, especially in comparison with the wildlife tourism of the Northern Circuit, or with the seaside tourism of Zanzibar. In 2002-2003, only 400 visitors were recorded in Kilwa – an extraordinarily low number for a World Heritage Site; this is an average of roughly one person per day. Conservation and presentation of the site over subsequent years appears to have led to some improvement, but figures are still very low.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Non-residents</th>
<th>Residents</th>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>July 2005 - June 2006</td>
<td>884</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>1,160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 2006 - June 2007</td>
<td>1,297</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>1,616</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For comparison, in 2007, Tanzania received a total of 719,030 tourists. This means that Kilwa received only 2% of the tourists.

In searching for an explanation for these low figures, there are a few commonly held understandings, which require further exploration. It is taken for granted that:

- **It is difficult to get to the site either by car or by air.** The road from Dar-es Salaam is still unfinished and some parts are in bad condition, which results in a journey of nearly seven hours to get to Kilwa. Although it is true that the region is not easy to reach, this obstacle is not particular to Kilwa and other sites presenting quite the same restricted access are far more frequented than Kilwa (Lamu in Kenya, for instance). Moreover, many tourists are ready to cover long and rough distances whenever they have been assured that they will enjoy the trip (for instance, to Selous game reserve).

- **Tourists would come to Kilwa to visit the World Heritage Site.** When we have identified different types of tourism to Kilwa, however, and when we pay attention to tourists’ travel patterns, their activities, and the attractions they want to visit, this assertion is not always true. As a matter of fact, many visitors never go to Kilwa Kisiwani during their stay. Interest in cultural tourism seems to be expanding, but the rate of growth is unclear. More quantitative data is needed to verify the trend. And when we observe that tourists (Europeans and Africans) are willing to visit the site, we find...
that most of them would also like to know what to do when they have
finished visiting the site itself. We should not forget that tourism is always
an industry, and the tourist a consumer. To simplify, for example, European
tourists want activities and souvenirs, while African tourists want to go
back home with meat, fish, and local fruit. In terms of marketing, Kilwa
does not have the outstanding potential that some might want to attach
to it. As compared with other sites in Tanzania (and tourists are always
comparing), there are no cultural events or venues (dining, nightlife,
shopping, gambling, etc.), no festival events, a lack of centralisation as
the sites are scattered across the District, and a lack of infrastructure in
the key service sectors for tourism as such things as restaurants, bars, and
ground transportation are undeveloped. In brief, many tourist projects in
the region are still in the pipeline.

- **Tourists would like to prolong their stay on the islands.** Direct
  observations cross-checked with local guides indicate that the average
  length of stay on site hardly exceeds three hours. European tourists,
  usually rather young, often want to end their stay by swimming on the
  beach, which is physically and culturally quite impossible on the islands.
  As for African tourists, they usually want to buy fish, meat, or local fruits
  before leaving the ruins to go home, which is, again, something difficult
  as there is no market place on the islands.

- **The promotion of Kilwa is still limited, both in international circuits and
even in Dar es Salaam.** We should remember that the majority of the
  European tourists are well-informed before they arrive in Tanzania. Most of
  them are good consumers who consider Tanzania as a package with a few
destinations to visit in a few days: Kilwa is one of the destinations offered.
  For many foreigners, Kilwa is not worth visiting in comparison to other
places: there are no outstanding beaches and Masoko (where tourists
have to stay) is not a village with natural or cultural attractions. And when
one chooses to go to Kilwa, it is not only because of its World Heritage
Site, but also because it is not overcrowded (like Zanzibar, for instance).
However, many spots in the world which have not been promoted yet
manage to attract many tourists.

Even so, the islands have certain characteristics and attractions which might
raise their visibility in Tanzania:

- They possess **cultural and natural wealth** which is of great interest and
  which normally might attract far more dedicated travellers. This World
  Heritage Site is appropriate for cultural and eco-tourism as visitors must
  increase their knowledge about its historical and natural aspects to
take advantage of it. On the one hand, eco-tourism in Kilwa would be
the best option as it would involve local people in decisions that affect
their lives and life chances (provided that villagers would accept being
less dependent on the State). On the other hand, cultural tourism might provide experiences for tourists through more meaningful connections with local people, and a greater understanding of local cultural, social, and environmental issues.

- Aside from the attractions mentioned and the well-known ruins, the District's woodlands and forests have potential for small-scale eco-tourism based on the area's biodiversity. Even if the natural resources are not that outstanding, they are not insignificant; a rich variety of wildlife (plants and animals) is found in the natural landscapes of the archipelago. These range from monkeys and antelopes to myriads of tiny insects, grasses, lichens, and mushrooms. The coasts and seas are home to many other kinds of living things, including whales, dolphins and other marine mammals, seabirds, fish (including the very rare coelacanth fish), turtles, shellfish, algae, and sea-grasses. It is a unique environment for a well-informed and academic public such as scientists, ornithologists, and naturalists.

- Even if the archipelago has no wonderful beaches, it does have reefs off the coast for snorkelling and/or diving, and offers marvellous game fishing (marlin, swordfish and barracuda). In addition there are a few unspoilt and clean beaches such as Jimbiza Beach in the bay at Kilwa Masoko itself, as well as at Masoko Pwani.

- Kilwa has good proximity to other tourist sights which attract small numbers of travellers. These include the exclusive game concession areas for foreign hunters (the Selous area), the Kipatimu caves, as yet not on the tourist trail, and the old town at Kilwa Kivinje. Kilwa should increasingly be used as a base for touring in the region.

**TOURISM BEHAVIOUR AND PREFERENCES**

When we talk about tourism we should avoid grouping people into broad categories based on identity. In Tanzania, many people have adopted a few terms to describe the ‘tourist type’. Tourism here is usually understood as something which reveals racial identities, rather than motivations or preferences related to the cultural environment. Tourists are first “white people” (wazungu) or “Arabs” as opposed to “Africans,” who are assumed not to travel. These racial definitions make it difficult to differentiate between types of tourism and then to identify trends or information which could be understood in terms of market segments.

If we want to promote the tourism industry in the region of Kilwa, we first have to admit that cultural tourism is always based on motivations and preferences. These categories, which focus on visitor needs and expectations (such as arts, archaeology, language learning, bird watching, sailing, and so on) may be the
most practical way to address this issue. We should not forget that tourism is an industry. Generally speaking, travellers’ preferences always vary according to the market trends. Another aspect of the travellers’ “demands” seems to be some degree of uniqueness. Therefore, the sites to be visited vary from time to time. Therefore, tourism should be a sector to be developed among other productive activities (agriculture, fisheries, small business, etc.).

Marketing

- **Independent travellers** travel alone or in small groups of friends. Most of them are young, willing to use local accommodations, eat traditional foods, and take public transport. Independent travellers get much of their information on a tourist destination either from friends who have visited the area or through guidebooks, newspaper and magazine articles, or, increasingly, from the Internet. These travellers are more willing to interact with the community outside the supervision of an organised tour. In Kilwa, most of them want to participate in a specific activity such as bird-watching, wildlife viewing, photography, or historical and cultural tours. The ruins are part of their journey.

- **Dependent travellers** travel in large groups organised by travel agencies. But they are not found in Kilwa as tour operators are not organising tours in Kilwa. While many tourists may be interested in cultural attractions such as ruins, other well-known locations (such as the hippo pools), documented historical sites, or viewing wildlife, there is a lack of travel agencies in the region. However, we have to recognise that tourists who could be classified in this range of tourism are not keen on living in a rural community which cannot provide proper facilities (at least electricity and tap water). No efforts have been made so far to cater for the needs of this range of tourist who usually demand standard services and goods (comfort, ease of access, security, etc.) that the local infrastructure cannot provide. Nevertheless, we have to admit that this kind of mass-market package holiday is not the segment market that could yield benefits to the local inhabitants and it is not compatible with the site objectives (preservation and protection of the natural, historical, cultural, and social environments).

A Multi-Oriented Market

The difficulty in Kilwa is that we have to consider tourism as a multi-oriented industry. Tourists distinguish each other by various socio-economic profiles and geographic origins. So far, the majority frequenting the area is rather young, from the middle European class, with low budgets, and often still studying. This kind of tourist is not looking for luxurious accommodation and is ready to walk miles into the back country, sailing with local boats, or sleeping in rudimentary shelters. This category has similar wishes and expectations as local
African visitors. Beside this first group, a few travellers are coming in the region for some of its sport offerings (e.g. diving, fishing, snorkelling, bird watching and hunting). Actually, this group is rather discreet and seems uninterested in the heritage site. They usually stay a couple of days in high-end beach resorts and then go up-country to the National Parks or game reserves. Regarding the tourist preferences and wishes, we can distinguish the following targets:

- **Groups travelling** specifically for educational purposes and/or to take part in environmental or cultural projects, such as wildlife monitoring: This category encompasses students, researchers, teachers, and groups with scientific purposes.

- **Dedicated tourists** who want to visit protected or cultural areas and understand local natural and cultural history: Although this kind of tourism is still rare in Kilwa, it is becoming more important as Kilwa is getting more widely and better known through brochures, guide books, and word-of-mouth recommendation. African visitors are more visible in Kilwa than in other regions as they seem to be always attracted by their own history.

- **Casual tourists** who consider natural and cultural travel as an incidental component of a broader trip: This formal category seems to encompass the majority of European travellers nowadays. This is the bulk of the travellers visiting the region.

Tourism should be considered as an alternative investment sector. At the moment, the tourists who visit the region are travellers, that is to say back-packed visitors, most of them being young people travelling around the world and belonging to the European middle class, or educated African visitors. Most European travellers are casual tourists who consider Kilwa as a stop on their trip to the south. It is considered also a good destination because it is far from the more crowded sights of the northern circuits (Zanzibar, National Parks, etc.). Casual tourists are not likely to spend large amounts of money but their expenditures might be a major source of income for the villagers as tourists are often ready to buy locally produced food, provided that it is produced cheaper than food transported to the area. A few of them are dedicated tourists who arrive in Kilwa with well defined wishes: a few travellers versed in history associate the island of Kilwa with Vasco de Gama, Ibn Battuta, or Milton. But they do not represent a significant tourist market segment in terms of contribution to the national economy (share of GDP and growth trend). This category of traveller is more educated, but usually not interested in staying in luxury hotels and beach resorts. Even though, this kind of traveller (both casual and dedicated tourists) will create a market for local food, goods, services, and souvenirs of good quality, provided that villagers get ready to face this challenge. Here is the sector where villagers can have their options: producing food such as fruit, fish, meat, milk, eggs (prices of these items will increase, which creates incentives to supply them); selling souvenirs (various
kinds of handicrafts, embroideries, etc.); offering services (trips by boat, fishing and diving trips; restoration and dishes of fresh fish or other local specialities, etc.). At last, these tourists may improve the reputation of Kilwa as they are less dependant on the supply and institutional framework (attractions and circuits, distribution channels, travel agencies, hotels and accommodation, etc.) and will recommend the World Heritage Site by word-of-mouth.

**TOURISM, DEVELOPMENT AND IDENTITY IN KILWA**

While the number of tourists is still low in Kilwa, it is surprising to note that many people on the islands are not too keen on tourism; the residents are not hostile, but fairly negative about tourism. The issue of being able to absorb the presence of tourists is, however, not relevant here because the islands have seen progressively greater cultural change affecting their core family structure before this new era of tourism. Enormous social changes on the islands occurred in the early seventies prior to this tourism era, during the villageisation policy. Nowadays, tourism growth occurs alongside other changes, and the hosts’ behaviour may be a response to historical and political evolution more than to the actual changes brought by tourism. On Kisiwani, the community has failed to maintain part of its culture. Many features have disappeared which used to form the local identity of the islands, namely taarab, various dances and ngoma rituals, celebrations and rituals of purification – not because of tourism, but because of political and historical factors.

In brief, the local people of Kilwa are no longer living in a traditional way. There is no direct relationship between tourism development and social change on Kilwa, but the reactions and attitudes towards tourism indicate the larger crisis which takes place within the surrounding communities as a whole. Therefore, we can hardly say that tourism has an impact on the social structure of the islands. Social change in this area is more linked to a complex set of political factors and development patterns (lack of education, illiteracy, poverty, and so forth). These kinds of internal influences and new patterns in a culture’s social structure (for example women working outside the traditional family system) can weaken interest in cultural traditions such as storytelling. Schools, whenever these institutions do not integrate intangible heritage in their curricula, play a part in the erosion of such cultural practices as the initiation system or dances. With new employment opportunities and a rural exodus, young people may no longer want or need to learn traditional skills.

Therefore, experts in tourism should not pontificate about “acculturation” or the “impact” of tourism in the Kilwa region and should not be inclined to underestimate this element of choice. A lot of people on Kisiwani are outsiders as many came after the villageisation of the 1970s. What should be borne in mind is that these people are sometimes not willing to get involved in the village affairs, claiming that they have their own way to exercise free will and
maintain a sense of their own behaviour or identity while complying with the demands, however irrational or unfair, of the local culture. But these kinds of demands are always due to local circumstances. Recently, several witchcraft affairs divided the community, but ultimately made it more homogenous with regard to what should be considered as an island identity. In other words, the community generally came to the agreement that visiting graves, attending rituals of affliction, or dealing with witchcraft should not be considered as features that are part of a so-called Swahili traditional culture (which does not mean that there are no local cultural practices or beliefs in general); these activities should be regarded as methods that are normally used in the community to recover a kind of social cohesion.

While processes of change continue disturbing the coast, it is surprising to note a revival of rituals in the region: rituals of affliction and purification in the villages are emerging again, although they had collapsed many years ago. This kind of revitalisation usually occurs in every society in times of great change and has to be interpreted as a response to external domination, colonial, and current political times. In the case of Kilwa, this could be due to increasing and regular contacts with ‘industrial’ societies or groups (through tourists, local civil servants, and government representatives), which highlight how local people lack wealth, technology and living standard. Such events and ritual attitudes attempt to explain ‘external’ domination and wealth (villagers all talk about how politicians are embezzling public goods and services, etc. These are the kind of speeches normally used in every society whenever there is a sort of class struggle in progress.). Rituals should be understood as a means to achieve similar success magically by mimicking the behaviour of “bigmen” or by manipulating symbols of the desired lifestyle. These rituals emerge from the interplay of local, regional, and national cultural forces. Tourists, natives, immigrants (from Dar es Salaam, Mozambique, or from the mainland) are intermingling, but local villagers always have the feeling that the government and tourists (as they have to go through the local authority to get their visit permits) refuse to distribute the wealth or even to let “natives” (wenyeji) know the secret of its production and distribution.

In this context, promoting tourism on the islands can be at stake in the conflicts between natives and outsiders, islanders and civil servants, the State and the communities. For instance, conflicts between the government and islanders often arise when outside interests focus on local resources, mainly lands. With regard to planning and tourist management, communities are given the opportunity to curb what they perceive as an insidious form of social or political control. By performing a kind of resistance, the communities get the impression that they are recovering a lost unity. One should be careful when using descriptions suggesting that the “tourism industry” has an impact on unwitting and passive minorities. One should rather focus on the extent to which individuals quite consciously, deliberately, cleverly, and even mockingly pick and choose among the behaviours and customs of their host behaviour.
(stakeholders, tourists, government staffs, etc.), that is to say, in the context of tourism in Kilwa, questioning them offstage. When people deal with changes in their lives, they display their own agency by making choices – refusing to adopt behaviour, accepting others, and switching languages (Swahili, English, Kiswahili, etc.) or customs (eating with a fork in the presence of tourists, for instance) when it suits them. On Kisiwani, promoting tourism may reactivate internal and external conflicts because local people (those families native to Kisiwani or those who claim to have a native origin) think that tourism may give their ancestral lands away to outsiders.

In this regard, one might not be surprised to notice that local people are reluctant to change: boycotting infrastructure (jetty, dispensary), neglecting incentives when it has been requested by representatives of the government, making fools of the experts who organise workshops in the village. These examples of reluctance should be interpreted as small-scale acts of resistance rather than as conservative attitudes or ignorance. Here are examples of such events that occurred recently on Kisiwani:

- "The jetty of Kisiwani: a useless 'mount of rocks' (tuta)?" A few years ago, thanks to Japanese assistance for development in Tanzania, a jetty was built on Kisiwani to facilitate the transportation of visitors and residents to the island. While this jetty is often used by visitors as it helps them to disembark on the island without getting their feet wet, the bulk of the people living on Kisiwani decided to boycott the construction, saying that it is just a mount of rocks put in the water for nothing. This jetty is always being discussed in the community; people not only criticise its robustness, but also point out that the government of Tanzania, via the local District Council, received a large bribe to deliver the official construction permit. Others claim that, while daily workers of the islands have not been paid yet, many of them took stones from the sacred graves of the island, which caused many quarrels in the village. Whether true or not, this issue has undermined the relationships between the communities and representatives of the local authorities.

- "Solar panels: official theft or not?" Recently, two sets of solar panels were stolen in the village of Kisiwani: the first one belonged to the "public house" (Mdachi), which is a rest house run by the Department of Antiquities; the second one was a gift from UNESCO and was supposed to equip the new dispensary. As far as people of the communities were concerned, this offence gave rise to large comments about the general muddle which faces the village of Kisiwani: "unless the government establishes that it is not responsible for this offence, we are not going to take it for granted... Government staff should have been watchful, but they were negligent, so why seek other culprits? The Government might have been party to the offence...!"
“But what is the government doing? Why didn’t it come to my house to sweep out the rubbish?” It is clear that the village of Kisiwani (not Songo Mnara) is getting dirtier every day. A lot of plastic bags and rubbish gets strewn about the streets of the village. Littered with papers and animal offal, Kisiwani is not attractive during the dry season. Goats and cows wander in the ruins and nobody seems to find fault with this situation. One can be surprised to note that in the past villagers used to clean the surroundings of their houses and put the garbage in pits. When asked why the village is dirty, some villagers say: “That’s why the government is always cheating us; it does not take any decision and wants to get rid of us... It doesn’t even clean our village!” Lovely goats wandering and... eating plastic bags... in endangered World Heritage Site...

“Coral stones and old tombs... to profane!” Many ruins and graves situated outside the World Heritage Site in the village surroundings (sacred woods, cemetery, old houses, etc.) are often plundered and violated, probably because they are not classified and officially protected. That was the case recently for the Sheikh Arboaini’s cemetery where two graves were profaned. When talking with the local people about stone-robbing or allowing cattle to graze on the ruins, they often comment: “We are poor and the State always takes advantage of our situation... So, why shouldn’t we use our own environment?”

“What are we going to do with the Malindi Mosque?” As some shoreline sites are still subject to erosion because of the current rise in sea levels associated with global warming, there are many in the village who consider that the authorities do not deal with the matter properly; nevertheless it seems as if local people are not concerned with this deterioration, and adopt a passive attitude towards what should be considered as their wealth: “It is not our business; it is up to the government! Anyway, we cannot do anything; if we did we’d be prosecuted...”

“Two tourists felt faint in the Old Mosque: Was it an accident or witchcraft?” During the dry season in 2006, Kisiwani faced a lot of witchcraft affairs. A Committee was elected to deal with this event. A disenchantment campaign was launched and a sort of ‘bad djinn’ was located and neutralised. It is well-known in the community that this kind of magical fetish, when destroyed, is thrown away in the ruins. It was at that time that two tourists felt faint in the Old Mosque, leading some villagers to believe that the ruins are dangerous because they are never purified with witchcraft (everybody knows that they fainted because it was hot that day, but everybody also wonders: Why did they faint at that time and in that particular spot!).

“A plot of mangrove cuttings planted by experts around the Gereza suffered a ‘curse’ (kuapiza).” To conserve and stabilise the Gereza Fort, in
order to resolve the sea erosion problem at the beach on Kilwa Kisiwani, UNESCO and the Antiquities Department decided to grow young cuttings on the Gereza seashore; this was an urgent action as some historic artefacts were and are being washed away into the sea. Some villagers, arguing that they had not been consulted about this project, took advantage of the fact that the planting was not a success to declare that this failure was due to a curse pronounced by those who used to moor their boats near the fort.

**LOCAL PERCEPTIONS OF TOURISM**

Even though tourism has been present in the region of Kilwa for a few years now, it is still a new phenomenon for many people. From Independence to the liberalisation of the mid 1980s, foreign contacts were sparse and Kilwa, like other parts of Tanzania, was isolated. In this context, we should not be surprised that tourism is not a neutral issue for local villagers. It is always perceived as a source of disturbance. This case study does not allow for the collection of time series data, nor a comparison with areas which have not been affected by tourism. We have no statistical or descriptive data on the situation before tourism; therefore, assessments of changes are based on the villagers’ own perception of change.

We have to remember that the villagers’ perception of the changes which occurred is not always based on what actually happened, but on a retrospective view, i.e. how they now look upon these changes. In brief, many changes are not obviously regarded as process of evolution, and others are over-dramatised or incorrectly referred to as resulting from lack of tourism income. Such a bias, produced because no data are available since the tourism period started, could be avoided by comparing data with that of other places, something that we cannot do at this stage of research.

What we have to bear in mind is that this collection of perceptions is indicative of a kind of atmosphere...By focusing our attention on the villagers’ own perceptions of tourism, we produce a deeper knowledge of the quality of these changes.

A lot of comments from the villagers highlight negative issues, such as the following:

- **“To make money, look for “lobster” (kochi)”**: As tourists are generally depicted as visitors who might bring benefit and easy income, they are comparable to lobster (One kilo sells for about 30,000Tsh.). The lobster is a kind of customised product, a means to earn money as quickly as possible. It is of no use to become close to the tourist, islanders advise each other, “just put him on a boat, and get the money”. In this context, it is always well-connected individuals who monopolise opportunities to serve as guides or to provide transport for visitors.
• “The hidden treasure”: The tourist is often seen as somebody driven by hidden intentions: He would come to Kilwa because he knows that he might discover a buried treasure; he’s a thief, a bandit, a mercenary. In this case, tourists are perceived as invaders or at least as intruders.

• “Just pass by, there is nothing to see”: Villagers say that tourists in Tanzania do not make a detour through Kilwa because “we are not worth visiting; we have lost our traditions, our history has died, and everything is collapsing. Why should the tourist come to these desolate islands?” Many people on the islands wonder why tourists continue to come to Kilwa, as they think that everything is falling apart (“we are poor”).

• “Since the ruins were classified by UNESCO, they do not belong to us, so tourism, that’s a good deal for UNESCO and the State”: What villagers are underlining here is that most tourist spending – airfares, hotels, and tour operator fees – thus far benefit the State and foreign companies, limiting fair distribution of economic revenues to the local communities.

• “We do not want to receive assistance, aid, or subsidies”: On Kisiwani, many people think that tourism does not attract sufficient visitors to generate the quantities of revenue needed to meet the economic expectations of the community. This leads to disenchantment and the belief that the site serves no useful purpose for the community. Even though tourism has not reached a high level in Kilwa, it has already become a widely spread industry in the whole region, notably due to the proximity of the Selous area, and to the listing of Kilwa as a World Heritage Site. Firstly, it is noticeable that tourism does not make a good impression on the villagers; there is not yet a positive climate between villagers and tourists. We should wonder why. Nevertheless, when living with the people and carrying on an ethnographic survey (which required in-depth interviewing, collection of life history, and so on), there also appears to be three differing underlying dimensions to these attitudes. The first dimension reflects villagers who recognise the positive impacts of the event. They are very few (usually individuals belonging to the prestigious families of the villages...), but highlight that economic benefits are perceived as being significantly more positive for individuals (guides, sailors, grocers, small shopkeepers, etc.), than for the community. In the second dimension villagers mainly raise negative issues such as disruption of residents’ lives and price increases. These people (the majority) are always complaining that life is becoming harder because of tourism. The third dimension represents those villagers who recognise the inconveniences that tourism causes, but still enjoy the event. Those respondents (mainly teachers) note that, although tourism is not yet profitable because of lack of management, it will be a profitable market when local people are better educated.

We notice that tourism does not make a good impression on the villagers; there is not yet a positive climate between villagers and tourists. We should wonder why.
WHAT KIND OF TOURISM FOR KILWA?

As the human and environmental risks often associated with tourism development have become more apparent in many regions of the world, attention should be paid to strategies for encouraging a more sustainable approach to tourism that will permit planners to enhance development without jeopardising the resources upon which the industry depends. Regarding the disturbances that this industry might exacerbate if not properly planned – namely (in Kilwa), increased social stratification, community factionalism, and environmental harm – greater emphasis should be placed on “alternative” tourism, that is to say recreational activities that pose little threat to the habitats or the communities that are visited.

Tourism poses a number of dilemmas. While many tourists are disappointed to notice that nothing has been developed to meet their needs when they want, for instance, to watch birds, a number of local people hasten to add that they do not want to be mistreated or given small amounts of money for their work. It is clear that relationships between hosts and visitors are governed by a lot of misunderstandings. One of the difficulties of a tourism-based industry is that the people who benefit the most tend to be young adult males who are multi-lingual and who have already had some experience in dealing with outsiders. On Kilwa, very few people are working with tourism, but because they are leaders in this new deal, they might have significant effects on the rest of their community. These ‘hosts’ should be open minded and particularly adept in various subjects such as ornithology, botany, diving, trekking, etc.

In order to avoid major problems that could occur if nothing is actually done to sustain the local economic activities such as agriculture or fishing – tending to reinforce and amplify the distinctions between the ‘rich’ (Europeans) and the ‘poor’ (villagers) – strategies for developing tourism should not be aimed at the Europeans only. National tourists should be considered as a key population for tourism development in Kilwa. Kilwa is one of the major historical sites in Tanzania with a history which covers both pre-colonial and colonial periods. Local interpretative materials such as signage on site has to be reinforced (in both Swahili and English) and should include information about intangible heritage in the form of short texts about pre-colonial and colonial history (notably about the slave trade which involved Africans, Arabs, and Europeans, for instance).

Kilwa is interesting not only because of its cultural aspects but also due to its natural assets. So far, much of the tourism is nature tourism or eco-tourism, as it is termed nowadays by experts. Eco-tourism could have greater substantial benefits for those who take part in it, if stakeholders are willing to promote this kind of market and develop the proper services to cater for the needs of this range of dedicated tourists (eco-chic holidays could be the best solution as they would require small hotels made from local materials, in sympathy with...
the environment, and with the support of local communities). A number of investments could be done to develop a kind of luxury tourism which is more likely to fit the natural environment of the islands – “wilderness”: Areas that are off the beaten track, with tranquillity, wide open spaces, abundant nature, and privacy from other people, seem to be the proper concept to develop. The infrastructure of key service sectors in tourism (such as restaurants, bars, ground transportation) should be more developed to ensure the supply of tourism facilities to host these targets.

Education, being crucial for the sustainable development of the area, should be considered a priority. Local people, villagers, and civil servants may invest in education so as to help them better communicate with and provide services for tourists. But this issue cannot be properly tackled as long as the government shows hesitating and keeps discussing whether Swahili or English should be used at this level of communication (it seems that Swahili is currently being pushed into the background, but this oscillation has been ongoing since the 1980s).
SECTION IV
WHAT ELSE COULD BE DONE?

TOURISM AND COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

For many years now, the Antiquities Department in Kilwa has been working in partnership with the communities. The high level of competence of this local unit has led its staff to encourage the villagers to form a local Ruins Committee to assist the Department in its tasks – mainly maintenance and monitoring of the sites – while three technicians from the Department living on the islands have been given responsibility for the clearance of the ruins.

Despite this official involvement, there is some concern over the lack of participation by the communities. Villagers are always complaining that the tourism sector is not expanding enough to create the incentives for new investments. They are afraid to start up small businesses in this sector and to fail to obtain benefits. Many villagers say that they cannot afford to start their own businesses alone. They are facing shortages in staple food and the natural resources are declining. Taking into consideration that agriculture and fisheries techniques might not produce surplus, tourism is the most likely sector for future development. The only way to developed tourism is to help the villagers to benefit from it. Nevertheless, structural obstacles (institutional or ‘domestic’) prevent sustainable development from happening. These include:

- **Ticketing**: The Antiquities Department and the Ministry of National Resources and Tourism should establish a ticket price at two or three levels, providing for a one-time visit to Kisiwani only, and a multiple-day entry pass for all of the World Heritage Site components. It should not include the boat fare; nevertheless, a maximum price for transportation should be fixed and publicised.

- **Distribution of Tourism Revenue**: A portion of the benefits earned from ticket sales should remain in the community as a means of fostering local protection, conservation, and restoration efforts. The income from tourism may serve as the founding capital for new income-generating activities and cooperatives (e.g. small trading businesses, agriculture, and fisheries).

TOURISM: SUPPLY AND DEMAND?

Activities such as trekking, scuba diving or snorkelling off coral reefs, game viewing, sailing, bird-watching, photography, or archaeology associated
Intangible Heritage, Tourism and Raising Awareness on Kilwa Kisiwani and Songo Mnara

with visits to historical and scientific or heritage attractions make up the main recognised and current tourist products on Kilwa. This kind of tourism does not necessarily require expensive facilities and infrastructure, but it does require good organisation, guides, transportation services, basic accommodation in the field, and opportunities for more comfortable accommodation at the end of the tour. There are a few facilities that could be improved in order to make it more competitive in the region:

- **Improve public rest house facilities.** On Kisiwani and Songo Mnara, the public rest houses (Mdachi on Kisiwani and Mnarani on Songo Mnara) should be fit out with better basic amenities in order to host visitors touring the islands. Everybody should get permission to rest a few hours in this house, especially when it’s hot at midday, and food and beverages should be provided. At present these rest houses have not been promoted and few visitors go there to have a break because they hardly ever hear of them. Facilities such as toilets could be provided as it is the proper public place to build them. In addition to the canteen selling local foods, a tourist shop selling local products would help support the crafts industry.

- **Improve public information.** On both islands, the rest houses should be supplied with information about the islands: Displays with pictures and histories written in Swahili and English, together with advertisement boards, books and leaflets, and fold-out maps could be provided in these places.

- **Publicise tourism options.** On Songo Mnara, interpretive materials should be installed on site in the form of visually-attractive signs. A few local people are ready to guide travellers for nature walks, boat rides, or for tours of the mangrove forests and to watch birds. But these kinds of tours cannot be promoted unless the rest house has been provided with amenities and basic facilities.

- **Improve communication.** It is urgent to improve the basic communication between the Antiquities Unit in Masoko and the staff living in the islands. The latter should be able to guarantee this major link and should be able to assist travellers in the rest houses when it is required.

**EDUCATION AND RAISING AWARENESS REGARDING INTANGIBLE HERITAGE**

Education is a major issue as it is nearly impossible to find a quick solution for the socio-political troubles that are holding up the relationship between the islanders and the representatives of the State. Education is a long-term process to achieve and is supposed to be aimed at people freed of starvation, disease, and poverty. Children should be subject to an educative program that would integrate intangible cultural heritage aspects.
What kind or range of knowledge do the children already attain from their cultural and natural environment? Concerning this issue, we have to point out that a very few children understand the importance of their heritage, either intangible or tangible. All the children going to primary school remain within the narrow confines of the teaching and learning environment of their school, and most of them do not know anything about the broader issues of the heritage around the school. This is probably because the primary school curriculum is national and does not include local heritage, and because the adults in the community do not fully understand or value this local heritage and thus do not communicate through informal education.

Most of the children on Kisiwani and Songo Mnara are not going to secondary school. School is not yet the key factor in reducing problems such as rural exodus or unemployment within the communities. It does not alleviate the problem of poverty, but on the contrary increases the feeling that local jobs are those which need physical effort to perform an activity: carving, farming, livestock keeping, fishing, carpentry, etc. Jobs requiring mental ability to perform an activity (teaching, nursing, administrative and other professional jobs) are restricted to those very few children who proceed to secondary school. Intangible heritage cannot be easily promoted in this context as long as it is not valued at school.

• **Communication of self-worth.** Most of all, a wider understanding of the value of heritage should be communicated to the children of the islands. By including intangible heritage in teacher’s curricula, children will get the means and an ability to engage themselves in different local activities in order to earn their livelihoods. The islands will not be simply the place of their forefathers, but also constitute a living knowledge that is likely to serve as a general leverage of their standard of living in the community.

• **Knowledge of intangible heritage should be included in primary school curricula.** The UNESCO kit “World Heritage in Young Hands”, developed to raise-awareness on and increase understanding of World Heritage, has revealed itself to be inappropriate to use in primary schools. It would be advisable to work together with the teachers to draft a shortened version of this book in Swahili that would include teaching aids about heritage. As far as the teachers are concerned, this book must be written in close dialogue with them. Even if the national language is a standard tool of communication, there are always local and regional linguistic variations, which are actually the vehicles of value systems and cultural expressions (which are part of intangible heritage). There is an urgent need to recognise that idioms are part of local heritage. Many teachers complained about the present UNESCO kit, saying that the Swahili used in this book is too technical and influenced by Kenya’s vocabulary.

• **Links must be enhanced between teachers and various local key-informants of intangible heritage.** There is a need to benchmark these
specialists – which means that they should be recognised and valued by their community but also by national institutions – while fostering relationship between children and local specialists. For instance, local storytellers or experts in the local natural environment should be invited to schools to talk about and pass on their indigenous knowledge.

- Generally speaking, the indigenous knowledge about natural resources should be valued and included in schools’ works, while some of the students might look for local experts in this field. These are the best ways to value intangible heritage.

- Teachers and their students should go on outings and guided tours of the ruins. The guides currently being trained thanks to the support of UNESCO could be associated with this kind of teaching enhancement when required.

**ISSUES TO BE TACKLED AS A PRIORITY**

1. **Ticketing and Transportation:** (i) Establish a ticket price at several levels, providing for a one-time visit to Kisiwani only, and a multiple-day entry pass for all the World Heritage Sites components, which includes the boat fare by coming to an agreement with local boat owners, (ii) establish a clear system for sharing a portion of the funds raised from ticket sales with the community

2. **The Guide training:** Guides will contribute to the general promotion and preservation of the cultural resources; they need to complete achieve their training and acquire more practical experience of the site

3. **Primary School Heritage Curriculum:** The transmission of knowledge about tangible and intangible heritage should be achieved through the drafting of new student books for primary school which will include intangible and tangible heritage knowledge

4. **Tourist Survey:** Carrying out a survey of tourists’ preferences and practices in Kilwa which will provide more details about what it is to be expected in the local tourism industry

5. **Public Rest Houses:** Fitting the public rest houses in the two islands with needed amenities and facilities
## APPENDIX 1

### FIGURES AND SCOPE ON TOURISM

### DEMAND

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>On the World Heritage Site</th>
<th>Masoko</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of foreign tourists (a year)</td>
<td>800-1300</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average length of stay</td>
<td>½ day</td>
<td>2/3 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main categories of foreign tourists</td>
<td>Casual/Dedicated</td>
<td>Beach Resort</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### SUPPLY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>On the World Heritage Site</th>
<th>Masoko</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Main tourist attractions and circuits</td>
<td>Monuments, ruins</td>
<td>Beach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure of the distribution channels (travel agents, tour operators, etc)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Airline industry</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotels and other accommodation</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key service sectors (such as restaurants, bars, ground transportation)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key activity service (such as diving, horseback riding, guided tours, fishing and adventure activities)</td>
<td>Not organized</td>
<td>Through resorts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist projects in the pipeline</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### POTENTIAL SOURCES OF GROWTH AND COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>On the World Heritage Site</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Masoko</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cultural assets</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural assets</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour assets</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relatively secure environment</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Healthcare</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low access cost</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Key**
- ‘-’ sign means “not found”  
- ‘+’ sign means “found”
CURRENT AND POTENTIAL TOURISTS PRODUCTS

<table>
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<th>District</th>
<th>Masoko</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Natural offerings</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>Sports offerings</td>
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<td>Stop on regional circuits</td>
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<td>+</td>
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Key
- `-` sign means ‘not found’    - `+` sign means ‘found’
## APPENDIX 2
### POPULATION OF KISWANI: ORIGIN AND PROFILE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Citizenship</th>
<th>Bantu</th>
<th>No</th>
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<td>+</td>
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<td>Mwera</td>
<td>105</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>5.76</td>
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<td>+</td>
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<td>Ngindo</td>
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<td>+</td>
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<td>17</td>
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<td>+</td>
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<td>12</td>
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<tr>
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<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Pande</td>
<td>36</td>
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<td>+</td>
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<td>+</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>±</td>
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<td>Lamu</td>
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<td>±</td>
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<td>Somali</td>
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<td>1.39</td>
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**Key**
- `-` sign means ‘not found’
- `+` sign means ‘found’

Total: 572
## APPENDIX 3
### THE STATUS OF THE RUINS REGARDING INTANGIBLE HERITAGE

#### KILWA KISIWANI

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<tr>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Kind</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Century</th>
<th>Status regarding Intangible Heritage</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Arabic / Persian</td>
<td>Mosque</td>
<td>Msikiti Mkubwa</td>
<td>11th</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Husuni ndogo ?</td>
<td>14–17th</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Msikiti mdogo</td>
<td>15th</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Msikiti wa Jangwani</td>
<td>15th</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>15th</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Msikiti wa Mvinje</td>
<td>15th</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic / Persian</td>
<td>Palace / House</td>
<td>Husuni Kubwa</td>
<td>14–17th</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Makutani Palace</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Great House</td>
<td>14–15th</td>
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<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>Cemetery / Graves</td>
<td>Shirazi</td>
<td>16th</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Malindi</td>
<td>18th</td>
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<td>Fort</td>
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<td>16th</td>
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### Intangible Heritage, Tourism and Raising Awareness on Kilwa Kisiwani and Songonara

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<td>+</td>
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<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Nanzua</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Mbuu simba</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>Mwembe Tanga</td>
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### Songo Mnara

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<th>Century</th>
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<tr>
<td>Arabic ‘Mnara’</td>
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<td>Msikitì</td>
<td>15&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Houses (Palaces)</td>
<td>Nyumba</td>
<td>15-18 th</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Graves (Mnara)</td>
<td>Sharifu Brahìm</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous ‘Kijoma’</td>
<td>Wells</td>
<td>Pasi, Nunu, Swirani, Mwana Karua, Mchungwi, Mkuyu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Mizimu</td>
<td>Kivurugo</td>
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<td>Uziwa</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>Ngomba</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Ngoma</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kifuko</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Sanje Majoma’</td>
<td>Mosques</td>
<td>Msikitì</td>
<td>15&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Wells / Mizimu</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>+</td>
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</table>
APPENDIX 4
HOTELS AND INFRASTRUCTURE IN KILWA MASOKO

Kilwa Ruins
Carlene Savage, Manager, Kilwa Ruins Lodge
Tel. 0786 848582

Seaview Lodge
W.E. Kasambala, Manager, Seaview Lodge
Tel. 0784 613335

Kilwa Dreams Lodge
Peter Juhl and Gladys Rutihinda, Managers
Tel. 0784 585330

Kimbilio Lodges Ltd.
P.O. Box 86, Kilwa Masoko
Tel. +255 787211201
Website: www.kimbiliolodges.com

Mjaka Lodge
Kilwa Masoko
Ali Mchumo
E-mail: ali.mchumo@common-fund.org

Mpingo Conservation Project
Kilwa office
Contact: Steve Ball, Gaspard Makala
APPENDIX 5
CONSULTATIVE MEETING WITH THE TEACHERS AT KISIWANI’S PRIMARY SCHOOL

WHAT IS “INTANGIBLE HERITAGE”? NINI MAANA YAKE “URITHI ULIOSHIKIKI”?

1. Urithi ulioshikika: maana yake

Urithi ulioshikika ni kitu gani? Maana yake nini? Kwa kifupi, tunaweza kusema kwamba ni mfumo wa tamaduni, mila, desturi za kuwawezesha watu wapate kujisimamia katika maisha yao, kukuwa na uwezo wa kujirudi na kujikarabati wakikumbwa na mageuzo ya ghafla… kwa hivyo ni kifaa kikubwa katika jamii… Lakini tuhafadhili, tunagundua kwambamara nyingi urithi huo hauonekani kama ule urithi usiosogezeka: magofu, majengo, nyumba n.k.

Tujulize kwa nini? Ziko sababu aina nne:
• haujawekwa kwenye maandishi
• huhihadiwa kichwani
• hutolewa kwa masimulizi au kwa kutumia mifano
• ni ya kushikika: uzalishaji wake si wa kiuchumi (haina mtaji, soko,…)


2. Urithi ulioshikika na elimu

Tukita kuwawezesha urithi huu katika elimu. Elimu ina maana zaidi:

• Elimu rasmi: upangilia wa kitaasisi (shule za msingi hadi chuo kikuu). Elimu hii ina sifa kubwa na kishirisha hasa katika nchi zinazoendelea katika dunia, una nguvu kwa sababu ya sababu zaidi kwa elimu. Elimu huu huwezi kutoa nafasi ndogo sana katika elimu. Mara nyingi tunachoa kwamba urithi huu hauonekani kama ule urithi usiosogezeka...
Intangible Heritage, Tourism and Raising Awareness on Kilwa Kisiwani and Songomnara

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Elimu isiyo rasmi: shughuli yoyote ya kielimu nje ya mfumo rasmi. Kipengele hiki cha elimu inakuwa muhimu hasa katika kuelimisha vikundi vidogo vidogo wa jumui, mathalani katika dini, makundi ya skauti, programu zile za kusomesha watu wazima katika viwanda n.k. au mfano mwingine katika uwanja wa kujumuisha watoto wa rika moja (jando kwa mfano).

Elimu ya wenyeji: maarifa, stadi, umaizi inayopatikana kupitia uzoefu wa kila siku. Hapo hatuna budi kubaini kwaba urithi ulioshikika unaingia katika sekta hii ya elimu. Elimu hii imeumbuka kiasi kwa mkutu bora za kusomesha watu wazima katika viwanda n.k. au mfano mwingine katika uwanja wa kujumuisha watoto wa rika moja (jando kwa mfano).

3. Urithi ulioshikika kama modeli ya elimu

Kwa kumalizia, nitapenda kuongeza mifano nyingine katika hoja hii ya urithi ulioshikika kama modeli ya elimu.

Mfano wa kwanza, katika taftiti zangu nimegundua kwamba katika eneo hili la Kilwa, si zamani sana, watu walikuwa hukuongea lugha ya kiswahili ambayo lilikuwa linaitwa Kisongo. Baadhi ya wazee ambao bado wako hai wanakjua. Kiswahili hiko cha kienyeji kinazo istilahi maalumu ambayo linakupatikana kwa watoto na wakati huo ambao hapa kuest ni hadithi ambacho wana kufanya aridha kwa kwadi ya kwenye shule, kwa hayo ambapo zinafaa kufanya hivyo. Lakini kazi ngumu inatukabili kutokana na hali ya mfumo wa ujumla walio na hata hii. Urithi ulioshikika unaingia katika sekta hii ya elimu. Elimu hii imeumbuka kiasi kwa mkutu bora za kusomesha watu wazima katika viwanda n.k. au mfano mwingine katika uwanja wa kujumuisha watoto wa rika moja (jando kwa mfano).

Mfano mwingine: kwa sababu tunachukulia urithi ulioshikika kama dharie tete (hypothesis) katika kurithisha kurefu ya utamaduni, hatuna budi pia kuchukulia uanagenzi wa kienyeji kama uthabiti wa dhari hii. Na hakuna urithi hai kama hatuwa mwa anagenzi wa kienyeji. Hapo tunachukulia kula uja kwa kufanya kujumuisha watoto wa dhari hii. Urithi ulioshikika unaingia katika sekta hii ya elimu. Elimu hii imeumbuka kiasi kwa mkutu bora za kusomesha watu wazima katika viwanda n.k. au mfano mwingine katika uwanja wa kujumuisha watoto wa rika moja (jando kwa mfano).
REFERENCES

1. GENERAL REFERENCES


2. BY PASCAL BACUEZ

Movies (in French)

2004 Pêche à la senne de plage kavogo (Fishing with a seine on Kisiwani). Dvd, 35 min..
2005 Conteuses de Kisiwani (Storytellers from Kisiwani). Dvd, 60 min.
2005 Forte con sordina: transes swahili (Possession cults and rituals). Dvd, 40 min.
2005 Rites de circoncision à Kilwa: survivances? (Circumcision rituals in Kilwa). Dvd, 45 min.
2005 Chants de ramadan à Pande (Ramadan songs in Pande (Kilwa)). Dvd, 45 min.
2006 Par les bois du djinn tonique: désenvoûtement à Kilwa Kisiwani (Witchcraft in Kilwa). Dvd, 60 min.
2006 Chants festifs mcheka (Festive songs mcheka). Dvd, 60 min.
2006 Outrances verbales: chants de marins à Kisiwani (Sailors’ songs on Kisiwani). Dvd, 30 min.

Books (in French)


De Zanzibar à Kilwa: relations conflictuelles en pays Swahili (From Zanzibar to Kilwa: social relations and conflicts in the Swahili society). 326 pages, Peeters, Paris, 2001. This book is an examination of the profusion of perspectives at play in the production of meaning through language. It explores the various oral ways of dealing with conflictual events. On the basis of archives, the book takes into consideration the colonial state’s intervention which tended to break up social networks based on ritual gift-giving and take the place of traditional arrangements for regulating exchanges. From that point of view, the effort is made to see how conflict has shaped the consciousness of people in small villages located on the east coast of Zanzibar, with contemporary regards to fishermen communities.

