

# A History of Management of the Intangible Cultural Heritage Resources within the Sukuma: A Case of Magu District from 1860s to 2020s

Godfrey M. Gabriel

St. Augustine University of Tanzania, P.O. Box 307, Mwanza, Tanzania

DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.47772/IJRISS.2023.7011064>

Received: 21 October 2023; Revised: 12 November 2023; Accepted: 17 November 2023; Published: 08 December 2023

## ABSTRACT

This paper discusses on a history of management of the intangible cultural heritage resources within the Sukuma people in Magu district, Mwanza region, from 1860s to 2020s. In particular, the paper traced on the management of the intangible cultural heritage practices among the Sukuma people in Magu district during the pre-colonial period from 1860s-1880s. The qualitative and quantitative methods were used where data both primary and secondary sources were collected through oral interviews and Archive documents from the Tanzania National Archives (TNA) and the Sukuma Research Committee Archives, libraries, digital and internet sources. The paper applied the theory of Historical materialism that underscores historical changes corresponding with the change in material value. The findings indicate that Sukuma people still practice their traditional cultural heritages. Dances and songs, traditional religious beliefs, norms and values and oral narratives are among the intangible cultural heritages which are practiced by Sukuma people in Magu district from pre-colonial era. The presence of traditional chiefs, museum centre, ritual practice areas, traditional norms and values and dances and songs cultural heritage practices are the methods used by Sukuma people to manage their intangible cultural heritages resources. The process of management of the cultural heritage resources should not neglect the intangible cultural heritage resources, thus it is through the intangible cultural aspects one can reveal the facts on the tangible cultural aspects.

**Keywords:** Sukuma, Magu, Intangible cultural heritage

## BACKGROUND

The management of the cultural heritage resources is the crucial thing in maintaining the nation and society's cultural heritage. The nation and societies globally survive and compete historically through some elements or determinants of power. Key among them is the cultural, demographic and natural resources. Thus the cultural heritage which entails the society's involvement is a major society survival element and therefore cultural heritages management is very important in the society and the Nation growth. The process of looking after the cultural heritage resources aimed at retaining the significance or the values of the cultural heritage as well as an improvement by virtue of preventing such heritage resources from loss or damage or other change for the intention of keeping integrity and genuineness of such heritage resources. [1]

The Sukuma among other African societies had their own traditional cultural practices which they practiced and believed by all the society members. The Sukuma people among other African societies continued to depend on their traditional cultural practices. Their culture is the widespread in Tanzania and they are now expressing a renewed interest in their traditional culture. This is done through harvest ceremonies, songs,

dancing competitions, ritual practices, dissemination of information and oral traditions. Through ritual dances which constitute a very important part of their culture, they celebrate through dancing competitions, songs and harvest ceremonies. The most common and prominent ones are the dances during farm works, harvest seasons and with snakes.<sup>[2]</sup>

The culture of dancing and song existed even during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, the time of caravan routes from the north of Sukumaland to the Swahili coast area of Tanganyika and it was practiced by the Sukuma and Nyamwezi porters. They used singing and dancing as part of their courage during their journey and when they had to rest after a long journey they used to sing and dance as part of entertainment.<sup>[3]</sup> The culture of dancing also transformed and connected chiefs' administrative activities within the Sukuma. The Sukuma chiefs used their royal drums in ceremonies when the caravan returned from the coast as part of enjoying their safe journey.<sup>[4]</sup> By now, the songs and dancing practices are used by the Sukuma people as part of the annual celebration of the harvest seasons and the way of encouraging hard work during the farming activities. Working together with music becomes more than simply a technical means of accomplishing agricultural tasks. It plays a crucial role in establishing closeness, mutual support and community solidarity.<sup>[5]</sup>

The traditional ways of dissemination of information on the community are part of the cultural heritage practices among the Sukuma people. The horn blows and whistles are used by the Sukuma people to alert the community when there is an emergence like a burning house, theft or when cattle are stolen in the community. The blow calls people to come together to find the solutions to the problems and events in question. The call also is used as an alert to the neighbouring village on the event so as they could be ready, especially when the thieves are going in their direction. The village bell also is used to gather people in the village assembly when an emergency occurs like when thieves are caught. Through these ways, traditional leaders manage to communicate with the community members when there is an emergence which requires an instant response.<sup>[6]</sup> The Sukuma people also used oral narratives as the way of transforming the information about their generation. Tales and folktales in Sukuma instruct, teach and warn the generations for something that happened such as diseases, drought, famine, floods and wars. Fictions which deal with imaginary things through the real and fictional narrative were also focused on inheriting the historical information about generation among the Sukuma.<sup>[7]</sup>

During the pre-colonial period the management of cultural heritage was under the supervision of the traditional custodians. They used traditional taboos and traditional restrictions to manage the cultural heritage resources and to decide who had the right to enter in the heritage resources. These influenced people in the society to obey traditional laws which restricted the destruction of the cultural heritage resources.<sup>[8]</sup>

During the colonial period, the issue of preservation of cultural heritage was restricted. The British colonial rule of Tanganyika enacted The Colonial Monuments Preservation Ordinance in 1937 which restricted the people from preserving their cultural heritage resources. The societies were not allowed to get access to traditional heritage sites and were sometimes removed from their traditional habitats to clear monuments. This restriction of the societies from participating in their cultural heritage practices created the distance between communities and their traditional practices.<sup>[9]</sup> After independence, the Government of Tanzania enacted the Antiquities Act of 1964 which was amended in 1979 by Act No. 22 of 1979. The law enforced the preservation of cultural heritage resources through maintaining all historical monuments such as buildings, fortifications, interments, dams, trenches, wells, caves, rock paintings, sculptures or any structure erected built or formed by human agency in Tanganyika before 1863.<sup>[10]</sup>

Although the Government of Tanzania implemented various measures on management of her cultural heritage resources, the society had also the great responsibilities of the management of their entire cultural heritage resources for the benefit of the entire society as well as the creation of the Nation cultural identity

globally. Among the Sukuma, the oral traditions and expressions, rituals, festivals, traditional medicine, information dissemination, traditional dances and songs among other intangible cultural heritages play a great role in generating their cultural heritage prosperity. Thus, they are required to be managed as the way of retaining their cultural values and transmitting them from one generation to another.

## **STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

The management of cultural heritage resources is among the cultural prosperity which has a great role in the creation of the society's and Nation cultural identity. The societies and the government have the responsibilities on maintaining their cultural heritage resources for the benefit of the present and future generations. The intangible cultural heritage practices among other cultural heritages are part of creation of the society's and Nation cultural identity. Although they represent the facts on the historical phenomenon of the society, the intangible cultural heritages have been forgotten with regard to their management. There is no special recognition of cultural heritage resources among the societies as well as the methods applied in their management are not clarified compared to the tangible cultural heritage. The oral traditions, festivals, ritual practices, dissemination of the information among other intangible cultural heritages practices within the Sukuma represent Sukuma's cultural identity among other Tanzanian tribes. The presence and significance of these intangible cultural heritages within the Sukuma influence the management process as the ways of retaining her values. From those aspects, the study seeks to investigate on how the Sukuma people dealt with the management of the intangible cultural heritage resources by looking at the intangible cultural heritage resources practices among the Sukuma people, the preserved intangible cultural heritages obtained among the Sukuma people, and the methods used by the Sukuma people on the management of their intangible cultural heritages from 1860s to 2020s.

## **OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

### **General Objective**

To investigate the history of management of intangible cultural heritage resources within the Sukuma in Magu district from 1860s to 2020s.

### **Specific Objectives**

The following specific objectives guided the study

1. To examine on the pre-colonial history of the Sukuma in Magu district from 1860s to 2020s.
2. To identify the intangible cultural heritage practices among the Sukuma in Magu district from 1860s to 2020s.

### **Research Questions**

The following research questions guided the study

1. What is the pre-colonial history of the Sukuma in Magu district from 1860s to 2020s?
2. What are the intangible cultural heritage practices among the Sukuma in Magu district from 1860s to 2020s?

## **THE PRE-COLONIAL HISTORY OF THE SUKUMA PEOPLE IN MAGU DISTRICT FROM 1860S- 2020S**

Predominantly the indigenous of Magu district are the Sukuma people. The name "Sukuma" showed that the

Sukuma are Northerners. The centre of Tanganyika life was a central caravan route from the coast to the great lakes and this name was given to them in response to travellers asking who lived in the North. Since the Sukuma did not fight the invaders, their name continued to be related to their location, just people in the North of the Caravan route along which all the known activities were located.<sup>[11]</sup> Currently the most dominant area of the Sukuma people is the northern part of Tanzania in Mwanza, Shinyanga, Simiyu, Geita, and some part of Tabora region.

### **The modes of production among the Sukuma people**

The Sukuma are predominantly subsistence farmers and cattle herders whose culture is based on cooperative social networks. The large cattle herds they own and self food sufficiency indicated their material wealth within the community.<sup>[12]</sup> During the pre-colonial period the agricultural activities among the Sukuma was based on family unit and labour sharing in farming activities. Through *Malika* which means the organised groups among the Sukuma for farming support, the Sukuma managed to get support on the farming work such as farm digging and harvest activities.<sup>[13]</sup> The increase of agricultural production and cattle forced the Sukuma to migrate from one place to another searching for good land, water and pasture for their cattle. Through their mode of production which dealt with agro-pastoralist the Sukuma people extended and resulted to the creation of the Sukuma cultural identity among other Tanzanian societies.

### **The political and legal system among the Sukuma during pre-colonial period**

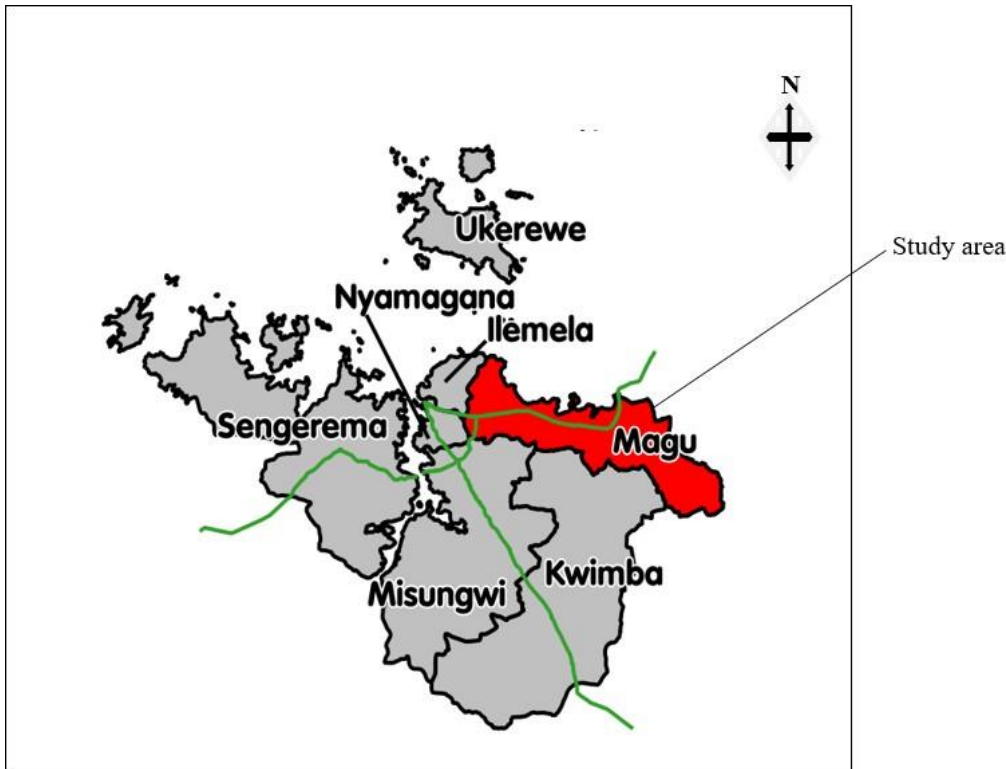
The traditional political system among the Sukuma during pre-colonial period showed a practical understanding of power so that no individual or groups could act on their own. The chiefs were dependent on their elder and in turn in their turn were dependent on diviners and all these social actors came from different clan, lineages and families.<sup>[14]</sup> The Sukuma chiefs were responsible to direct the societies on what they expected to do and they were answerable in making the preparation of different activities pertaining to the agricultural season within the society. For instance, before the agricultural seasons, they used to send their helpers (*Wanang'oma*) to the traditional diviners to look for the upcoming agricultural season and bring the fertilising medicine to the chiefs which later were distributed to the headmen within the chiefdom so as they could be mixed with the grain. This brought them high respect and power that the community members depended on them in all issues concerning the traditional cultural practices.<sup>[15]</sup>

On the Judicial matters the Sukuma used *Wanangwa* to solve the family and the village cases. The *Wanangwa* was appointed by the chiefs as village headmen to fulfil the subordinate, judicial and executive responsibilities. On the judicial tasks the *Wanangwa* were assisted by the village elders (*bhanamala*) who performed the most of the case as the judges in informal village courts.<sup>[16]</sup> The courts decisions under *Wanangwa* and *Bhanamala* were final in practice hence the chiefs was extremely reluctant to reopen a case which had already been decided by headmen. This presents the defined limits and the decisions in each court among the three court guided by village elders (*Banamala*), headmen (*Banangwa*) and chiefs.<sup>[17]</sup>

### **The Geographical and Historical background of Magu district**

Magu District is located in the eastern part from the centre of Mwanza region about 64km along the Main road from Mwanza Town to Musoma Town in Mara Region. In 1926 the British colonial rule introduced the Provinces Administrative Area in Tanganyika, Magu District was located in the Lake Province Area, and it was a part of Kwimba District Administrative Area. The Lake Province, was included the follows Districts; Geita, Kwimba, Maswa, Mwanza (Urban), Mwanza (Rural), Musoma, North Mara, Shinyanga, and Ukerewe. <sup>[18]</sup>In 1974 Magu District was officially noted as the Administrative District among the district of Mwanza Region.<sup>[19]</sup>

Figure 2.1 Mwanza region Map



Source: Field data, 2021

The Map 2.1 Shows Mwanza region map and the study area of Magu district which is among the district in Mwanza region.

### **The penetration of foreigner influence in Usukuma prior to 1860s**

Before the arrival of the first European, the Arabs traders from the coastal area of Tanganyika among other foreigner travelled to the central and northern part of Tanganyika for the trading purposes. [20] They reached the Sukuma area and trading with the Sukuma people by exchanging the commodities, the Arabs brought to the Sukuma the beads, rings and clothes which they exchanged with tortoise shells and ivory. The Sukuma on the other side used to be the porters by carrying the Arabs goods from the Sukumaland to the coastal area. They carried the goats, hoes, ivory and oxen and by return they came with the copper wire, gun powder, clothes and guns among others. This resulted to the growth of the trading system as an economic activity among the Sukuma people. [21]

The missionaries during their penetration to the Sukumaland they tried to convert the Sukuma people from the traditional beliefs to the Christianity. Although they relied on the civilization of Sukuma people through the provision of aids such as clothes and other materials from their homeland till the beginning of 1890s they didn't succeed to meet their demands of converting the Sukuma people into Christianity. Few among them were converted to Christianity and others ignored and continued with the Sukuma traditional beliefs. [22]

Although the foreigners penetration within Sukuma received some resistance from Sukuma chiefs who denied the interference of the outsiders within their chiefdom, they played a great role linking the Sukuma with the outsider World through the trading activities and modern culture which they adapted from the foreigners for instance the converted of the Sukuma people into Christianity and Islamic religion affiliations

although there were few in number who converted.

## EMPIRICAL LITERATURE REVIEW

The management of cultural heritage resources involved both tangible and intangible cultural heritages. Bob Mckercher and Hilary du Cros assert on management of cultural heritage resources. They put clear about what others say on the management of the cultural heritage resources. Others perceived that management of cultural heritage resources deals with conservation of tangible resources like heritage sites, routes and things such as buildings, historical places, archaeological sites and other material remains. Nevertheless, cultural heritage supervision involves more than just the physical resources. It also deals with the intangible heritage, cultural sites, and traditions embodied in such things as myths, storytelling, customs connected with worship, festivals and other expressions of cultural traditions which must also be protected.<sup>[23]</sup> The cultural heritage which people find independently with ownership as an indication and expression of their persistently evolving values, beliefs, facts and customs, including all aspects of surroundings resulting from interaction among people and places through time was inherited from the past.<sup>[24]</sup> Though the above explanation, the authors' traces of the potential areas in the management of cultural heritage resources insist on both tangible and intangible cultural heritage resources as part of the things to be preserved for the sake of keeping them valued.

Various scholars explain different cultural practices among the Sukuma which relied on both tangible and intangible cultural practices. John Beattie & John Middleton explain the ritual practices among the Sukuma people. A Sukuma person whether practicing his traditional religion or not, sees his ancestors and descendants as a continuous chain in which he is a tied. The Sukuma believe that the dead can persuade the livelihood, a rational extension of their conception of relations and ancestry unity as involving the past, present and the future.<sup>[25]</sup> The author's trace on how the Sukuma people practiced their intangible cultural practices through the traditional ritual practices relied on the ancestors' spirits.

Jim Tomecko also asserts on the dependence on the ritual practices for the Sukuma people and their idea that death is very much related to the maintenance of the family. Through their customs, wealth is symbolized by a large family. So, a large family is required to prolong a person's life after death. The living and dead are therefore mutually dependent and communicate with each other. It is the ancestor's spirit which invokes in all family rituals to keep the unity within the family, community and between community and nature.<sup>[26]</sup> Most of the ceremonies of propitiation to the ancestors are of great value in easing social mobility. Status is gained by the descendant that performs the ceremony regularly. A cow is usually sacrificed, offered to the ancestor and then eaten by the celebrants and other members of a clan and community. The frequency of these ceremonies is naturally subject to a descendant wealth. It is in the interests of the ancestors to communicate a pattern of success that will allow a descendant to do the sacrifice with regularity. This communication however, is rarely direct and usually comes through the medium of magician or diviner.<sup>[27]</sup>

Victoria, A. Gores and Osmund M. Kapinga assert on how the Sukuma practiced their traditional ritual practices. The Sukuma traditional ritual practices take place within the family compound and through their invocation they were expected the availability of enough rainfall and wealth. Those who believed in the Sukuma traditional belief also believed on the spirits of their deceased ancestors. The Sukuma believed that the spirit of their ancestors continued living in another realm and that the deceased who lived an exemplary life became an ancestor. All of these were expressed through folklore, poems, proverbs, songs and prayers.<sup>[28]</sup>

George, B. N. Ayithey also asserts that Africans believe that their daily actions were controlled and observed by spirits, gods and cosmic forces. These supernatural forces were assumed to have emotional intelligence

and code of conduct that prohibited certain types of human behaviour. Compliance with these rules was rewarded with longevity, freedom from sickness, and individual prosperity. These rules or codes of conduct which formed the social norms handed down from generations to generations were enforced, supervised or maintained by ancestral spirits.[\[29\]](#) Though the above explanation, the authors show how African people believed their ancestors in their daily lives as performed by the Sukuma people in their cultural practices.

The songs and dancing practices within the Sukuma were also constituted in the building of their cultural heritage. Thus, it created their identity among the Tanzanian ethnic tribes. Horace Campbell explains that dance and songs occupy a very important place in the village community. They are not only outlets for artistic and aesthetic expressions of the people, but they also fill material, spiritual and emotional needs. One of the important Sukuma dances, the snake dance is now used to entertain tourists. The dance societies were related to entertainment, physical exercise and the skills of medicine, hunting and herding of cattle.[\[30\]](#)

Chieftain type of leadership was also practiced within the Sukuma. The Sukuma Chiefs were regarded as the most influential on the society's daily life. Hans Cory explains the chief's responsibilities among the Sukuma in which a chief was considered the earthly representative of the most influential spirit of the founder and of the spirits of all his descendants. The people believed them to be able to manipulate their fortune and provision of the land for good or ill, just as their own ancestors had power over the fortunes of their own families. The chief was determined as the bringer of rain and responsible for the fertility of corn, cattle and people. He had to sanctify the seed before it was sown and he had magical control over the agricultural cycle.[\[31\]](#)

Various symbols have been used to represent the chiefs' authority. Frank Gunderson asserts that within the Sukuma, the royal drum was considered as the royal insignia of the chief and it was a symbol of the chief's inherited power. When a chief died, a ceremony was held called "Kugaba Ngoma" or to give up the drum. Where the hide of the chief's drum was split with a knife and was later replaced by the coronation of replacement. They were used also in case of danger, such as from lions, intruders or bad weather. The royal drum was loud enough to be heard in the neighbouring chiefdoms.[\[32\]](#)

There are a number of the intangible cultural heritage resources which need to be preserved within the Sukuma. The culture of dances, songs, ritual practices, oral traditions and other cultural artefacts among others which are practiced among the Sukuma are required to be preserved. Francesco, F and Anna, F. V. insist on encouraging societal groups and institutions in the management of the cultural heritage resources. They assert that in 1998, UNESCO created an international distinction of declaration of the masterpieces of the oral and intangible heritage of humanity to honour the most notable examples of the oral and intangible heritage of humanity. The declaration encourages governments, non-governmental organizations (NGO's), and local communities to recognize, maintain, revitalize and promote their oral and intangible cultural heritage. It also aims to encourage people, groups, institutions, and organizations on the contribution of the management, protection and promotion of the cultural heritage resources. The proclamation rewards cultural spaces and traditional forms of cultural expressions that are exceptional standards.[\[33\]](#) From their descriptions, the authors influence the management of cultural heritage resources not to only involve the members of the entire society but also to encourage people, groups, institutions, Government and Non-government organizations to be part and parcel of management of the cultural heritage resources.

On the methods used in management of cultural heritage resources, Audax, Z. P. Mabulla and John, F. R. Bower emphasize on the availability of law enforcement as the way to take forward the management of Tanzanian cultural heritage resources. The cultural heritage should be legally protected by the laws that stipulate the mandatory in the Department of Antiquities which should be proactive and legal basis. The director of Antiquities is required to visit the site to evaluate the resource's cultural significance and make recommendations. This will help to avoid destruction of cultural heritage resources.[\[34\]](#)

On the side of the Government efforts on the management of the cultural heritage resources, Tanzania has made efforts on the management of cultural heritage including developing cultural institutions such as the Department of Antiquities, Cultural Policy and legislative frameworks through which the government agencies such as the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT) and the Tanzania Tourist Board (TTB) attempted to set the policy, legislations and guidelines for developing and monitoring the cultural heritage conservation and preservation.<sup>[35]</sup> All of these efforts aim at making sure that the cultural heritage resources are conserved.

On the other hand, Laurajane Smith focuses on the use of policies and law enforcement on the management of cultural heritage resources. The supervision of cultural heritage resources is the practice which is informed in the public policy and heritage legislation that control and protect indigenous cultural heritage. Thus, it creates and describes the associations between archaeologists, indigenous interests and governments. These associations are described, preserved and negotiated with the cultural resources supervisions for resolving and mitigating conflict over the disposition and interpretation of native material culturally.<sup>[36]</sup> Audax, Z. P. Mabulla on his description, he puts an emphasis on explaining how it is so exceptional for the societies to deal with the management of their cultural heritage resources. The most excellent protectors of heritage resources are often the people who live near the cultural heritage resources. The societies who are living around or near cultural heritage resources are vital agents in conservation and protection of cultural heritage resources as without them, heritage resources would have been damaged or lost.<sup>[37]</sup>

The Sukuma people had been required to conserve their historical narratives on their traditional leadership. Soon after abolition of the chiefs in Tanganyika during the 1960s, they needed various measures to protect the chiefdom historical narratives. Mark, C. H. Bessire explains the contribution of Fr. David Clement of Bujora Parish who emerged as the collector of the Sukuma cultural artefacts. This was done under the support of the royal families that were interested in preserving their royal objects and willing to give them for the Museum.<sup>[38]</sup> Through the author's description, the readiness of the Sukuma chiefs to give out their royal objects was necessary as it paved away for the retaining of their historical narratives on the Sukuma chiefdoms.

The social life among the Sukuma people played a great role of presenting their cultural identity. Kapinga Osmund Mandiluli asserts on the structure of the social formation of the Sukuma people as the way which led them to sustain their level of development which they had achieved through utilizing what their surroundings had endowed them. Individual creativity among Sukuma people was very instrumental in influencing the endowment of the environment for their benefits.<sup>[39]</sup> Through the author's explanation, the Sukuma people seemed to have the responsibility of making sure that they maintained their surroundings as the way of managing their cultural heritage for the benefits of their entire society.

The reviews explained on the importance of the society to participate in the management of cultural heritage resources as well as the use of laws enforcement as the way of preventing Cultural heritage resources from destruction. On the other hand, the reviews present various cultural heritages which were practiced in the Sukuma people. Thus, there is a need of putting out the ways which are used by the Sukuma people in the management of their entire intangible cultural heritage resources. Therefore, from the above arguments in this paper identifies on how the Sukuma people managed to preserve their intangible cultural heritages during the pre-colonial period from 1860s to 1880s.

## Research Design

This study used historical research design because historical research design studies the past phenomena. Historical research design was suitable for this study on investigating management of intangible cultural



heritage resources within the Sukuma. This is because it used the historical method in historicizing and utilizing the information on management of cultural heritage resources. Through the use of primary and secondary sources such as books, diaries, journals and papers, it helped the researcher to understand the context of the research problem on management of intangible cultural heritage resources within the Sukuma from 1860s to 2020s.

Historical research design was useful to this study in the following ways; firstly, the study collected the information from 1860s to 2020s from Bujora, Sukuma Museum Centre Archives at Kisesa in Magu district, and Tanzania National Archives (TNA). Secondly, the study extracted the information from 1920s to 2020s within the study area by using interview guides to the elders who lived within the period of the colonial era in Tanganyika, the elders and the Society members within the post-colonial period, Sukuma chiefs within the study area of Kisesa, Kahangala and Bujashi in Magu district, and the Sports and Culture Officer of Magu district. In the last stage, the researcher grouped and arranged the interpreted data in sequential order.

### **Research Approach**

The study used qualitative approach which is an exploratory approach which relies on the explanations. Through it, the researcher gained an understanding of underlying reasons, feelings, opinions, values, beliefs and experiences of complex phenomena. The qualitative approach is normally appropriate when the primary purpose of the study is to explore, to describe or to give an explanation.[\[40\]](#) The reason for choosing this approach is due to the nature of the study which is a historical study. The historical study relies on the investigation of the facts by interrogating the sources of information required with the context of time. Thus, for this study, the qualitative approach allowed the collected data to be presented in a narrative way.

### **Data Collection Methods**

In this study, more than one data collection method was used for gathering information since no single research techniques is completely adequate by itself. Methods like documentary review, individual interviews and observation method were used in data collection.

### **Documentary Review**

The researcher used this method to get access to the information which that has already been collected by other researchers or scholars especially those documents that discuss about the conservation of the cultural heritage resources and the Sukuma cultural heritage resources from 1860s to 2020s. Initially, the researcher read secondary sources such as books, journals, online documents, published papers, Articles and manuscripts from the different sources.

### **Interview**

Face to face interview was more preferred to collect information from some respondents who had the information whether written or oral which is contemporary to the events. However, the application of interview method was limited to the time from 1920s to 2020s due to the absence of individuals who lived before then.

In the study area, the researcher managed to interview the elders, who lived within the colonial period from 1920s to 1950s in Tanganyika, the elders and the society members within the post-colonial period from 1961 to 2020s, the chiefs within the study area of Bujashi, Bujora and Kahangara ward in Magu district as well as the Sports and Culture officer of Magu District.

During the process of interviewing, the answers that were provided from one respondent were not taken as the truth rather comparison from other people's views, books, articles, and journals was done to assure the

authenticity of the data. This was done to establish a historical truth on the methods used in management of intangible cultural heritage resources within Sukuma tribe from 1860s to 2020s. This method was useful because it revealed the hidden events.

### **Observation Method**

Observation is the method of data collection which allows the researcher to have the direct contact with the study findings within the study area. During data collection the researcher observed different intangible cultural heritage resources which existed within the Sukuma and different intangible cultural heritage practices which are currently being practiced within the Sukuma. Through this method, the researcher managed to collect authentic information on different cultural heritage practices, intangible cultural heritage practices, the intangible cultural heritage resources and the way they are used by the Sukuma people in management of the intangible cultural heritage resources from 1860s to 2020s. For instance, in the study area of Magu district, the researcher managed to observe how the Sukuma people practice the dancing and songs cultural practices as among the intangible cultural heritages which are still being practiced by the Sukuma people in Magu district. Also, the researcher managed to observe the way the Sukuma people practiced and conserved their traditional ritual practices places which are used by the community and individual families. This was observed at Kisabo village at Bujashi ward in Magu district.

### **Data Analysis Plan**

After the collection of data, the information from different sources was analysed. Initially, the researcher reviewed and evaluated the data collected from different sources to ensure its validity and reliability. After the raw data had been reviewed and evaluated, the information was interpreted qualitatively according to themes and research questions and objectives. The interview results were analysed using descriptive methods based on the objectives of the study. Likewise, the study integrated and corroborated data from interviews, documentary reviews and observation to develop reliable information on the management of intangible cultural heritage resources within the Sukuma from 1860s to 2020s. Thus, a combination of descriptive and analytical statements was essential especially to overcome the contradictions between the information provided through oral interviews and that of documentary reviews. By doing so, the researcher managed to analyse the historical information which were collected the field and documents on the management of the intangible cultural heritage resources within the Sukuma from 1860s to 2020s basing on the research objectives and questions.

## **FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

### **The intangible cultural heritage practices among the Sukuma in Magu district from 1860s to 2020s.**

From pre-colonial period the Sukuma people among other Tanzanian tribe were practiced their cultural heritages. Through dances and songs, traditional ritual practices, oral narratives and traditional norms and values among other intangible cultural heritages practices, the Sukuma people managed to create their cultural identity.

### **The Sukuma dances and songs cultural heritage from 1860s to 1880s**

The *mbina* or dances as they are known in Sukuma language and the songs are among the intangible cultural heritages which were practiced by the Sukuma people in Magu district from pre-colonial period. From 1860s to 1880s the dances and songs among the Sukuma societies were associated with the praise of chiefs (*Ntemi*) and other manual activities like millet grinding, encouraging the war preparation as well as war hero celebrations and rituals associated with the society's prestige of having the strong chiefs. A conspicuous

feature of the pre-colonial royal music outlook was that of drums and its knowledge was allied with chiefs and it was considered as a chiefdom emblem.[41] It was also by this time when the Sukuma dances and songs were used by the porters along the journey. Along the road, the porters were used to singing and making noise as a way of creating the illusion of strong members as the way of creating fear to the enemies who used to attack them along the journey. This was done during their arrival and their departure within the villages.[42]

In the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the culture of dances and songs among the Sukuma people was emerging within the secret societies by which every man among the Sukuma was expected to join in these secret societies which were operating across the chiefdoms which integrated the Sukuma into tribe. By that time, these societies were the voluntary working associations which assisted their members in cultivation and performed their activities with dances and songs.[43] It was within this time when the two societies *Bagika* and *Bagalu* were established which later formed the two greater societies. The initiator of these societies was Ngika Wandela and Gumha Misinzo from Bulima Chiefdom. They were both trained in traditional remedy by the Nyamwezi from the south area of the Sukumaland and having experienced, they started competing in medicine while dancing and singing.[44] The *Bagika* and *Bagalu* are in fact rivals. During the dancing competition, they used to sing the same songs and dance the same dances. The competition often ran to the extent of two competitors *Baringi* who were leading their chorus standing back to back and by their vitality and ability in striving to surmount they could break up the others from following. The spectator used to be influenced by the dancing society which showed more skills in dances and songs.[45]

Through the different dances and songs groups which emerged among the Sukuma people namely *Banunguli*, *Bayeye*, *Bagika*, *Bagalu*, *Bacheyeki*, and *Bagobogobo* among others which were associated with the dance societies of *Bagika* and *Bagalu*, the Sukuma people managed to practice the dances and songs cultural heritages during pre-colonial period. The drums, horns, whistles, animals and different tools such hoes were used during the performing of dances and songs practices. Each group had a composer who was at the same time the lead singer and a group leader (*Ningi*). There were no dances (*mbina*) which were performed without an organizer because he was the one who prepared the performing group and the viewers through their performance.[46]

The use of different activities or signs during the performing of dances and songs conveyed the messages to the community on different matters concerning the cultural heritages and lifestyle among the Sukuma people. For instance, during the performance, one among the group members could demonstrate the activity of grains grinding on the grinding stone as the way of showing how the Sukuma young men used to select their expected wives, and the way girls were selected after managing to grind the soft flour than others.[47] Also, dancing with the hoes shows how farming activities were performed and the importance of engaging in the farming work as the way of preventing famine within the family and the community as a whole.[48]

The dances and songs among the Sukuma people in Magu district during the pre-colonial period were also used as a part of entertaining. During the evenings when the moon was shining, the young people met for dance. They were divided into two great groups of dance societies (*Bagika* and *Bagalu*) to which all the other small dance societies belong. Also, competitive dances between various societies were extremely popular. On a day chosen for the competition, two singers and their respective dancers met. They form two groups which take their stand at some distance from each other. Each group sings a song prepared by the organizer especially for the occasion and sometimes both groups sing and dance at the same time.[49] During the competition, the winner was a leader who was able to draw the majority of the audience over to his side. Many means were used beside songs to arouse the interest of the audience such as miming, acrobatics, and skilful tricks, or the mock killing and resuscitation of a member of the group. The dancer of the group of snake charmers and porcupines hunters particularly do extremely well in such tricks.[50]

Through the dances and songs during pre-colonial period, the Sukuma people in Magu district managed to

inherit their cultural heritages among the young the generations. The dances and songs also played a great role on generating the Sukuma cultural identity.

### **The Sukuma traditional ritual practices cultural heritages from 1860 to 1880s**

The Sukuma traditional ritual practices among other intangible cultural heritages were practiced by the Sukuma people in Magu district during pre-colonial period. This was practiced through personal prayers, family prayers and community prayers to their ancestors by performing various rituals as the symbol of remembrance to the ancestors so that they may avail ones good livelihood, health as well as prosperity. Their traditional ritual practices are correlated with their ancestors who are seen as part of their family.

The society believed and respected their gods, spirits and descendants and no one thought that his religious beliefs were better than that of the other society members, hence, one could not abandon his beliefs or be transformed from his own faith. This religion was non-aggressive, but it was a means of life and a way of ensuring amity, unity, and a link between physical and religious beliefs, and spiritual and earthly livelihood. It integrated the descendants and the whole generation among the society.[\[51\]](#) The social and moral values shown by African societies originated from and reflected this traditional religious beliefs which they inherited from their ancestors. The values of collaboration, love and care for others, kindness to visitors, charity, honour and respect for others governed the life of most of African societies.[\[52\]](#)

For the Sukuma, the traditional religion was based on the assumption that the dead influenced the living, and that their troubles to the living were able to manipulate their social and economic wellbeing. Thus, they were all sensitive of minimal need to keep in touch with their ancestors in case any unlucky thing is experienced and maximally to base their lives on the diagnosed dictates of their ancestor through the professional services of the traditional healers.[\[53\]](#)

During the pre-colonial period the Sukuma people worships their ancestors. They believed in the power of spirits (*Isamva*) who they considered to be in alliance with a Supreme Being (*Liwelelo* or *Likube*) and that the spirits and the Supreme Being are interdependent, each being unable to function fully without the assistance of the other and neither by itself having any creative powers. They believed in the power of prayer and that a supplicant must have implicit faith in the power of spirits to cause death, effect cures, bestow blessings of wealth and children, and that Supreme Being unassisted by spirits cannot act alone.[\[54\]](#) The Sukuma believe that their ancestors continue to take a lively interest in their genealogy and may endorse the general wellbeing or cause them trouble either because of individual evils or forgetting these descendants. Their kindness takes the form of insuring healthy among the family, plenty of children, good harvest, and a large number of cattle. Their evils can cover the whole field of individual sufferings from illness and death to everyday misfortune.[\[55\]](#)

Within the Sukuma family during the pre-colonial period in Magu district they kept their traditional religion beliefs as the way to come across with their descendants. The families kept cattle, goats or sheep as a link between ancestor and their descendants. These animals were treated with special care and had names. They were never slaughtered and were kept until they die and their meats were eaten by members of the family only and not others out the family.[\[56\]](#) During the milking, the milk of the cattle which were kept for an ancestor's invocation (*Ng'ombe iholelo*) in Sukuma language which means invocation cattle was not mixed with other cattle milk, and only the family members are allowed to use it. If there was a guest within a family, he/she would not be given the milk of the invocation cattle within the same day of his/her arrival till the next day within the family.[\[57\]](#)

When one of such animals die, another could not be put in its place until and unless the family faced another bad luck and was recommended to dedicate another animal to a particular ancestor. A wealthy family will offer a cow, but a goat would be sufficient for other families with less stock and a sheep will seemingly be

used only in ceremonies which are connected with women trouble.[58] It was customary for the Sukuma people during the pre-colonial period to give a physical representation to these spirits by means of a stone, sheep, goat or ox as among the ways of preserving their cultural heritages. In cases where a stone is selected, it is enclosed in a small spirit house while in other cases a spirit house is built but not occupied and the animal selected as the embodiment of the spirit is given the name of the departed ancestor. The choice of name is not left to the entirely to the family of the deceased. The service of the *Mganga Isamva* (Spirit Doctor) must be enlisted and the choice is generally left entirely to him.[59]

Within the Sukuma's chief's family, they kept the bulls which were identified by the chimes which they put on. They are termed by the founder's names of the ruling reign and are kept in the chiefdoms. These bulls participate in certain ritual practices, such as the harvest ceremonies, and they are considered to be given the offering form the first fruits of harvest.[60]

In Magu district during the pre-colonial period the Sukuma people practiced their traditional religion through different occasions such as in ritual practices which related to the needs of their society such as misfortune within the family and the society, the preparation of farming seasons, the reconciliation within the family and peace and security within the society. All of these activities were conducted within the special area in the family compound and in the special area which was selected by the society for ritual practices and these areas were restricted and no one was allowed to inter without the permission.[61]

In the Sukuma family compound, even during the pre-colonial period in 1860s, they used to build the houses dedicated to their ancestors as the way of preserving their traditional religion. These houses were small in shape with sticks around (*Numba ya Bakurugenji or Masamva*) which means the house of their ancestors. This was used as the special area for the family to speak with their ancestors when they feel to ask anything from them. The process of invocation was conducted before the sunshine and assembled by the family members. The family members ask for things such as harmony within the family, acquiring of good harvest and rescue from illness. This was conducted in their daily life occasions such as at the beginning of the day, starting of the rain season as well as misfortune among the family members or within the community.[62]

During the process of invocation the head of the family was speak out their entire problem to their ancestors (*Kulamya/Kwitongeleja*) which means to speak out in deep sorrow. The milk, white millet, local brew or *Lwanga* in Kisukuma, honey, and water were used during the process of invocation. These were offered due to the favourite items of the ancestors because every ancestor had his/her favourite items.[63]

For the society, the ritual was conducted in a special area which was selected by the society leaders or chiefs for their invocation. So, they used to practice these rituals in the graves of their descendants or chiefs. The rituals were basically dealing with asking for rainfall, misfortune among the society, peace and security as well as the begging for good harvest. This is done by engaging the sacrifices of animals during the invocation, and these animals are usually a black cow, black goat with white colour dot and a sheep.[64]

The meat of these animals after being cooked is eaten by all members who participated in the invocation and none is allowed to take with him/her the remaining meat after invocation. If the meat remains, it should be left in the invocation area to be eaten by other animals like dogs, hyenas and others which will come later to eat and their enjoyment will also be a part of the blessings for their invocations. The ritual invocation is conducted under the supervision of the chiefs with the helper of (*Banang'oma*) or the chief's helper and assembled with all society members.[65]

The ancestral worships among the cultural heritages practiced by the Sukuma people during pre-colonial period in Magu district helped the Sukuma people to continue on believing to their ancestors. They depend on their ancestors for their day to day activities as well as what they expect to do as a family for the coming

day. Before doing anything, they used to pray to their ancestors spirits. Every day before the sunrise, the Sukuma had a tendency of communicating with their ancestor spirits through the ancestral house (*Masamva house*). They asked for their blessings on the things they planned to do for that day and they brought the thanksgiving after their daily activities or after safely arriving from a long journey. By doing this the Sukuma people managed to come across with their descendants.[\[66\]](#)

The connection between the living and the dead was once expressed in a fairly regular system of rites, dawn and evening thanksgiving, harvest festival among others. This implies that the spirits expecting their share of whatever affluence come to their living relatives and their household, and that if they do not receive this share, they will cause trouble as a means of getting themselves remembered.[\[67\]](#) The ancestors are expecting to be given the veneration of their family and when they do not get it, they make problems for them. Anything that goes erroneous to an individual can mean a visit to a spiritualist and he or she would have made a socially applicable presumption at which ancestor has caused this misfortune. Thus, socially, the connection will have been established and the ancestor involved will have to be mollified.[\[68\]](#)

Figure 1 the Sukuma ritual practice area. Figure 2 the Sukuma ritual practice area.



Source: Field Work (Kisabo village, Bujashi ward in Magu district), Sep 2021

Figure 1 presents one among the places used by the Sukuma for ancestors' invocation in Magu district. The place is found in Kisabo village, Bujashi ward in Magu district.

Figure 2 shows the cooking place within the ritual practice area. The food and the meat were cooked within the invocation area and none was allowed to take the food which is remaining after the invocation.

### **The Sukuma traditional Norms and Values from 1860s to 1880s**

Keeping the traditional norms and values is among the Sukuma's intangible cultural heritages practiced among the Sukuma people in Magu district during the pre-colonial period. The norms and values among the Sukuma tribe base on what had been inherited and practiced by the descendants from the pre-colonial period. In Magu district, the issue of marriage, greetings and child naming were practiced by the Sukuma

people as part of their traditional norms and values and are they are inherited among the generations.

### **The Sukuma's Marriage Restriction in Magu district from 1860s to 1880s**

The issue of marriage among the Sukuma people in Magu district is considered as one of their traditional norms and values which they inherited from their descendants. The Sukuma people in Magu district consider marriage as among the traditional way of building a strong family and accumulating wealth through the bride wealth which one earns as the bride price when his daughter gets married.

During the pre-colonial period, the Sukuma people were restricted on the issue of marriage and anyone who impregnated unmarried woman was answerable and had to be fined and this fine was known as *Misango* which was paid in form of cattle. Also, the fine (*misango*) was applied to one who impregnated his blood-brother's daughter.[\[69\]](#)

The number of cattle varied due to family status. If it was the daughter of *Mwanangwa*, one was supposed to pay 5 heads of cattle (1 ox and 4 cows) while if it was a daughter of a chief, one was supposed to pay 10 heads of cattle (2 oxen and 8 cows), and for *Mwanang'oma's* daughter ones was supposed to pay 3 heads of cattle (1 ox and 2 cows).[\[70\]](#) All of these were restricting the community members from observing the traditional norms and values on marriage issues among the community members. Thus, the community members were needed to follow the whole procedure of the marriage process starting with consultation within the family members to the ones who are in need of getting married.

From pre-colonial period the Sukuma people in Magu district insisted the community members to follow the traditional regulations when they need to marry or to be married.

During the pre-colonial period the Sukuma people in Magu district observed the Sukuma's traditional norms and values concerning marriage by firstly making the consultation among the family members who upon agreement sent the elders to the girl's parents so as to make an agreement on the bride price which relied on the cattle. The number of cattle depended on the skin colour and a girl. For the one who seemed to have the light skin, more than 30 heads of cattle had to be paid.[\[71\]](#) They believed in their traditional laws and customs on the issues of marriage as the way of preserving their cultural heritages among generations. Also, for the Sukuma people, marriage was taken as the symbol of wealth due to the number of cattle paid during the marriage process the reasons which led to the great insistence on observing the traditional regulations on marriage.[\[72\]](#)

The issue of fine or punishment was among the restriction which the Sukuma people in Magu district used during the pre-colonial period to make the marriage to be respected by the society members. The Sukuma people in Magu used *Ngwekwe* as a punishment to anyone who married a girl without her parent consultations (eloping). *Ngwekwe* was a fine of 2 heads of cow to the guardian/parent of a girl who gets married without her parent's consultation. This fine was supposed to be paid immediately after being known to live with a girl that eloped from her parent without permission.[\[73\]](#)

In the Sukuma tribe, even the process of engagement (*Kulunja*) was not a simple way that a boy and a girl settled on themselves. Rather a boy must first prove to his family that he had reached a mature age of having a wife or family by building his own house without any assistance. By then, from this stage, his father would likely allowing his son to go ahead with the processes of marriage. Girls, on the other hand were qualified and determined to be engaged in marriage through their body changes and performance on family manual work such as cooking, caring of the children, digging among others.[\[74\]](#) Under the guidance of the marriage restrictions which were implemented among the Sukuma people in Magu district. The Sukuma people in Magu district continued on observing their traditional norms and values as part of their cultural heritage resources which had been practiced.

### Greetings among the Sukuma people in Magu district from 1860s to 1880s

The greetings are among the Sukuma’s traditional cultural heritages which are practiced by the Sukuma people in Magu district. From pre-colonial period to present, the greetings among the Sukuma tribe had a great role in creating social relationships, and they acted as the way of knowing the clan or lineage of whom you greet. On top of giving respect to the elders, greetings were considered as an identity or the way of being introduced to ones clan or lineage among others.

The culture of introducing each other during the greetings has been common for the Sukuma’s in Magu district. During the pre-colonial period they take it as a way of encouraging social relationships as well as building strong clans from the lineage to which they belong. This was performed even during the pre-colonial period from the ancestral period and it is among the Sukuma’s cultural heritages prestige and its practices is inherited among the generations.<sup>[75]</sup>

The Sukuma people in Magu district always start with Sukuma language when they greet people they meet no matter the language he/she is familiar with. They expect everyone they meet to be a Sukuma and they think he/she knows Sukuma language. Their nature of being charming to everyone influences them to greet everyone in Sukuma language. Thus, they are well known to others and they cannot hide the lineage or tribe to which they belong. They enjoy speaking Sukuma language and to be known as Sukuma people among other tribes they meet or live with.<sup>[76]</sup> During the greetings among the Sukuma people, one may ask the other “*Mwa nani?*” Means to what lineage do you belong? This stands as the way of knowing ones father’s or mother’s ancestral lineage.<sup>[77]</sup>

Table 7.1: The greetings between the elder and the young one on their first time to meet

Elder greetings to Young one	Response from Young one to elder one
1.Mwangeluka...! (Goodmorning)	Mwangeluka Bhabha..! (Goodmorning father..!)
2.Nakugeshe Mwa-nani? (To what lineage, am I greeting you?)	Mwa-Madala! (I’m from Makemba’s lineage)
3.Wabheja..! Mwa-Madala! Thanks! How do you do Madala?	Eminza/Eng’washi..! (I’m fine!)

Source: Field data 2021

From Table 7.1 above the elder needed to know the lineage of the young one by asking “*Nageshe Mwa-nani?*” He wanted to know his/her grandparent’s lineage which identifies their family. Then the young one replying “*Mwa-Madala*” means s/he belongs to Madala clan. Madala is the name of his/her grandparent lineage which they used to refer in their family. Thus the elder will greet him/her by starting with “*Mwa-madala*” as a respect to the young ones ancestral lineage.<sup>[78]</sup>



Table 7.2: The continuation of greetings from young one to elder

Continuation of greetings from young one	Elder's Response to young one
1.Nang'o Mwa-nani Bhabha? (Even you, to what lineage do you belong?)	Mwa-Magadula..! (I'm from Magadula's lineage!)
2.Bhebhe Magadula wa hale? (To whom Magadula's lineage do you belong?)	Magadula wa Bhujashi yako Magu (Magadula's lineage from Bujashi, Magu)
3.Ong'wene oyo! Goko-hale Mayo wane! ( He is my grandfather from my mother side)	Ghashi..! Mayo wako alitanwa nani? (Oh..! What is your mother's name?)
4.Mayo wane alitanwa Ngolo Samwel Magadula. (My mother is called Ngolo Samwel Magadula)	Ghashi! Magadula wa hale? (Oh! Where is that Magadula from?)
5.Mayo wise akahayaga hangw'abho Bujashi ya Magu (Our mother said that, she is from Bujashi, Magu)	Ghashi! Nale mamiyo lolo! (Oh! I'm your Uncle!) <sup>827</sup>
6.Ghashi! Wabheja Mami, twemanela lolo! (Thank you uncle, now we know each other.)	Wabheja okomanela! (Oh! Thank you to let me to know you too!)

Source: Field data, Sept 2021

Table 7.2 shows the continuation of greetings when the young one needs to know the ancestral lineage of the elder they meet for the first time. He/she was asking “*Nang'o Mwa-nani Bhabha?*” which means “Even you, to whose lineage do you belong?” then the elder replied “*Mwagadula*” the name which seemed to be known by the young one which at the end identified the two to have a blood relationship.<sup>[79]</sup>

From the greetings in Table 3.1 and 3.2, the process of greetings among the Sukuma tribe relied on the process of introducing each other. This was done purposely to know the lineage from which one comes or to which one belong. Through this traditional way of greetings, the Sukuma tribe managed to know their relatives from the same lineage among the people they meet for the first time. Also, it helped and still helps Sukuma young men and women to avoid love relationships or marriage with partners from the same lineage.<sup>[80]</sup>

### 3.1.3.3 Child naming among the Sukuma people in Magu district from 1860s to 1880s

The issue of giving a name to a new born child is among the intangible cultural heritages practices by the Sukuma people in Magu district from pre-colonial period. The Sukuma people in Magu district had taken naming as one of their cultural identity among other tribes within and outside the district. It influences the continuation of the practices of their norms and values.

During the pre-colonial period among the Sukuma tribe, the name a child was given by his/her parents has a great value and it conveys the meaning to others on the events, conditions or any other issues which happened during his/her birth. For instance, the name *Shija* was given to a child who was born after the

twins (*Chipanda Mabhasa*) and *Mhoja* was a name given to a child who was born after the birth *Shija*. The name *Tangi* was given to the first born within the family and it was used for both boys/girls while the last born was called *Kwangulija* regardless of the sex.[\[81\]](#)

There were some of the names which were given to children due to occasions or events surrounding their birth. For instance, when one was born during the rain period, s/he will be given the name *Mabula* for a boy and *Kabhula* for a girl as the synonyms of *Mbula* 'rain'. The names were also given to children in Sukuma as the remembrance of some of the family ancestors or ancestors within their lineage a process which is conducted under special ritual practices.[\[82\]](#)

During the pre-colonial period the Sukuma tribe in Magu district practiced the process of naming as a special family rite and it was also known as the first hair cut. During the process of naming a child, his/her grandparent speaks out some words which will stand as the blessings to the child. The spoken words were always good which influences good luck, good behaviour, hardworking, caring, and wealth to a child.[\[83\]](#)

In Magu District during the pre-colonial period among the Sukuma tribe the process of child naming was conducted as a family rite. A child was carried on the back by his/her sister who was given a hoe to dig around a small portion while carrying on her back a child who was to be given a name. While she is digging, his/her grandmother who is participating in the naming ritual practices scatters upward the water as a sign of raining and shout to the one who carries a child to move quickly into the house because it is raining “*Pelaga Mukaya mbula yashikaga*” ‘move quickly inside it is raining’.[\[84\]](#) After doing that, they allow a child to come out and the process of ritual practices on the naming ends. The digging presents the hard work blessings to the child and plenty harvests.[\[85\]](#)

The process of child naming and the rite given to the child represents the Sukuma norms and values as well as their intangible cultural heritages which is still being practiced by the Sukuma people in Magu district and the elders transmit this cultural practice to the young generations as part of their traditional norms and values which represents the Sukuma cultural heritage values.

### **Oral narratives presentation among the Sukuma people in Magu district from 1860s to 1880s**

Oral narratives are among the intangible cultural heritage practices by the Sukuma people in Magu district. These are practiced through the use of tales, proverbs, and historical narratives. Oral narratives are used Sukuma elders in Magu district as a means to transmit their cultural heritages among the young one.

Oral narratives, among the Sukuma tribe are in two categories including the real and imaginary narratives. The real narratives deal with the actual happening and the imaginary narratives is the created one and it deals with imaginary things. Sukuma narratives include myths, monster stories, spirits and animal races. Others stories of the Sukuma narratives deal directly with the life of different people such as truly loving people.[\[86\]](#)

In the Sukuma tribe during the pre-colonial period it was the elder's responsibilities to make sure that they transmit the cultural heritages to the young ones. The elders used the gathering way which was traditionally held in the evening after the family daytime routine. The family members, their grandparents and the head of the family used to sit together surrounding the fire (*Shikome*) which was prepared by using the woods or cow dung and it was the responsibility of the young one to make sure that they are preparing the fire (*Shikome*) every evening by collecting the firewood or dray cow dung.[\[87\]](#)

In the fire (*Shikome*) assembling, the Sukuma family used to have the tales (*Shigano*), proverbs (*Sumo*), and historical narratives (*Ng'hulu*) from their elders concerning the Sukuma tribe, their ancestral life, their historical life and how they relate to each other as well as their norms and values. Tales and proverbs were

for warning, entertaining as well as teaching young ones about Sukuma norms and values. The historical narratives were used by the elders in presenting the historical life of the Sukuma tribe, their social life, the activities, the calamities that had happened and the way they used to overcome the situations and the Sukuma heroes who existed in the family.[88]

During the pre-colonial period, the *Shikome* assembling was also used as the time of punishment for those who misbehaved. The head of the family used this assembling to warn on a certain bad behaviour among the family members. The family members had to pay attention and respect to what they are warned about by their elders. Also, it was used as the planning area for the next day duties after a family day routine and all family members were required to listen to the orders from the head of the family.[89]

Through their traditional religious beliefs, dances and songs, oral narratives and the traditional norms and values which are among their intangible cultural heritage practices, Sukuma people managed to convey their traditional cultural heritages among generations during the pre-colonial period as well as creating their cultural identity among other tribes. This also influenced the growth and development of their cultural heritage practices among their generations from time to time.

## CONCLUSION

The cultural heritages are among the crucial things which influence the individuals, community as well as the nation cultural growth. It involves the creation of individual, community and national identities among other groups within the society or from other regions and nations. This is done through the inspiration on the practices, conserving and preserving the cultural heritages among the individuals and community in their day to day lives basing on both tangible and intangible cultural heritages which are obtained within their community.

Through the traditional ritual practices, dances and songs, oral narratives and the traditional norms and values which were practiced among the Sukuma in Magu district during the pre-colonial, the Sukuma people managed to convey their traditional cultural heritages among generations during the pre-colonial period as well as creating their cultural identity among other tribes. The Sukuma people also managed to retain their material culture even during the penetration of the foreigners in the Sukuma area during the pre-colonial period. This also influenced the growth and development of their cultural heritage practices among their generations during the foreigner's penetration.

The intangible cultural heritages which always seemed to be dominant in individuals and community historical narratives from the pre-colonial era to present were neglected by its practices and management a situation which led to their misinterpretation among the community. Regardless of basing on the practices, they have not been identified as among the most influential cultural aspects in the creation of the societies' cultural identities.

Among the Sukuma people from the pre-colonial period the intangible cultural heritages were practiced. Sukuma people believe in their cultural heritages which base on the practices and mostly constitute the intangible cultural heritages. This is seen through the dances and songs which are practiced in different occasions such as harvest ceremonies, dancing competitions, and wedding ceremonies among others in the whole area of the Sukuma tribe. The process of the ancestral worships is realized through ritual practices in different occasions such as reconciliations among the family members and community, the begging of rainfall during the dry seasons and the begging of good harvests which goes together with thanksgiving during the harvest seasons among others. The process also marked the participation of Sukuma people in practicing their intangible cultural heritages which they inherited from their descendants and they continue to practice and transmit them to the Sukuma younger generations due to the facts the ancestor worships among

the Sukuma people is conducted even within the family.

The oral narratives through proverbs, tales, and stories are also exemplified as ways Sukuma people use to practice their intangible cultural heritages. The oral narratives are delivered by the elders who are experts in oral narrations among the society members. Through oral narratives the elders impart their Sukuma traditional norms and values which existed from the pre-colonial era to the young generations making them to be maintained to today.

As it observed, the Sukuma people engaged in the practices and in the management of their intangible cultural heritages from the pre-colonial era to present. This is realized through the continuation of the practices of the intangible cultural heritages among the community members. It is through the continuation and practices that the Sukuma people continue as people who maintain their cultural heritage. From their dances and songs, oral natives, traditional religious beliefs and practices, norms and values which are guided by the traditional restrictions, and the uses of the traditional chiefs as elders who are helpful to the societies on matters pertaining the Sukuma traditional cultural heritages and their historical transformation and narrations from the pre-colonial period, the Sukuma people managed to maintain their intangible cultural heritages. Therefore, it is through the continuation of practices of the cultural heritages that individuals and society members can succeed in the management of their intangible cultural heritage resources. On the other side, from their engagement in various traditional cultural practices starting from family to community level such as conducting the ritual practices observing traditional norms and values as well as the dances and songs cultural practices, the Sukuma people continue to influence the community on respecting their traditional cultural values which represent their societies cultural identity among other tribes. Thus, the continuation of practices of these cultural heritages influences the awareness of the society in the management of their intangible cultural heritage resources. Through practices, they also managed to transmit these intangible cultural heritages to the Sukuma young generations.

## ORAL SOURCES

Budigela, Nhambi Ngayalina (Age 89years) Interviewed at Kisabo village, Bujashi ward in Magu district, 18<sup>th</sup> Sep, 2021.

Bujiku, Alex Alfred (Age 62years) Interviewed at Bujora, Kisesa ward in Magu district, 20<sup>th</sup> Sep, 2021.

Cherehani, Manzalile Shilole (Age 50years) Interviewed at Bulinda village, Bujashi ward in Magu district, 16<sup>th</sup> Sep, 2021.

Kimoga, Baluha Makelemo (Age 74years) Interviewed at Kisabo village, Bujashi ward in Magu district, 18<sup>th</sup> Sep, 2021.

Lembela, Charles Kilekaboya (Age 73years) Interviewed at Bulinda, Bujashi ward in Magu district, 19<sup>th</sup> Sep, 2021.

Lugarata, Lucas Yohana (Age 90years) Interviewed at Kahangala village, Kahangala ward in Magu district, 22<sup>nd</sup> Sep, 2021.

Maneno, Pastory Boniface (Age 53years) Interviewed at Bulinda village, Bujashi ward in Magu district, 16<sup>th</sup> Sep, 2021.

Ombasa, Mathias Ombasa (Age 50years) Interviewed at Kahangala village, Kahangala ward in Magu district, 21<sup>st</sup> Sep, 2021.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### A: Archival Sources

1. Tanzania National Archives (TNA). (1928). "Manners and Customs of the Sukuma tribe" (Bukwimba) written by A. M. D. Turnbull, Esq., Provincial Commissioner, Mwanza on 18<sup>th</sup> March, 1926, in Tanganyika Territory, District Book for the Mwanza, Maswa, Kwimba, Shinyanga and Musoma Districts, Lake Province, Dar es Salaam: Government Printer.
2. Tanzania National Archives (TNA). (1928). "Religion" in Tanganyika Territory, District Book for the Mwanza, Maswa, Kwimba, Shinyanga and Musoma Districts, Lake Province, Dar es Salaam: Government Printer.
3. Tanzania National Archives (TNA), "The chief's duties pertaining to the Agricultural year". Compiled by O. Guise Williams, Esqr., District Officer, on 15<sup>th</sup> January, 1931, in Mwanza Region Book
4. Tanzania National Archives (TNA), Native Societies tattooing of members and its implications, File No. 20964

### B: Government Sources

1. <http://www.magudc.go.tz>
2. The Antiquities Act, Cap 333 of 1964 of the laws of Tanzania

### C: Secondary Sources

### I: Books

1. Ayittey, G. B. N. (2006). *Indigenous African Institutions*, (2<sup>nd</sup>). Ardsley, New York: BRILL.
2. Beattie, J & Middleton, J.(Eds). (2013). *Spirit Mediumship and Society in Africa*, Oxford: Routledge.
3. Cory, H. (1953). *Sukuma law and custom*, London: Oxford University Press.
4. Cory, H, (1954). *The Indigenous Political system of the Sukuma and proposals for political reform*, Nairobi: East African Institute of Social Research by the Eagle Press.
5. Fijolek, A. (2011). *The Concept of Will of God (Mpango wa Mungu) among the Sukuma of Tanzania: An Influence of Christianity and its Challenge to Christian Mission*, Nairobi: Tangaza College, the Catholic University of Eastern Africa.
6. Francioni, F and Vidoljak, A. F.(2020). *The Oxford Handbook of international Cultural Heritage law*, eds, New York: Oxford University Press.
7. Lifshitz, F. (2009). *An African Journey through its Art*, Bloomington: Author House.
8. Lwoga, N. B. (2018). *Cultural Heritage Tourism and the Community in Tanzania*, Dar es Salaam: University of Dar es salaam press.
9. Mabulla, A. Z. P. And Bower, J. F. R. (2010). *Cultural Heritage Management in Tanzania's Protected Areas: Challenges and future prospect*, Dar es Salaam: University of Dar es Salaam Press.
10. Makoye, H. F. (2003). *The dance culture of the Sukuma of Tanzania*, Ghana: University of Ghana.
11. Mckercher, Bob and Hilary du Cros. (2002). *Cultural Tourism: The Partnership between Tourism and Cultural Heritage Management*, Binghamton: Haworth Press, Inc.
12. Mapunda, B. B & Msemwa, P.(2005). *Salvaging Tanzania's Cultural Heritage*, Dar es Salaam: Dar es Salaam University Press.
13. Pikirayi, I, (2011). *Traditional Archaeological Heritage Protection and Communication in the Limpopo Province of South Africa*, Addis Ababa: African Books Collective.
14. Smith, L. (2004). *Archaeological Theory and the politics of Cultural Heritage*, New York: Routledge.
15. Wijzen, F and Tanner, R, (2000). *Seeking a Good Life, Religion and Society in Usukuma, Tanzania*

1945-1995, Nairobi: Pauline Publication Africa.

16. Wijisen, F. J. S, Tanner, R & Tanner, R. E. S., (2002) “I AM Just a Sukuma”. Globalization and Identity Construction in Northwest Tanzania. New York: Rodopi.

## II: Journals and Articles

1. Bessire, M. C.H. (1997). History Context and Identity, Sukuma Museums Bujora, UNESCO, Vol. 49, No.3, Oxford: Blackwell Publisher.
2. Bukurura, S. H. (1995). Indigenous Communication Systems: Lesson and Experience from among the Sukuma and Nyamwezi of West-Central Tanzania: Nordic Journal of African Studies 4(2):1-16.
3. Bwasiri, E. J. (2011). The Challenge of Managing Intangible Heritage. Problems in Tanzanian Legislation and Administration, South African Archaeological Bulletin, Vol. 66. No.194, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23631415>, Accessed on 22.02.2021, 00:04 AM
4. Campbell, H, (1989). Popular Resistance in Tanzania. Lesson from the Sungu Sungu Africa Development, Vol. 14, No. 4, Dakar: CODESRIA.
5. Gores, V. A and Kapinga, O. M.(2020). The Influence of Roman Catholic Church on the Sukuma Traditional Marriages in Magu District, Tanzania: Journal of Arts and Humanities. Volume 09, Issue.3.
6. Great Britain Colonial Office. (1960). Report by Her Majesty’s Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the General Assembly of the United Nations, Issue 346 for the Year 1959, London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office.
7. Gunderson, F.(2013). Expressive Bodies/ Controlling Impulses: The Dance between Official Culture and Musical Resistance in Colonial Western Tanganyika, Sounding. An Interdisciplinary Journal, Vol. 96, No. 2, Pennsylvania: Penn State University Press.
8. Gunderson, F.(2001). From “Dancing with Porcupines” to “Twirling a Hoe”: Musical Labor Transformed in Sukumaland, Tanzania. Africa Today, Vol. 48, No. 4, Musical Performance in Africa, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
9. Gunderson, F. (2008). Music Performance on 19<sup>Th</sup> Century, Sukuma- Nyamwezi Caravans to the Swahili Coast: African Music, Vol. 8, No. 2, Grahamstown: International Library of African Music.
10. Kapinga, O. M. (2020). Society and its Reproduction: The Case of Wasukuma of Tanzania, Nairobi: SEREK.
11. Knudsen, B. R (1977) “Dancing Societies: The Voluntary Work-Associations of the Sukuma” in Tanzania Notes and Records: The Journal of the Tanzania Society. Vol. 81 and 82, Dar es Salaam: The Tanzania Society.
12. Mabulla, A. Z. P. (1996) Tanzania’s Endangered Heritage: A call for a Protection Program. African Archaeological Review, Vol. 13, No. 3, p.286.
13. Mirambo, I. (2004). Oral Literature of the Sukuma, Folklore. Electronic Journal of Folklore, Vol.26,
14. Tanner, R. E. S. (1959). “Sukuma Ancestor Worship and its Relationship to Social Structure”. Tanganyika Notes and Records: The Journal of the Tanganyika Society, Dar es Salaam: Tanganyika Society.
15. Tomecko, J, Sukuma. (1960). Verlag Nitch ermittelbar,

## FOOTNOTE

- [1] Audax Z. P. Mabulla and John F. R. Bower, *Cultural Management in Tanzania's Protected Areas: Challenges and future prospects*, (Dar es Salaam: University of Dar es Salaam Press, 2010), p.27
- [2] Adam Fijolek, *The Concept of Will of God (Mpango wa Mungu) among the Sukuma of Tanzania: An Influence of Christianity and its Challenge to Christian Mission*, (Nairobi: Tangaza College, the Catholic University of Eastern Africa, 2011), p.16
- [3] Frank Gunderson, *Music Performance on 19<sup>Th</sup> Century, Sukuma- Nyamwezi Caravans to the Swahili Coast*: African Music, Vol. 8, No. 2, (Grahamstown: International Library of African Music, 2008), p.12, 16.
- [4] Frank Gunderson, Expressive Bodies/ Controlling Impulses: *The Dance Between Official Culture and Musical Resistance in Colonial Western Tanganyika*, *Soundings: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, Vol. 96, No. 2, (Pennsylvania: Penn State University Press, 2013), p, 150.
- [5] Frank Gunderson, *From "Dancing with Porcupines" to "Twirling a Hoe": Musical Labor Transformed in Sukumaland, Tanzania: Africa Today*, Vol. 48, No. 4, *Musical Performance in Africa*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), p.4.
- [6] Sufian Hemed Bukurura, *Indigenous Communication Systems: Lesson and Experience from among the Sukuma and Nyamwezi of West-Central Tanzania: Nordic Journal of African Studies* 4(2):1-16, 1995, p.9
- [7] Immaculate Mirambo, *Oral Literature of the Sukuma*, *Folklore: Electronic Journal of Folklore*, Vol.26, 2004, p.115-116.
- [8] Emmanuel J. Bwasiri, *The Challenge of Managing Intangible Heritage: Problem in Tanzanian Legislation and Administration*, *South African Archaeological Bulletin*, Vol. 66. No.194, 2011, p.129, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23631415>, Accessed on 22.02.2021, 00:04 AM
- [9] Ibid.,p.129
- [10] The Antiquities Act, Cap 333 of 1964 of the laws of Tanzania
- [11] Frans J.S.W, Ralph Tanner & R.E.S. Tanner, *"I AM Just a Sukuma": Globalization and Identity Construction in Northwest Tanzania*, (New York: Rodopi, 2002), p. 42.
- [12] Fima Lifshitz, *An African Journey through its Art*, (Bloomington: Author House, 2009), p.137.
- [13] Jim Tomecko, *Sukuma*, (Verlag Nitch ermittelbar, 1960), p.21
- [14] Ibid.,p.44
- [15] Tanzania National Archives (TNA), "The chief's duties pertaining to the Agricultural year". Compiled by O. Guise Williams, Esqr., District Officer, on 15<sup>th</sup> January, 1931, in Mwanza Region Book,p.17
- [16] Jim Tomecko, *op.cit.*,p.13, 15
- [17] Hans Cory, *The Indigenous Political system of the Sukuma and proposals for political reform*, *op.cit.*.,p.8

[18] Great Britain Colonial Office, *Report by Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the General Assembly of the United Nations, Issue 346 for the Year 1959*, (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1960), p.1

[19] <http://www.magudc.go.tz>

[20] Hans Cory, *The Indigenous Political system of the Sukuma and proposals for political reform*, *op.cit.*,p.3

[21] Frank Gunderson, *Music Performance on 19<sup>Th</sup> Century, Sukuma- Nyamwezi Caravans to the Swahili Coast: African Music*, Vol. 8, No. 2, *op.cit.*,p.7-13

[22]

[23] Bob Mckercher and Hilary du Cros, *Cultural Tourism: The Partnership between Tourism and Cultural Heritage Management*, (Binghamton: Haworth Press, Inc, 2002), p.48.

[24] Innocent Pikirayi, *Traditional Archaeological Heritage Protection and Communication in the Limpopo Province of South Africa*, (Addis Ababa: African Books Collective, 2011), p.87.

[25] John Beattie & John Middleton, *Spirit Mediumship and Society in Africa*, ed., (Oxford: Routledge, 2013), p.274-276.

[26] Jim Tomecko, *op.cit.*,p.23

[27] *Ibid.*,p.32

[28] Victoria A. Gores and Osmund M. Kapinga, *The Influence of Roman Catholic Church on the Sukuma Traditional Marriages in Magu District, Tanzania: Journal of Arts and Humanities, Volume 09, Issue .3*, 2020, p.45

[29] George B. N. Ayittey, *Indigenous African Institutions, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed*, (Ardsley, New York: BRILL, 2006), p.37.

[30] Horace Campbell, *Popular Resistance in Tanzania: Lesson from the Sungu Sungu Africa Development, Vol. 14, No. 4*, (Dakar: CODESRIA, 1989), p.24.

[31] Hans Cory, *The Indigenous Political system of the Sukuma and proposals for political reform*, (Nairobi: East African Institute of Social Research by the Eagle Press, 1954), p.5-6,

[32] Frank Gunderson, *op. cit.*, p.149-150.

[33] Francaseco Francioni and Anna Filipa Vidoljak, *The Oxford Handbook of international Cultural Heritage law*, eds, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), p.824.

[34] Audax Z. P. Mabulla and John F. R. Bower, *op. cit.*, p.27

[35] Noel Biseko Lwoga, *Cultural Heritage Tourism and the Community in Tanzania*, (Dar es Salaam: University of Dar es salaam press, 2018), p. 7.

[36] Laurajane Smith, *Archaeological Theory and the politics of Cultural Heritage*, (New York: Routledge, 2004), p.9.



- [37] Audax Z. P. Mabulla, *Tanzania's Endangered Heritage: A call for a Protection Program*. *African Archaeological Review*, Vol. 13, No. 3, 1996, p.286.
- [38] Mark C.H. Bessire, *History Context and Identity, Sukuma Museums Bujora*, UNESCO, Vol. 49, No.3, (Oxford: Blackwell Publisher, 1997), p. 54, 55
- [39] Osmund M. Kapinga, *Society and its Reproduction: The Case of Wasukuma of Tanzania*, (Nairobi: SEREK, 2020), p.36.
- [40] Patricia Leavy, *Research Design: Quantitative, Qualitative, Mixed Methods, Arts-Based, and Community-Base, Participatory Research Approaches*, (New York: Guilford Publications, 2017), p.9
- [41] Frank Gunderson, *Expressive Bodies/Controlling Impulses: The Dance between Official Culture and Musical Resistance in Colonial Western Tanganyika*, *Sounding: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, Vol. 96, No.2, *op.cit*, p.149
- [42] Frank Gunderson, *Music Performance on 19<sup>Th</sup> Century, Sukuma-Nyamwezi Caravans to the Swahili Coast*: Africa Music, Vol.8, No.2, *op.cit*, p.21
- [43] Birgitta Ruth Knudsen “Dancing Societies: The Voluntary Work-Associations of the Sukuma” in *Tanzania Notes and Records, The Journal of the Tanzania Society Vol. 81 and 82*, (Dar es Salaam: The Tanzania Society, 1977), p.66
- [44] *Ibid.*,p.67
- [45] Tanzania National Archives (TNA), *Native Societies Tattooing of members and its implications*, File No. 20964, p.2
- [46] Herbert F. Makoye, *The dance culture of the Sukuma of Tanzania*, (Ghana: University of Ghana, 2003), p.39
- [47] Interview with Alex Alfred Bujiku at Bujora, Kisesa ward in Magu District, 20<sup>th</sup> Sep, 2021
- [48] *Ibid*
- [49] Hans Cory, *Sukuma law and custom*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), p.6
- [50] *Ibid.*,p.6
- [51] Bertram Baltasar Mapunda & Paul Msemwa, *Salvaging Tanzania's Cultural Heritage*, (Dar es Salaam: Dar es Salaam University Press, 2005), p.281
- [52] *Ibid.*,p.281
- [53] Frans Wijzen and Raphael Tanner, *Seeking a Good Life, Religion and Society in Usukuma, Tanzania 1945-1995*, (Nairobi: Pauline Publication Africa, 2000), p.124
- [54] Tanzania National Archives (TNA), “Religion” in *Tanganyika Territory, District Book for the Mwanza, Maswa, Kwimba, Shinyanga and Musoma Districts, Lake Province*, (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1928),p.11
- [55] Tanner, R.E.S., “Sukuma Ancestor Worship and its Relationship to Social Structure” in *Tanganyika Notes and Records, The Journal of the Tanganyika Society*,

(Dar es Salaam: Tanganyika Society, 1959) p.52

[56] Tanner Raphael, *The Spirit of the Death: An Introduction to the Ancestor Worship of the Sukuma of Tanganyika, op., cit.*, p.117

[57] Interview with Pastory Boniface Maneno at Bulinda Village, Bujashi Ward in Magu District, 16<sup>th</sup>Sep, 2021

[58] R. E. S. Tanner, *The Spirit of the Death: An Introduction to the Ancestor Worship of the Sukuma of Tanganyika, op.cit.*,p.118

[59] Tanzania National Archives (TNA), “Religion” in *Tanganyika Territory, District Book for the Mwanza, Maswa, Kwimba, Shinyanga and Musoma Districts, op. cit.*,p.11

[60] Hans Cory, *The Indigenous Political system of the Sukuma and proposals for political reform,op.cit.*,p.5

[61] Interview with Manzalile Shilole Cherehani at Bulinda Village, Bujashi Ward in Magu District, 16<sup>th</sup> Sep, 2021

[62] Ibid

[63] Ibid

[64] Interview with Nhambi Ngayalina Budigela at Kisabo Village, Bujashi Ward in Magu District, 18<sup>th</sup> Sep, 2021

[65] Ibid

[66] The interview with Charles Kilekaboya Lembela at Bulinda Village, Bujashi Ward in Magu District, 19<sup>th</sup>Sep, 2021

[67] R. E. S. Tanner, *Sukuma Ancestor Worship and its Relationship to Social Structure, op. cit.*, p.53

[68] Frans Wijzen and Ralph Tanner, *op.cit.*,p.55

[69] Hans Cory, *Sukuma law and custom, op.cit.*, p.93-96

[70] Tanzania National Archives (TNA), “Manners and Customs of the Sukuma tribe” (Bukwimba) written by A. M. D. Turnbull, Esq., Provincial Commissioner, Mwanza on 18<sup>th</sup> March, 1926, in *Tanganyika Territory, District Book for the Mwanza, Maswa, Kwimba, Shinyanga and Musoma Districts, Lake Province* , (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1928), p.6

[71]Shadrack Mdit Magadula, *op.cit*

[72] Interview with Ombasa Mathias Ombasa at Kahangala Village, Kahangala Ward in Magu District, 21<sup>st</sup> Sep, 2021

[73] Interview with Lucas Yohan lugarata at Kahangala Village, Kahangala Ward in Magu District, 22<sup>nd</sup> Sep, 2021

[74] Ibid

[75] Shadrack Mdit Magadula, *op.cit*

[76] Ibid

[77] Ibid

[78] Ibid

[79] Ibid

[80] Charles Kilekaboya Lembela.,*op.cit*

[81] Interview with Baluha Makelemo Kimoga at Kisabo Village, Bujashi Ward in Magu District, 18<sup>th</sup>Sep 2021

[82] Ibid

[83] Ibid

[84] Ibid

[85] Ibid

[86] Immaculate Mirambo.,*op.cit*,p.115-116

[87] Alex Bujiku Alfred at Bujora, Kisesa Ward in Magu District., *op.cit*

[88] Ibid

[89] Ibid