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Hope, Chief and Mamas
Development of Cultural Tourism in Iringa, Tanzania

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Abstract

Tanzania as a tourist destination has traditionally had a nature-oriented focus for the past years. However, cultural heritage is becoming more and more viewed as a source for tourist attractions which raises questions on global and local impact on commodification of culture, and what sort of cultural activities are chosen to attract international and national tourists. This thesis focuses on the development of cultural tourism in the Iringa region, Tanzania. With cultural tourism local history and heritage becomes regarded as resources for tourism; local Hehe-culture and the history of Hehe-resistance against colonialization becomes presented and reproduced towards tourists. The process of developing Iringa into a tourist destination highlights global interests and local attitudes towards representations of culture and heritage.

Keywords: Social Anthropology, Cultural Tourism, Heritage, Iringa, Tanzania

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And finally, a special thanks to my friends and family.

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Image 1: Figure from Iringa Boma- Regional museum and cultural center. Picture by author.

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1. Introduction

A visit to the tourism fair

Karibu Kusini tourism expo. Iringa, Tanzania. December 13, 2018.

The white tents look fragile against the ominous dark clouds and it looks like the rain will start pouring down at any minute over the large grass field. Adults stroll between the tents and kids are running around the field with ice creams in their hands. I pass tents with hotel operators, governmental institutions and salesmen promoting medicinal herbs, and one booth where nuns sell keyrings with pictures of Jesus.

I spot a familiar face in one of the tents, a representative from the District commission office. The booth is draped with green, yellow, blue and black textiles, colours of the Tanzanian flag. The top of the textiles is decorated with heads of stuffed gazelles and a cheetah skin, together with architectural drafts of tourism development plans in the Iringa Region. The front shows different stone tools and weapons from poachers and archaeological sites found in Iringa region, a group of young boys are gathered around the tourism officer, who shows the different weapons and homemade rifles. Local fruits and grinding tools are showcased on a yellow plastic cover in front of the table, with a bamboo-plant next to them. Everything is neatly presented with labels: Hand axe, Knife, Slingshot. This is where the visitors are supposed to see what type of tourist attractions you will find in Iringa. Animals, weapons and cultural items showcase the attractions of the Southern Highlands. I take a closer look at the sketches of hotels, noticing that they are dated a few years back. The tourism industry is not thriving here in the southern parts of the country, yet.

I leave the tent and walk around the exhibition area, greeting people who welcome me into their tents. The tents are lined up in two rows creating a street in-between. Further down the street someone has put up a white sign for the “Iringa Massai Market”. At the other end of the street I see a big podium for ceremonial occasions and a couple of speakers blasting pop music over the area. I turn up to the fahari yetu-booth, a project that promotes cultural heritage and tourism for sustainable development in the region, it also operates the regional museum in town, where I’m conducting my internship.¹ The booth is covered with large signboards and pull-ups with the project’s logo. Inside books about Chief Mkwawa are displayed, the legendary resistance leader who fought the Germans during colonization of Iringa in the late 19th century.

¹ The fahari yetu-program/project is intentionally written with a small f I learned from the project manager.

Purpose

The purpose is to contribute with insights on how culture and heritage is represented in Iringa region's tourism industry. Through an ethnographic study I aim to explore tourism expectation in an area where the larger commercial tourism has not yet arrived. The fieldwork took place while I was conducting an internship for a cultural heritage project in Iringa in the autumn of 2018. Today one out of ten jobs in the world is in the tourism industry (World Travel & Tourism Council) which makes it one of, if not *the* largest industry in the world. Globalization processes, in this case tourism, cause new modes of promoting your own culture and history which highlight potential power dynamics.

Research questions

The focus of this study is the process of identifying cultural and heritage activities suitable for tourism in the Iringa district through these guiding questions:

- How is Iringa presented in Tanzania's tourism development?
- What role do cultural tourism have in Iringa's tourism development?
- How is history and cultural activities becoming heritage within Iringa's cultural tourism?
- What potential outcomes do tourism actors expect from an expanding local cultural tourism?

Tanzania has primarily focused on nature tourism, with Safaris and hunting activities. However, there is a small but growing part of the industry focusing on cultural tourism. This raises the question on what cultural activities identifies as attractive to showcase towards tourists, specifically relating to issues of commodification of culture and the economic interests in representation of history and traditional practices. The purpose of this paper is through anthropological methods, such as interviews and participant observation, understand the attitude of the tourism workers of Iringa, towards cultural tourism and what role heritage play in the tourism development. This by exploring the notions of the participants in the study of cultural tourism, heritage and identity. A number of tourism organizations and key-actors will be analyzed as active in the creation of cultural tourism in Iringa. For the analysis Iringa's

“cultural tourism scene” is understood as a scene (field), with actors such as museums, tourism officers, universities and governmental divisions, all active in constructing the frames within which cultural tourism will take place.

Iringa town and district are located in the Southern Highlands, in United Republic of Tanzania, a four hours drive from Dodoma, the capital, and ten hours drive from Dar-es Salaam. Currently promoted as a potential tourism hub for the Southern circuit by the Tanzanian government which causes expectations of change for the people who live in Iringa, generating hope for a prospering tourism industry. *Tourists* are in this thesis used in a generalized term to describe visitors who remain in Iringa and Tanzania for shorter time periods for leisure and holiday purposes. Tourism research has identified potential conflicts within this field, such as the commodification of culture (Greenwood 1989), the importance of authenticity (MacCannell 2013, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, Cohen 1988) and consumption of space through tourism (Urry 1995; Urry & Larsen 2011). This paper also identifies the tourism industry in Iringa as a field where different actors are striving for resources such as symbolic capital and economic resources (Bourdieu 1993, 30).

2. Theoretical Framework

Previous research

A vast amount of anthropological studies on tourism have been conducted in the last 50 years. However, because of the variety of subjects within the tourism research I have in this section chosen to present academic works which are still influential in the tourism field. This chapter also includes previous research on cultural tourism in present-day Tanzania and previous studies in East Africa to provide a national context and complement the scarce amount of research on cultural tourism in Iringa.

Anthropology has traditionally had an ambiguous relationship to tourism (Wallace et al 2005, 7). Due to the fact that anthropologists in many cases have experienced the increase of tourists first-hand, in the sites of their fieldwork during the latter half of 20th century and the major economic impact has been observed in various places around the world (Wallace et al 2005, 6; Smith 1989, 7). Smith points out that “to a host population, tourism is often a mixed blessing” (op. cit., 11), due to the fact that economic benefits also mean larger amounts of tourist which causes bigger impact upon the local culture, leading to “cultural and economic homogeneity” (op. cit., 14).

Having an educational background in heritage studies and social anthropology I, like many other students had to read Greenwoods text [*Culture by the pound: An anthropological Perspective on Tourism as Cultural Commoditization*] (1989) during my bachelor education to learn the destructive force tourism can be, exposing culture or tradition to the risk of losing meaning through commoditization. Greenwood describes the consequences of turning the Alarde ritual into a public show for visitors “[t]he ritual has become a performance for money. The meaning is gone.” (1989 178). His view on culture builds on Clifford Geertz definition of culture as an integrated system of meaning (po. cit., 173). Turning culture into a product, a commodity, Greenwood warns us can be a “violation of peoples’ cultural rights” (op. cit., 179). This critique of turning culture into a product for tourists influenced anthropology to regard tourism as a destructive force.

Greenwood tries to nuance the concept of culture and the fact that it is connected to constant change whether it is by industrialization, poverty or tourism (1989, 181). From treating tourism as a destructive force there has in later years been attempts to nuance anthropologist’s understanding of tourism. Arguments have been raised that anthropologists should take a more

active role in tourism because they can contribute with knowledge (Douglass & Lacy 2005, 122).

Previous research on cultural tourism in Tanzania have traditionally focused on either the Maasai or regions such as the northern circuit, the coastal areas or the Zanzibar archipelago. Salazaar have contributed to several articles on Tanzanian tourism featuring ethnographic material from northern Tanzania (2006; 2007).² One article on how the “tourist gaze” is applied in tour guide practices in tourism training in Arusha, northern Tanzania (2006, 835, 841). Salazaar states that guides are key actors in exoticizing a destination and are often the most influential in presenting the place because of their interaction with tourists (op. cit., 834-835). The tourism students learn to look at their own country from a tourist perspective through documentaries about Tanzania, photographs and travel magazines (op. cit., 841). Salazar describes how the tour guides take part in creating a highly constructed experience of Tanzania and Arusha, using global ideas to present the local place (op. cit., 842). The guides learn through repeating already expected images and mediated experiences, what Salazar calls the “tourism tautology”, which leads to guides having to adapt and embody the tourist expectations to “play the native” (op. cit., 846).

It is not only the tour guides who are affected by and are adapting to tourist expectations in Tanzanian tourism industry. Melubo & Carr’s study of Maasai bomas in northern Tanzania highlights how Maasai as a group are now considered a Tanzanian tourism attraction (2019, 11). The article shows that cultural tourism is currently contributing to Maasai groups being disempowered socially and economically within the tourism industry (ibid). Bruner & Kirshenblatt-Gimblett’s study of Maasai-performance in Kenya also brings vital insights on cultural tourism in East Africa and how colonialism gets a second life in tourism activities (1994).

From a local point of view the number of articles and research on heritage tourism in Iringa is scarce. Bushozi conducted a case study of the villages/sites Kalenga and Mlambalasi, Iringa region, presented in an article from 2014. The article identified the lack of community involvement is a risk in heritage management, arguing that excluding residents in the process of conservation leads to neglect of the cultural landscape, resulting in people experiencing marginalisation from their own heritage (2014, 139). Bushozi express critique against the Division of Antiquities, concerning their management of the Chief Mkwawa museum in Kalenga, due to under-representing objects devoted to Hehe culture and insufficient

² Maasai are a pastoral, indigenous people living in Tanzania and Kenya.

communication with local communities (ibid).³ Recommendations are made to heritage managers and tour companies to support local communities through a small percentage of the income from the tourist revenues (op. cit., 141). From this article, we might gain some insight about the issues of marginalization from governmental institutions and insufficient community involvement in Iringa heritage sites.

I have for the historical background of the region used Koponen research on Tanzania pre-colonial has provided a historical context for this study (1998), together with Iliffe [*A Modern History of Tanganyika*] (1979), and Redmayne PhD-thesis [*The Wahehe people of Tanganyika*] (1964). Redmayne is presented by other historians as the most prominent researcher on Iringa and Wahehe history (Iliffe 1979, 56; Koponen 1988, 43), a status that one of the managers of the regional museum in Iringa confirmed. A certain awareness of the post-colonial context is required here for ethical reasons. The British took over the colonial power from the Germans after WWI, and the literary sources I use are from the 1960's (Redmayne 1964) and 1970's (Iliffe 1979). Iliffe uses German correspondence as sources which must be understood to reflect the view of Wahehe from the Germans perspective.

Cultural and heritage tourism in Tanzania has previously been of interest for me because of previous field work and Bachelor thesis which focused on the heritage tourism connected to the representation of slave trade in Zanzibar, in particular how it is presented in Stone Town. A two month long fieldwork in Stone Town in 2014 adds to my pre-knowledge on tourism in Tanzania and contributed to the theme for this Master thesis. Boswell have in her studies of Zanzibar and Madagascar focused on the way women are part of up-holding heritage in the global south, even though this often take place out of the public sphere, and therefore making womens' role in heritage invisible (2011, 203). This argument also made me aware of who is connected to heritage practices and cultural tourism in Iringa.

The theoretical framework of this thesis draws from the wide range of social science, such as sociology and social anthropology as well as cultural and critical heritage studies, to try and understand how tourism activities and heritage processes are connected to a place. In the rest of this chapter I will present relevant theoretical concepts that will be presented and later applied to my own ethnographic material: *tourist gaze*, *cultural capital*, *commodification*, *heritage*, and last *authenticity*.

³ The Division of Antiquities is an agent under the Tanzanian Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism.

Destinations and the tourist gaze

Tourism is not just a global phenomenon but also an interdisciplinary research field which makes the selection of theories somewhat difficult. MacCannell's work [*The Tourist: A new theory of the Leisure class*] is however one of the most reoccurring in the tourism literature, first published in 1976. MacCannell's structural analysis of tourism illustrates the modern society's relation to authenticity through creation of tourist destinations (sights) and touristic consciousness (2013). This macro perspective on tourism and tourists makes it interesting to include his theories in this study. Tourism can be understood not just as a cultural experience but also as a cultural production according to MacCannell (2013, 24). This attracts not only the tourists themselves, but governments are also increasingly more interested in "controlling cultural production" (op. cit., 25). One reason for this interest is the value of cultural experience and what its production brings to the table. MacCannell describes cultural experiences are "valued in-themselves and are the ultimate deposit of values, including economic values, in modern society" (op. cit., 28). Hence, tourism cannot be reduced to only an economic value.

A physical place must become a tourist destination, a process of making a sight into a place for sightseeing (MacCannell 2013, 44-45). The destination is then ready to be visited and consumed by the tourists through what John Urry defines as the *tourist gaze* (Urry 1995, 132). The gaze was initially used to describe how tourists through visual practices, photographs and recordings consumed places, now includes performance and embodied practices of a place (Urry & Larsen 2011, 14-15). The gaze is also something that people learn and through the production of destinations, tourists learn "how, when and where to gaze" (op. cit., 12). In the process of transforming a geographical place into a destination, an attraction, MacCannell calls it (2013, 41), mediated pre-knowledge and expectations play a vital role. Together this pre-knowledge creates signs used by tourists to interpret what they see in tourist attractions (Urry 1995, 132). Applying the gaze on landscapes and townscapes also separates the place from the everyday practices which causes objectification of a place which then can be reproduced with photographs, videos and postcards (op. cit., 133). This process is upheld by tourist professionals, tour operators and government officials who develop and reproduces these images, and "these objects are located in a complex and changing hierarchy" (ibid).

Urry states that the interconnection between hosts (local residents at the destination) and global visitors (tourists) will affect what kind of culture and in which way local history will be "transformed into a resource for local economic and social development within a globally evolving economy and society" (1995, 152). Globalization is therefore increasing local

distinctiveness instead of cultural homogenization, opposite to Smith's idea of homogenization of culture (1989, 14). Kirshenblatt-Gimblett presents a similar idea arguing that when a location becomes a destination it becomes distinguishable, which can then be understood as a "production of difference" (1998, 152). The gaze also reminds us that the destination is not only possible to consume visually but the cultural activities can also be turned into commodities.

With tourism comes also the issue of power, especially largescale tourism requires governmental control for development of sufficient infrastructure (Smith 1989, 8). Tourism can be understood as a sociocultural process which creates powerful representation of people and places when identified as tourism destinations (Salazar 2006, 848). People and organizations are engaged in a struggle for obtaining, in this case, tourists and economic resources in Iringa. Bourdieu's social field is here applied to analyze and identify how the actors in Iringa's cultural tourism are positioned towards each other. Bourdieu defines a field as the site for struggle over terms and conditions of belonging, and the distribution of *capital* (Bourdieu 1996, 44). Therefore, the field comprise of "constructing the space of positions and the space of position-takings in which they are expressed" (Bourdieu 1993, 30). At the same time as it is a space for struggle for legitimization and control over what kind of characteristics should be acknowledge as relevant (op. cit., 44), and therefore able to be regarded as capital.

Heritage in relation to tourism

During the process of creating tourist destinations, *heritage* is frequently used and could also be understood as one contributing factor to why some locations become destinations. Heritage as its own concept also requires some attention at this point. The most dominant perspective in academia of heritage is to understand it as created in the present. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett defines heritage as a "mode of cultural production in the present that has recourse to the past" (1998, 150). Heritage can also be understood as a social and cultural process, as Smith argues (2006, 44). Smith suggests that we should understand heritage not as tangible 'things' but as a "cultural process that engages with acts of remembering" (ibid). It is through these processes a site or building becomes a tool for remembering and also engaging in the present even though the physical objects and places are not necessary for this act (ibid). It is the use of specific places that makes them heritage sites (op. cit., 46). Practices, things and places become heritage in a process of management, preservation and conservation (op. cit., 2).

Heritage is actively created when presented to tourists, through a process of exhibition: “Exhibition endows heritage thus conceived with a second life” (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, 149).

It can be argued that heritage tourism under the influence of globalization contributes to “localness” of a place, which is reproducing global discourse on heritage and cultures (Salazar 2007, 28). A form of “hereness” that is produced by heritage as Kirshenblatt-Gimblett calls it (1998, 153). People working in the tourism industry in destinations are knowledgeable about the global images connected to their destination, for example Salazar’s research on Tanzanian tour guide students shows that they learn to “actively folklorize, ethnicize and exoticize the local, authentic distinctiveness and uniqueness of Tanzania” (Salazar 2006, 847). A commoditized and exotic version of heritage is presented when promoting the experience of visiting Tanzania, represented and sold as “local for global export” (ibid). Urry and Larsen argues that with the globalization of the tourist gaze places all over the world have or are in the process of constructing themselves as “objects of the tourist gaze” (2011, 123).

Exoticizing local cultural activities create “otherness” (Said 1995). Cultural domination was upheld by western society through orientalism, which also made it possible to “consume” the Orient through literature, narratives and images (op. cit., 324). It can be understood as one mechanism of the colonialist mindset which notion of “otherness” is still current in present day and applies to cultures outside the Western discourse. Objectification of the Other is also a common process with tourism (Nash 1989, 45) and tourism per se often involves encounters with the “Other” (Cohen 1988, 376).

Heritage can be viewed as a discourse and separate from history when it is created and inscribed with meaning by people, such as local residents, governmental officials and tourists (Smith 2006, 17). The “realness” of history and heritage is a complex discussion but vital for understanding the mechanism of heritage in tourism industry. Other influential works on heritage industry is by Hewison, which Urry & Larsen criticise for its definition of heritage. It creates a distinction between history and heritage, as the first being still on-going and at the risk of being difficult or even dangerous, and the second being the opposite, or as they define it as “past, dead and safe” (Urry & Larsen 2011, 135) This division comes from arguing that “protection of the past conceals the destruction of the present” (ibid). Urry & Larsen argues against this generalization by claiming that the way different visitors actually gaze and consume places and heritage are far more complex (op. cit., 136). Fouéré & Hughes show in their study of recent heritage development, the multiplicity of heritage meaning in modern East Africa. They emphasise its relevance as: “heritage is becoming a central site of present-day political,

economic, and social struggles” (Fouéré & Hughes 2015, 544). Through the diverse numbers of agents and levels they operate, heritage must also be understood as affected by these agents in both local and global levels (ibid).

The issue of authentic experience

In the discussion of heritage and commodification the concept *authenticity* emerges, which requires a critical discussion. Theodossopoulos attempts to frame the notion of authenticity when writing that: “authenticity encodes the expectation of truthful representation” (2013, 339). It is an object of interest for anthropological tourism studies because of its relation to identity construction, authorship and boundaries of society (ibid). Performing cultural activities in front of tourists have generated concerns that these activities are adapted and therefore staged, and ‘fake’ (Condevaux 2009, 144).⁴ MacCannell’s concept of “staged authenticity”, which has been both used and debated since the 1970’s originates from Goffman’s concept of front and back regions (2013, 92). The authentic becomes connected to what happens behind the closed doors, the tasks not visible in front of others. Staging the authentic is then to put these tasks and spaces on display, “to reveal the inner working” of a place (op. cit., 98). Authentic experiences are therefore connected to essentialist notions, and when “staged” for tourists it loses its ‘real-ness’.

Cohen argues that authenticity should instead be understood as “negotiable” and that the negotiation of authentic meaning should be the focus in the study of tourism (1988, 374). Cohen draws the origin of authenticity from museums and connected to items and objects possibility of being labelled “fake” (op. cit., 374-375). Theodossopoulos follows the line of Cohen’s critique of the theoretical perspective on authenticity. In an article discussing the dilemmas of authenticity he points to the researchers tendency to view authenticity from a dichotomous perspective, as authentic or in-authentic, when at the same time focusing on the activities meaning for people the researcher becomes caught in a “trap of authenticity” (2013, 338). Theodossopoulos argues that anthropological researchers should fall into the “trap” because it is only through the full engagement with the “dichotomous and essentialist expectations” that the researcher will actually learn the local meaning of authenticity (op. cit., 346). Tourists and their notion of authenticity is becoming more important among indigenous groups to attract

⁴ Furthermore, Condevaux’s study show that Maori dancers regards the dances performed in front of tourists as authentic and it serves best to be understood as a social construction (2009, 155; 157-158).

tourists (op. cit., 403). Condevaux also illustrates that it is the tourists who look for ‘traditional performances’ in her study of authenticity among Maori performances (2009, 152).

Commoditization is a process of turning both objects and activities into goods and services (Cohen 1988, 380). When the heritage industry, and with that also the cultural tourism, develops into an increasingly important economic factor (Harrison 2010, 15), it makes it difficult for the heritage industry not to conform to market forces. Tourism practices pressure the commodification of memory, especially when it comes to heritage (Urry 1995, 27). It is in such a process Greenwood argues, that the meaning of the cultural activity is gone because it has turned into a commodity (Greenwood 1989, 179). Cohen argues that Greenwood’s loss of meaning is an over-generalization and that categorizing all impact of commoditization of the authentic as destructive, should be nuanced (Cohen 1988, 381; 383).

To sum up the theoretical overview it should be noted that the concepts presented in the section will be applied to my ethnographic material and used to discuss how Iringa heritage and tourism are potential subjects of commodification, exoticization and trap of authenticity discussion.

3. Methods

Participating as an intern

This thesis aim to provide a theoretical study derived from ethnographic material from my own fieldwork in Tanzania 2018. My main method for gathering the material was through participant observation, following a traditional approach within social anthropological work. The researcher’s aim of this qualitative research-method is to take part in daily activities, events and life routines of a group of people (DeWalt & DeWalt 2011, 1). During four months of fieldwork in Iringa, I conducted an internship at the regional museum, Iringa Boma, and at the University of Iringa (UoI). Through my internship I managed to get acquainted with both people working in, and associated to, the local tourism industry. This was my way into the field and the daily routines gave me insights into the museum’s routines. Having co-workers turned out to be crucial for finding participants and they assisted me with answers when I came across difficulties in the study. In ethnographic studies, participants or informants, can be viewed to influence both the process of gathering knowledge and the knowledge that the researcher

obtains (Sjöberg 2011, 68). The postmodern turn in ethnography and anthropology signifies the use of narrative ethnography, reciprocity, collaboration and partnership (Sluka & Robben 2007, 19-21). The postmodern position of constructing the field have influenced this thesis and its methodological approach. I have made the decision to refer to the informants as study participants as a way to underline their role in the creation of this thesis.

For my first two months I decided to focus on work and taking Swahili-lessons before conducting any interviews related to my thesis-subject, in an effort to remain open for what I saw as an inductive position to the field. It also gave me a chance to adapt to the situation of a new country, new workplace, and I must add, some culture shock. Writing much of my activities and participating observations down, in ethnographic fieldnotes, gave me both a chance for reflection and material in form of a field journal. These fieldnotes should be regarded as descriptive and as products of my own process of interpretation (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw 2011, 9). Emerson, Fretz & Shaw points out that descriptive fieldnotes are not just products of active interpretation, which are inevitable selective (op. cit., 13) and influenced by the writers' own position in the field, but a way of transforming events "into words on paper" (op. cit., 12). At this stage of the ethnographic process I, the researcher, had started to translate my experience into text (Clifford 1988, 25). Participant observation also includes self-reflexivity and self-observation (DeWalt & DeWalt 2011, 80). I recognize that my own bias and values influenced fieldnotes and interpretation of situations, this self-reflexivity is intentionally included and given space throughout this thesis.

My interviews are the main material, 15 recorded interviews from 20 interviewees (14 men and six women). Almost half of the participants originated from Iringa region or had family ties, while the other 10 participants had no connection to the Iringa region before moving there. The participants ranged from 19 years old up to over age 50. Most of the interviewees identified themselves as Tanzanians but three of the participants were originally from Europe and North America, who lived in Iringa at the time of the interviews.⁵ Three of the interviews were group interviews and two interviews were conducted for a museum project.⁶ From some interviews I also got official pamphlets on government policies on cultural tourism. In the end I got four different texts that serves as a background for the national policies that most of the tourism

⁵ Additional information regarding the participants: Two participants did not express any ties to either the Iringa region or any other in their interviews. Some participants did not wish to state their age and 50+ is therefore an estimation made by the author, based on informal conversations with the participants.

⁶ These two interviews were used for references on traditional beliefs and the current state of communication between generations.

actors use in their daily work. Conversations with friends and colleagues was also a vital source of knowledge about the present life conditions in Iringa.

The primary material consists of fieldnotes together with interviews, together with informal conversations and governmental policy documents. DeWalt & DeWalt declare that “in the method of participant observation the observer is the research tool” (2011, 111) and I strived to take part in all the activities that the museum was organizing. I used my role as an intern to learn the Tanzanian tourism business, by participating in events, I got the chance to see the national tourism from an inside perspective.

Conducting interviews and writing the material

The interviews were conducted the last two months in the field, and by then I had started to learn a bit of Swahili and were more and more interested in the idea of cultural tourism. I started with semi-structured interviews but found that it had the tendency to limit my own focus and restrict the possibility for the interviewee to speak freely, which led me to use unstructured interviews instead (DeWalt & DeWalt 2011, 139). Techniques such as using sensitive silence and “tell me more” type of questions invited the informants to steer the conversations (op. cit., 143-144; 149). Holstein & Gubrium argues that interviews should be understood as a “project for producing meaning” (2011, 8), instead of treating interviewees as “passive *vessels of answers*” (op. cit., 3 italics in original). An interview is where both the interviewer and the interviewee are involved in “making meaning” (op. cit., 12). Active interviews appeal to this study’s constructivist approach as well as the collaborative knowledge production that takes place in fieldwork between informants and researcher, as Sjöberg mentioned (2011, 68). Methods such as interviews is in this perspective epistemological reasonable, understood as an act of producing knowledge together, the interviewer and the interviewee. This points to the influence of compassion in ethnography, where the field is recognized as a space that fieldworker and research participants share and contribute together in “the production of ethnographic knowledge” (Sluka & Robben 2007, 24).

Most of my interviews were conducted between me and participants in places of their choice, often their offices. The interviews with university students were intentional group interviews, due to my role as a teacher which could affect how comfortable the students’ felt

participating. My intention was that a group interview would make the participants feel more comfortable. In some interviews I also met expectations which I was not prepared for; one time the informant asked when we had finished the interview if we wouldn't listen to it. I was surprised by the question but appreciated her/his wish. We stayed seated and I pressed play on my recording device, we listened to what we just had said and giggled at our own voices. The informant seemed happy listening to the recording and it was a great opportunity for me to review my own interview style. Another time one interviewee wanted to see my questions before we started, which I did not have printed out due to the unstructured method. I wrote down a couple of topics I wished to talk to him/her about, and we discussed them before we started recording. These occurrences helped me notice my own role in the field and served as learning experiences.

I transcribed the interviews and organized the fieldnotes when I returned to Sweden, actions which can be classified as me reworking the material into an ethnographic format. By coding my interviews in Nvivo, a computer analysis program for qualitative research, the process of how I interpret my material became visible. Having some 'nodes' (themes) already prepared before actually coding the material I quickly added new nodes and more specific themes during the coding-process. This act of coding illustrates how the writing process is interwoven with both inductive as deductive approaches to the material. Direct quotations are featured in the thesis as a way to provide insights of the participants' own experiences and reflections of the current state of Iringa cultural tourism. The quotes have to some degree been altered for grammatical reasons and repetitions of single words have been removed, for the sake of being easier to follow the persons argument.

Challenges in the fieldwork

Field notes September

We have been driving for eight hours trying to get to the hospital in Dar es Salaam. The airport in Iringa is closed for construction, so one of my supervisors has to drive the 10-hour journey between Iringa and Dar es Salaam. The pain in my left leg turned out to be a deep vein thrombosis (DVT), a blood clot and not a sore muscle. The last couple of days have included two doctors, having to inject myself with Heparin (blood thinner) three times a day and numerous phone calls home. After three days the medicine is starting to run out along with my sanity.

When conducting fieldwork your aim is to gain the so called “inside knowledge”, to see and experience the “imponderabilia of actual life” as Malinowski called it ([1922] 1961, 24). As a student of anthropology from a wealthy country (Sweden) you can only get glimpses of what it means to be exposed to issues such as insufficient hospital treatment. The fieldnotes above illustrates one of the times I had to face the real challenges of conducting fieldwork alone. It ended well but I was literally in full dependence on my friends to get proper health treatment, buy food and recharge my phone with credits for internet to contact family and the insurance company back home. When I returned from the hospital to my house in Iringa I realised that the tree outside my bedroom was the same sort of tree a man just a week before had told me is regarded as a witch or demon tree, because it attracts problems and health issues for those who live next to it (Interview 1). I would for the rest of the fieldwork be very aware of those types of trees. My supervisor’s comment that the DVT was the “ancestors who tested you” contributed to my feeling that I reached some form of position as a ‘insider’.

Working and conducting fieldwork at the same time sometimes had a limiting effect on my fieldwork because it took up several hours every day, with the result that I put off transcribing my interviews until I finished the internship. Not being able to transcribe directly might cause me to forget the meaning in some of our conversations, I counteracted its potential negative impact by extensive fieldnotes directly after each interview.

Ethical considerations

The American Anthropological Association, AAA, Code of Ethics (2009) combined with the Swedish Research Council recommendations (2017) have contributed to my decisions concerning ethics in both my fieldwork and writing this thesis. The first ethical consideration I had to face was how my role as an intern influenced my view on the “field”. Working for a particular university and museum makes me exposed for the critic of being biased, especially as I have actively been working to support the museum as part of my internship. I did not experience that it affected my own study negatively because I gained access to several stakeholders. Instead I found that it made people trust me because I was not a tourist but someone working in Iringa, a semi-insider.

Fieldwork also brings forth considerations regarding dependency and obligations. People and institutions in Iringa struggle financially and sometimes I found it difficult to know how to act when people were asking me for help. I never paid or gave gifts as encouragement for

participating in my interviews but in one case I understood later that the informant had personal intentions with participating in the interview, hoping that his business would be advertised in Sweden. I had to explain that this was not my intention, nor my ability. Adams provides useful reflections on the issue of ethics for anthropologists in a tourist sector, as an anthropologist you sometimes become inscribed with the role of “representatives of tourism-generating countries” (Adams 2005, 47). Conducting research in Indonesia she faced expectations of being in a position to “help rescue them from poverty by publicizing their village’s touristic charms.” (op. cit., 54). Even if I made it clear that I was not in a position to promote tourism businesses in Iringa region through my thesis, I must still acknowledge that writing about a particular region might attract tourists. Presenting the company with name and location could be considered as promotion, but I decided to keep the name, with consent from the company owner, because this thesis is expected to reach few readers within the field of academia

According to the AAA Code of Ethics one of the anthropologist’s ethical obligations are: “To consult actively with the affected individuals or group(s), with the goal of establishing a working relationship that can be beneficial to all parties involved” (AAA 2009, 2). Working relationships in this fieldwork took the form of me acting as someone who would help with recommending sponsors for the museum, for new tourism enterprises and teaching courses at UoI. It is also an issue of reciprocity. Working as an intern at local initiatives and contribute with knowledge were my way to supporting the community. The museum, for example, treated me as a useful pair of hands in writing fund-proposals and the university gained an extra lecturer. Sometimes this also caused me to feel uneasy, when people expected me to contribute with certain levels of experiences I did not have. In the beginning of my internship I was invited by a local tourism employee to assist her/him in a proposal writing. I first tried to avoid the request but after being asked a second time I felt obliged to visit her/his office and listen to what s/he had in mind, even if I tried to explain that this was not my area of expertise. In the end I ended up reading the proposal and gave some comments. The employee also came to be an informant for my data collection, so in the end this might be understood as a reciprocal action, where both of us gained something. The issue of reciprocity is important in this type of ethnographic study to avoid the risk of exploitation for the participants and the local society I was privileged to be welcomed in to.

To follow ethical considerations a study should be conducted out in the open (Fluehr-Lobban 2003, 21). I strived during my participant observation to always inform people I worked with what my purpose in Iringa was. However, in some public events like the tourism conventions I observed people who was not aware of my role, which I motivated with it being

a public event (Zahle 2017, 475). The daily work of writing notes was conducted out in the open, in English, as a way of giving people the opportunity for a quick glance over my shoulder to make them aware I was taking notes. Taking notes in the open can be seen as a way to remind people of your role and therefore exposing your intentions of observing on the site (DeWalt & DeWalt. 2011, 217). Giving the study's participants the ability to read what they been part of motivated me to write this thesis in English.

The interviews caused several ethical considerations as well. All interviewees had to fill out a consent form before starting the interview. My purpose with the interview was stated in the form, informing them that their agreement with participating would be withdrawn if they wished and had the option if they wanted to be anonymous or not in this thesis. I do however agree with the AAA Code of Ethics that a consent is not a written document but a process that is "dynamic and continuous" (AAA 2009, 3). That is also relevant for the daily interactions which contributed to shape my understanding of the field. Seven out of the 20 interviewees wished to be anonymous and I have therefore only included date and general information in the reference list, except for officials who I recognized as acting in their role as official representatives.⁷ When it comes to anonymity, I have strived to meet my interviewees wishes, however, I must state that Iringa is a small town where most people know each other and because a number of my informants are connected to one another, even with my best efforts of complying with the wishes, I cannot guarantee full anonymity.

While I was working at the museum and teaching at the university's tourism-program, I was also assisting the field that I was observing I was definitely shaping my field. By participating and working in the field I was trying to understand, I also took part in constructing it. If, for example, one of the funding proposals I helped writing for the museum went through, then I would have directly contributed to the new economic status for the museum and in the larger perspective the cultural/heritage scene in Iringa. I decided because of my limited time and heavy workload to include the museum even with the risk of being biased. Its relations to other stakeholders had more positive than negative effects on my material in the end.

⁷ In the group interviews I decided to anonymise the whole group.

Notes on disposition

This thesis is constructed to give an overall view of Iringa's cultural tourism scene. A number of organizations and events will be presented through field observations and interviewees which will be combined with theoretical discussions and analysis. I will combine my ethnographic presentations with personal comments and reflections, as a way for state my own presents in the field and self-reflexivity.

The first chapter (4) is a short introduction of Iringa town and the field. Together with the following chapter (5) I will present how Iringa is currently turned into a destination through both regional and national initiatives, it includes a presentation on how tourism can be understood to enhance regional identity and polarization. I will then continue with the role of cultural tourism in chapter 6 by focusing on the newly installed regional museum and its role in representing Iringa's culture and heritage. Cultural tourism and its relation to heritage will be discussed in chapter 7, including the region's colonial history and its most famous historical figure, Chief Mkwawa. Chapter 8 includes a case study of a new local initiative working with cultural tourism, followed by a problematization of the tourism industry and its challenges. In Chapter 9, potential outcomes of Iringa's tourism development will be discussed, especially cultural tourism's influence on heritage. The final chapter (10) contains a summary and conclusion of the study.

4. Introducing the Iringa Case

Iringa is both a region and a small town in the Southern Highlands, in the centre of Tanzania, surrounded by mountain peaks sprinkled with large rocks on the hillsides, with a population of 941,238 (population census 2012, from fahariyetu.net).⁸ This area is part of the Southern Circuit, a common division between the northern and southern part of the country. Iringa was identified as one of the potential hubs for tourism to the southern circuit in the 2002 Tourism



Image 2: Location of Iringa and the Southern Highlands. Picture: Courtesy of fahari yetu.

Master plan for Tanzania (2002, 53). To become a tourism hub would mean an increase in tourism activities which are currently struggling. Attractions such as Ruaha national park have some success but still, most of the tourism capital are found in the northern part of the country and in the Zanzibar archipelago.

Iringa town was founded in the 1890's by German colonizers. Its history is intertwined with Tanganyika's history, with German colonialization, British protectorate and independence in the 1961. However, it is the pre-colonial era and the arrival of the German empire that is frequently presented when discussing the regional history with the study's participants and will be discussed in the following chapters. Tanzania has over 120 different ethnic groups and the Wahehe is often associated with Iringa region.⁹ The name "Wahehe" is known among travellers from 1857 and the geographical area goes under the name Uhehe in historical descriptions, with the Wahehe referring to the population. First account of Wahehe among the European newspapers dates from the 1890's and the stories of the Hehe was closely linked to their "military prowess" (Redmayne 1964, 9).¹⁰ When talking about Wahehe and Iringa history most residents in Iringa, and Tanzania, mentioned one particular person, Chief Mkwawa. The most

⁸ The Southern Highlands is a geographical zone in the South Western part of Tanzania, consisting of six administrative regions; Iringa, Katavi, Mbeya, Njombe, Rukwa and Ruvuma.

⁹ Most of the participants used the word tribe when defining Hehe, or other groups. The term "ethnic groups" is from the official Guidelines for Cultural tourism in Tanzania.

¹⁰ Early Wahehe should not according to Redmayne be classified as one homogeneous group but instead be understood as a political unity under one specific leader, a chief 1964, 36).

famous event in the history of Wahehe is the battle of Lugalo 1891 where the Wahehe led by Mkwawa defeated the German army and killed the German leader Emil von Zelewski (op. cit., 151). Mkwawa has become a symbol for resistance against colonialization in the whole country and contributes to Tanzanians' knowledge of Iringa.

Iringa is also well-known in the country for its educational institutions, which includes three universities, two private and one state operated. The University of Iringa (UoI, formerly known as Tumaini University) is one of the private universities originating from the Lutheran mission, established in 1995 it was one of the first university to offer an undergraduate program in Cultural Anthropology and Tourism (here after referred to the BACAT-program). Two lecturers from the Faculty of Art and Social Science, who teach at the BACAT-program, are the initiators to the program called fahari yetu- Southern Highlands Cultural Solutions.

A large-scale project is currently directed to the southern circuit of Tanzania for promoting tourism, the Resilient Natural Resource Management for Tourism and Growth project (here after referred to as REGROW), funded from the World Bank with a budget of 150 million US\$. The six-year project aim is "to improve management of natural resources and tourism assets in priority areas of Southern Tanzania and to increase access to alternative livelihood activities for targeted communities" (World Bank: ProjectTanzania). Tourism is by a World Bank representative described as a "key element to Tanzania's economy" (World Bank: Press Release NO 2018/028/AFR). REGROW intend to position "the Southern circuit as an engine of growth through tourism development and associated benefits" (ibid). When talking to the spokesperson in Iringa for the REGROW-project she emphasizes the potential to market the regions in the south through the project (Tully).¹¹ REGROW contributed to advertising the Southern Circuit for several events that took place in the fall of 2018, for example it supported different local companies to showcase at the Swahili Tourism International Expo and contributed the Karibu Kusini.

¹¹ Quotes and information from interviews are in this thesis featured with the interviewees name or Interview number, see reference list- Interviews.

5. Place Iringa on the tourism map- Marketing and Exhibitions

Creating Destination Iringa

National and international tourism is today one way for nations to present themselves to others, and themselves (Urry & Larsen 2011, 138). The Tanzanian government are actively partaking in the tourism development of Iringa, appointing the area as a potential hub in the Tourism Master plan in 2002, as well as establishing an office in Iringa town that works with the REGROW-project. When talking to Tully, who works at the Tourism information office in Iringa, it becomes clear that there are governmental interests from the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (hereafter MNRT) in the region.¹² Tully is responsible for the implementation of tourism policies, regulations and guidelines from the tourism division in Iringa. She is connected to the REGROW-project because she works for the MNRT and was one of the first students in the BACAT-program at University of Iringa. I often met her during my time in Iringa at different events, working as a representative for the ministry. Her connection to the BACAT-program also meant she knew the Iringa Boma museum and fahari yetu very well.

International tourism in Tanzania started during colonial rule, with the main activity of hunting exotic animals (Salazar 2007, 25-26). Tourism in the 21st century is now changing, and tourists are in search of something new, according to Tanzanian tourism workers (informal conversation). In the 2016 Tourism Statistical Bulletin, data shows that the number of visitor arrivals to Tanzania have grown from 525,000 in 2001 up to 1,284,279 in 2016, which indicate the growth of tourism in the United Republic of Tanzania, bringing in a receipts of 2,131.57 US\$ in 2016 (Table 1, Tourism Statistical Bulletin 2016, 5).

The REGROW-project will hopefully increase the number of tourists in the southern circuit by improving the management of natural resources in protected areas (such as the National parks), improve economic alternatives in local communities and market the whole circuit as an attractive tourist destination (Tully). The management of infrastructure means maintenance and development of infrastructure, building hotels and visitors centers and maintenance of air strips inside the national parks. Infrastructure and tourist facilities are among the most important factors for the region to become more tourist friendly according to most of

¹² The Tourism Division, which the Tourism information office belongs to are under the MNRT. The tourism division also has the agency Tanzania Tourism Board (TTB) who are responsible for marketing tourism to the country.

the study's participants. The REGROW-project will assist with financial aid to construct a tourism management office in the Iringa region within the next couple of years (Tully). The marketing part of REGROW is already in full swing, supporting both local events like the Tourism Karibu Kusini in December and for local stakeholders from the southern circuit to exhibit on the largescale tourism expo SITE in October in Dar es Salaam.

The process of molding Iringa into a tourism destination includes identifying certain aspects which makes it distinct and unique, what MacCannell would call the “framing and elevation” and the “enshrinement” phases (2013, 44-45). When I asked Tully why she thinks Iringa is a good place for tourism, she mentions the town's history and heritage of Chief Mkwawa, the Isimila stone age site, the Hehe-tribe, and the Ruaha national park. Local authorities are crucial in the tourism development (Urry & Larsen 2011, 137) and the regional tourism officer, Abinery, view the region's history as beneficial when marketing Iringa as a tourism destination:

That is having historical resources. (...) When you talk about Kalenga, the history of Mkwawa and also the coming of colonialism you mean, you talk about Iringa district. And even the issue of traditional reactions towards colonialism you talk about Iringa district. So, Iringa district is having a lot of things related to cultural heritage. (Abinery)

The phrase “historical resources” illustrates the rhetoric of tourism (MacCannell 2013, 14) which helps us identify that tourism is connected to a certain discourse of economic interests. Resources are not just financial in the tourism industry; it can also be symbols like Chief Mkwawa and the history of resisting colonial forces, which are used in the marketing of a destination. Marketing initiatives can also tell us more about how a region creates an image and identity in the context of tourism, how the tourist gaze is part of the process, both in a local setting like at the local tourism fair and in a national and global setting.

Marketing the local: Karibu Kusini

The initial scene in this thesis comes from the Tourism Karibu Kusini fair, an annual event which for the past three years have marketed the Southern circuit. For almost a week, the south is promoted for potential investors and visitors in what one local tourism officer called a “tourist festival”. Karibu Kusini is presented as a promotion festival for tourists to come to Iringa and see the attractions, with the intention to attract potential investment areas (Abinery). It is also an exhibition for local businesses, government projects and other actors in Iringa, ranging from the fire brigade to the town’s universities.

The purpose is to promote the whole circuit, all seven regions, as one product. Due to its location it primarily focuses on Iringa. It is as much a social activity as a promotional event I found on my first day at the fair. Families visited and activities such as horseback or camel riding attracted both adults and children who wanted a ride. The free entrance also made it easy for young children in the area to visit without parents, running around between the booths. Most



Image 3: Local Tourism Office booth at Karibu Kusini. Abinery presents the use of bamboo and different local fruits found in the region. Photograph by author. Iringa, December 2018.

people I asked were positive to the event, but the organization was struggling beforehand, causing the date to be pushed forwards several times during the autumn, eventually taking place in December during the rain season.

The Minister for Foreign affairs made an appearance at the fair, which included a formal greeting at the REGROW-tent with Wahehe Mziga (Wahehe elders) and the current Chief, all dressed in the traditional Mbolole. The minister, together with the regional commissioner, greeted beekeepers and other exhibitors while different Mangala-dancers performed outside the tents and a big group of spectators had gathered.

Urry & Larsen have, on the subject of World fairs and expos, concluded that themes are often found on national stereotypes which are designed to demonstrate national pride in specific cultural activities, and are presumed to be specific to one country (2011, 128). In the Karibu Kusini's case I might argue that the same process is adapted on a regional level, where the Kusini is proudly demonstrated towards other Tanzanians and foreigners through the cultural activities of Mangala-dancers and the presence of the Hehe-elders. In the booth of Local tourism office, items such as tools and weapons shared the space with a cheetah's skin and stuffed heads from Impalas and other animals, illustrating the mix of nature- and culture-based tourism attractions in the region (see Image 4). The displayed objects can be understood as demonstrating regional pride and marketing the "difference" of Iringa, (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, 74). The Iringa Boma presented the local uniqueness in an evening event during Karibu Kusini for the Minister of Foreign affairs:

Fieldnotes Iringa Boma 15/12

We are at the museum, waiting for the minister to arrive. The planning process has been stressful and filled with uncertainties but now the evening is here, and everyone seems a bit nervous. I'm serving drinks together with the museum security guard and a local musician performs a song on his own, homemade instrument. Tins, a few strings on a wooden board and a number of bottle caps has been put together to work as instrument including elements of a guitar, drum and harmonica all well-operated by one man. He sings and play for a while before a group of dancers perform the traditional Mangala-dance. The dance is performed with bells wrapped around the ankles and moving in a circle, stomping to a specific beat makes the bells chime in a rhythmic melody. People are gathering around or watching from the café, sipping on their drinks and waiting for the guest of honour, the minister. Eventually a black car drives up and people are flocking to the road to greet him. Having a minister visiting the museum is an important event and this is the chance to make an impression, hopefully it might lead to some funding opportunity in the future.

This event shows how the museum is a key-player in the representation of heritage in the local tourism field.¹³ Having events for governmental officials was regarded among the Boma-staff as a potential way of getting good publicity and strengthen their relationship with the Tanzanian government. Smith argues that participating in heritage activities and visiting sites is an “embodiment or active statement of identity in which visitors become embroiled in a performance for which they are also audience” (2006, 68). Karibu Kusini could itself be an active statement of identity. The fact that the Mangala dancers performed both at the evening event and at the official ceremony can be understood as it being identified as *the* cultural expression for the Iringa region. Dancing bodies are often the object of “tourist gazing” and in some tourist destination they have come to solely represent the culture (Urry and Larsen 2011, 83). Urry and Larsen calls it the “performed body” (ibid) as the performance embody a symbolic representation of Hehe-culture. Staging culture includes a process of objectification with dimensions of power entangled in it (see Keesing 1989). Performing Mangala-dances and displaying traditional tools can be seen as affirming the Iringa heritage. Having it performed in the space of Iringa Boma or the local officials can here be understood as reinforcing the symbolic capital of these two actors in the tourism field.

Marketing the national: SITE

In one of the more exclusive areas in Dar es Salaam, with several embassies in a walking distance, the Julius Nyerere International Convention Centre acted as the venue for the Swahili International Tourism Expo (SITE) in October 2018. REGROW had, in line with the mission of marketing southern Tanzania, sponsored a couple of local businesses to exhibit at the event. fahari yetu and Iringa Boma was one of them. Having to pass through metal detectors to enter the premises even the day before the event gave us a glimpse of the scale of this event. On the opening day the large conference centre was filled with exhibitors from all over the country connected to the tourism industry- hotels, air companies and a large number of tour companies. Different performers danced and sang in front of the entrance at the opening.

The REGROW-sponsored booths were situated on the first floor in a separate room. A large sign above the door informed visitors that this was the location for *Tanzania “South”-*

¹³ This was not the first time the Minister of Foreign affairs, Dr. Mahiga visited the Iringa Boma. He also attended the museums opening ceremony in 2016.

Visit more exhibitors HERE. The other southern exhibitors were hotels, lodges and tour companies together with the REGROW-project's own booth. Talking to one of the exhibitors a couple of weeks after SITE, a tour operator, she expressed critique about the placement. She thought that the south was hidden away from the visitors compared to the large tourist destinations such as Kilimanjaro and Zanzibar exhibitors which were located on the ground floor.

Most of the visitors on SITE appeared to either be exhibitors themselves or in some way active in the tourism business. fahari yetu/Iringa Boma were, apart from the National Museum of Tanzania, the only museum and one of the few cultural tourism exhibitors. Its specificity became obvious when visitors came up to the booth confused about what the fahari yetu actually was. When explaining the project/ the museum most people smiled and one tour guide working in the national park in Mikumi commented that it is a good idea to focus on cultural tourism because the tourists "are starting to get sick if the twiga and simba" (informal conversation).¹⁴

I was not the only Swede at SITE, during the opening ceremony on the first day a Swedish group attended on stage, I was told. Intrigued I started the search for the Swedes, the search came to an end in the evening's cocktail party when I spotted three middle aged men, all dressed the same in black jackets, one of them holding a plastic bag from Clas Ohlsson (a Swedish hardware store chain). The cocktail party took place at an exclusive hotel in Dar es Salaam, with a live jazz-band lit up with small lights in the trees, out in the garden. People arrived dressed up in cocktail-dresses and suits. Halfway through the evening the Swedish and a group of Chinese representatives gave speeches in which they encouraged the future of Tanzanian tourism industry.¹⁵ The Swedish investors and consultants told me that they had been invited to give comments on how to improve the national tourism industry, the two consultants pointed out that the coast of Tanzania is underdeveloped and one of the least exploited in the world, and it is only a matter of time before investors and the tourists find their way (informal conversation).

With its cocktail party and entrance fee it is clear that SITE was not an event open for the public but focused on tourism operators and investors. Guards, metal detectors and the location in one of Dar es Salaam's wealthy areas, all contributed to excluding ordinary residents in the city from the event. One reoccurring workshop during the expo was a "International Marketing Strategy for German speaking countries", the only workshop marketed towards a specific

¹⁴ Twiga means giraffe and simba is lion in Kiswahili.

¹⁵ Tully told me later that the Tanzania Tourism Board (TTB) had visited China to market Tanzania to Chinese tourist (Tully).

country or language. This should be seen as an indicator that German speaking tourists are a target group in the Tanzanian tourism market.

SITE can be seen as a spectacle performed to an international observer, as a way of turning the tourist gaze on Tanzania. At a later event, Tully told me that she thought SITE had been successful, stressing that the local business had received extra bookings and that it was a good start for the new marketing of the south. When comparing these two events (Karibu Kusini and SITE) it becomes clear that key-actors such as the Tanzanian government, local authorities and private organizations share a common goal of presenting Iringa as a tourist destination. Among the study's participants I recognized a resentment towards the northern part of Tanzania, referred to as the northern circuit. In the next part we are going to look closer to what this differentiating means and what "the North" represents when talking about the tourism industry, in a "southern-context".

Kusini as an alternative to the north?

The northern part of Tanzania is the location of the majority of famous sites such as Mount Kilimanjaro and Mount Meru, the national parks of Serengeti, Tarangire and the Ngorogoro crater. But the north is not solely a geographical location, for many Tanzanian it also represents the success of the country's tourism industry. Together with the coastal parts, mainly Zanzibar, the north came to be used to contrast the southern tourism among Iringa tourism actors.¹⁶ By comparing percentage distribution of Domestic and International Visitors at the National park in 2016 we see that parks in the north like Serengeti (36.61%), Tarangire (23.61%) and Kilimanjaro (7.96%) are receiving visitors on a whole other scale compared to Ruaha (2.04%) (Chart 15, Tourism Statistical Bulletin 2016, 26). The focus in this section is on the way the study's participants use the north in order to position Iringa's tourism, and their own tourism development against more commercially successful parts of the country.

Initiatives such as Karibu Kusini and the specific Southern-Tanzania part of SITE can be seen as reactions to the ruling tourism dichotomy between the North and the South. One committee member explained the intention of Karibu Kusini: "It intends only to inform the world that in Tanzania, there is more than the northern part. There is so much more from the

¹⁶ I have unfortunately never been able to travel to Arusha and the northern parts of Tanzania myself, so I am here focusing on the way study participants have been talking about the north.

southern part” (Jimson). From the interviews it became clear that there is a sense of the south being neglected in favour of the more popular tourism areas (Jan).

When interviewing diploma students who studied tourism at UoI it turned out that all five of them came from the northern part and had moved to Iringa for university studies. Cities in the north, such as Moshi and Arusha are described by the study’s participants as noisy, full of traffic jams, dangerous and its residents as rude. One woman from North America, who had been living and working with different volunteer organizations, describes that the tourists are being treated as objects in the north (Interview 7). She describes the difference between the north and Iringa as the later one is “more innocent, not like people trying to rip each other off”, putting the two areas in opposite positions regarding how tourists and visitors are treated in general.

The living conditions are also identified as both potentially becoming improved by a growing tourism sector. A tourism student reflects on potential changes, through tourism, by saying:

Cost of living will rise up. And I really don’t want Iringa to be like a tourist attraction, before I get my money to invest in. Because actually, not that its bad for the country, the prices and costs will be very high. The price of land here would be very high, the price of food would be very high. Like take Arusha for example. (Interview 5)

The north is used when talking about the negative things surrounding tourism and the south represents something new to the tourist industry, at the same time as the north represents the economic benefits with tourism. By comparing the northern with the southern circuit, one might argue that it is an act of active positioning. The low number of tourists makes the competition fierce and puts high demands on the tour operators in Iringa to try and attract some northern visitors to the south.

6. Fahari yetu- Cultural heritage development

Managing a museum in the old Boma

In 2016, the Iringa Boma Regional museum and Cultural Centre opened for the first time, operated by the project fahari yetu- Southern Highlands Cultural Solutions, a “programme supporting sustainable community development and poverty alleviation in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania through conservation, management, commercialization and promotion of cultural heritage resources” (fahariyetu Programme). fahari yetu, means ‘our pride’ in Swahili, and started as a program funded by the European Union Development Fund and operates today mainly through the museum. Two of the expected results from the fahari yetu programme is to 1) document, map and interpret representative cultural resources to conserve the heritage in the Iringa Region and 2) making cultural sites and products physically accessible through public exposure and display (ibid).

Based on recent findings from the project, fahari yetu have been able to date the building to 1914, built by the German colonial regime and one of the oldest building in Iringa town. Boma means fortification in Swahili and has come to be used as a general name for older colonial buildings around Tanzania, as well as the Maasai bomas.¹⁷ The building’s original purpose was to serve as a military hospital during the German colonial period, it later came to function as regional administrative centre for the British, and after that as regional and district administration office from independence in 1961 up until 2014 when the renovation for the museum started (informal conversation).

Jan, one of the initiators, tells me the reason why they started the project; when they were educating students in tourism and cultural anthropology at the UoI they felt that they missed the link between these two subjects. He describes it as they were in their own academic island but missing the connection to reality and to the community, so their intention was to create an outreach project:

...maybe heritage is something in-between that links the two fields together. [...] So that was the basic concept, to have a holistic approach to heritage management; research, one part of it but also to have applied heritage restoration. To have the commercialization part, how can you convert now what you have research, what you have conserved, or what you have preserved into livelihoods, how can you convert it into, how can you convert it into community livelihoods. (Jan)

¹⁷ A Maasai boma is a fenced era to protect livestock, but there is a number of so called cultural bomas established as tourism destinations (Melubo & Carr 2019, 5).

Converting heritage into an economic resource for the community is still bit of a challenge, events such as culture nights and festivals have been gradually successful in attracting visitors. The project has also provided capacity building and scholarships to students to pursue their master's degree at UoI. The community importance is also something that Jimson, the other initiator, highlights when he talks about the museum and describes the fahari yetu-team as “there only as agents” (Jimson).

The museum, referred to as the Iringa Boma by the study's participants, is one of the tangible outcomes from the project and currently the only ongoing activity for fahari yetu. It has two employees, apart from the two initiators: one museum manager and a museum guide/receptionist. The building itself consists of five rooms in use by the museum, a conference room and an office. There is also a café with its own staff and two employees responsible for the ground facilities. A woman puts up a small shop of Maasai products, almost every day, under the archers in one of the corners facing the street.

The museum exhibitions consist of five rooms, each with a specific theme: Iringa history, traditional healers, objects from Iringa homes, an interactive exhibition and other destinations in the region. The assistant project manager describes Iringa Boma as a “representation of Iringa” and stresses the process of creating a new museum as a collaboration with the community: “that museum was done by community, so we were there only to facilitate and make sure they speak what they like. And then we are summarizing what they say and share to the museum” (Jimson).

Outside the reception two large signs show the background of the museum and what you will learn inside. Visitors are received by the museum guide or the museum manager in the reception and then instructed to start in the room referred to as number one. There, visitors are able to learn about important historical events and persons in the Iringa region, with much focus on the story of Chief Mkwawa and presenting Wahehe cultural activities and artefacts. Displayed items such as a bow, spears, white and black cloths, German coins and rosaries are all representing different parts of Iringa town development, from pre-colonial era up to today. One glass display shows a spear, a chair and the traditional white garment Hehe elders and chiefs wear, called a Mgolole. All signs are in both Kiswahili and English throughout the museum, the assistant museum manager tells me that the English translations are intentional to reach a wider tourist audience.

The next room is intended for temporary exhibitions. However, the current exhibition on worship and traditional healers have been there since the opening in 2016. The exhibition

consists of large photographs with texts from a research project done in the area on traditional healing and worship. In the centre stands a showcase containing more German coins and a kalabas, items connected with protection and healing. This exhibition gives the visitors a glimpse of current beliefs in Iringa and the practice of healers and worship of ancestors.¹⁸

After learning about ancestors and healers the visitor gets to see items of ordinary life in Iringa in an exhibition called Cultures of Iringa. Objects used in everyday tasks are put on display; axes, pots and chairs, and this time they also have the names in Kihehe, the local language spoken in Iringa region. All of the items have been collected from the Iringa region by the museum. The theme is from earth to table, showing tools and items used in food preparations and cooking displayed not behind glass. On the other side of the room a smaller exhibition called “Objects stories” shows four items behind glass; a pack of tobacco leaves, an iron, a radio and a Maasai kalabas. Behind the tobacco leaves, symbolizing the era of large-scale tobacco farms in the 1950’s and 1960’s, there is a large photograph of the late former



Image 4: The first exhibition room in the Iringa Boma. Wahehe-culture on display. Photograph by author.

¹⁸ The exhibition present’s the work of social anthropologist, Gundula Fisher, who previously worked with fahari yetu and who conducted her research in the region.

president Julius Nyerere. The positioning of these objects behind glass contributes to the impression of being more valuable than the rest of the objects in the exhibition.

The display of objects in room one and three connects to the traditional role of museums, to showcase objects which are gazed upon and because of its context in what Urry & Larsen defines as a “special sense of aura [...] the aura of authentic historic artefacts” (2011, 140). The objects in Iringa Boma become inscribed with this aura, not because they are made by a specific artist, but in the act of being displayed, an act which is representing the development of museums in which pluralisation of not just history but here also objects (op. cit., 140-141). The way visitors gaze in a museum also seems to have changed, with people wanting to gaze on “representations of the ‘ordinary’” (ibid). To be recognized as heritage often requires a connection to the past which can be determined by its authenticity (Cosgrove 2003, 115). Cosgrove phrases it as the “test of heritage is its authenticity” because through it the present ‘touches’ the past (ibid). Many visitors expressed delight when they saw common objects in the exhibition, which enhanced the museums status of representing authentic Iringa culture, a form of symbolic capital. Pointing out that the museum has a community focus can also be connected to the critique Bushozi has expressed against the museum in Kalenga (2014), which is operated by the Division of antiquities. The Iringa Boma can therefore be interpreted to follow the trend of community involvement and making a statement towards state-managed museums.

The next room in the museum is a small room, behind the reception with three interactive objects, visitors are invited to try a traditional kanga, to try stomp maize and the chance to get their picture taken as a Hehe-chief in the white Mbolole or a woman in a black dress, called a Kaniki, painted on a wooden board. The figures have cut-outs for the faces, so visitor can take a photo as a momentarily Wahehe. Many of the visitors were encouraged by the museum guide to take a picture, even if it sometimes took a while for them to sum up the courage, they often ended up putting their faces in the cut-out, smiling for the camera. Jokes about men choosing the woman figure or making funny faces to the camera made the activity and room less formal compared to the rest of the museum, stepping out of the role of the observer. The museum guide expressed to me that this was her favourite room in the museum (Interview 3).

Focus on interactivity is also part of the change in visitors gaze, tourists are not supposed to be passive watchers anymore but should interact. Participating in the exhibitions is also part of the modern museum which according to Urry & Larsen is a global change of attitude (2011, 141). Another action of inclusion the museum has taken is the language signs. Swahili is the

official language in Tanzania but the inclusion of Kihehe names in the third exhibition room can be interpreted as a statement of including local culture.¹⁹

Visitors are then guided into the final exhibition room at Iringa Boma, where they are introduced to other destinations in the region. Both cultural heritage and natural sites such as the largest national park in Tanzania, Ruaha national park. Entering the room, the first thing to catch your eye is a large map over the Iringa district, identifying Cultural Heritage Attractions in the Iringa Region. The museum is presenting a number of sites in town and around the region such as graves, monuments, springs and battlefields. Short descriptions and images from some of the places and even a miniature replica of the Isimila stone age site creates a sort of guide for the visitors on “where to go next”.²⁰ Exhibiting and informing the tourist about these places implies that there is much more to see in the region and the museum itself turns places into destinations.

Mapping out Iringa heritage

Museums are both attractions in itself as well as a place for presenting the destinations attractions (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, 132), and the Iringa Boma are doing both of these things. fahari yetu are, according to their expected results, actively mapping out heritage sites not just in their museum but also in the urban landscape around Iringa town. Three of these sites, in the museum presented as “Iringa Town- Layers of History”, will now be presented to illustrate the form of heritage sites the museum is, through the process of identification, also marketing.

The first site featured in the museums “Layers of history” is Gangilonga, “the stone that speaks”.²¹ The site is a large rock formation, accessible by foot due to its location in town. The visitors also learn in the museum that the name Gangilonga comes from being a place for worship and speaking to the ancestors, or the other explanation is that Mkwawa’s scouts used it as an outlook for German troops and communicated their positions from the stone to Mkwawa. I heard from co-workers that the site has previously had issues of people getting

¹⁹ Swahili is the official language in Tanzania even though Kihehe is the local language spoken in the Iringa region.

²⁰ Isimila stone age site is famous for its sandstone pillars and archaeological findings. The museum got permission the fall of 2018 to collect stone age-tools from the site for exhibiting at the museum in the future.

²¹ The name is a Hehe compound of noun from two words in Kihehe: Iligangalyelilonga, Lilganga means “the stone” and Iilonga means “which speaks” so together the name becomes “the stone that speaks” (Iringa Boma museum).

robbed and used to be considered an unsafe space. Today there is a guard up at the site, charging 5000 TZS (approximately 2 USD) per person if you have a resident permit, and 10 000 if you are a tourist. The site offers a great view of Iringa town and is a popular spot for sightseeing. Next to the rock stands a big sign with the fahari yetu-logo, together with washrooms and a shelter for the guard, facilities contributed by fahari yetu.

The second site of “Layers of history” is Igeleke, here presented with my field notes:

It is Sunday and very quiet, apart from the songs coming from a nearby church. The Kiumaki-sign informs us that we have arrived at “the land of Igeleke. A historical heritage site of rock paintings an ancient rock art”. It also warns us from entering on our own: “Strict- the penalty for entering without official receipt of Kiumaki is USD 30 per person. Welcome one, welcome all”.

After we been waiting for about 30 minuets a young man and girl came and greeted us. We signed the visitors’ book and paid the entrance fee (10 000 TZS) and after a short climb, arrived at the bottom of a cement staircase leading up to “the rock”. Up on the top of the mountain a big fence encircles the area around the peak. A “fahari yetu”-sign announces that we have reached the site “Igeleke”. The girl takes the keys out of a green shopping bag and unlock the gate in the fence. After entering the gate and some more climbing over the last edge we reached a beautiful view of the landscape. At the bottom of the mountainside we saw the red paintings. They were spread over an area of four meters wide and high up (around two meters from the ground), the ones high up more visible and clearer than the ones lower down which looks like someone tried to wash them off. The guide told us that they were from the time when Wahehe and Chief Mkwawa were hiding up in these mountains from the Germans so only roughly 130 years old.

Later in the afternoon I discussed the date of the paintings with my roommates. One of my roommates who speak Swahili said that the paintings had been discovered by the Hehe, not been made by Mkwawa, and that it got lost in the Swahili/English conversation. However, the age of the paintings is still unclear (end of field notes).

Igeleke has got their own tour company, the Kiumaki, who quite literally holds the key to the site. The fahari yetu-logo is also here located next to the site, informing visitors that the site is said to have been a sacred place for local communities who used it for rituals. The fahari yetu-sign also refer to archaeological excavations which showed human activity around the site from the late Stone Age, 40,000 years ago up to modern times. Offering their own tours, and having the key, contributes to Kiumaki authority over this site in contrast to Gangilonga. It is also noteworthy that Mkwawa gets mentioned in the story of Igeleke by the guide. The time span

from Stone Age up to modern history contributes to a sense of agelessness and opens up for the possibility to ascribe the paintings with different stories, depending on the narrator.

The last site presented in the Iringa Town-Layers of history is Kitanzini. Located in town, only a 15 minute walk from the museum, it is the former execution site used by the German colonial power. The name comes from the Swahili word Kitanzi, means hanging loop, and it was the place for the hanging tree, where people accused of collaborating with Mkwawa were executed. Today the site consists of a new monument, a tree made of plaster which together with the fahari yetu-sign marks the site, surrounded by residents' houses and small shops.

Together these three sites represent a historical time span from ageless rock art, to Gangilonga narratives of traditions and Mkwawa, up to Kitanzini, where we then have come into the colonial area with a site connected to violence and oppressing power. It exemplifies the way fahari yetu actively marks these places through their signs as important and historically relevant sites. In that way we can conclude that the museum is active in the creation of Iringa heritage but also hold a power position of producing knowledge of the heritage. According to MacCannell a place becomes a destination through the structure of attraction, which includes three components: tourist/sight/marker which creates an attraction to the site (2013, 41). A place must undergo what MacCannell calls a "sacralization" in five stage process; 1) naming phase; 2) framing and elevation phase; 3) enshrinement phase; 4) mechanical reproduction phase; 5) social reproduction phase (op. cit., 44-45). This model is often applied on a specific place, Gangilonga for example, which has become a place that is framed through guidebooks and the fahari yetu-sign, later enshrined by having a guard and now mechanically reproduced by images and tourism marketing. These types of sacralization of the Iringa sites contributes to Iringa as a tourism destination because they demonstrate what is available for the tourist consumption.

The museum's status as the presenter and representing the Iringa heritage is strengthened by its presence in the urban landscape. The name Boma (fort) also implies its protective function of culture for future generations.

Challenges with operating a private museum

The Iringa Boma has operated in more than two years now but are facing some economic challenges. Despite being located in the center of Iringa town, easily accessible next to a big park called Uhuru garden, it is experiencing difficulties attracting visitors. The money from the EU development fund had a 3-year time limit, so the museum now has to find other grants for

it to stay open. The revenue from visitors is not covering the costs because there are too few tourists and visitors from the community. When talking to the staff at Iringa Boma I understand that the project faced issues from the beginning. One of the biggest challenges was the restricted time frame and the level of control from the European Union, Jimson tells me:

the EU had their own feeling what they wanted to achieve, because EU are people, sometimes I wish different, even possible if I could be in that central committee of EU I could have shouted to them that you cannot work on cultural within a time of years. (Jimson).

There is still a sense of disappointment about all the projects they could have done with some extra time and frustration connected to the memories of the working process, especially the starting process was difficult, Jan tells me. The project faced expectations from other agencies and stakeholders within the community to “dash out money easily” and when the fahari yetu did not live up to those expectations it led to some people not supporting the project. Jan, who is originally from Europe himself, explains the experience gave him a: “really a deep, deep understanding through the project of how difficult it is to achieve development in a country like this” and up close seeing what consequences comes with poverty and peoples’ mindset (Jan). The project made him more aware of foreign actors’ agenda and the problems that occur when those agendas differ from those whom the project is intended to serve.

fahari yetu had to return some of the money back to the EU in the end because of the time constraint and are now trying to find new funds. The project is still connected to the University of Iringa but has initiated the process of becoming a Non-governmental organization (NGO). However, the political situation in Tanzania has made it more difficult for new NGO’s to establish which put the registration at risk. The museum offers tours and is hoping to operate as travel agents and tour operator more frequently, a common process found in previous museum studies (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, 135). This process can be seen as a global shift for museums which now have to adapt to commercial businesses (Urry & Larsen 2011, 142), forced to become market oriented through museum shops or attracting visitors through displays and events. There is hope that attracting more tourists to the region will contribute financially to the museum and a couple of Culture Nights have been arranged as a way to raise the local knowledge.

7. Legends of Resistance

Chief Mkwawa

You cannot sell Iringa without talking about Mkwawa. And furthermore, Mkwawa is the icon of the place, not only Iringa but the whole of Southern Highlands. (Frank)

I had never heard the story of Mkwawa before arriving in Iringa. On my first week, my colleague sat me down at the museum and told me the story about Wahehe and Mukwavinyika Munyigumba Mwamuyinga, commonly known as Chief Mkwawa.²² The most well-known part of the story is how he and the Wahehe warriors defeated the German military force at Lugalo in the late 19th century. According to historian Iliffes the force consisted of “13 Europeans, some 320 askari, 170 porters, machine guns, and field artillery” when they entered Uhehe, the land of Hehe, in 1891 (1979, 108). Redmayne notes that after the battle the commander “Zelewski and about 10 Germans and many of their soldiers were killed but the author of this account is clearly exaggerating the German defeat” (1964, 432). This is a unique historical event in the history of colonialization of German East Africa (op. cit., 151) and Mkwawa was frequently mentioned as an important historic figure in my interviews.²³ But as Redmayne also notes, it is a history at risk for exaggeration and glorification. There are two monuments at the site of the battlefield constructed on opposite sides of the highway to Dar es Salaam. One large monument that commemorates the Germans and a smaller monument on the other side of the road honoring the Wahehe.

However, the defeat did not keep the German colonialization from strengthening the colonial authorities in Iringa. For several years Mkwawa was on the move after his fort in Kalenga, the place of his military organization,



Image 5: Portrait of Chief Mkwawa, depicted from his son Sapi. Courtesy of fahari yetu and the Iringa Boma.

²² There is still a chief from the Mkwawa family, who is regarded as a symbolic role as the leader in Iringa.

²³ The more well-known resistance in Tanganyika history (mainland Tanzania before the union with Zanzibar) is the Maji Maji rebellion 1905-1907 (Iliffes 1979, 168-202).

had been attacked in 1894 (Redmayne 1964, 163). On the 19th of July 1898, Commander Tomas von Prince, with the help of a young boy, caught up with Mkwawa, finding the Chief already dead. Mkwawa had shot himself in the head. After the remains of the rebel leader had been discovered the Germans removed the head of Mkwawa and transported it to Germany (Bucher 2016, 288). The exhibition in the Boma describes this act as: “In a demonstration of colonial power, the German troops severed Chief Mkwawa head from his body” (Iringa Boma exhibition).

The skull of Mkwawa is perhaps what is still upholding his fame, because it remained in Germany until 1954 when the British government repatriated it to the late chief’s descendants. Today the skull is on display at the Mkwawa museum in Kalenga, a small building under the national museum that was built for the sole purpose of showcasing the honored chief. The small building is located on the grounds of the old fort with the graves of Mkwawa’s decedents next to the museum. The Chief’s own grave is however located in Mlambalasi, not in Kalenga. One of the rules at the museum is that you must take off your shoes before entering. This contributed to my impression of the one-room museum as a temple rather than a museum. Inside four glass showcases are items connected to Mkwawa displayed, the guide points to one showcase and tells me that some of these items was used by the chief to communicate with the ancestors. In the center of the room, on a white pedestal, the skull is displayed in a glass box. A large printed note makes it clear that photographing the skull is not allowed. The whole site, with the graves, the skull and design of the building leaves me with the impression of a mausoleum.

Chief Mkwawa is today considered an icon and many of his actions against German colonial government are viewed as heroic. Even the expansion of Uhehe territory in the 19th century before the German invasion is regarded with admiration. One participant told me “I would love to see the art of leadership, that this gentle giant, used to organize his soldiers. And then maintain it for nearly 10 years. For being intact without being damaged by any force.” (Jimson). Describing Chief Mkwawa as a “gentle giant” shows us in what terms he is spoken of today and the symbolic importance he has in the Iringa history.

The story is, apart from being a symbol of rebellion, also seen as a potential strategy for marketing Iringa. Frank, a university lecturer, compared the importance of Chief Mkwawa to attract tourists to the Iringa region with the common marketing of Zanzibar as the “spice islands”:

Because even the Boma it can sell very well with Mkwawa. And also we found that every place they got, they got this system of branding. You go to this place they got their branding, for instance

you go to Zanzibar you see spice island, so everything is spice, its spice and spice and spice, but come to Iringa what is our spice?

Mkwawa? I replied, he smiles and nods while continuing:

Mkwawa is our spice [...] you go to Serengeti, there is migrations routes and whatever, whatever.

What is ours? Mkwawa. You go to Ngorogoro, they got those craters, so we don't, our crater is Mkwawa. So, I think the only way to sell ourselves is through Mkwawa. Because even the Ruaha national park has a connection, so it's hard, it's hard to sell ourselves without talking of Mkwawa.

(Frank)

Frank suggest that one way of attracting more tourist to the region would be through arranging tours in the footsteps of the late chief (Frank). Mkwawa is identified as important and useful for the tourism future, as we can see. Iringa history has a legend which distinguish the destination from other sites, the “production of difference” as Kirshenblatt-Gimblett defines it (1998, 152). Activities such as a specific museum, tours and several tourist sites connected to him are part of the process of constructing heritage. For example, when the tour guides are telling us about Mkwawa at Igeleke or when the boys at Karibu Kusini talks of Gangilonga-myths, knowledge is produced and distributed, which contribute to creating an Iringa narrative.

It is not only Mkwawa's accomplishments from when he was alive that have contributed to his status. Bucher argues that the process of removal and transportation of the skull to Germany and being returned by British government actually makes the remains a symbol for political power (2016, 290). Returning Mkwawa's skull should be regarded as a symbolic statement of German defeat after WWI and that the colonial era in Tanzania was over (ibid). The skull highlights the function of authenticity in representing heritage, whether or not it is actually the skull of Chief Mkwawa.²⁴ The fact that there is a skull is authentic enough as a symbolic remain of the colonial violence. This legend might also contribute to new perspectives on how colonialization is presented in a tourism context, which will be discussed for the rest of this chapter.

²⁴ Redmayne mentions uncertainty of the skull's identity before it was returned in 1954 (1964, 18).

Colonial ghosts

And putting much effort maybe in those marketing destinations like Germany, where we see they are interested in maybe visiting Tanzania, maybe because of history. Put a lot effort on promoting this historical tourism. (Tully)

In September 2018 the German ambassador in Tanzania came to visit Iringa town and the museum, highlighting the current strategy for the Iringa Boma to receive funding by emphasising the colonial history. The director for the Goethe-Institute in Dar es Salaam tells me and Iringa museum representatives that is previously being considered a sensitive issue it is today viewed as an important part of history for Germany, this was discussed at a meeting in Dar es Salaam in October 2018 (informal conversation).²⁵ German governmental actions such as economic support for conservation of buildings from the German colonial era, is what the Iringa Boma hopes for.

I felt curious about the placement of the museum inside a building with connection to the German colonial history and how the museum managers had reflected on any potential symbolic meaning. Jimson explained that he regarded it more as a “African colonial building representation” and not a German representation with the motivation that it was only the architectural design that came from the West. The actual labour of building the military hospital (today the Iringa Boma) “wasn’t the colonial people, it was those who were colonized” Jimson says, therefore the knowledge of construction belongs to the people who constructed the building. With this argument Jimson claims that the Iringa Boma is more a tangible Iringa and Tanzanian heritage and less of a German heritage:

This is our building, and we are the one who constructed it under your supervision. So, this I would love so much to be understood clearly. That people shouldn’t be standing strong saying this is German building, it speaks like if they are talking colonial language. (Jimson)

The museums’ spatial representation might then for the tourist be gazed upon as a colonial building but for some Tanzanians, like Jimson, the building represents the people who actually did the groundwork constructing it.

²⁵ The Goethe-Institute is a cultural institute of the Federal Republic of Germany with offices all over the world (Goethe-Institute).

He points out that when talking about Tanzanian colonial history the use of words like “superior and inferior” should not be given much space and that we should see it as a “shared experience, between the colonizer and those who were colonized” (Jimson). This could be regarded as a controversial statement in a post-colonial region. Describing colonialism as a “shared experience” is potentially ignoring the structural violence which sites like the Kitanzini represents. However, the description could also be a critical stance against the oversimplified narrative of Wahehe as ‘good’ and the German colonizers as ‘evil’. Bruner & Kirshenblatt-Gimblett raised the potential idea that tourism contributes to a space for facing and reflect on colonial history, which is dis-embedded from history and re-embedded as heritage (1994, 448). A process which makes difficult and frightening history feel more safe and easier to approach. Bruner & Kirshenblatt-Gimblett argues that tourism brings the past/old/dead back to life, in this case colonialism, giving tribalism and colonialism a second life (op. cit., 435).

Harrison & Hughes states that in the context of colonial-history heritage is influential in the creation of both an individual and collective identity (2010, 238). Harrison & Hughes refer to the museum as a “authorized space” for talking about difficult and painful historical events (op. cit., 258). One of the functions of a museum is providing places for remembering and reconciling with difficult memories (op. cit., 257).²⁶ Most heritage sites in Iringa town has some connection to the time of German colonialization and in those cases where there is no clear link, Igeleke for example, narratives about Mkwawa are still articulated. When it comes to places with activities of direct violence, Kitanzini, it has today been recreated as an art project, a figure of a leafless tree. Jimson tells me that the tree statue itself needs some work, but it is the history of this place that is important. He describes the Kitanzini site not with horror or colonial power but instead:

We come to understand that they sustain their resistance to colonialism (...) So it, like all of this signifies who we are, but sometimes Kitanzini shows as well Africans or black people are not to be looked down. They understand their own values, they can stand for it. No matter how economically poor they are, already they understand their personality, that they are people to be treated with rights, and to be equally given their right treatment and dignity. That they should be respected. (Jimson)

²⁶ Anderson show the political intentions that museums has represented in shaping “imagined communities” (2006, 178-185) which would serve for further research and a comparable study of nationalistic images from the National museum of Tanzania and the Iringa Boma.

The site is reinterpreted as a symbol of resistance, not just for people living in Iringa. Jimson opposes the idea that historical wrongs would still cause frictions and tells me that we should not become emotional about history. In the same interview he later told me:

And that German loved to be harsh on me, then it will take me back to the same moment that the oh, you forget now we are an independent setting. You pretend to be the same as your forefathers. So, behave yourself. That can be taken into joke a little bit, but I might mean it. (Jimson)

This quote illustrates the way Jimson play with the role of living in a post-colonial country. When he says “you pretend to be your forefathers, behave yourself” he is referring to former colonizers and reminds the person that these are different times. He argues that we should not get emotional about history, but it can still be used to single out potential negative behavior.

Chief Mkwawa and the history of Wahehe resistance is today connected with as a sense of pride. Two students who moved to Iringa to study tourism expresses it as a history filled with a sense of pride. One student describes it as:

Also, I can say it's a story of being proud of, because Chief Mkwawa was going against the exploitations, the humiliation from the colonialist. [...] so it is a story to be proud of because he was going against those bad things which the colonialist was practicing on us. (Interview 8)

Even for students who had not grown up in Iringa, Chief Mkwawa represents a resistance. Mkwawa is regarded a hero, I learn from the same discussion when the other student tells me that:

He is also a great hero, because he didn't, he was against oppression. He taught us and fellows of Africans to not accept oppression, because the colonialist were oppressing Africans so they were taking their land, they were spreading their own culture so they were killing everything about Africa, so yeah, mister, chief Mkwawa did not accept them to do that stuff, so it is a great figure and a symbol to be and people should follow in that example, and not allow a men setting in any sort of oppression. (Interview 8)

When I asked the students about who the potential customer or tourist visiting Iringa for the Mkwawa history were, the students mentioned domestic tourists because of his status as a national hero. The student who called Mkwawa a “great hero”, tells me when I ask if the chief is a symbol for Hehe or Tanzania: “Of course he was fighting for the Hehe, the Hehe who are

Tanzanians. Yes. So, I feel that I will never follow the colonialist rules, for me as a Tanzanian that is for nationalism” (Interview 8). The hero has become a national symbol.

Stories about Chief Mkwawa have been influenced by tourism and can be seen as a “tourism tale”. Salazar mentions “[t]ourism tales are powerful in the sense that they turn places and peoples into easily consumable attractions, providing simplified and historically fixed versions of local heritage” (Salazar 2006, 836). This narrative contributes to a simplified history of “evil” Germans and “good” Wahehe and the leadership by a “a great hero”. This colonial narrative might influence the perception of history and local memory. Similar processes have been identified by Keesing who argues that previously colonized people distance themselves from the dominant culture by selecting and celebrating elements from their own traditions that differentiate them from the colonizer (1989, 23). Idealization of the pre-colonial are often caused by Western ideals of primitivity which then becomes selected with the purpose to differentiate from colonial culture (ibid). The Mkwawa narrative is part of the idealization of pre-colonial Wahehe in the Iringa tourism development. Keesing argues that even if the past is constructed, it also carries “real” legacies and influences the present:

[t]he past may be constructed as a symbol, and however critical it may be for historically dominated peoples to recapture this ground, a people’s cultural heritage poses a challenge to radical questioning. We are all to some degree prisoners of “real” pasts as they survive into the present- in the form of patriarchal values and institutions, of patterns of thought, of structures of power (Keesing 1989, 25).

When comparing how the two museums in the Iringa region are constructing the history of Chief Mkwawa, it is clear that the museum in Kalenga, under the Division of Antiquity, calls attention to one specific individual and the skull is still a symbol of resistance against oppression. A symbol which is applied to the national image as we can see in the tourism students comments above. This image is not challenged in the Boma exhibition by its description of Mkwawa as a leader, when faced with the issue of the caravan slave trade the exhibition states that: “There is no historical evidence that the Hehe under Chief Mkwawa were involved in trading slaves.” (Iringa Boma, exhibition room 1). Any potential ‘bad actions or qualities’ are invisible or unproblematized in the representation. The two Lugalo-battle monuments illustrate how the physical representation of monuments can in itself carry colonial past, the large one representing the German invaders and the smaller one the indigenous

residents, who later became subjects to the German colonial authorities. Colonial attitudes are still visible through its manifestations in the landscape, like ghosts of the past.

Fouéré & Hughes study of heritage development in East Africa exemplify how heritage and memory is a field for power over representations, a “site for struggle” as they call it (2015, 543). This includes symbolical, political and emotional struggles, which the case of “Heroes and liberation struggle heritage” (op. cit., 552) serves as an additional dimension to Chief Mkwawa. Fouéré & Hughes identifies the Tanzanian state as “the main agent in the memorialization of political heroes”, reproducing figures from political parties and well-known anti-colonialists (ibid). Fouéré & Hughes claim that the process of highlighting a certain type of figures, acknowledged by the state, rather than other figures and heroes “promote a glorious and patriotic conception of liberation struggles rather than, for instance, digging into – and hoping to heal- painful or divisive memories and legacies of conflict” (ibid). Identifying Chief Mkwawa as a hero is potentially the result of a similar process, encouraged by the Tanzanian governmental agents through the Kalenga Museum.

8. Hopes and fears connected to Iringa tourism industry

Cultural tourism is on a national level frequently marketed as a complement to the safaris and natural experiences and judging from the representation at SITE it is clear that nature tourism and safaris still dominate the tourist gaze. It is stated in the national Tourism Master plan that it will be useful to “develop a cultural/ historical tourism product” to promote Tanzania as a tourism product (2002, 45). The governmental actor responsible for heritage in Tanzania is the Division of Antiquities, under Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT). Their Cultural Heritage Policy states the connection between heritage and tourism:

It is important for the Government to recognize cultural heritage resources as important tourist attractions. The country is responsible for promotion and development of cultural heritage tourism, which is currently the fastest growing industry in the world. (Policy: 4.9 2008, 20).

The cultural heritage tourism is not marketed as its own concept but are intertwined with the more general ‘culture tourism’. The TTB organisation, in charge of promoting Tanzania as a tourist destination to the international market, are part of turning heritage into a commodity.

TTB's website lists cultural tourism as one of many "Things to do" when visiting Tanzania. Under a picture of Maasai dancers, cultural tourism is described as: "beneficial to everyone" and "creates mutual understanding and friendships between tourists and local people" (TTB: Things to do). Cultural tourism is presented to bring economic income directly to local communities by visiting "local Mamas" and try local cuisine.

The name of the governmental authority within this field, MNRT, illustrates how tourism traditionally has been interpreted as nature-based in Tanzania. The very name 'Cultural tourism' also becomes a concept well-integrated in the classical nature-versus-culture dichotomy within the tourism industry in Tanzania. The Cultural Heritage Policy identifies its overall objective as contributing to "the economy through tourism by conserving and developing cultural heritage resources" (Policy: 3.2 2008, 7).

In the Guidelines for Cultural Tourism in Tanzania the concept of 'Cultural Tourism Enterprise' (CTE) comes up. The MNRT is through such initiatives, in a position of control over what kind of culture and heritage the tourists will experience. CTE have much emphasis on community participation to reduce the risk of exploiting local communities in the tourism process. CTE "is the total set of products that involve different cultural and natural attractions, activities and provision of services in a given local community" (Guidelines for Cultural tourism in Tanzania, MNRT, 2). The guidelines encourage host communities and indigenous people involvement in cultural tourism and "on promoting the country's cultural and national identity" (op. cit., 3).

I met a young man walking around with a blue t-shirt that had a white print of "Kalenga Cultural Tourism Enterprise" during Karibu Kusini who was in the process of starting his own CTE. I was invited out to visit him and to learn more about his business. In the following section his company will be presented as an example of how to operate an CTE in the Iringa region.

Kalenga CTE

Fieldnotes December 2018:

We (I, Jimson and a student at UoI) are visiting Kalenga, the home of local legend Chief Mkwawa and the former power center of Wahehe. Kalenga is now a village that tourists pass through on their way to Ruaha national park. After meeting for lunch with the CTE-entrepreneur we walk down a small, dusty street to see some of the places he plans to bring future tourists. Some of the buildings we pass have lost their roof and been taken over by plants. He invites us inside a house

where two young women play cards on a bench. Across the room from where we enter a door is leading out to the backyard. We are encouraged to follow the young man outside, “this” he tells us stretching his arms, is where he plans to take tourists to show them how to make the famous Katchuli, a local dish made of mashed bean fritters. Two large flat stones lie on the ground in the left corner, under a jutting roof, used for grinding the beans. Our guide explains enthusiastically how the tourist will learn to make Katchuli from scratch.

We then go down to the Ruaha river that passes next to the village and watch over the green fields. He tells us that the CTE will offer tours to see the agriculture and potential bike rides along the fields, pointing out the potential routes to us. We then visit his brand new ofisi (office in Kiswahili) which he has decorated with a big sign. The sign, the entrepreneur tells us, illustrate the different activities he will offer to tourists: paintings of people learning how to cook, weaving baskets, making pottery, agriculture, grinding beans, a person dressed in a Mgorole riding a bicycle, learning how to play local board games and lastly dancing (Image 6). Copies of his university diploma hangs on the other three walls, to ensure visitors that he has a tourism education. Sitting behind his desk he smiles and looks out through the door, waiting for potential customers to come (end of fieldnotes).

The owner explained to me that there is a difference between CTE and tour companies, the Kalenga CTE should not be regarded as a tour company because it deals with cultural activities and not safaris. Instead the CTE will be useful “to see the lifestyles of the peoples, how they live, how they, in case how they cultivate farms, how they cook foods. Especially in traditional foods. So, in case of the traditional activities. Cultural activities” (Interview 6). I asked if he didn’t think that visiting a town and trying local dishes wasn’t a tour? He replied:

Yeah, it’s a tour but it deals with the cultural activities. It deals with the cultural activities, and not nature activities. Because I have no vehicle to carry people up to Serengeti there, to carry the people to Mikumi there. If I possessed a vehicle it means that I engaged in the tour company, because the tour company is the persons who take people from one place to another place [...] So, for me I sell the different attractions found in Kalenga village, in historical, because in that village there is famous of story, past historical there, yes. (Interview 6)

The distinction he makes between safari tours and cultural activities illustrates the common perception of tours as closely related to safari tours. When he mentions the need for a vehicle to be able to arrange tours it relates to movement or travel: “a tour company is the person who take people from one place to another” (Interview 6). Visiting a CTE the tourist has already arrived at a village. Making the distinction between tours and CTE can additionally be a way

to avoid people from feeling objectified as the action of touring includes watching and interacting (consumption) through the tourist gaze. Bruner & Kirshenblatt-Gimblett concludes that the ultimate tourist commodity is the experience (1994, 435). A cultural tourism enterprise sells experiences such as learning how to cook, which then might also be the reason for the distinction. The CTE-entrepreneur tells me that the reason why he started the company was to raise the awareness about the cultural tourism and offer an alternative to nature tourism (Interview 6).

When I inquired what kind of cultural heritage tourism would be interesting for the tourists to experience, several of the study's participants responded with "visiting local Mamas and Bibis". In Tanzania it is a common expression to refer to women as Mama, mother in Kiswahili, and older women are called Bibi, grandmother in Kiswahili. These visits to women would then take place in their homes where the tourist learn how to cook local dishes such as ugali, a typical Tanzanian food or Katchuli as we saw in Kalenga. One employee at the Iringa Boma museum explained how this type of activity connects culture tourism and heritage together:

For example we are having cultural tourism, when I'm taking a tourist to a certain Mamas house from morning to the evening, the tourists will see how the Mama is preparing the food, how she is serving the food, how is the mama washing the eating utensils, all that, that's how[...] will I say, flipping over the coin, from heritage to tourism because tourism is not just seeing it is about experiencing[...] So for me, taking a tourist to a certain village to see how they live, now I am



Image 6: Sign in the Kalenga CTE-office. Photograph by author. Kalenga, December 2018.

translating heritage to tourism. [...] It not just seeing, you have to be a part of the whole process to understand it. (Interview 2)

The local residents are put on display for the tourist gaze in this scenario. The interviewee has not taken any tourists to a local Mama yet, but similar enterprises can be seen in Maasai bomas in both Tanzania and Kenya (Melubo & Carr 2019; Bruner & Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1994). This activity is motivated as a way for the women to ensure an income but also as a chance for marginalized people to share their knowledge. Teaching tourists would be a source of prestige (Interview 2). In Zanzibar (part of the United Republic of Tanzania), research has shown that women risk to be excluded from the role of “custodians of culture” as a result of patriarchy and official heritage management (Boswell 2011, 203). The activity of visiting local Mamas uphold the tendency of connecting women with the private sphere, even if they are paid.

It has so far been difficult to get other people in Kalenga interested in cultural tourism, the local CTE-founder tells me, which he thinks has to do with the limited knowledge. He got his education from University of Iringa and the company is currently in the process of establishment. Kalenga CTE reproduces heritage images, like the Wahehe-chief, in a tourism context, the painting of a chief riding a bike and playing a traditional game (Image 6). This adds to the unique Kalenga history of Wahehe and Chief Mkwawa.

Heritage and tourism are collaborative industries, as Kirshenblatt-Gimblett concludes (1998, 151). Heritage converts locations into destinations and tourism makes them economically viable as exhibits of themselves. Kalenga village is a subject for becoming a destination through the CTE, the Chief Mkwawa museum and other potential tourism activities. This process can be viewed as a ‘museumfication’ of a destination, as Kirshenblatt-Gimblett claims that “[l]ocations become museums of themselves within a tourism economy” (ibid). Kalenga is not yet turned into a museum but studies over time would be interesting to follow if the CTE have any effect on the village.

These museum-like places offer cultural experiences and performances such as showing traditional dances or cooking, it localises products, for example specific food and dances which then are marketed to tourists. The local tourist officer explains to me that of the main task for the local tourism office is to “add value to products”, which local residents can sell to tourists (Abinery). Cultural tourism becomes a way of marketing the “real”, localized Iringa region. The CTE is marketed through the attraction of authenticity which also comes from the “expectations of the tourists” (Bruner & Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1994, 447). Bruner & Kirshenblatt-Gimblett identified it as a constructed tourist performance and argued that just

because it is constructed it doesn't mean it's not real (op. cit., 459). They compare Maasai performances to theatre where the tourist themselves plays an important role in the drama (op. cit., 467).

One tour company has, in the search for localness, even adopted the anthropological trademark of 'inside knowledge'. On a large sign in the office, a list of all the offered tourism activities shows that there's only safaris and tours but claimed to "give you some of our insider knowledge". When I asked what it meant to give the tourist insider knowledge one of the employees answered:

The founders and you see the staff, they are all natives of Iringa. [...] So even somebody from Arusha, can actually be your guide to a national park but for us we are not just guides for you, we have been here, we know the place so there are some inherited from our forefathers and so [...] that is where we say that we have inside knowledge. We know more than what is in the books.
(Interview 4)

It is important to market your company as the one with the "real knowledge", especially because of the low number of tourist and high competition. When he describes that "we know more than what is in the books" he is also tapping into understanding the 'real' knowledge about Iringa as a symbolic capital. Not just the knowledge about the animals which all tour guides can learn, but their connection to the place makes their knowledge more valid and can be used to compete for the tourists and state their own status.

Education + Tourism = End Poverty?

United Republic of Tanzania is situated in Sud-Saharan Africa, one of the poorest regions in the world (UN.org), I learned from working at the Boma and at UoI that the economic situation in the Iringa region is tough. Governmental minimum wage were in 2010 80,000 Tanzanian shilling for restaurant, guest houses and bar employees and 100,000 Tanzanian shilling for hotel employees (Fisher 2018, 578) and I found no indication that the wages had increased substantially, people working as museum staff or tour guides earned similar sums on a monthly basis in the fall of 2018 (informal communication).²⁷

Tourism is promoted as a way of reducing poverty by generating income for local businesses, according to officials such as Abinery and Tully, which will bring positive impacts

²⁷ 100,000 TZS is in 2019 approximately 43,5 US\$

and improvements in the Iringa region. Knowledge about tourism is however described as low and education is identified as the essential challenge and subject for investments (Abinery). Abinery works as a local tourism officer, responsible of Iringa tourism coordination and he is positive to the tourism industry developing in Iringa. Education together with conservation and promotion are the three issues for the Iringa tourism industry:

For example, not all local communities are familiar with tourism, so first of all we need to invest more on education, for example tourism education, for the local communities but also for the government institutions and the private sector. So that we can work together in order to promote the issue of tourism. [...] So every day when I'm working here, I'm thinking about these three things; education concerning tourism what education I need to provide to the communities. So, they can understand that tourism is a potential, it is very potential to them.²⁸ (Abinery)

He tells me that with increasing numbers of tourists: "Iringa will change", when I ask how it will change, he mentions improvements in living standards for Iringa residents the most prominent impact.

It is however not only economic interests that will motivate Iringa residents. Tourism is viewed as a source of empowerment for the entire the local community. Abinery tells me that: "people will feel proud of having tourism activities in Iringa". One male study participant explained to me that knowledge about tourism needs to be better incorporated in the whole society. He thinks that the people responsible for educating Iringa community are the policymakers and tour operators:

How bad would it be to spend some money into making sure the local community understands tourism? Yeah, I think that's one way to invest your money. Because you are going to receive a lot of money from the activities. So why can't you just find someone, or let's say you find someone, a tourism expert who can teach them how to receive guests [...] So I think they (authors note: tourism policy-makers and tour operators) can still do it, they are not doing it because they don't want to. (Interview 2)

I learned from my interviews that educating people about tourism means to inform about the positive outcomes. This notion of tourism is reproduced from the agent with close connection

²⁸ "They" is in this quote the current residents in the Iringa region who are not yet working in the tourism industry, most people in the region depends on agriculture (information from Iringa Boma).

to education, the UoI with its tourism programs. One BACAT-student explained to me his view on the potential changes that tourism will bring:

And tourism activity will lead to, you know preservation of cultural activities, cultural dances, some tourists likes to see the cultural activities of the people, so people will enjoy being the ones getting paid to show. So it's a very good benefit of tourism, for this part of region. And it will actually increase livelihood of people and social services, for example lately the government is planning to making the road to Ruaha very good, very standard, because to boost the tourism activities in here, so I think that's the benefits according to me. (Interview 5)

In summary it might be concluded that education, knowledge and positive attitudes towards tourism is here encouraged by both local authorities and universities. Education can be understood as a symbolic capital, a cultural capital, which is central for the tourism business. Knowledge can in itself be turned into commodities by working as a tour guide. Tourism education can therefore be understood as a capital in the field of tourism. Agents such as the university and policy makers, who possess much knowledge-capital, also have the power to construct the frames for what is considered proper education. This process should be regarded to legitimate the actors' own position in the field as well (Bourdieu 1996, 44). With the title Education + Tourism = End Poverty? I wanted to show how the local notion of tourism as a good solution for poverty elevation. However, in Tanzanian tourism industry there are also challenges with employment even if you have an education, which we will look into in the next section.

Working in the Tourism sector

University of Iringa produces tourism workers with its tourism education and can be regarded as an influence of attitudes and values in the tourism sector. I was interested in the motivations to why students started to study tourism, the answers can be divided into a couple of themes: the potential of becoming self-employed was mention by both diploma and bachelor students; having strong emotions about tourism, expressing it as "loving tourism"; and making new contacts and gaining more knowledge about Tanzania.

Even if tourism was portrayed as a business attracting a number of students (over 50 students enrolled in the BACAT-program in the fall of 2018) the employment situation is described as difficult. From my interviews with employees in the tourism business or studying

tourism it became clear that securing a job in the sector was far from easy. Talking to a former BACAT-student about how he perceived the work situation for tourism workers I learn that a bachelor-degree might even be a disadvantage on the “labour market”:

These institutions, except the government, they are so scared to employ someone with a high education, because you are going to demand a high salary. You see, so even in tourism industry, those with Certificate and Diploma are the one getting jobs than the one holding bachelors. (Interview 2)

This situation was confirmed by other students at University of Iringa, both bachelor (3-year education) and diploma (2-year education) students. A male BACAT-student told me:

The hotels don't need much people with very high degree, it just need people who talks different languages. But most bachelor-program we don't teach many languages, [...] but the person who has worked there had the experience of knows different languages, so that becomes a barrier for most people with a bachelor's degree program. So, they end of getting low opportunities or wait [...] But also, we have been experiencing this for a very long time in Tanzania. (Interview 5)

Three diploma students, brought up the levels of education and how it affected the work situation in our conversation:

Student 1: It is hard to get a job if you get high studies in tourism. Because they look on the payment, that they are going to pay the officers. So, they take certificate and diploma students.

Student 2: So, they don't look at the knowledge
[...]

Student 3: But if you have a bachelor, it could be more difficult because they tend to say they need people who are no more, higher, have not more educated because of the salary. Yeah. So, the matter there is about salary. Let's say I'm a diploma holder and she is the degree holder (nodding towards student 2). When we are going to look for a job in the same company, I will be the first one given a priority because they will consider me as, they will pay me a small salary then her. So, they make more benefit. (Interview 8)

When asking about the diploma student's plans after graduating, most of them expressed a desire to still go for bachelor and master's degrees before applying for jobs in tour companies or starting their own. The same applies to the current bachelor students, even if they describe

the future as a tough situation with more uncertainty. Similar tendencies of hiring staff with little education to justify low salaries are identified in Iringa's hospitality industry (Fisher 2018, 580). Having an official tourism education is however not a requirement for working at a tour company, one employee, with no university degree, at a tour company in town refers to her education as "street education" (Interview 4).

Employment issues correlates not only to national economic difficulties but also with issues of gender and education. I learned from working at the museum that there are a majority of male tour guides and tour operators even though there is more of a balance in numbers between female and male tourism students at UoI. I learned from conversations throughout the fieldwork that there are still stigmas surrounding tourism-activities and questions about respectability, which results in lower numbers of female tour guides. Fisher have studied the notions of 'respectability/ disrespectability' for employees in relation to "the hospitality industry's feminization" (2018, 577). Fisher's study shows how female staff in hospitality service conceive their employment as a venture from the domestic to the public spheres, a shift that questions their role as mothers and housewives in Tanzanian society (op. cit., 585). Because "hospitality service is imbued with notions of paid sexuality and excessive drinking" this leads female workers, but also male, to "appear to be engaged in 'immoral' activities" (op. cit., 586).

One male tour operator regarded the low number of female guides as a consequence of women not taking the opportunities of working with tourism, implying that men are better at taking chances, or seizing opportunities. The reason why women lacked the initiative, he explained, had to do with lack of knowledge which causes women to miss what he refers to as opportunities: "So, if they educate that woman, yeah, I think that they are going to take this opportunity here, the issue is to educate that women to empower women, to take these opportunities" (Interview 6). Education is regarded by him as *the* solution to gender inequality in the tourism industry. However, it is not a lack of women enrolling in tourism education, but the problem is, as Fisher's study indicates, connected to societal and cultural structures.²⁹

Even after reaching the goal of being employed in a tour company the work tasks can cause other problems. Tour companies have to be ready all hours of the day to respond to emails, one employee tells me, otherwise they risk losing the customer to another company (interview 4). Another task they have to face is the responsibility for the tourists. A female

²⁹ This study's participants illustrate this divide, 14 of the 20 interviewees were men.

employee at a tour company in Iringa describes to me the different roles she has, in relation to the tourists- changing between a friend and supervisor:

If I go out then I have to be there to take care of you. Because if you saw something strange, I know how to take care of it because I know, and you are a tourist. And if they saw you, somehow, people from here they are going to be like, if you do something crazy, maybe she is going to report us, maybe she knows that. (Interview 4)

The employee tells me that she accompanies tourists out to bars and nightclubs and explains to me that the tourists are “not going by themselves” for their own security. This is however presented to the visitors as a social activity and not for their own safety, she is keeping the role of a friend:

I’m like I will be there with you. Why? Just to have fun with you. So, they won’t feel like he is a stranger, you are looking for that sweet tongue to talk with them so they can understand.

Author: Isn’t that difficult because then you need to be both a friend and a guardian at the same time?

Employee: Yeah, yeah, we go, we are very used to it. To just be a friend and, you have to be a friend and then you have to be a guide. And at the same time, I’ve to be a security. So, you have to deal with all three things. (Interview 4)

Tour guides have been described as trapped in a “us and them”-differentiation, having to shift between the two roles (Salazar 2006, 846-847). Salazar interpret from his research on tourist guides in northern Tanzania this shift to the fact “that during the guide-tourist interaction both global and personal imaginaries are at play” (op. cit., 847). The female employee is in this situation aware of the global images of risks (security of the tourist), and the personal risk of tourists being outsiders who risks acting ‘crazy’ which might cause other people to “report us”, her and the tour company. The risks she mentions are:

Maybe they are going to rob their things, someone stole from them. Or maybe you get into an accident. Maybe you are too drunk, and people did something crazy, like rape you. That is going to be on me, that will be the company problem. So, to avoid it around 6 we will take you back. (Interview 4)

To look after the tourist also illustrate the complex power relation between the tourist and the workers: the role of tourist as vulnerable and in need of care, “being a ‘child’” (Urry & Larsen 2011, 106. Apostrophe in original). The employee’s description follows the same rhetoric. Visitors have at the same time the economic power to travel to Iringa, but they are still very much in need of tour operators to guide and look after them. According to the tour operators themselves that is.

One other important role that tour guides play is in the production of ‘Destination Iringa’. Tour guides are the ones who represent Iringa on tours in the city. Salazar describes the tour guides as “creative (re)producers of profitable myth-making narratives. They tailor local- and localized- products (interpretations of local natural and cultural heritage) to changing global audiences” (Salazar 2007, 25). The image produced by tour guides can be seen as one product- Destination Iringa. The product is influenced by expectations of what the tourist desires to see and the tourist gaze, created by the local tourism industry.

Transformed culture? Challenges in tourism development

According to the study’s participants, tourism is, apart from bringing positive changes through economic support, also subject for potentially causing cultural changes in Iringa, I learned and not always positive changes. A number of interviewees expressed the need for better infrastructure for the tourism business to grow in the Iringa region; the Iringa airport, hotels and roads needs to be developed to suit potential international tourists. Others raised concerns that ‘tourism prices’ for local resident risks to increase, making it more expensive to live in Iringa.

Another worry was that the competition for employment would become even harder comparing it to cities in the north such as Arusha and Moshi (Interview 5; Interview 8). One participant expressed that the number of visitors is not the challenge, but the management of heritage sites: “There is poor management of which it gives room for people to vandalize, sometime deliberately, sometimes out of ignorance” (Frank). He also added that an increase in tourists could benefit the sites: “It might increase the value, people will start to value those sites or found them to be one of the income generating sectors” (Frank).

There are also concerns for the state of traditional values with growing tourism. When I inquired about potential negative outcomes of tourism, descriptions of “westernization” came up:

Maybe the things to fear, it is about culture. Westernization. Yeah, because we have our own culture, not only in Iringa but all over Tanzania, so sometimes interacting with people from USA or other parts of the world, is a bit scary and it is good for us to be skeptical. [...] and because we are being posted as underdogs in global culture it is expected that we should be taking in, than we give in terms of culture. And sometimes we find that what we are taking in not really help the way would like it to help us. So, I say moral decay [...] we have local and foreigners, and they don't have what we say a healthy relationship. (Interview 4)

He continues by explaining to me how interaction between locals and foreigners creates new attitudes, mentioning legalizing abortion and gay marriage as examples:

So here in Tanzania it is not yet, and I'm, being a Christian, I don't want that to happen. Yeah. But you know how those things happen, it is when you get closer to people you talk to them. You get used to them somehow, they download things into your mind. And what used to be abnormal becomes normal. So that is how, that is what happens. So, having a lot of visitors is good for the economy but I think we should be skeptical. (Interview 4)

His description of values being “downloaded into your mind” can be understood as introducing different values and attitudes. During our interview he also mentions that he has seen women smoking in Nairobi as another example of foreign culture in East Africa. However, he remarks that he, as a Christian, is not in a position to condemn these women but tells me: “Seeing a woman smoking a cigarette I say, oh, I'm not going to marry this one” (Interview 4).³⁰

Another participant also remarked how she thinks Tanzanians are adapting into “western culture”, a transformation which she explains leave young Tanzanians without knowledge about traditional practices:

They don't know traditional dances so [...] we hope, we expect that young, children, they learn from these elders what they have been doing, what is culture, what is traditional dances. If possible, we can try to showcase where traditional food were cooked, it will be recognized which we hope. This is helpful for young generation to learn and make sure and ensure they still practice our traditions. And no other, I don't know, other transformed culture. (Tully)

³⁰ This quote illustrates women gender roles in Tanzania, what Fisher describes as being in strong connection to wife and motherhood. By commenting that he is not going to marry a woman that smokes it becomes clear that smoking is not suitable behavior for a woman in his view.

Women dressed in exposing clothes, eating pizza and men wearing earrings are examples of "transformed culture" according to her. However, she mentions that the more serious challenges with tourism is an increase in crimes and prostitution which she experienced when previously working in Dar es Salaam:

You can see how our sisters or how our young brothers are associating or having affairs with these old wazungo who are coming for maybe short templates. So maybe we think that because of money, they want money and think all wazungo who are coming have money, so they are associating with them.³¹ (Tully)

In the end she concludes that: "We think that the positive sides will be higher than the negative sides. And we are encouraging visitors to come to Iringa, it is a safe destination" (Tully). With governmental investment, much effort will be put into developing infrastructure which she identifies as the main hindrance for tourism growth in the region.

It might be an oversimplified perspective on societal changes causing no critical reflection on the actual Iringa society. One participant used the phrase "cultural deterioration" when tourists interact with locals, another used term were "transforming culture" to describe how they see potential outcomes on tourist visits in the Iringa region. In these cases, the tourists are regarded as the ones who catalyse cultural change. Both Urry & Larsen (2011, 63) and Smith (1989, 16-17) mention that with the tourism industry the group "tourists" might be subject for a form of scapegoating when in fact these changes are caused by global influences or national politics. This process is visualized in the quotes above, illustrating how Iringa culture might be affected by western influences and growing tourism. The loss of traditional culture among locals come in contrast of the exotification and performance of culture towards tourists.

³¹ The Swahili word Mzungo (singular)/Wazungo (plural) means foreigner, often used towards white tourist/visitors.

9. Iringa Heritage - Commodification and identity

Representations of Heritage

We have so far seen how Iringa is in the process of marketing itself through its history of Wahehe-rebellion, Chief Mkwawa and to some degree the German colonialization. All historical events which through cultural activities turns into Iringa heritage. Heritage survives as representation of themselves which can be sold to tourists or as Kirshenblatt-Gimblett put it “heritage produces the local for export” (1998, 149). This process can be understood as a “heritage-ization” of the Iringa urban landscape. Heritageization of place, and a growing number of museums, shows that the past has become “highly valued in comparison with the present and the future” (Urry & Larsen 2011, 140). Iringa history is more interesting than its present and potential future for tourism actors, illustrating a form of “heritage gaze” in the tourism development.

However, this definition of heritage can be understood as academic and not applicable to Iringa residents’ notions of heritage. A museum employee explained to me that the term “heritage” is not relevant when talking to residents of its academic connotation:

The way they live, they have a lot of cultural performances that they are doing. Cultural stuff they are doing. And they have their own ways to preserve this heritage you see, but the problem starts when you are trying to view or to tell them about their heritage into an academic perspective. That’s the problem [...] Academicians have a certain way of making people feel inferiority, feel like oh, so we have been doing it wrong all time. We have to listen to you now. What we can do. That might be a problem you see. If you want to tell me how I can preserve let’s say my pot or any wooden stuff I’m using at home, why don’t you teach me how to do it better in my own way.
(Interview 2)

The museum employee identifies the power dynamics between academicians and people who are keeping traditions and heritage alive, the cultural capital inhabited by academicians. Heritage as a concept is charged with academic status and power over interpretation, which can cause friction and sense of “inferiority”. Twisting the tourist gaze into a “heritage gaze” enables us to understand how heritage is also the process of creating practices and traditions into objects to be consumed by future tourist. This is also recognized on a governmental level in Tanzania, the Cultural Heritage Policy states that: “Cultural heritage resources are important investment opportunities for they are good tourist attractions” (2008, 2 Policy:1.5).

On the topic of cultural representations for tourists, a number of participants mentioned another group, common in the tourist gaze in Tanzania: the Maasai. Already in the city landscape of Iringa town the Maasai becomes connected to tourism through the so called “Maasai-market”, located along the main road next to the public library it is the place to buy souvenirs such as jewelry and smaller trinkets. Additionally, Karibu Kusini had its own “Maasai market” with vendors from town. Maasai is, through mediated images, connected to the Tanzanian cultural tourism narrative on a global scale (Salazar 2009, 53) which a study participant expressed as the Maasai being “the face of cultural tourism in Tanzania” (Interview 4). This image, highly homogenized and reproduced in the tourist gaze was already subject for the tourist gaze in the middle of the 1990’s in Kenya, in Bruner & Kirshenblatt-Gimblett’s study of Maasai-performance. Their research shows how tourism images are reproduced and canonized “the Maasai” in East African tourism industry (Bruner & Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1994, 464). Maasai products does not have to be locally produced, the important thing is the value of being interpreted as local. In Bruner & Kirshenblatt-Gimblett’s study the Maasai’s craft was actually part of a global setting with products from China and Czech Republic, but in the end, being sold to tourists in Kenya as local Maasai crafts (op. cit., 444). Official tourism pamphlets confirm this reproduction of Maasai as the image of cultural tourism.³²

This image is still dominant in Tanzania and causes emotional reactions among Iringa tourism workers who identify themselves with other groups/tribes. One employee at a tour company expressed that: “They (AN: the international tourists) are tired of this Maasai-thing, another culture has to grow. And that is another side of that, of those Maasai-thing. We have to promote our culture, and our culture has to be known” (Interview 4). The same frustration is confirmed among another study participant who said “[a] country with more than 120 ethnic groups, how comes we are promoting, or we mention only one ethnic group? Those are Maasai” (Interview 7).

A look in the gift shop at the Dar es Salaam airport confirms how representation of heritage and the image of Maasai has been turned into commodities. Among the refrigerator magnets I found, next to one in the shape Kilimanjaro, an illustration of “the proud Maasai” and one of “Tribes of Tanzania”. The later depict a man with bow and arrow, a woman carrying bananas on her head wearing a printed dress and a Maasai holding his spear. This small image

³² For example, in the introduction of Tourism Statistical Bulletin it states: “To the tourist, Tanzania also offers interesting Culture and Art notably the Maasai culture and art and the Makonde sculptures and carving done in ebony.” (2016, 1).

turns the number of tribes into an object that you can buy, a commodity, to take home with you. The other magnet, with the *proud* Maasai, depicts two Maasai in front of a traditional house.

An employee for a tour company in Iringa, thinks the reason behind the specific role Maasai plays in the tourist gaze has to do with the Maasai nomadic lifestyle and that their residential areas are often located closer to national parks (Interview 4). Maasai are also used as a symbol for the risks with cultural tourism, a museum employee uses them as a cautionary example when we discuss commodification of culture in the northern Tanzania:

Visiting a Maasai boma and every Maasai knows that the tourists has to pay, they are doing it for money and sometimes they are doing stuff just to impress you. It is not even what they are used to do, it's not even from the culture. [...] They are just doing it to get money, because when you are taking a picture of them you give them a dollar. Or five dollars, you see. (Interview 2).

Apart from being critical about the fact that the bomas are operated by economic incentives, the museum employee also sees the Maasai bomas as a lesson for cultural tourism in Iringa: “We don't have to start from there, in Iringa. We have to show the community that this is a mistake in heritage tourism, you don't have to do this way. So, we may lay a better foundation for heritage tourism in Iringa” (Interview 2).

Previous research has highlighted the current situation with the Maasai bomas in the north. The Maasai bomas are specific destinations created for tourists to encounter and experience the Maasai culture. It is a staged area created specifically for the tourist experience (Melubo & Carr, 2019, 5). The Melubo & Carr article shows that the boma has had a positive effect for Maasai women through rising their status as producing tourist products and selling handcrafts which has economic benefits (op. cit., 3). Tourism has “theoretically, provided a space for socio-economic empowerment of the



Image 7: Souvenirs in the Julius Nyerere airport. Photograph by author. Dar es Salam, December 2018.

Maasai” (op. cit., 4) however there are issues of both social and economic disempowerment (op. cit., 11).

The reproduced image of Maasai is connected to authenticity in the tourism industry, one hostel operator describes her friend who organizes tours to a Maasai village outside of Iringa: “he accepts people to use his home and they just go and stay the night and see, it is very authentic, there is no singing or dancing, or jewelry making but, it’s really the real deal.” (Interview 7). In my interviews, it became clear that the tourist gaze on Maasai also was influenced by notions of ‘Other-ness’ with the Maasai being exoticized by people from other ethnic groups.

Real Hehe? Contemplating authenticity

Identity has become vital to the tourism industry and production of destinations, as Urry phrase it: “Identity almost everywhere has to be produced partly out of the images constructed for tourist” (1995, 165). In Iringa, the Hehe identity is constructed by representations from the Iringa Boma, the Chief Mkwawa-narrative and tour companies, to fit tourism activities. The exoticized Maasai is here part of creating the Hehe-identity as integrated in “modern society” through urbanization. The image of Hehe also shows how the tourist gaze have been adapted in the understanding of cultural tourism. I asked a tourism student what he would like to show tourists interested in cultural tourism, when he has finished his tourism education? He replied:

Ah, first of all I would show them the people who are speaking tribes, maybe, in Iringa they speak Hehe, Hehe-tribes. [...] So, when white people come and listen to the way they talk, they will be impressed, just get some interest and they can ask more, maybe if they want to learn it. So, through that I think it can be the part of developing tourism. [...] So, things which I can show those white people, and other tourists are tribes, living style, food style. Something like that. (Interview 5)

The perception of Maasai among tourist workers in Iringa raises the issue of heritage gaze, and how that is applied on other tribes such as Hehe. In the process of ‘creating Hehe’ for tourism display, the understanding of authenticity comes in. For example, in urban Iringa there is no real culture to display according to the student:

When Hehe speaking or Bena speaking, they understand each other. So, it can be hard to identify this is Bena and this is Hehe in town, in Iringa town. But when you go deep there, interior yeah you can go find these real Hehe, this is a real Bena. Yeah. So, it could be easy for you as a tour

guide, or a tourist man to guide those white people and other tourists through those interior area, to learn more about those cultures. (Interview 5)

Specific places together with history are vital to heritage, or as Cosgrove states: “Place and time of origin constitutes the vital elements of aura and authenticity, which constitutes heritage” (2003, 115). Following Cosgroves line of thought we might understand that the student is talking about a “real Hehe” who has not been urbanized and ‘modernized’. However, this realness needs a critical discussion. Theodossopoulos argues that authenticity is caught between either real or not, a sort of “binary logic” (2013, 347). Living in town or not speaking Kihehe becomes non-authentic practices which does not fit into the imagined tourist’s interests. Comparing the images of Hehe and Maasai in the tourism gaze, the idea of urbanization became a way to differentiate the two groups. When I asked if a similar enterprise to the Maasai bomas would be operational in Iringa with Hehe, a diploma student who had worked in a Maasai boma told me:

It is different, because first of all, I believe it’s like compared here to the Maasai Boma, the Maasai village in my place, life is a little bit simpler in the Maasai village, economically, socially, they share everything compared to this place (AN: Iringa) that is getting a little bit modernized, people are running after money and everything is being bought.

I ask if it’s difficult to get the right feeling and he replied:

No, it won’t be difficult to get the right feeling, but it will be difficult for people to give themselves for free, to work for the stuff.

The rest of the interviewees nod in agreement. Another student continues:

But that, I think it’s because of maybe if they will create that in one village not in town, if they will create it in village it will work. But in town it will be difficult to, but in village it will work because sometime as we know in villages life is very simple than in town, in town there is different things about money, money is everything. (Interview 8)

Presenting culture in an economic context is here seen causing problems to create a suitable tourism experience. We can understand that “give themselves for free” is the opposite of commodification, which is working against the authentic experience. Both the business of Kalenga CTE and other tour operators talk about inviting tourists to learn how to cook from a local mama, giving tourists a “real” experience. Both to learn something new, but also to give the tourist a sense of authentic Iringa-life in what could be interpreted as “staged authenticity” (MacCannell 2013, 92). Urry & Larsen points out that there are potential benefits with staged

authenticity for the subject of the gaze, here the people who live in the tourist destination: “Staged authenticity may have the effect of keeping out what may have be deemed the intrusive eye while providing visitors with what seems properly ‘authenticated’” (2011, 14). The authentic is here connected to an exotification of Maasai, as the Other who is not urbanized and therefore still ‘true’ compared to Hehe living in Iringa. This connection between the exotification and authenticity becomes reinforced by tourism (Theodossopoulos 2013, 342).

Not everyone agrees with the image of “real Hehe”. Jimson tells me that there is “nothing like a real thing”, hence everything is interpretations which in the context of tourism should be seen as constructions. Instead, he thinks that the search for authentic culture might have positive outcomes because it creates a better relation between generations:

So, if we turn culture into business, people will be willing to know more, deeper about their backgrounds. Because this is the information that tourist they will love to see, and they will love to hear. So, its not about faking, it is about researching and digging more deeper to see how far can we go as far a background to understand? So, this will be bringing values to the elders, that we wish them to remain longer, so that they are the ones who carries this culture to the next generations. (Jimson)

However, the term authentic is used by one hostel operator, when she compares Iringa to other sites which has been exploited by tourism. She tells me that Iringa: “still seems quite authentic” (Interview 7). Cohen’s concept of “negotiated authenticity” is perhaps more relevant in this case: “For, just as a new cultural product can become with time widely accepted as ‘authentic’, so it can, although changed through commoditization, acquire a new meaning for its producers.” (Cohen 1988, 382). Authenticity should also be seen as context-based especially in the tourism field, Condevaux argues that it is the tourist’s notions and expectations that defines authenticity (2009, 149). The student who wanted to show “real Hehe” can be interpreted as adapting to the tourist’s notion of “realness” and applies the value of authenticity on his own society when deciding what type of attractions to show tourists.

What is considered authentic or not is also influenced by media. One BACAT-student tells me that it will be easy to present Iringa culture to tourists:

Yeah, so I think through that mass-media and other activities which have been done in tourism sectors we understand, we know deeply about the culture and tourism. And this culture it helps a lot of tourism, to develop a lot of tourism. Because people they are, for instance those white people who come here in Tanzania they pay money, maybe they want to know, to get knowledge

about some tribes, maybe when they pay money they just showed everything, they just showed how many tribes we have, they are just show each tradition songs, and each community. So, through that it brings big benefits in tourism sectors. (Interview 5).

The commodification of culture in Iringa is here regarded as a solution; it brings “big benefits” and it is the “white people” who comes to Tanzania, spending money to see songs and communities. Tourists together with Tanzanian tour operators have through media already been exposed to what they expect to see when visiting Tanzania and “how to gaze” (Salazar 2006, 841).

10. Conclusion and final remarks

Tourism is nowadays presented as a “key element to Tanzania’s economy” (World Bank: PRESS RELEASE NO: 2018/028/AFR) and the low numbers of tourists in Iringa, is something that the state and local authorities wants to change. The low tourism is an overall issue in the country’s southern parts, which is currently in the process of development through the REGROW-project. During my fieldwork it became clear that tourism is regarded as *the* solution to reducing poverty and strengthen the economy. The fact that Iringa is presented as a potential tourism hub shows the ambition of turning the region into a profitable tourism destination, an ambition that ranges from local business’ starting up CTEs to large investments like REGROW.

Tourists’ interests have traditionally been directed towards nature-oriented activities, however, I have in this thesis shown that there are growing interests to attract more tourists through cultural heritage, both domestic and international visitors. The perception now is that “the tourists are getting sick of the twiga and simba” and culture tourism offers ‘new’ activities. This requires, more or less consciously, an identification and display of one’s own culture and history as something unique and special. In this study I have identified local and national authorities, the Iringa Boma, tourism education, and tour companies as agents who construct Iringa culture for the benefit of the tourism industry. Cultural heritage signifies a form of resources to establish a variety of tourism activities among the stakeholders I interviewed. Hence, it can be concluded that cultural tourism plays an important role for Iringa to ‘stand out’ and compete against other tourist destinations in Tanzania.

Iringa culture and heritage, in particular the historical era of Chief Mkwawa and Hehe-culture, are in this thesis shown to be vital part in developing Iringa into a tourist destination. Specific cultural expressions are presented by local authorities and stakeholders as part of the tourism development, though still a complement to nature tourism. One example of how cultural expressions are put on display is at Karibu Kusini where the Mangala-dance was performed for visitors, not the dance moves from the local nightclub. Hence, the Mangala-dance represents an (exotic) “localness”. The localness is inscribed with the status of representative for the whole region by practices, adapted to the notion of imagined tourist’s desire.

Within this study the concept of “tourist gaze” has been useful to understand the intention of displaying cultural activities (Urry 1995, 132). The tourism gaze contributes to the creation of tourism destinations and in Iringa it is the culture and history that becomes adapted to fit the gaze. This might be identified as a heritagization of the place and tourism actors are more or less aware of its influence. We might, as an example of how the tourist gaze influences heritage,

go back to an example from the Iringa Boma. On the front page of this thesis we find an image taken in the museum from the museum's photo area. Here, a Wahehe-elder and Wahehe-woman is painted with a background of ordinary life; two women busy with household chores and dressed in a traditional fashion. Posing in front of the camera as one of the characters, the visitor is also playing or performing a (past) Hehe, and the action of taking a photo could be described as the consumption of the place through the tourist gaze. Tourists are encouraged from the museum itself to consume Hehe-identity. The Karibu Kusini is another example of how the whole southern part of Tanzania is consciously adapting to the gaze by presenting itself as a destination with a great number of tourist attractions.

The tourist gaze could be understood as part of globalization, it creates certain ways for a place to become a destination, influenced by international expectations, which in my fieldwork became apparent during SITE where the whole country became available for tourism consumption. The scale of ways to attract more international tourists and companies indicates the Tanzanian government's ambition to increase the national tourism industry. Potential outcomes are both anticipated as positive impact on poverty but depending on the employee situation, it is also connected to different concerns; governmental and local authorities highlighted the potential cultural impact of "westernization" which leads to "cultural transformation". Interviewees and study participants who were students, mentioned instead increasing living costs. These two different concerns demonstrate the variety of impact tourism might bring.

There are, within Iringa's cultural tourism, different levels of power among the tourism agents which influences how culture and history will be presented to tourists through the tourist gaze. The power comes from either economical capital, like MNRT and REGROW, or cultural capital such as knowledge like tourism education and the Iringa Boma (which then can be transferred into economic capital through securing a job). The capital is used to reinforce the status as an influential actor on the tourism scene. However, the status comes with a constant competition among the different organizations to be the most influential actor and decide what kind of culture should be presented to tourists. The importance of cultural capital in tourism becomes exemplified through the overall advocacy for more education among the study's participants. This power is important because it influences cultural representation. Loss of cultural capital might contribute to groups or people experiencing an exclusion from their own culture, or their heritage to become misrepresented, as previous research has illustrated (see Greenwood 1989). The process that traditionally has been putting heritage at risk, when turned into a commodity, might also carry new meaning in a post-colonial context.

In the thesis I show how history and cultural activities becomes constructed in Iringa's cultural tourism as heritages, mainly through the history of resistance against the German colonial power led to Chief Mkwawa's status as a hero and a symbolic figure for anti-colonial actions. People in Iringa today, 121 years after the Chief's passing, regard his actions as important for all Tanzanians, not just in Iringa. Interpreting his actions into national resistance can be a way to attract domestic tourists, the local uniqueness becomes a national symbol in the tourist gaze. One interviewee phrased it: "So, I think the only way to sell ourselves is through Mkwawa" (Frank). The skull can in itself be viewed as a tangible heritage of colonial history and the German colonial violence. I am interested in Bruner & Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's (1994) ideas that tourism can potentially offer a certain space for gazing on history, if the distance in time acts as an emotional distance from the violence that followed colonialization. However, this is a sensitive situation, as in most post-colonial countries, which requires a tactful approach by local initiatives and agents. I stress the need for a constant discussion and awareness that this commodification risks to presenting history as too simplified and un-problematized. Here is where agents like the museums have a vital role in providing a space for this type of active remembering (see Harrison & Hughes 2010; Fouéré, & Hughes 2015).

Smith argued that tourism leads to "cultural and economic homogeneity" (1989, 14) while as we now have seen, other social scientists argue the opposite, that in a global world, tourism might lead to heterogeneity when trying to brand their destination as a unique place which is attractive for tourists to visit. However, the homogeneity is perhaps taking place within one community, creating one narrative of Mkwawa or one Hehe-culture. The "Colonial ghosts" in chapter 7 represent how the history of colonialization is present in the tourism image at the same time as it is repackaged in the narrative of resistance. The story of evil Germans is however, potentially clashing against the intention of attracting German speaking tourists and economic funding from the German Embassy.

Pride is also a way of keeping one's identity and culture from becoming exploited. By proudly putting the culture and heritage on display one is also choosing which specific part that fits into one's own or the regional self-image. People living in the Iringa region in pre-colonial times were for the most part Wahehe and Hehe-culture is still the culture that is represented in the regional museum. Hehe-culture is therefore the culture that is proudly exposed, while other groups are excluded from the image and tourist gaze.

This image can be understood more clearly when compared to another group/culture who's been exposed to the tourist gaze for a longer period of time: the Maasai. The Maasai has become a homogenized image connected to cultural tourism in Tanzania, as Melubo & Carr

(2019) and Salazar's (2009) research shows, which influences how other groups view them. This study's participants connected Maasai with tourism and displayed a form of frustration towards the dominant image in cultural tourism, arguing that it is time for the tourist to experience some new groups, implying the Hehe. Cultural tourism risk creating over-simplified images of identity and cultural heritage which are reproduced to attract tourists. The tourist image of Maasai affects other group's attitudes towards the Maasai, causing potential conflicts in the search for tourists. It could also be a potential extension of the friction between the northern and southern circuit, the attitude towards the north by several study participants were negative, which made me interpret it as a form of frustration and resentment. Keep in mind that the north receives larger numbers of tourists than the south. Visits to the Maasai's home or staged areas is a form of cultural tourism that is not yet developed among tourist Hehe, which also raised questions if Hehe will become self-exoticized or not. This discussion relates to the concept of authenticity and I argue in chapter 9 that "realness" in Iringa is intertwined with notions of modernity and the Other.

I have in this thesis presented insights in how Tanzanians see tourism as a great potential for income at the same time as it is a tough business, which will potentially change with the tourism development (chapter 8). Tourism workers act in several roles when presenting their ordinary life as a tourist experience, they have to make it exciting and appropriate for the tourists at the same time. One example of when an ordinary task turns into cultural activity, that my interviewees mentioned, were visits to local Mamas and Bibis to learn how to cook traditional Tanzanian food. These experiences risk to uphold current power dynamics in society, such as gender roles were women (older women in the Bibi case) receives tourists at home, reinforcing the image of women connected to the private sphere, while the tour guides (often male tour guides) brings the tourists to their homes. It must be stated that because of the low number of tourists, this form of activity is still in development and the informants had not yet brought any tourists to any Mamas. However, similar activities are taken place in so called Maasai bomas in Iringa region and in Tanzania.

In conclusion, this thesis shows how the process of heritage construction is inseparable to cultural tourism because most tourism agents regard culture and heritage as intertwined. Cultural practices presented to tourists is a way of passing on knowledge and thus becomes heritage. Still, there were some objection to the use of heritage because of its academic connotations which loses the connection to customs. This is a perspective on heritage which I find suitable for further research, other subjects for further research would preferably be

including tourists' own views and experiences of Iringa's cultural tourism and follow the REGROW-project's impacts on the Iringa region.

I would like to end this thesis by stating that, even if the tourism has not yet boomed in this part of the country it is still very much the subject of hopes and expectations among the tourism actors. I chose the title "Hope, Chief and Mamas" as a playful summary for the current attitude in Iringa's cultural tourism. The Chief is a reference to Chief Mkwawa, the symbol for the local "flavor" as the place for anti-colonial history. Mamas stands for the cultural activity of visiting women and experience "real" Iringa life. While I was writing I also faced my own tendency to exoticize the material, did I romanticize Iringa heritage with this title for instance? It is difficult to portray the process of representation without reproducing stereotypes of Tanzanian heritage myself, however these stereotypes are a vital part for understanding the ways of tourism.

Tourism is regarded as a solution to issues like poverty which I found problematic because of the risk for exploitation, which also became clear when the study's participants described Arusha and Moshi. However, in my interviews commodification of culture is not what they are concerned about. Instead there is an anticipation for all the positive changes tourism will bring to Iringa. At the same time, it became clear during my time in Iringa that there is also concerns for "westernization" and cultural clashes between traditional Tanzanian customs and the values that international tourists might bring. I have strived to show a field on the verge of change, with its expectations and worries that many similar societies also face within the expansion of global tourism.

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Interviews

Officials, arranged alphabetically

Kulanga, Tully R. Rep. Tourism Office, Tourism Division/ Focal person for REGROW
12-11-2018

Dr Kimaro, Frank. Lecturer University of Iringa.
21-12-2018

Kuever, Jan. Project Manager fahari yetu.
24-12-2018

Mdzovels, Abinery. Tourism Officer Iringa District.
03-12-2018

Sanga, Jimson. Assistant Project Manager fahari yetu.
11-09-2018
18-12-2018

Anonymous, arranged after date

Interview 1: Researcher in Iringa.
16-09-2018

Interview 2: Employee at Iringa Boma/fahari yetu.
02-12-2018
17-12-2018

Interview 3: Employee at Iringa Boma.
03-12-2018

Interview 4: Group interview, local tour company.
08-12-2018

Interview 5: Group interview, BACAT-students.
10-12-2018

Interview 6: Local business owner, Kalenga.
16-12-2018

Interview 7: Manager for local hostel in Iringa.
18-12-2018.

Interview 8: Group interview, Diploma-students.
19-12-2018.

Images

Image 1: Photograph by author. December 2018.

Image 2: Location of Iringa. Picture: Courtesy of fahari yetu.

Image 3: Photograph by author. December 2018.

Image 4: Photograph by author. December 2018.

Image 5: Portrait of Chief Mkwawa. Picture: Courtesy of fahari yetu.

Image 6: Photograph by author. December 2018.

Image 7: Photograph by author. December 2018.