

**“Sacred Limestone Caves”: Management and the Use of Sacred Heritage
Places in Limestone Cave Areas along the Swahili Coast of Indian Ocean in
Tanzania**

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been previously published nor written by another person; neither has it been submitted nor accepted for any other academic award. It is the result of my original work carried out at Brandenburg University of Technology Cottbus, Germany, within the framework of the PhD Programme “Heritage Studies”. All materials from other sources have been duly and adequately acknowledged

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Dedication

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Others have achieved more with less (opportunities) than what I had and others have achieved less with more (opportunities) than what I had. What I know is that I have achieved my best with what I had.

Soli Deo Gloria

Abstract

Tanzania is the land which has extensive Limestone Caves along the Swahili Coast of East Africa. Many of these Limestone Caves believed to be formed about 150 million years ago during the Jurassic age when these areas were underwater. For a long time, Swahili communities along the coast of East Africa used the Limestone Caves as the places of worship, praying and conducting ritual practices. These Limestone Caves have been regarded as the Mosques, Churches or Temples by these Swahili communities who have been associated with the Caves for a long time before colonial time in 17th-19th Century. After independence in 1961, the Tanzanian government took over many of the Limestone Caves to manage and protect them as the national heritage under the Antiquities Divisions and other heritage governing bodies. However, in Tanzania the protection of Limestone Caves as Sacred Heritage Places have been only through modern laws which were inherited from colonial masters and are yet to produce satisfactory results on the best practice of these places, even after amendments. Other problems facing Sacred Heritage Places in Tanzania are lack of management plans, lack of freedom in worship and failure of Antiquities legislation to recognise traditional beliefs. These problems led to growing concern of different stakeholders regarding the government strategy to ensure prescriptions for best practices of the Sacred Heritage Places in Limestone Cave areas regarding the use, management and conservation.

Therefore, the purpose of this thesis is to examine the use and management of Sacred Heritage Places along the Swahili Coast of the Indian Ocean in Tanzania. Data were obtained through focus group discussions, interviews and observations while legal documents were reviewed and analysed using thematic analysis to investigate research themes. The results indicated that there were ritual practices, strict taboos and customary laws used to control access into the Limestone Cave area but tourism and research activities have interfered with the sacred space creating a disconnect between the local communities and their heritage. This disconnection has driven people from their traditional religions into religions like Christianity and Islam.

Finally, the thesis proposes MTRCC Framework for a heritage plan for best practice in Sacred Heritage Place in Limestone Cave areas; to be adopted by the Tanzanian Antiquities Divisions and other heritage management authorities to ensure that local communities have access to spaces crucial to their religious life. Also, MTRCC Framework ensures that there are no conflicts or

interference from tourism, education and research activities that could result in negative effects for the heritage sites and stakeholders can have equal opportunities to experience these places.

Keywords: Limestone Cave, Sacred Place, Local Communities, Traditional Knowledge Systems, Swahili Coast

Zusammenfassung

Tansania verfügt über ausgedehnte Kalksteinhöhlen entlang der Swahili Küste am Indischen Ozean in Ostafrika. Viele dieser Höhlen sind vermutlich vor 150 Millionen Jahren in der Jura Zeit entstanden, als diese Gebiete unter der Wasseroberfläche lagen. Für eine lange Zeit nutzen die Swahili Communities entlang der Küste Ostafrikas die Kalksteinhöhlen als Orte für Gebete, Verehrung und für die Durchführung ritueller Praktiken. Diese Kalksteinhöhlen wurden von den Swahili Communities als Heilige Stätten betrachtet und mit ihnen assoziiert, bereits vor der Kolonialzeit vom 17. – 19.

Einige Akteure argumentieren jedoch, dass die Maßnahmen zum Schutz der Kalksteinhöhlen und anderer Kulturerbestätten in Tansania inadäquat seien, da diese von Deutschland und Großbritannien während der Kolonialzeit entwickelt wurden. Hinzu kommen weitere Probleme wie der Mangel an Managementplänen für diese Stätten; die fehlende Freiheit, die Stätten für religiöse Praktiken zu nutzen sowie die fehlende Anerkennung traditioneller Praktiken und Glaubenssysteme in der Gesetzgebung zur Denkmalpflege. Diese Probleme haben zu wachsender Besorgnis hinsichtlich der Fähigkeit der tansanischen Regierung zur Entwicklung und Implementierung von Strategien geführt, Gute Praktiken in der Nutzung, im Management und in der Pflege der Heiligen Stätten in den Gebieten der Kalksteinhöhlen sicherzustellen.

Entsprechend war es das Ziel dieser Arbeit, die Nutzung und das Management der Heiligen Stätten entlang der Swahili Küste am Indischen Ozean in Tansania zu untersuchen. Die Datenerhebung erfolgte durch Fokusgruppendifkussionen, Interviews und Beobachtungen sowie durch die thematische Analyse rechtlicher Dokumente und Sekundärquellen.

Das Ergebnis zeigt, dass rituelle Praktiken, strikte Tabus und Gewohnheitsrechte genutzt wurden, um den Zugang zu den Gebieten der Kalksteinhöhlen zu kontrollieren. In dieser Arbeit wird gezeigt, dass Tourismus und Forschungsaktivitäten zu Eingriffen an den Heiligen Stätten führten und dadurch zu einer Störung der Verbindung zwischen den lokalen Communities und ihrem Kulturerbe. Unbestreitbar hat dies Menschen weg von ihren traditionellen Glaubenssystemen und hin zu anderen Religionen wie Christentum und Islam geführt.

Zuletzt wird in dieser Arbeit ein Rahmenwerk für Management, Tourismus, Forschung, Denkmalpflege und die Einbindung von Communities zur Verbesserung des Managements der

Heiligen Stätten in den Gebieten der Kalksteinhöhlen vorgeschlagen. Tansania wird, wenn das Rahmenwerk von den Denkmalbehörden und anderen Kulturerbebehörden angenommen wird, in der Lage sein sicherzustellen, dass lokale Communities Zugang zu zentralen Orten ihres religiösen Lebens haben und dass Tourismus, Bildung und Forschungsaktivitäten nicht mit der Nutzung der Kulturerbestätten durch lokale Communities interferieren.

Schlüsselwörter: Kalksteinhöhlen, Heilige Stätten, lokale Communities, traditionelle Wissenssysteme, Swahili Küste

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List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

A.D	Anno Domino (Year of the Lord)
B.C	Before Christ
B.C.E	Before Christ Era
CHIA	Cultural Heritage Impact Assessment
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
EIW	Early Iron Working Period
EMA	Environmental Management Act
ICCROM	International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
LSA	Late Stone Age
MNRT	Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (Tanzania)
MSA	Middle Stone Age
MTRCC	Management, Tourism, Research, Conservation and Community Framework
NCPTT	National Centre for Preservation Technology and Training
NEMC	National Environment Management Council
RGZ	Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar
STCDA	Zanzibar Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority
TIW	Triangular Incised Ware
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
ZCT	Zanzibar Commission for Tourism

1 GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Preamble

There has been a growing interest in connecting the differences between nature and culture and addressing commonalities and possible shared opportunities in use, conservation, and management of Sacred Heritage Places which have cultural and natural value to the different stakeholders who have an interest in the places. Hence, this thesis examined the use and management of Sacred Heritage Places of Kuumbi and Amboni Limestone Caves found along the Swahili Coast of the Indian Ocean in Tanzania. The two places have natural and cultural significance to the local communities and the other stakeholders, i.e., researchers, tourists, and students. Due to the significance of these Sacred Heritage Places, it might bring some complexity in the use, management, and conservation of these places. Therefore, the researcher addresses these issues from a case study approach whereby Sacred Heritage Places of *Kuumbi and Amboni Limestone Caves* are representative of other Sacred Heritage Places in Limestone Cave areas along the Swahili Coast of Tanzania. As the background to the study provided in this chapter, the chapter also provides a statement of the problem, the aim of the study, objectives of the study, research questions, significance of the study, and definition of keywords. Lastly, this chapter presents the organisation of the study and the summary of the chapter.

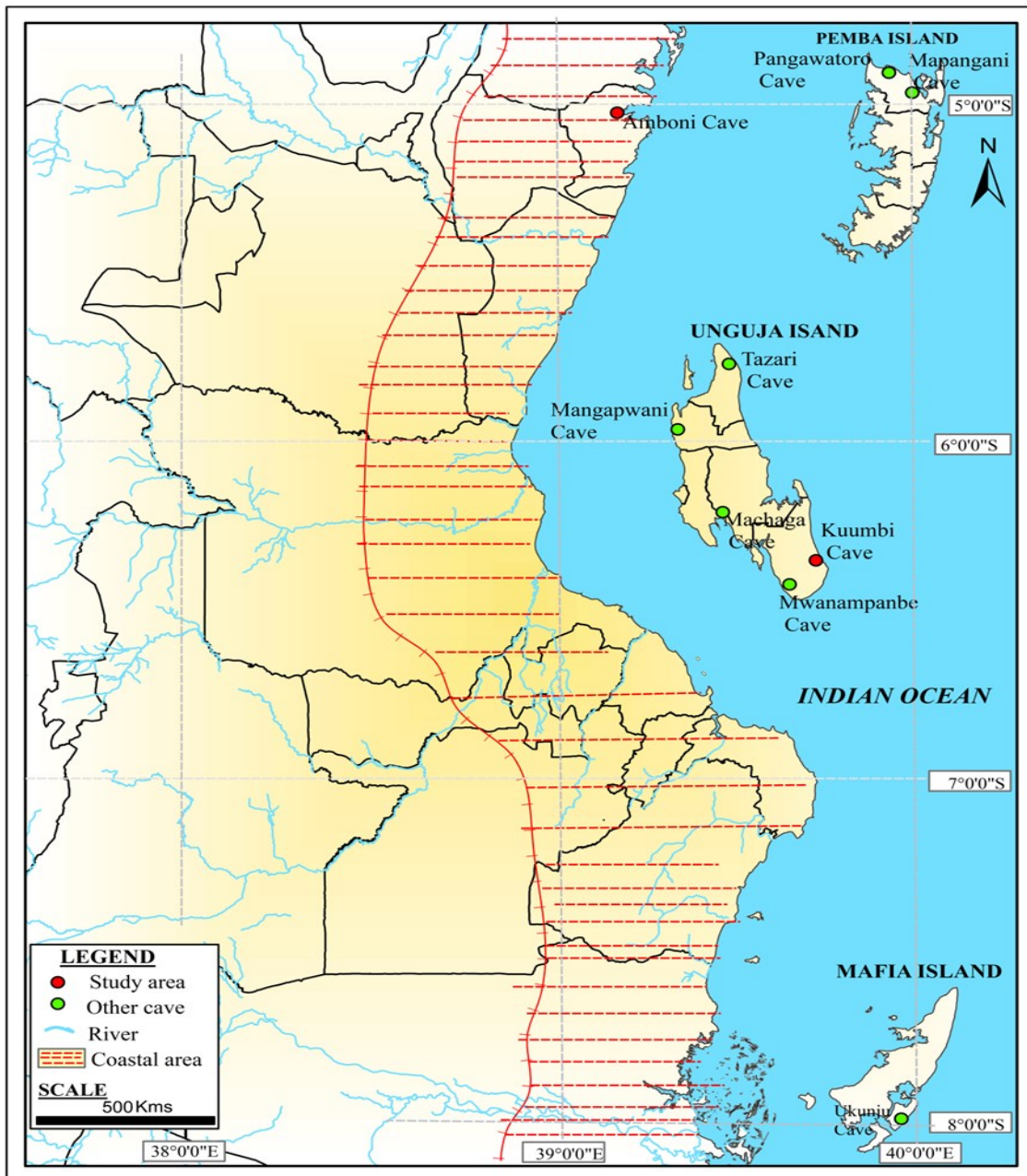


Figure 1.1: Map of the Swahili Coast of Tanzania showing the Limestone Caves (Source: NBS 2012)

1.2 Background Information

Africa is a continent gifted with extreme richness of both movable and immovable cultural and natural heritage. Africa indeed is the cradle of humankind and possesses some of the earliest evidence of human settlement occupation, evidence of hominids as well as the earliest human-made tools which go back to the last two million years with the evidence coming from Olduvai Gorge in Tanzania (James 2007; Leakey 1987; Blumenschine *et al.* 2005). It has spectacular cultural and natural landscapes that include sacred forests, lakes, pools, mountains, caves and rock shelters.

Moreover, the African heritage is not kept to the tangible only, but also the intangible. Oral history has always been part of the Africans, and this has further enriched our tangible heritage, giving it meaning and passing it down from generation to generation within the communities and societies (Abungu 2005). Thus in Africa, culture and nature are much intertwined, as well as are tangible and intangible. Indeed, this experience has led to the creation of the traditional architectures and other places which Africans have used for different purpose such as rituals, activities, worship, and prayers; and conserve, maintain and preserve them locally by using traditional customary laws and practices for the present and future generations (Eboreime 2008).

For a long time, Limestone Caves have been regarded as places of mystery and intrigue. Prehistoric people used them for shelter and decorated them with some of the earliest known works of art. Pirates used them to hide their ill-gotten booty (Baldwin 2004). It should be noted that the Limestone is from coral reefs. When these coral reefs are exposed above the seawater, they die, and reef solidifies into a Limestone Rock (McClanahan and Obura 1996). In Tanzania, the largest part of the coast covered by Limestone or red soils mantle above the Limestone rock (Stockley 1928; Temple 1970; Ngusaru 2002). These Limestone Caves have proven to be of unique significance in the archaeology, heritage, tourism, and cultural, ritual (spiritual) activities along the Swahili Coast of East Africa and Tanzania at large (Chami 2009; Chami 2010; Kiriyama 2009). This importance also has been the same in different parts of the world whereby Limestone Caves have been preserving human cultural evidence and settlement patterns for many years (Braidwood 1963; Alimen 1957; James 2007). In many parts of the Swahili Coast in Tanzania, Limestone Caves have been an area for the Swahili communities to worship their ancestry shrine, and perform rituals and other cultural activities. The local communities believe Limestone Caves are home to

their Gods (spirits) and must be left alone or approached with veneration (Chami 2009; Sinclair 2006; Prendergast *et al.* 2016; Osuagwu 2017). Due to this, the local communities used different methods and techniques to ensure proper use and preservation of Sacred Places for the future generation. Ingrams (1967) noted that Swahili communities along the coast of East Africa have been conducting religious and cultural activities in remembering their ancestors even before the coming of colonialists in these Limestone Caves.

Most studies conducted in Limestone Cave areas in Tanzania have mainly concentrated on issues related to archaeological investigations and excavations to ensure intensification of more information on the history of these areas and to provide more reliable cultural sequences (Chami 2001; Chami 2009; Chami 2011; Peter 2013; Kiriyama 2009). These studies also have been the same on geological investigations whereby researchers have focused much on studying geological features and their formation in Limestone Caves in Tanzania (Prendergast *et al.* 2016; Kourampas *et al.* 2015). Due to these investigations, it has provided interesting academic information to different people all over the world. These investigations and discoveries have accelerated the growth of tourism activities and intensification of research activities in Sacred Places in Tanzania. These activities have led to the big problem in conducting rituals, prayers and worship activities to the local communities surrounding these places that regard Limestone Caves as their Churches, Temples or Mosques. Some of the studies (e.g., Chami 2009:41; Prendergast *et al.* 2016:4) have agreed on the existence of ritual activities occurring in Limestone Caves, but they have not clearly stated exactly which type of ritual activities are performed in Limestone Caves and their management and conservation systems in general.

Lastly, in Tanzania, cultural heritage resources management and conservation is the responsibility of the Antiquities Divisions and other heritage governing bodies such as the Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority as indicated in the legislation (Kamamba 2005a). Since it started in the mid-1930s, it has been and still is the duty of these Divisions to manage and promote the cultural heritage of the country. These Divisions were strengthened by the Antiquities Act enacted in 1964 (amended in 1979) and the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 2002, the two primary legislations for the protection and preservation of the country's cultural heritage resources in the Tanzania mainland and Zanzibar Islands (Kamamba 2005a; Syversen 2007). These Acts protect immovable and movable cultural heritage which comprises monuments, a group of building, sites,

and objects (URT 1964; URT 1979). However, these Acts have said little regarding tradition beliefs, indigenous knowledge systems, community involvement and Sacred Heritage Places. In 2008, Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism prepared a cultural heritage policy to support the Antiquities Act No. 10 of 1964 amended in 1979, but the policy came short again to recognise traditional beliefs and practices in Sacred Heritage Places, something which marks the need for Acts to be amended again and accommodate the missing themes.

Consequently, with the use of Tanzania case, the thesis aims at proposing a framework for the best practice of Sacred Heritage Places in Limestone Cave areas in Tanzania. The need to research on this topic matured, because the management and use of Sacred Heritage Places that are still in use provide challenges and complexity for the site managers and the purpose of this work was to give prescriptions for best practices of these places in Tanzania.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

For a long time UNESCO, IUCN, ICOMOS, and ICCROM have been trying to conduct different World Heritage Programmes such as the World Heritage Leadership Programme to develop new approaches, frameworks, and methodologies to support the World Heritage Convention (ICCROM 2017). These new programs emerged as a response to the growing concerns over the use and management of heritage sites which have both natural and cultural significance to the people. There has been a growing interest in connecting the differences between nature and culture and addressing commonalities and possible shared opportunities in use and management of heritage places which have cultural and natural values to the different stakeholders who have an interest in the places (*ibid.*). In 2014, ICCROM and IUCN organised an international training course for the site managers, stakeholders and national heritage experts from diverse State Parties to address nature-culture inter-linkages in the use and management of heritage sites. An example of the training course was the People-Centered Approach to Management and Conservation of Nature and Culture in the heritage site (Court and Wijesuriya 2015). Due to all these efforts by UNESCO, ICCROM, ICOMOS, and IUCN, still there is no clear guiding framework or methodology toward the best practices of the Sacred Heritage Places in Limestone Cave areas which has natural and cultural significance to the different stakeholders in Tanzania.

Additionally, many studies in Africa (Sidi and Joffroy 2005; Eloundou 2005; Githitho 2005; Kigongo 2005; Ngoro and Pwiti 2001) have concentrated on the conservation of tangible heritage

resources and treat the intangible as a surrogate of the tangible. In Tanzania, the emphasis of heritage management studies has concentrated much on built heritage and tourism development (e.g., Juma 2004; Juma *et al.* 2005; Lwoga 2017; Lwoga 2018; Kamamba 2005a; Kayombo 2005; Chami and Lyaya 2015; Chami 2018; Ichumbaki and Mapunda 2017). Also, it includes archaeological and geological investigations in many heritage places including Limestone Cave areas such as Amboni, Kuumbi, Mwanampambe, Kiwengwa, Mapangani and Machaga Caves (Chami 2001, Chami 2009; Chami 2011; Chami *et al.* 2011; Chami 2013; Peter 2013; Kourampas *et al.* 2015; Prendergast *et al.* 2016). The emphasis of the built heritage, archaeology and tourism satisfaction has, unfortunately, affected how Sacred Heritage Places in Tanzania is managed by heritage governing bodies which focus on the development of the tourism industry (Chami and Lyaya 2015), while creating misunderstanding between local communities and heritage managers. Usually, the use and management of Sacred Heritage Places that are still in use by the local community provide challenges and complexities for the site managers and heritage governing bodies, and there was a need to recommend prescriptions for best practices of these places in Tanzania.

Despite the presence of Antiquities Divisions which are supported by Antiquities Acts of 1979 and Ancient Monumental Preservation Act of 2002, these legislations still failed to recognize and ensure the best practice of Sacred Heritage Places without interferences of local communities' rituals and cultural activities from tourism and research activities (Juma *et al.* 2005; Kamamba 2005a). Also, it includes the failure of legislation to recognise traditional knowledge systems, practices and community involvement in the management of these places in Tanzania. These forgotten traditional issues have led to the tension raised between the site managers and local communities on the failure of authorities to solve these interferences, which were raised due to the need of different stakeholders with different interests to explore these places. As such, before this study, there was no clear information on the use and management of Sacred Heritage Places in Limestone Cave areas in Tanzania. It was essential to examine the use, management, and conservation of these places because their management and conservation might be subject to different consideration from other monumental heritage in Tanzania.

In piecing together this problem, several questions remained unanswered. For instance, which types of ritual activities are conducted in Limestone Cave areas? For how long have the local

communities practised ritual activities in Limestone Cave areas in Tanzania? In whom do they believe in these places? What problems do the local communities face in conducting ritual activities? Is there any importance in the government to continue managing the places instead of the local communities? Does Tanzania's legislation recognise Sacred Heritage Places and practice? What are the challenges site managers face in the management of Sacred Heritage Places in Tanzania? By focusing on Limestone Cave areas along the Swahili Coast of the Indian Ocean in Tanzania, this thesis addresses the stated knowledge gaps with the intention to propose a framework for the best practices of Sacred Heritage Places in Limestone Cave areas in Tanzania.

1.4 Objectives

1.4.1 Main Objective

The main objective of the study was to examine the management and use of Sacred Heritage Places in Limestone Cave areas along the Swahili Coast of the Indian Ocean in Tanzania. In this study, the researcher was concerned more about uncovering knowledge about how the local communities, antiquities, tourism government officials, researchers and site managers think, view and feel about the use and management of the Sacred Heritage Place, and analysed them.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

- i) To examine ritual activities and social structures in Limestone Cave areas along the Swahili Coast of Tanzania.
- ii) To identify traditional knowledge systems used in the conservation and management of Sacred Heritage Places in Limestone Cave areas in Tanzania.
- iii) To find out how the local communities are involved in the conservation and management of the places.
- iv) To examine the effectiveness of Tanzania's legislation and heritage institutions in recognising, managing and conserving Sacred Heritage Places.

1.4.3 Research Questions

The following research questions have guided this study:

- i) What are the ritual activities and the social structures found in Limestone Cave areas along the Swahili Coast of Tanzania?

- ii) What are the traditional knowledge systems used in the conservation and management of Sacred Heritage Places in Limestone Cave areas?
- iii) How are local communities involved in the management and conservation of the places?
- iv) How do Tanzania's heritage legislation and institutions recognise, protect and manage Sacred Heritage Places?

1.5 Aims of the Study

This thesis aims at developing a framework to be adopted by the United Republic of Tanzania, especially the heritage governing bodies such as Antiquities Division and Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority. This framework will ensure the best practice in the use and management of Sacred Heritage Places in Limestone Cave areas without any conflict and interference with local communities' worship, ritual and other cultural activities from tourism and research activities. Furthermore, the study aims to examine the potential of traditional knowledge systems of Sacred Heritage Places management as tools for practical use in the protection of these places in the Swahili Coast of the Indian Ocean in Tanzania.

1.6 The significance of the Study

This thesis contributes to the debate on how to address nature and culture inter-linkages, with which local communities associate partly, and to improve management, use, and conservation approaches of Sacred Places in Limestone Cave areas which have natural and cultural values through shared experiences from the local communities and the people of the outside world.

Firstly, the thesis helps UNESCO, ICCROM, IUCN and other countries to rethink natural and cultural heritage management as a connected and dependent concept, rather than as separate domains. The thesis makes them rethink the current approaches where nature and culture management are separate. Secondly, the thesis helps to provide support to practitioners and site managers to carry out quality management at their Sacred Heritage Places that are still in use by the local communities and other stakeholders (e.g., tourists, researchers, communities, and students). The support is through understanding the existing linkages which pose policy, legislation and institutional challenges as well as complications in their daily work. Thirdly, it helps to convince the Tanzanian government to consider people as a core component of heritage

management, and to address the well-being of both sets, thus ensuring that Sacred Heritage Places have a dynamic and mutually beneficial role in society today and long into the future (see also NCPTT 2018). Lastly, it has developed a framework on how to improve the best practices for the use, management, and conservation of Sacred Heritage Places in Limestone Cave areas in Tanzania.

1.7 Definition of Key Words

1.7.1 Limestone Cave

Throughout this study “*Limestone Cave*” is used as a single concept. These are caves which are found along the coast of Tanzania. A cave can be defined simply as a natural open space found underground. Usually, acid water flows through the soil, it eats away at the underlying Limestone rock, and a cave is formed (Baldwin 2004). It should be noted that Limestone found along the Swahili Coast of Tanzania is a coral reef. Coral reefs are formed under seawater by creatures’ plants and animals better described by Ngusaru (2002:19) as the type of *algae polyps* which “fuse calcium with carbon to form their characteristic calcium carbonate skeleton” (Chami 2009). The accumulated effect of this process forms the coral reef. When coral reef is exposed above the seawater, the creatures die, and the reef solidifies into a Limestone rock. These Limestone rocks later undergo natural decay caused by rainwater. Water percolates through cracks and holes, creating a calcium carbonate solution. The repetition process leads to the expansion of the cracks and holes; hence caves and shelters are formed (Chami 2009:27; Baldwin 2004). For that reason, these features attract humans to occupy them for protection against rain, sun and to fetch fresh water while others believe in the presence of spirits inside these caves where they are going for spiritual activities.

1.7.2 Sacred Heritage Place

Also, the word “*Sacred Heritage Places*” has been used throughout this thesis. According to UNESCO, these are the areas of special spiritual significance to peoples and communities while the term of “*Sacred Natural Site*” corresponds to the areas of land or water having special spiritual significance to peoples and communities (UNESCO 2019). Generally, Sacred Places refer to the places or areas of land or water having special spiritual significance to the local communities (Oviedo and Jeanrenaud 2007). It consists of all types of natural features including mountains, hills, forests, groves, rivers, lakes, lagoons, caves, islands and springs (Boko 2017; Verschuuren

et al. 2010). In these areas, usually there is an arrangement of different activities including worship rites, purification rites, dedication ceremonies, marriages, and funerals (Derks 1998; Bell 1997).

1.7.3 Local Communities

This work has focused on how local communities have been facing problems in conducting ritual and worship activities as well as how they are involved in the management and conservation of the sites. Therefore, as used in this thesis the term “*local communities*” means a group of people who are living in the same area (nearby/surrounding the site) sharing the same basic values, organisation, and interests in the site (Rifkin 1996). Usually, these are people surrounding and associated with the Sacred Heritage Place (Ichumbaki 2015; Mire 2007).

1.7.4 Traditional Knowledge Systems

“*Traditional knowledge systems*” refer to the knowledge systems based on a set of values that were enforced in pre-colonial and colonial times through a series of rituals and taboos (Ngoro *et al.* 2017). They are based on the exclusion of certain groups by age or gender, with specific custodians appointed to look after the sites and maintain their significance (Jopela 2017; Ngoro *et al.* 2017). Additionally, it involves rules, laws, customs, and regulations (customary laws) which prohibit people from invading and destroying the place. Usually, these customary laws have no legal backing, but the beliefs have been strong enough in the past to make people obey the regulations (Ntiamoa-Baidu 1991; Ntiamoa-Baidu 1995; Sarfo-Mensah 2007:3).

1.7.5 Management

The word “*management*” is not a new concept in the heritage industry. It is a concept that is connected to systems of designation that are dominated by legal requirements and administrative procedures and that lead to such things as registers of protected sites or national “stamp collections” of monuments (Willems 2010). The concept is, of course, the oldest form of dealing with the material remains of the past, setting sites, monuments, or objects apart as something special and giving them legal status (*ibid.*). Therefore, as used in this thesis, management is a process which involves planning, organisation, controlling and implementing all possible activities including preservation and conservation of the heritage sites for the future generations (Ichumbaki 2015:83; Pearson and Sullivan 1995).

1.7.6 Swahili Coast

Swahili Coast is a coastline of about 3000 km extending from Mogadishu in Somalia to Sofala in Mozambique. The area also includes the islands of Comoros, Zanzibar, Mafia and Northern Madagascar (Ichumbaki 2016). It has been the coast of cultural and commercial exchanges between East Africa and the outside world particularly the Middle East, Asia, and Europe since at least the 2nd century A.D. (Encarta 1999). Hence, this work concentrates on the part of the Swahili Coast, namely the present day Tanzanian and Zanzibar Island Coast. It investigated the Sacred Places found in Limestone Caves along Tanzania's Coast alone.

1.8 Structure of the Thesis

The organisation of the chapters is as follows:

Chapter One: provides a general overview of the study with regards to the background of information, research objectives, research questions, the aim of the study, statement of the problem, the significance of the study, and definition of key terms.

Chapter Two: deals with a general overview of Tanzanian national legislation, laws, and institutions relevant for protection and management of immovable cultural heritage. This chapter examines the effectiveness of Cultural Heritage Policy and Laws in recognising Sacred Heritage Places. It has analysed the Antiquities Acts of 1964 amended in 1979, Antiquities Policy of 2008, Tourism Policy of 1999, Tourism Act of 2008 and Ancient Monuments Preservation Act No.11 of 2002. Also, it provides an overview of the Zanzibar Tourism Act No. 6 of 2009 amended in 2012, the Constitution of Tanzania Article No. 19 (1-2) and the customary law in Tanzania. Lastly, the Antiquities Divisions as the Institutions that were responsible for the implementation of these legislations in Tanzania Mainland and Tanzania Islands is observed.

Chapter Three: presents the literature review to identify academic gaps and demonstrating the need for this thesis. It has further examined the overview of international heritage institutions in recognised and managed Sacred/Religious Heritage Places. The chapter also presents the theoretical frameworks used in this study in the field of heritage management. These theoretical concepts also acted as guidelines for data collection, discussion, and analysis.

Chapter Four: presents the background of Tanzania and Zanzibar Island as countries and the profile of the Amboni and Kuumbi Limestone Cave sites as the case studies areas. In general, this

chapter starts with the geographical location, demography, religion and historical background of the United Republic of Tanzania. Also, it discusses the environmental characteristics of the case studies areas and provides an overview of the previous research activities in these Sacred Heritage Places.

Chapter Five: reveals methodological approaches used for researching Sacred Heritage Places in Limestone Cave areas along the coast of Tanzania. This chapter aims to discuss the theoretical perspective for investigating Sacred Heritage Places, the research design and methodologies utilised in this study at Kuumbi and Amboni Limestone Caves along the Swahili Coast of the Indian Ocean in Tanzania.

Chapter Six and Seven: present and interpret (analyses) the results of the data collected between March 2017 and April 2018. It involves the investigation of the respondents (communities' elders, traditional custodians, traditional healers, researchers, site managers, antiquities and tourism officers) who provided their feelings, views and concerns over the use and management of Kuumbi and Amboni Limestone Caves as Sacred Heritage Places in Tanzania. In this chapter, the findings are presented in line with the specific objectives.

Chapter Eight: discusses the data presented in *chapter two, six and seven* that directly answers the research questions outlined in *Chapter One*. Each of the study objectives discussed in relation to the data presented in these previous chapters. The concluding arguments are viewed in context and supported by theories, secondary data such as journal articles, book chapters, government reports, ICCROM and UNESCO papers and conference papers.

Chapter Nine: outlines the proposed framework for the best practice on the use and management of Sacred Heritage Places in Limestone Cave areas in Tanzania. The framework which the researcher calls the *MTRCC framework* is the result of extensive discussion (*Chapter eight*) and data collection from Amboni and Kuumbi Limestone Caves (*Chapter six and seven*). *MTRCC framework* describes the planning issues and opportunities addressed towards attaining the overall purpose of the best practices on the use, conservation, and management of the Sacred Heritage Places in the Limestone Cave areas in Tanzania and elsewhere.

Chapter Ten: concludes the research findings of the study and recommends possible ways to overcome the challenges and problems that have emerged from the thesis. The contribution of this study, its limitations, and suggestions for further research are discussed at the end of the chapter.

1.9 Summary

This chapter has introduced the research topic and defined the research problem of this work. It has shown the overall aim and specific objectives of the study and discusses the significance of this work to Tanzania and international heritage institutions. The keywords which were used in this work have been defined and provide the arrangement of the thesis. The next chapter provides an overview of national laws and institutions relevant to the protection of immovable cultural heritage in the United Republic of Tanzania.

2 SPECIFIC NATIONAL LAWS AND INSTITUTIONS RELEVANT FOR PROTECTION OF IMMOVABLE CULTURAL HERITAGE IN TANZANIA

2.1 Preamble

This chapter focuses specifically on Antiquities Acts, Antiquities Policy, Tourism Policies, Tourism Acts, Environmental Management Act and institutions that were responsible for the implementation of these legislations in Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar Islands. It starts by presenting the Antiquities and Tourism Acts of Tanzania Mainland and assesses their recognition to Sacred Heritage Places and how tourism activities are controlled in these places. Moreover, the chapter examines the effectiveness of Cultural Heritage Policy and Tourism Policy which has been put in place to support the Antiquities Act and Tourism Act respectively. The chapter then provides a deep insight into the Zanzibar Island Ancient Monuments Preservation Act No. 11 of 2002 and the Zanzibar Tourism Act No. 6 of 2009 amended in 2012 which are the main legislation for the conservation and management of cultural heritage resources and tourism development of Zanzibar Islands. Lastly, this chapter provides an overview observation of customary laws and the Constitution of Tanzania Article No. 19 (1) and delivers a short analysis of the two heritage Acts from Tanzania Mainland and Islands respectively.¹

2.2 Antiquities Division of Tanzania Mainland

The Antiquities Division is a government body responsible for the reinforcement of cultural heritage legislation in the Tanzania mainland. The country has varied and fascinating cultural heritage resources found in different parts of the country spanning the period from 3.5 million years ago to the present with the evidence coming from Laetoli hominin footprints site in Arusha Region (Msuya nd). The Division of Antiquities as a government institution is responsible for protecting, preserving and developing the country's historical sites and approving of matters related to restoration, rehabilitation, documentation, and revitalisation of historical monuments, areas, and sites. Also, the Division of Antiquities is responsible for collecting, documenting,

¹Some of the information obtained in this chapter also are found in my paper published in the *South Asian Journal for Tourism and Heritage*, Vol. 11 (2):5-15 on Sacred Limestone Caves: Effectiveness of Heritage Legislation and Institutions in Managing Sacred Heritage Places in Tanzania (Chami 2018).

conserving and developing Tanzania's architectural and cultural heritage resources, including traditional architectural heritage (MNRT 2017).

Furthermore, it has to coordinate and undertake archaeological research and related activities, to issue permits (licenses) to local and foreign researchers for excavation, collection, exportation and film production. Finally, Antiquities is a government body advising the Government on research and conservation issues relating to cultural heritage resources as stipulated in the Antiquities Act No. 10 of 1964 amended No. 22 (Cap 333) of 1979 (*ibid.*).

Despite identified duties, still, there are some problems or challenges the Antiquities Division is facing in the management of cultural heritage resources in Tanzania. These include the failure of recognising the value of cultural heritage resources due to the main changes happening in the world regarding the development of science and technology resulting in destruction of cultural heritage places. Also, the Antiquities Act has much concentrated in dealing with the protection of cultural heritage sites without taking into consideration its use especially in the Sacred Heritage Places which are still in use by the local communities (MNRT 2014). Finally, the low level of involvement of local government, private sectors and local communities in conservation and development of cultural heritage has been one of the big challenges facing the Division in Tanzania (*ibid.*). These challenges probably have influenced the government of Tanzania and started a procedure of dividing all the heritage sites which were owned, managed and conserved by the Antiquities Division to the other heritage governing bodies such as Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority.

2.3 Antiquities Acts No. 10 of 1964 Amended in 1979 (Cap 333) -Tanzania Mainland

Tanzania, as other countries in the world, is legally protecting cultural heritage resources (Msuya nd). The legal protection of the country's tangible cultural heritage is affected by the Antiquities Act of 1964 (Act No. 10 of 1964) amended to Act No. 22 (Cap 333) in 1979. The Antiquities Act of Tanzania enacted by the independent government to replace the Colonial Monuments Preservation Ordinance and the Monuments (Preservation) Ordinance promulgated of 1937, is the basic legislation for the protection and preservation of the country's cultural heritage resources (Kamamba 2005a: 262; Kamamba 2005b: 13).

The reasons for the amendment of Antiquities Act No. 10 1964 to Antiquities Act No. 22 of 1979 were the need for a multi-disciplinary approach to protecting the cultural heritage resources.

Another reason was a need for research and development to ensure the country knows what they are protecting. Lastly, the old legislation failed to cope with the new development, and there was a need to adapt to changes; hence it leads to the amendment of Antiquities Act (King *et al.* 2009).

Since its amendment, the Antiquities Act of Tanzania ensures the ownership of all relics, protected objects and monuments in the country. It also prohibits the sale or exchange and the export of any such object of the country without a permit (Article 11 and 13). It also includes research on relics, protected objects, and monuments. The Act also emphasises the researchers to be granted a license by the authorised body of the government to perform those research activities in the country. The Act also provides procedures for the protection, preservation, and development of the cultural heritage resources. It is argued that all the protection and preservation activities of the cultural heritage resources could only be undertaken by the Division's employees or those authorised by it (Article 8 and 9). Furthermore, it has given the power to the local government to make by-laws and to perform functions about the preservation of, and access to monuments (Article 16). The Act also prohibits all activities which in one way or another cause the destruction of the relic, protected object or monument and impose punishment such as fines, imprisonment or both for any person found guilty (Article 24). The Act also clearly emphasise that anybody who discovers a relic, protected object or monument has to report such discovery to the appropriate authorities.

This thesis cannot refuse a great effort played by the Antiquities Act in the development, improvement, conservation, and management of Tanzania's cultural heritage properties. However, this Act is still facing some weakness in governing cultural heritage properties in Tanzania especially when it comes to Sacred Heritage Places. Therefore, the Act has been divided into eight parts. Part I explains the meaning of key terms such as Conservator, Minister, and Monuments. Part II elaborates the power of Minister to declare a place or a structure with historical interest to be a Monument. It also includes the restriction on certain activities about monuments. Part III is all about protection of relics and other cultural objects discovered in Tanzania. Part IV speaks about discovery and excavation and insisting that no excavation is conducted without a license in Tanzania. Part V deals with the export and sales, on which rules are required for someone to export relics or protected objects outside the country. Part VI discusses the power of local government to make by-laws to ensure protection and access of the Monuments. The last Part is Miscellaneous

which explains the function of the council, the power to appoint Honorary Antiquities Wardens, arrest and penalty.

In general, the Act classifies or categorises the cultural heritage property in *Relics, Monuments, and Protected Objects*. *Relic* means any movable object which is shaped, carved, painted, inscribed or otherwise produced or modified by human agency in Tanganyika before the year 1863. *Monument* means any building, fortification, interment, dam, rock painting or immovable object painted, sculptured, carved, incised or modified and any earthwork, trench well, cave or tunnel. Monument also includes other modification of soil or rock dug or made by the human agency in Tanganyika before the year 1863. *Protected Object* means any ethnographical object or any wooden door or door frame carved in Tanganyika in any African or oriental style before the year 1940. Furthermore, it includes an object declared to be a protected object by the minister responsible with the Antiquities Department (Article 2 (1) a-b) (Kamamba 2005b).

The Act, however, has failed to look at involvement and participation of the local communities in the preservation and conservation of the cultural heritage properties mainly in the Sacred Places which is in one way or another associated with the local communities for a long time. Many of Sacred Places are found within the local communities and regarded as the place for praying and worship, so there is a significant need for them to be involved in the use, management and decision-making to avoid the conflicts and interferences with the communities' spiritual activities (King *et al.* 2009). Moreover, the work saw that the Antiquities Act fails to explain clearly on the ownership of cultural property especially Sacred Heritage Places which for a long time have been owned and used by the local communities for religious purposes before even colonial time.

Moreover, the Antiquities Act fails to integrate with traditional knowledge systems (customary laws and practices) in the protection of heritage properties in Tanzania. It has been unable to understand the importance of traditional knowledge systems in the preservation of heritage sites. These systems usually have facilitated the enclosure of the heritage sites including Sacred Places from being destructed by the outsiders who are not affiliated with the sites. These systems further ensure many heritage properties, especially Sacred Places in Africa and Tanzania, to be safe up to recent times (Eboime 2008). Lastly, failure to involve Cultural Heritage Impact Assessment (CHIA) in the Act was observed. This failure can lead to the destruction of the authenticity of the

Sacred Places especially during the implementation of big projects near the sites (Kamamba 2005b).

Generally, it has been observed that the Act has not recognised Sacred Heritage Places as the areas used by the local communities for conducting rituals and other cultural activities. Also, it includes the failure of the Act to explain clearly on how research activities should be conducted and controlled in the Sacred Places which are still in use by the local communities for rituals and worship practices such as Amboni Limestone Caves^{2,3} and the other Sacred Heritage Places which are still intensified in archaeological research.

2.4 Cultural Heritage Policy of 2008 – Tanzania Mainland

The Tanzanian Cultural Heritage Policy of 2008 was prepared by the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism after consultation with various heritage stakeholders. For a long time, it observed that changes in time, technology, political atmosphere, socio-economic development and environment required a Cultural Heritage Policy. There were no principles to guide and manage the changes in heritage that can be adversely affected. As a result, the policy was established. This policy guides the implementation of the Antiquities Act to ensure that the conservation of cultural heritage in Tanzania can be managed effectively (Ichumbaki 2013).

This policy is organised into six chapters. The first chapter is an introduction which covers important concepts of cultural heritage including tangible and intangible, and movable and immovable cultural heritage resources found on land and underwater which have cultural and historical significance in Tanzania. However, in this section, the policy recognises the religious sites (Sacred Places); including caves, trees, forests, rivers, mountains, and buildings identified and used by communities for religious purposes.

The second chapter, the policy explains cultural heritage status of the country regarding scientific research from the period of colonialism whereby two Germans Prof. Hans Reck and Entomologist Prof. Wilhelm Ketwinkel in 1911 and 1913 at Oldupai Gorge respectively conducted different

²Peter, M., Shikoni, A. D and Chami, F. (2015). An Archaeological Survey of the Tanga Bay Vicinity, including Amboni Caves Perimeter and the Kwale Island in the Northern Coast of Tanzania: A Preliminary Report. *Studies in the African Past*, Volume 12:96-101.

³Ryano, M. P. (2015). An Archaeological Study of Amboni Limestone Caves, Tanga Region in the Northern Coast of Tanzania. *Studies in the African Past*, Volume 12:128-143.

research activities. Also, it presents other recent research conducted in Kondoa, Dodoma, Singida, Iramba, Bukoba, and Muleba. This chapter goes further and looks at the status of conservation of cultural heritage in Tanzania with a look at colonial and post-colonial conservation measures which were used. Lastly, it offers some success and challenges which the Antiquities Divisions faced in the conservation of the cultural heritage resources in Tanzania.

Chapter three covers the significance and objectives of cultural heritage policy. As presented in this part, the overall objective of the cultural heritage policy was to increase sector contribution to the economy through tourism by conserving and developing cultural heritage resources. Even with their relevance, the policy overlooks how Sacred Heritage Places should be managed and used by different stakeholders as their management and conservation might differ from the other monumental heritages due to their characteristics and use in Tanzania.

Chapter four is all about the policy statements on cultural heritage matters including research, conservation, documentation, cultural tourism, stakeholder participation, statistics, working facilities, professionalism, training, and employment. While the central objective is to increase the assets contribution to the economy through cultural tourism, the policy statements on conservation remain more or less quiet about the use and management of Sacred Places which have been the area for spiritual activities to the local communities. Also, the policy statement on community participation speaks about rights and responsibilities for the Central Government, Local Government and community members in cultural heritage conservation, protection, and development. However, the policy fails to clarify how Sacred Places are going to be used and managed from tourism and research activities within these sites to avoid interferences with local communities' ritual and worship activities.

Lastly, cultural heritage crosscutting policy issues, institutional and legal structures is covered in chapter five and six respectively. The last part of the policy which is a conclusion provides a combination of matters presented in chapters 1 – 6. **Generally**, the 2008 cultural heritage policy is targeted at guiding actions towards sustainable management of cultural heritage resources in Tanzania. With effective implementation of this policy, the Government of Tanzania has overlooked the Sacred Heritage Places which have been one of the areas of worship and ritual activities by the local communities. Therefore, there is need to amend the current Antiquities Act or to develop a new plan on how to use and manage Sacred Places in Tanzania while promoting

sustainable tourism and research activities without interference and conflict with local communities' ritual or spiritual activities. It should be well understood that the use and management of Sacred Places might differ from another monumental heritage. Hence, Sacred Heritage Places need to be looked at from another perspective regarding its management and use.

2.5 Tourism Policy of 1999 - Tanzania Mainland

The first National Tourism Policy of Tanzania was adopted in 1991 to provide the overall objectives and strategies necessary to ensure sustainable tourism development in the country (URT 1999). Due to the considerable changes in the political, economic and social factors within the country, it led to the need to revise the policy as the results of stakeholders' involvements through some workshops in Arusha and Dar es Salaam respectively. Therefore, this policy is divided into six parts. The first part of the policy provides the background of Tanzania regarding geographical location. It also reveals various tourist attractions such as Mount Kilimanjaro as the highest point of Africa, Selous Game Reserves as the largest wildlife area in Africa and Kilwa Kisiwani and Songo Mnara as the UNESCO World Heritage Site.

Part II of the policy highlights the current status, constraints, and limitations of the tourism industry in Tanzania. The need to improve infrastructure while a deficiency in investment opportunities, shortage of skilled personnel addresses the limitation of the tourism industry in Tanzania. Meanwhile, in part III the policy enlightens the general tourism policy objectives made clear on the effort to promote the economy and livelihood of the people, especially poverty alleviation through encouraging the development of sustainable and quality tourism activities.

In part IV, the policy describes the specific objectives which are economical, social, environmental and cultural. Furthermore, in part V, the policy explains how these specific objectives can be achieved through different strategies such as product development, marketing, eco-tourism, domestic tourism, international and regional cooperation, infrastructure development, community participation and environmental protection. The last part (VI) of the policy is the conclusion.

Generally, Tanzania Tourism Policy of 1999, since revised, has been able to improve the tourism industry in Tanzania. The improvement also includes community participation in tourism activities and ensuring environmental protection. However, the policy is unsuccessful in failing to clarify how tourism activities conducted in Sacred Heritage Places are still in use by the communities for

spiritual or religious activities in Limestone Cave areas. The failure to clarify the activities brings problems to the local communities surrounding these sites to get a chance to conduct rituals and prayers due to the interference with the tourists who are coming to these areas for tourism purposes such as Amboni Limestone Caves.

2.6 Tourism Act of 2008 - Tanzania Mainland

The Tourism Act of 2008 provides the details of the institutional framework, administration, registration and licensing of tourism activities, facilities, operators, grading of establishments and registration of tour guides (URT 2008). This Act enacted by the Parliament of the United Republic of Tanzania is divided into nine sections. The first section (I) of the Act from Article 2 is a preliminary provision. This part provides an introductory explanation by giving the meaning of keywords such as tourism officer, visitors, tourists, tour guide and operators which are used throughout the legislation.

The second section (II) of this Act is an institutional arrangement and administration. From Article 4 to 7, the Act enlightens how the Technical Advisory Committee advises the Minister on the matters of management, tourism facilities and activities on the license issues and tourism development. Lastly, in this section, the Act provides the functions of the tourism division and the tourism officer. Issues on designation, registration, and grading of tourism facilities and activities are presented in section III from Article 8 to 17. In this section, the Act emphasises the need for tourism facilities and activities to be registered. All tourism activities and facilities which are registered will be provided with the certificate.

Section IV of the Act explains the establishment of the Board which is called Tanzania Tourism License Board which is composed of the Minister and other eleven members. The section also includes what will be the functions of the Board. In section V, the Act is based on the licensing of tourism facilities and activities. From Article 21 to 30, it stresses on any person conducting tourism activities that they should have a license and the Board has the power to cancel the license if the rules are not followed. The issue of licenses has been the same in section VI whereby it put the same emphasis on the licensing of tourism operators from Article 31 to 41.

Section VII of the Act from Article 42 to 45 clarifies on the importance of tour guides to be registered and to undergo medical examinations while section VIII from Article 46 to 50 explain

the offences and penalties on those who breach the regulations which are provided in the Act. The last section of this Act which is IX from Article 51 to Article 64 explains the miscellaneous provision. It explains how to appeal on grievances by a decision of directors, to surrender the license of a person doing tourism activities and monitoring curricula of hotel and tourism training institutes. Also, it emphasises that any tourism operator should ensure that any person who takes photographs should take into consideration the laws, practices, and customs of Mainland Tanzania, considering the survival and flourishing of traditional cultural products, crafts, and folklore (Article 60).

Generally, the Tourism Act of 2008, has provided a great contribution to the development of tourism activities in Tanzania. It has been able to support Tourism Policy of 1999. However, the Act has not explained clearly how tourism activities will be conducted and controlled in the Sacred Places which are used by the local communities for rituals and cultural activities. Due to the failure of the Act to discuss on this dilemma, it has led to the tension between the site managers, tourists and local communities on the use of Sacred Places in Tanzania such as Amboni Limestone Caves. Therefore, there is a need to develop a framework for the best tourism practices in Sacred Heritage Places in Tanzania.

2.7 Environmental Management Act No. 20 of 2004 - Tanzania Mainland

The enactment of Environmental Management Act No. 20 of 2004 (EMA 2004) by the Tanzanian Parliament in October 2004, repealed the National Environmental Management Act No. 19 of 1983 and re-established NEMC. EMA 2004 provides a legal and institutional framework for sustainable management of the environment, prevention and control of pollution, waste management, environmental quality standards, public participation, environmental compliance, and enforcement. Furthermore, it gives NEMC mandates to undertake enforcement, compliance, review, and monitoring of environmental impacts assessments, research, facilitates public participation in environmental decision-making, raises environmental awareness and collects and disseminates environmental information (Maro 2008; URT 2007). This Act is divided into 20 parts.

Generally, the Act prohibits implementation of any development project which is likely to hurt natural and cultural resources without Environmental Impact Assessment. The Act also includes public participation in the process of conducting an Environmental Impact Assessment whereby

the developer or proponent shall seek the views and hold public meetings with the communities and societies which are living around natural and cultural resources before the start of the project because they're the ones likely to be affected by the project.

Moreover, the Act gives power to the Minister to decide or provide the decision on Environmental Impact Statement which has negative impacts on cultural or religion of the people which are likely to lead to an irreversible impact on the society. Also, it ensures an environmental protection plan and ecosystem management plan for the nationally protected areas such as mountains, rivers, riverbanks, lakes, hills, landscapes and coastal environmental zones. These plans are done by ensuring that protected areas (heritage areas, game reserves) are governed and managed by their respective written laws, each managing authority of the protected area prepares and implements an environmental management plan and management measures such as zoning, access restrictions, entrance fees, and permits.

Environmental Management Act 2004 has been able to interlink with other Acts such as Village Land Act 1999, Forest Act 2002, Fisheries Act 2003, Marine Parks and Reserve Act 1994 to ensure conservation and promotion of different resources such as wildlife resources and marine resources, saving them from destruction by different projects for the future generations. Finally, the Act prohibits pollution and protection of human activities such as small-scale projects on natural and cultural resources along the mountains, hills, landscapes, rivers, riverbanks, and shores and promotes conservation of biological diversity in-situ and ex-situ and promotion of coastal environmental zone management.

However, the Act fails to recognise the traditional knowledge systems, i.e., methods, norms, and customs in the protection and conservation of nationally protected areas in Tanzania. Some of these protected areas such as Limestone Caves are sacred and have been protected by traditional knowledge systems for a long time by the local communities. Moreover, the Act also fails to deal with human activities such as agriculture, mining, limestone crushing, timber and construction activities, which when performed in these protected areas can destroy the resources environment such as in Amboni Limestone Caves.

Lastly, the Environmental Management Act of 2004 concentrates much in the protection and conservation of natural heritage resources environment from being destructed by the projects and

in the neglect of cultural heritage resources, i.e., it is based much on ecological diversity. The emphasis also includes the failure to clarify how a sacred natural environment should be protected and conserved from any development projects or human activities. Some of the projects are conducted without community participation in different heritage resources environment as a consequence led to the conflicts between the developer and the local communities.

2.8 Department of Antiquities, Zanzibar Islands

Antiquities Department of Zanzibar Islands is responsible for the care of immovable cultural heritage which consists of individual sites of archaeological and historical significance or other designated values. This department is responsible for the reinforcement of Cultural Heritage Legislation in the Zanzibar Islands (Unguja and Pemba).⁴ The department has used different approaches to move away from isolated management and get into integrative conservation by which the heritage is incorporated into the contemporary life of the local community. Different program measures such as legal, physical and educational measures have been used by the department to ensure the protection and preservation of heritage places in Unguja and Pemba islands respectively (Juma *et al.* 2005). In legal measure, the Ancient Monuments Preservation Decree enacted 1927 which now has been replaced by the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act 2002, has been useful in protecting the cultural heritage against damage and annexation for a reasonably long time. It has prohibited changes that impair authenticity and proclaim a penalty that deters offenders. In physical measures, conservation and maintenance work has been carried out with the utmost care to preserve the tone, texture, scale and general form of the fabric. Lastly, in education measures, the department has been able to raise public awareness through special exhibition and issue posters featuring archaeological sites and artefacts. The measures helped to raise consciousness among the local community to realise the importance of conservation of cultural heritage in Zanzibar Islands (Juma *et al.* 2005).

2.9 Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, 2002 – Zanzibar Island

Zanzibar Islands has all the legal instruments and bodies necessary for sustainable management of its historic Stone Town and Monuments. The law controls town planning, building controls, land

⁴The Zanzibar archipelago is made up of Unguja (the main island, informally referred to as “Zanzibar”) and Pemba lying within the Swahili Coast of Indian Ocean in Tanzania (Chami 2009:15).

use, new development and urban services which, up to this time, were largely those introduced by the British administration in the 1920s (the Ancient Monument Preservation Decree of 1927). The law was later updated in the 1940s (the Ancient Monument Preservation Act of 1948) (Syversen 2007:132). The Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 1948, which protects cultural properties in Zanzibar, aims at the protection of monuments and sites (Sheriff 1995; Karume 2005). Under this Act, all the Gazette⁵ monuments are regulated and administered by the Department of Archives, Monuments, and Museums. However, the Act has some weaknesses such as lack of provisions for controlling research activities and lack of protection of cultural property in the form of towns such as Stone Town (Juma *et al.* 2005:319; Karume 2005:68).

On 9th June 2006, an Act to provide for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments and Objects of Archaeological, Historical or Artistic Interest was enacted by the House of Representatives of Zanzibar. This Act may be cited as the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, 2002. This Act has been arranged into six sections including the last section which explains license conditions and includes the attached form to fill before undertaking any research activities in Zanzibar.

Section I of the Act explains important concepts and includes Antiquity, Authority, Government, Ministry, and Monuments. In this section, the Act defines the concept of "monument" as any structure, erection, or memorial, or any tumulus or place of interment. The explanation also includes any cave, rock-sculpture, or inscription of a monolith which is of archaeological, historical or artistic interest, or any remains (Article No. 2).

In Section II from Article No. 3 to No. 13, the Act clarifies the power of the Minister responsible for Ancient Monuments to Gazette any monument or antiquity to be a protected monument of antiquity. The Minister shall be able to establish the Authority to manage and supervise the ancient monuments or antiquity as he thinks necessary. This Authority has the power to enter into a written agreement with the owner of any protected monument or antiquity for the maintenance and custody of the monument or antiquity. However, the Minister may acquire any monument or antiquity which is in danger of being destroyed, injured or falling into decay and preserve and protect it if it was for the public purpose. Lastly, in section II of the Act, it recognises the places of worship by the local community. Here, the Act insists on the proper maintenance of the worship places and

⁵This is a process declaring a place, building, site or structure as a monument and publish it in the government newspaper. It is preserved with the highest form of recognition for its national significance.

shall not be used for any purpose inconsistent with its character. The Authority shall make sure the protection of these religious sites from pollution or violation by prohibiting the entry in these places except by conditions established by the agreement of the persons in religious charge of the site as stated in Article No. 11 (1-2). Nevertheless, the Act fails to stand on Article No.11 whereby many of these Sacred Heritage Places such as Kiwengwa⁶, Mapangani⁷, Mwanampambe⁸ and Kuumbi Limestone Caves excavated by different researchers mark the need of having proper application of the law, which is needed for dictating how these places should be used and managed by Authorities.

Section III from Article No. 14 to No. 18 is all about control of research activities in Ancient Monuments in Zanzibar. Here the Act maintains that no person is allowed to conduct any research activities in Ancient Monuments through exploring, searching on the earth surface or underwater without a license. Moreover, the researchers are not allowed to transfer any cultural objects outside the boundary of Zanzibar, without permission from the Minister in charge of the ancient monuments. Also, any person researching without a license is guilty of an offence and is liable to pay a fine of three hundred US Dollars (\$300) or imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months and not less than three months, or both such a fine and imprisonment. However, in this section, the Act fails to explain clearly what procedures are taken into account when conducting research activities in Sacred Places such as Limestone Caves where the local community uses the places for conducting ritual activities and prayers.

Section IV of the Act clarifies on the inspections during the research work which is from Article 19 to 20. Here the Authority or any officer authorised may inspect the research work at any time and if he/she is not satisfied with the implementation conditions of the license he/she may order the review of the research work until the Authority directs otherwise. Moreover, the Act emphasises that any person who fails to provide access to the officer of the Government to carry out the research work inspection will be guilty of an offence and shall be liable to a fine of US\$300 or imprisonment for a term of three months or both such a fine and imprisonment.

⁶Chami, F. (2013). Excavation of Kiwengwa Cave, Zanzibar. *Studies in the African Past*, 220-224.

⁷Chami, F. (2011). The Excavation of Mapangani Cave, Pemba Island, Zanzibar. *Studies in the African Past, Volume 9: 74-79*.

⁸Chami, F. (2009). Excavation of Mwanampambe Cave. In F. Chami (ed.), *Zanzibar and Swahili Coast from ca. 30,000 Years Ago* (pp.79-86). Dar es Salaam: EandD Vision Publishing.

Section V from Article No. 21 to 24 is about the exportation of antiquities. Here the Act puts much emphasis on the exportation of cultural heritage objects outside Zanzibar Island. No person is allowed to export any cultural objects outside Zanzibar without the written permission of the Authority. Therefore, a person who is exporting or transferring objects without permission outside Zanzibar is guilty of an offence and is accountable to a fine of US\$20,000 or imprisonment for one year or both.

Section VI of the Act explains the discovery of ancient monuments and artefacts. It requires that the Authority should be informed if anyone discovers antiquity either as part of research undertaken under a permit or through any other activity. The requirement relates both to antiquities discovered on land or in water within the boundary of Zanzibar. Any cultural objects discovered must be informed to the Authority (Department of Antiquities) in Zanzibar and care must be taken to ensure that the antiquity discovered is not damaged in any way as it is an offence to do so. The last section of the Act which is a conclusion provides an overview schedule for license conditions procedure and the attachment forms for research work on archaeology sites and permission for removal or export of ancient monument or objects from Zanzibar.

In general, the Act recognises the spiritual/Sacred Places used by the local communities for worships and prayers and emphasises that they should not be used for any purpose inconsistent with its character as stated in Article No. 11. However, these places such as Kuumbi Limestone Caves are subjected to intense archaeological research and tourism activities which are beyond its purpose. Therefore, there is a need for a proper course of action to specify how Sacred Heritage Places should be used regarding research, tourism and religious activities through the development of a framework or management plan for these places in Tanzania.

2.10 Tourism Act No. 6 of 2009 Amended in 2012 - Zanzibar Island

The Zanzibar Tourism Act No. 6 of 2009 Amended in 2012 was the primary principle legislation for the development of tourism activities in Zanzibar Island which was enacted by the House of Representatives of Zanzibar. The Act is divided into six sections. In Section I Article 2, the Act provides the interpretation of keywords such as board, committee, commission, guest house, maritime transport, tourist and tour guide. Section II of the Act which is from Article 3 to 11 clarifies on the establishment, functions, and power of the commission. It explains the function of the Zanzibar Commission to facilitate the preservation of tangible and intangible cultural heritage

and conduct research in tourism-related subjects. Also, in this section, the Act enlightened the functions of the Board of Directors such as to stop destruction of the environment as well as tangible and non-tangible heritage.

In section III from Article 12 to 14 is financial provision. The Act describes how the commission established a fund from the House of Representatives which includes money collected from grants and revenue. Section IV which was from Article 15 to 17 gives out details on the licensing of the tourism business. It stressed that no person should run a tourism business without licenses. Moreover, the Director General shall issue a license to any person who is engaged in a tourism business after fulfilment of all terms and conditions under the Act.

Conditions and duties for tourism business operators are presented in Section V from Article No. 18 to No. 23. Here the Act shows how hotels and guest houses register all admitted visitors in their names and nationality. These conditions likewise emphasise the need for tourist vessels and tour guides to have a license from the commission. The last section of this Act which is VI (Article No. 24 to No. 32) provides a general provision. Here the Act emphasises that all the business such as internet services and tourist shops are reserved for Tanzanians. Moreover, it explains the offences and penalty to these people who conduct tourism business without a valid license.

Generally, The Zanzibar Tourism Act No. 6 of 2009 amended in 2012 has played a significant role in ensuring sustainable tourism development through the Commission for Tourism by describing how the Commission shall promote and sustain eco-tourism through controlling the destruction of tangible and non-tangible heritage (Article 4 (b, d)). However, the Act fails to explain clearly how tourism activities are conducted in the Sacred Heritage Place areas such as in Kuumbi Limestone Caves which has been widely used by the local communities from the Southern District for ritual (spiritual) activities.

2.11 Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania of 1977, i.e., Article No. 19 (1-2), Right to Freedom of Religion

The Constitution of Tanzania also known as Permanent Constitution was ratified in 1977. Before the current establishment, the United Republic of Tanzania had three constitutions: the Independence Constitution of 1961-1962, the Republican Constitution of 1962-1964, and the Interim Constitution of the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar of 1964-1977 to date

(Katundu and Kumburu 2015:108). The Independence Constitution of 1961-1962 was after independence from the United Kingdom, whereby Tanganyika (i.e., before union with Zanzibar) adopted a constitution based on the Westminster Model. This Constitution defined a Governor-General as the representative of the Queen of Tanganyika (Elizabeth II) to be the formal head of state, while the Prime Minister was chosen by the majority party. The Republican Constitution of 1962-1964 formed the Tanzanian (i.e., Tanganyika) Parliament itself into a constituent assembly and granted the new President of Tanganyika the prerogatives of both former roles, Governor-General and First Minister, serving as the head of state as well as commander in chief of the armed forces. Lastly, the Interim Constitution of 1964-1977 to date, Tanganyika, and Zanzibar (1964) merged to form the United Republic of Tanzania. The constitution of the newborn nation based on Tanganyika's 1962 Republican Constitution, modified according to the agreements between TANU and Zanzibar's majority party, the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP). These agreements have been ratified under the name "Articles of Union," and became part of the new constitution as "Acts of Union" (Nchalla 2013; Msekwa 2002; Katundu and Kumburu 2015).

The Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania, in the Article no. 19 (1) stated the right to freedom of religion. In this article, the constitution explains that every person has the right to the freedom of thought or conscience, belief or faith, and choice in matters of religion, including the freedom to change his religion of faith. Though the constitution has not mentioned any religion, still it has done enough to recognise the right of the people to pray and worship in their respective areas. However, in paragraph 2 of Article 19 the Constitution provides a kind of a limitation of the freedom of religion to its citizens which perhaps has led to the local communities facing problems and interference to perform rituals and other cultural activities in Sacred Heritage Places in Tanzania.

2.12 Analysis of Antiquities Act (1964 amended in Cap 333 of 1979) and Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 2002

In general, the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 2002 and Antiquities Act of 1964 and amended Cap 333 of 1979 provide the protection and preservation of the United Republic of Tanzania's movable and immovable cultural heritage resources. These two legislations ensure the sustainability of cultural heritage resources and fighting against illicit trafficking of cultural objects. However, the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 2002 has been able to make clear

how private or individually owned objects and sites should be handled legally and make sure that the owner does not decide to sell it or destroy it for the people and community at large. The idea has been different from the Antiquities Act of Tanzania mainland which failed to do that.

Moreover, the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 2002 has been able to recognise the religious/ Sacred Places which have been used by the local communities for veneration activities. The Act clarifies the places not being used for any purpose inconsistent with its character. This idea has been different from the Antiquities Act of 1964 amended in 1979 in Tanzania mainland where it fails to recognise Sacred Places. Meanwhile, both Acts fail to specify clearly on the traditional knowledge systems such as customary laws and traditional practices in the preservation and conservation of cultural heritage resources in Tanzania Islands and Mainland respectively. The thesis observes that these two Acts fail to explain on the application of Cultural Heritage Impact Assessment (CHIA) before undertaking any project within heritage sites. Community participation and involvement in the management and conservation of the cultural heritage also is not stated in these Acts.

Finally, Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 2002 misses a policy in place from which an Act would be developed, supported and passed compared to Antiquities Act of 1964 amended in 1979 which has been supported by cultural heritage policy. Rules and regulations based on the Act would then be put in place. This situation in Zanzibar has resulted in a lacking of cooperation between the law-enforcing authorities and the rest of the society. Therefore, there is a need to develop a guiding principle or a framework which will help to address the missing links in these two Acts on the best practices of Sacred Heritage Places in Tanzania.

2.13 Customary Law in Tanzania

In most countries in Africa including Tanzania, Customary Laws have existed down through the ages for the protection of heritage resources and places such as Sacred Places (Eboreime 2008). Customary Laws in heritage perspective can be defined as prescriptive taboos, avoidances, and practices put in place by local communities which are regarded as the unwritten constitution and passed down from one generation to another (*ibid.*). The laws also ensure conservation and maintaining of infrastructure and use of natural and cultural heritage places through the effective method of enforcement to punish offenders who are proven guilty (Musonda 2005:26). The presence of customary laws including knowledge systems in Makunduchi and Kiomoni

communities was an indication of its significance to these communities and its potential role in the use and management of Sacred Places in Limestone Cave areas along the Swahili Coast of Tanzania. Customary law administered by these local communities was an integral part of traditional knowledge systems which ensured the sustainability of these Sacred Places (Egute 2012).

However, after independence, many countries in Africa including Tanzania inherited colonial legislative systems which created conflict and overrode traditional knowledge systems regarding heritage management. The inherited colonial legislation in Tanzania has failed to recognise traditional belief systems, customary laws and practices used by the local communities in the management and use of heritage resources (Eboreime 2008). According to LRCT (2017) in Tanzania, customary law was formally recognised as a source of law in 1961 by the Judicature and Application of Laws Act (JALA). This piece of legislation recognises customary laws to be one of the sources of laws to be applied by the courts of Tanzania. As a source of law juxtaposed within other sources of laws, customary law has over the years continually diminished in the application as more pieces of legislation are expanded to cover areas hitherto under customary laws and practices (www.lrct.go.tz/?wpfb_dl=105). In September 2014, Tanzania's proposed Constitution (Pending a referendum) which includes a new set of rights, provisions to protect specific social groups, including women, and a clause enshrining women's equal rights to land. However, reform to laws of inheritance and succession, including codified customary laws, remains a particular striking point for the legislature and has been left almost untouched (Dancer 2017:2).

Sacred Heritage Places in Tanzania present a challenge on the use and management to site managers, tourism managers and heritage experts in legislation and practice. Sacred Places, especially Limestone Cave areas, have intensified in tourism and research activities which leads to the interference with local communities' worship, ritual and cultural activities. The intensification has led to the tension between the local communities and the site managers whereby the communities feel their Sacred Places are exploited and used without the respect of their customary laws and practices. As Sacred Places in Limestone Caves becomes increasingly intensified in research, education and tourism development, traditional knowledge systems, i.e., customary laws and practices should be encouraged and accommodated within heritage legislation to protect the culture and rights of the local communities on the best practice of the different

activities in these places. For example, in Kaya forests in Kenya, provided evidence on how customary laws and traditional practices have ensured proper use and sustainable management of sacred forest reserve which also has been used by the communities for ritual practices and other cultural activities through different taboos (Eboreime 2008). For that reason, it is vital that local communities' ethics, practices and culture be protected through establishment of different frameworks that accommodate and incorporate their practices in management and use of Sacred Heritage Places for the future generation.

2.14 Summary

This chapter has provided an understanding of the specific legislation for the tourism, environment, conservation, and protection of immovable cultural heritage in Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar Island correspondingly. The institutions (Antiquities Divisions) relevant for protecting immovable cultural heritage was discussed. Lastly, an overview of the customary law and the Article No. 19 (1 - 2) in the Constitution of Tanzania were examined, with the thesis being able to provide a short comparative analysis between Ancient Monuments Act of 2002 (Zanzibar Islands) and Antiquities Act of 1964 amended in 1974 (Tanzania Mainland). *Generally*, the Tanzanian heritage legislation and institutions for protection and management of immovable cultural heritage have failed to recognise the importance of local community involvement and traditional knowledge systems in the management of heritage sites. The problem also included the failure to acknowledge Sacred Heritage Places which are still in use by the communities for worship, rituals and other cultural activities. Due to these legal and institutional problems, it has led to the complexities between the stakeholders on the use and management of the Sacred Heritage Places. Therefore, by following this legal analysis, there is a need to develop a framework to ensure best practices (use and management) of Sacred Heritage Places in Tanzania. The next chapter focuses on the literature review and theoretical framework.

3 PREVIOUS STUDIES AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING SACRED HERITAGE PLACES

3.1 Preamble

For the sake of clarity and about the research objectives, the literature review section is divided into three parts: work related to ritual activities and social structures, traditional knowledge systems (tradition practices and customary laws) and community involvement in the management and conservation of the heritage sites. It has further examined the overview of international heritage institutions in recognised and managed sacred/religious heritage places. The purpose of the section is to identify academic gaps and demonstrate the need for this thesis. This chapter also intends to present the theoretical concepts used in this study in the field of laws, rituals and community involvement. These theoretical concepts also act as strategies for data collection, discussion, and analysis. These are a ritual theory, collaboration theory and a theory of legal pluralism.

3.2 Ritual Activities and Social Structures in Sacred Places

Rituals are part and parcel of traditional African life. They are a symbol of different aspects of life. Some may indicate achieving a new social status; others indicate moving into a new age group, while some welcome a new visitor or a newborn to the society (Chigozie 2016). There are different categories of Sacred Places which are used by the communities for different religious and cultural practices in the World. These Sacred Places include forests, water bodies, mountains, islands, huts, tombs and many others. Many of these Sacred Places usually share similarities or characteristics in terms of their religious role to the community but differ in the locality, region, practice and culture of the people. In Ghana, Kankpeyeng (2005) examined ritual activities in the cultural landscape of Tongo-Tenzuk. The Gologo festival, sacred shrines and worships among the Talensi and other ethnic groups are identified as ritual activities, and the social group performs rituals in the area. In Burkina Faso, Napon and Rakotomamonjy (2005) reported on Courtyard of idols ('Tim-Dogho') as the setting for all the ceremonies, rituals and other offerings to the Mossi forebears and the gods. The authors revealed that the Courtyard was shared by the eight villages that fall under the authority of the Naaba of Kokologho.

Meanwhile, in Mali, Sidi and Joffroy (2005) pinpointed secret rituals and rituals of dining among the Mason as the ritual activities performed in the Grand Mosque of Timbuktu. In the same country, in the septennial conservation of the Kamablou, provided is another reference to ritual activities and social structures. Kléssigué (2005) identified ceremonies of worship and prayers which were supervised by the adults according to their social status in Mali.

In Zimbabwe, Silozwane and Domboshava were rock-art sites acting as major religious centres for ritual activities for both the Shona and the Ndebele. Pwiti and Mvenge (1996) indicated rainmaking ceremonies as the rituals held periodically by these two communities (see also Ndoro 2003:82). After three years in the same area, Ranger (1999) investigated on culture and history of the Matobo hill and found similar circumstances as found by Pwiti and Mvenge (1996). However, Jopela (2016:15) presented some indigenous beliefs and practices associated with Matobo as a Sacred Place or the seat of God (Mwari/Mlimo), the home of ancestral spirits, and the focus for rituals. The researcher identified rainmaking and harvest ceremonies as well as other agricultural rituals practised by the Njelele and Matobo communities in Matobo hill. These findings have been the same in Ethiopia, whereby Gebremichael (2016:27) explained different kinds of ritual activities. He mentioned the ritual of ceremonies, the ritual of erection/placement, a ritual for the fertility of land and burial rituals performed by the Konso community in the sacred forests which serve as a ritual site in the traditional town of Paletaare. In Benin, Boko (2016) assessed ritual activities within local communities living in architectural heritage sites of Otammari land in the aquatic sites North-West of the country. Initiation, burial and agricultural rituals were discovered among the Otammari communities (*ibid.*).

In Rwenzori Mountains forest a World Heritage Site in Uganda, Mapesa (2016:48) elaborated on rituals of purification within Bakonjo communities to a member who was found in fault. On the other hand, the researcher discovered ritual practices and other taboos died due to newly imposed government regulations on the use and management of natural resources in the mountains that excluded the Bakonjo communities from any decision making and made it illegal for them to use the area. Christianity and Islam also increased the abandonment of taboos and ritual practices. Another World Heritage Site in the same country where rituals are conducted is Kasubi tombs. Kasubi tombs is regarded as ritual/Sacred Places by the Buganda communities. Some scholars (Kigongo 2005; Abungu and Katana 2016:34) described how shrines were staffed by descendants

of the Kings' leading chief and wives, his ritual half-sisters and by spirit mediums. However, the authors failed to describe exactly the kind of ritual activities performed in these sacred tombs (Munjari 2003:77; Ndoro 2003:83). The findings were similar in Niger whereby Bardagot and Bida (2005) recognised the presence of the ritual room in the Palace of the Sultanate of Zindar without saying precisely what kind of rituals were performed in the room.

Furthermore, sacred pools have been one of the areas for performing ritual activities. For example, Katchikally, a sacred crocodile pool in the Gambia, had divine uses for the communities (Ceesay and Ceesay 2005). They believed that barren women who bathed in the pool became fertile. People who came in the pool to wish good luck and blessings usually gave out offerings. Also, the authors pinpointed out that anyone who does not belong to the Bojang family cannot perform the blessing or any rituals in the pool (*ibid.*). Sacred forests also provide evidence of social structures and ritual activities. Mijikenda and Rabai Kaya forest situated in the coastal plain of Kenya, in East Africa is one of them. Ritual activities such as pouring of coconut oil and slaughtering a black or white chicken are identified in this sacred forest. Other ritual activities include traditional ceremonies, rainmaking, and ritual for protection, all practised by the members of Kaya's communities in this forest (Githito 2005; Abungu and Katana 2016:34).

Additionally, in the different sacred forest in Kenya, Taubert, and Pretzsch (2007) inspected the cultural influence of forest perception and forest use among the Tiriki community in the West of Kenya. They found out that rituals were performed in the community rather than on clan basis, with blessings sought from ancestors of a certain age group while the whole community organised circumcision rituals and not by single clans.

Huts played a big role as one of the places for conducting rituals and worships to many African communities. Kourouma (2005) explored the huts of Sosso-Bala in Niagassola Guinea. The author reported that ritual huts are only opened for three reasons: whenever it was necessary to conserve or maintain the instrument or the hut itself, on ritual occasions, particularly for making sacrifices to the ancestors, and on days when the Sosso-Bala displayed to the public. Similar research of sacred huts reported in Cameroon in Mousgoum hutshells. Eloundou (2005) learned that the sacrificial ritual where the head of the family slaughtered a cow, recovered its blood, and then sprinkled it on the floor of the concession was a ritual done within the community. The results represented a way to strengthen the protection of the family environment (*ibid.*). In Mali, during

the annual festivals, the Bulo community usually conducted rituals for sacrifices, worships and ceremonies between themselves which were organised by the traditional priest (Cisse 2005). These findings have been the same to Mouayini (2016) who reported on the ritual activities practised in the sacred forest by the Royal Domain of Mbe community in the Central Africa Republic. The researcher found out that healing rituals, initiation, and rituals of ceremonies were practised highly by the Mbe communities in the forest.

In a Tanzania case, Bwasiri (2008) examined ritual activities at Mongomi wa Kolo Rock Painting site. The researcher identified healing and rainmaking as the ritual activities practised by Warangi and Wasi/Waragwa communities in Kondoa District (see also Campbell and Coulsen 2012). Meanwhile, Ichumbaki (2015) studied perceptions of values and uses of built heritage assets and pointed out myths, and spiritual practices took place in the built heritage assets and surrounding landscapes. In sacred forests of Tanzania, rituals were conducted by different communities. Ylhäisi (2006) identified the presence of rainmaking rituals in protected forests and sacred forests of Zigua and Gweno ethnic groups in Tanga region. The researcher went further and discovered that development had a significant impact on the destruction of rituals practiced in Zigua communities. In the Simiyu region, Saanane (2016) investigated rituals, grinding hollows and other socio-cultural practices by Sukuma community. He reported the presence of rainmaking rituals, worships and security rituals as most commonly used by Sukuma community in the Simiyu region. Finally, Kweka (2004) recognised the existence of ritual activities conducted by Potwe-ndondondo villagers in East Usambara forest but failed to mention what kinds of rituals were performed by the villagers. Schmidt (2017) revealed intangible heritage, i.e., ritual knowledge and oral tradition in two adjacent kingdoms of Kihanja and Bukara in Northwestern Tanzania. He argued that the effects of HIV/AIDS led to the loss of oral traditions, thus obscuring a significant massacre by German troops over a century ago in the areas.

Therefore, the literature on ritual activities and structures indicates that studies in the Limestone Cave areas along the Coast of Tanzania have been well assessed and examined, whereas many Sacred Places found inland (hinterland) such as forests, pools, tombs, huts, and rock paintings were intensively investigated. From these previous studies, there was no clear information on what kind of ritual activities and social structures were found in Sacred Places in Limestone Cave areas.

This study is the first attempt to examine the ritual activities and social structures in Limestone Cave areas along the Swahili Coast of the Indian Ocean in Tanzania.

3.3 Traditional Knowledge Systems

Before the colonisation of Africa and other parts of the World, protection of cultural heritage resources tended to focus more on those places that were held sacred by local communities. (Mahachi and Kamuhangire 2008:43). The local communities used different traditional knowledge systems including techniques, methods, and customary laws to ensure the sustainability of these places. With the coming of colonisation, the African traditional knowledge systems were destroyed and replaced with European legal systems (Ndoro and Kiriyama 2008:53). However, Jopela (2016), Makhuvaza and Makhuvaza (2012) argued that in recent years, recognition of traditional knowledge systems has been difficult due to some of the local communities beginning to embrace Christianity and Muslims values, thus abandoning their traditional beliefs and practices. As a result, they suggested that the governments have to revisit the issue of rituals and Sacred Places and enact laws to protect these shrines and elevate them to national heritage status. Oviedo *et al.* (2005) further insisted that many Sacred Places have not been reflected in the management plans and that existing policy and legal frameworks do not adequately support the Sacred Places of indigenous and traditional peoples. Many of these sites do not remain under the management of traditional ownership which has raised the tension in the use of the local people and the management regime (*ibid.*).

In India, RaoRane (2006) inspected the use of indigenous customary laws to protect traditional cultural expression. However, the researcher found out that the application of indigenous customary laws encountered challenges related to implementation. In the same country, Vedavathy (2009) researched on the protection of forest bio-resources among the Yanadi community. The researcher discovered that self-imposed limitations on forest clearance, restrictions on hunting certain species and protection of sacred graves were traditional methods used to ensure the sustainability of the forest bio-resources. Meanwhile, Pant (2009) did not go far away from Vedavathy (2009) by arguing that customary laws and traditional methods used in all areas of life including food, medicines, housing, crafts, integrated pest, forest and water resources management by Indians. In Kyrgyzstan, Samakov and Berkes (2017) showed how communities had developed rules to protect Sacred Places, including the traditional institution of Sacred Place guardians in the

conservation of Sacred Places in Ysyk-Köl Biosphere Reserve. In Utah, U.S.A, Olsen (2008) identified the lack of sufficient managerial expertise (site managers), lack of respect to traditional management practices and failure of scholars and tourism industry officials to understand and respect the views of local communities elders as challenges facing the management of Temple Square Sacred Place. Xu *et al.* (2005) also advocated that the sacred knowledge which includes taboos and norms should be incorporated in the policy in China to help to maintain the environment and traditional activities of the people due to the effects of economic growth and expansion of the free market economy.

In Ghana, the study was conducted to observe how traditional methods and techniques are used in the conservation of the cultural landscape of Tongo-Tenzuk. Kankpeyeng (2005) explained different traditional conservation practices such as taboos, norms, and penalties used in Tongo-Tenzuk by Talensi community and other ethnic groups in preserving the cultural landscape (see also Diawuo and Issifu 2015:125). Moreover, in the same country but in Biodiversity conservation, different scholars (Sarfo-Mensah and Oduro 2007) conducted anthropological studies on the importance of traditional conservation systems in natural resource management in Ghana. They highlighted the significance of traditional beliefs, taboos, totems and rules as the key to the management and conservation of natural resources in Ghana (Ntiamoa-Baidu 1991; Ntiamoa-Baidu 1995; Johan and Carl 1997). After eight years in the same country in Biodiversity conservation, Diawuo and Issifu (2015) researched natural resource management and found similar results. However, socio-economic and biophysical issues are mentioned as the things threatening traditional management systems of heritage resources in Ghana (Sarfo-Mensah and Oduro 2007). The findings have been supported by Eneji *et al.* (2012) who assessed the roles of traditional African religion in the conservation and management of natural resources, especially forest resources in Nigeria. The researchers found that, acculturation and enculturation of most African communities through the introduction of Christianity and Islam as a modern way of worship has eroded African traditional religious strategies for natural resource conservation and management.

The lagoons of Sakumo and Djange were two of the many lagoons found along the coast of Ghana. Ntiamoa-Baidu (1991) researched the traditional conservation systems in these lagoons and discovered that traditional taboos and norms were used to control overfishing. However, the author

identified that most of the traditional rules and regulations were no longer respected and the lagoon fisheries have been heavily overexploited. Meanwhile, in Mali, Sidi and Joffroy (2005) exposed how Grand Mosques of Timbuktu had been conserved and protected by the traditional community knowledge. The researchers revealed that, due to the fear of these local beliefs, norms, and customs if the walls of these Mosques fall they will turn into a maggot, which made the community fear providing labour and repairing materials to ensure the conservation of the Mosque. A similar study was conducted in Cameroon involving the conservation of traditional features. Eloundou (2005) explained how a community conserved the Mousgoum hutshells traditionally. These were grand size, curved features, and slender shapes which surprised many travellers stopping in the Mousgoum village. The conservation and preservation of these features were the same as in Timbuktu and Mali where everyone was involved in building and repairing hutshells except the specialists who were responsible for building the walls (Sidi and Joffroy 2005). In Cameroon, Egute (2012) assessed the potentials of modern law and traditional local systems in the protection and management of National Parks in Cameroon. The researcher revealed that cultural beliefs and traditional knowledge associated with totems, taboos, and sacred forests existed in the Korup villages and contributed to protecting Korup forest heritage.

In Uganda, Kigongo (2005) and Musalizi (2009) described the traditional methods and techniques used in the management of Kasubi tombs. The researchers found out that customs, norms, and beliefs of the site were some of the issues which strongly defended the site. Moreover, Musalizi (2009) identified traditional materials such as a wooden pole, grass, reeds, fibres and palm leaves used in repairing the tombs. These materials were used for making ceilings, fences, structural rings, sliding doors and walls. Lastly, in Uganda, Kigongo (2005) revealed that these customary laws were recognised by the government which ensured the management of the Kasubi tombs (*ibid.*). In Benin, Boko (2017) showed the importance of traditional knowledge mechanisms in preserving biodiversity in waterlogged territories and other places of memory associated with slavery in West Africa. Ceesay and Ceesay (2005) investigated how the conservation of Katchikally Sacred Crocodile Pool was managed and conserved by the Bojang Family in the Gambia. Prohibition of vegetation cutting and hunting within the site were some of the traditional laws used in the conservation and preservation of the sacred pool.

The conservation studies also have been conducted in the sacred forests in Kenya. Githitho (2005) studied how traditional conservation systems were used in Sacred Mijikenda Kaya forest to ensure its sustainability. The researcher identified a ban on tree cutting and cattle grazing in the forests as techniques employed in the conservation of the site. The community believed that, if they break the rules bad things will happen to them. These community laws and traditional rules made the people fear the destruction of the sacred forest. After five years in the same sacred forest, Mutta and Munyi (2009) looked at the traditional laws and rules at the community level that may be useful for the protection of collective bio-cultural heritage. Mutta and Munyi (2009) did not go far away from Githitho (2005) who found out that social, cultural and spiritual values play an essential role in ensuring the conservation and management of the forest, Sacred Places, biodiversity and culture itself. In Nigeria, Rim-Rukeh *et al.* (2013) inspected on traditional beliefs and conservation of natural resources in Delta State. Their findings revealed that wood collection, taboos, totems, bathing and washing of clothes around, near or inside the source of the river or ponds were strictly forbidden. Other traditional methods exposed were fishing or harvesting any aquatic animals within the source of the river was not allowed while traditional guards regularly patrolled the grove and arrested intruders, who reported to the chief priest for the necessary, customary sanctions. Cash fines, bottles of hot drinks, goats, sheep, chicken, kola nuts or alligator pepper was paid by those who broke these laws and was used as a sacrifice to the gods.

However, Osuagwu (2005) had her ideas. She argued that it was challenging to implement a legal framework for the protection and management of cultural heritage in Africa. She identified traditional conservation practices, customary laws and community participation as the factors hindering the implementation of the legal framework in many African countries. Additionally, Osuagwu (2017) discussed issues related to the protection and governance of the sacred heritage in West Africa and showed to whom traditional knowledge use is reserved for protecting sacred areas for rituals and traditional ceremonies. She posed serious questions on the effectiveness of legal frameworks in Africa and its antagonistic relationship with traditional systems in protection dealing with sacredness.

In central Mozambique, Jopela (2010) assessed how traditional custodianship facilitated the conservation and preservation of the rock art site at Manica District. The researcher pointed out that traditional management systems enforced through cultural, social, religious and ethical belief

systems carried out by local communities influenced the preservation of a heritage place and its surrounding environment. Eboreime (2005:9) discussed Nigeria's customary laws and traditional conservation practices in the protection of the cultural heritage resources in the Benin Kingdom. The researcher believed that the provision of labour for maintenance of earthworks by the community, the enclosure of the site and prohibition of the Ekho villagers in hunting and collecting firewood in the forest ensured the sustainability of the site. The researcher went further and proposed that African tradition practices, laws and customs must be incorporated into formal state-based legislation which many African countries have not done yet (Eboreime 2005).

In Zimbabwe, Chiwaura (2005) described how the government of Zimbabwe tried to incorporate customary laws and traditional conservation practices in the preservation and management of cultural heritage resources. The researcher found out that the effects of colonialism and modernisation posed challenges in integrating traditional conservation practices and customary laws on cultural heritage management in Zimbabwe. However, this situation was different in the same country whereby some researchers (Mawere 2013; Ngara and Mangizvo 2013) revealed the importance of traditional conservation systems and the use of indigenous knowledge in the conservation of natural resources in Zimbabwe. The researchers pointed out a prohibition of tree cutting, taboos and totems as the best traditional practises used by the communities in Zimbabwe to ensure conservation of the environment and natural resources respectively. In addition to that, Byers *et al.* (2001) emphasised that traditional spiritual values have influenced human behaviour affecting the sacred forests and have played a role in protecting them until now. Hence, Mawere (2013) argued that Zimbabwe could not underestimate these strategies because they can be more successful if they are integrated into the legal system.

In Barotseland, Zambia, Musonda (2005) provided his experience on traditional conservation methods used by the Lozi people who were living in the Western Province of Zambia. The researcher discovered that there was a government within the community which dealt with the management of heritage resources from being destructed. Also, the Lozi people had their conservation philosophy such as replacement and preventive conservation. This conservation philosophy had been different from the Republic of South Africa, Botswana, and Namibia. These

countries used the UNESCO convention of 2003⁹ to develop cultural heritage legislation which included community and traditional practice in the management and conservation of the sites (Madiba 2005; Mahachi and Kamuhangire 2008:47; Ndoro and Kiriamu 2008:58). This idea has not been accomplished by many African countries including Tanzania (Kamamba 2005a; Kamamba 2005b; Bwasiri 2008). The failure is because many of the legislative frameworks are marginalised (Mumma 2009).

Mumma (2003) examined the role of community-based legal systems in the management of World Heritage Sites in Africa. The researcher revealed that the use of community-based legal systems and integrating the community will improve the effectiveness of heritage management in Africa. The argument was supported by Sullivan (2003) who agreed that the use of traditional conservation practices was beneficial in the management of World Heritage Sites. Ndoro (2003) assessed the management of heritage sites in Africa through traditional and customary systems. The researcher conducted different case studies in various sites such as Silozwane, Domboshavu, Kasubi tombs and Kondoa Irangi Rock Paintings and found that customary systems and traditional conservation practices in the management of these sites are denied and sidelined.

Lastly, in Tanzania, most of the investigations of traditional conservation systems have concentrated much on forest protection (Mwihomeke *et al.* 1998; Ylhals 2000). In Northern Tanzania, Hando (2003) provided experience from Serengeti National Park on how the community provided services and involved lawful enforcement to ensure protection and conservation of the National Park. In central Tanzania, Bwasiri (2008) investigated the management of indigenous living heritage at Kolo rock painting site. The researcher tried to consider how to integrate living heritage into the management of Mongoni wa Kolo rock painting site which was important for rituals and tourism purposes. Moreover, in the northeastern coast of Tanzania, Msuya and Kideghesho (2009) studied the importance of traditional methods in the conservation of medicinal plants in the West Usambara Mountains. They recommended that traditional management practices should be encouraged since they serve a dual purpose as an important conservation strategy.

⁹The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage is a UNESCO treaty adopted by the UNESCO General Conference on 17 October 2003. The convention entered into force in 2006, after thirtieth instruments of ratification by UNESCO Member States.

Therefore, the literature review above indicated that investigation on the Sacred Places in Limestone Cave areas along the Swahili Coast of Tanzania had not been explored especially in regard to traditional knowledge systems (customary laws and traditional conservation practices). From these previous studies, this work is trying to discover traditional knowledge systems used by the Swahili communities in the management of Sacred Limestone Caves along the Swahili Coast of the Indian Ocean in Tanzania.

3.4 Community Involvement in Conservation and Management of Heritage Sites

According to Ismail (2013), the term community involvement and community participation in sociology and thinking is used as there are no significant differences in the meaning of these two words in the English language. Therefore, the word involvement is the action or process of involving something, someone or the fact of being involved concerning something (*ibid.*). Community involvement has been widely used in heritage management in the contemporary world which believes in empowering the local community in the decision-making and management of the heritage sites surrounding them for the future generations. Camp and Cros (2011) researched the community involvement and empowerment in the Historic Centre of Macau, a World Heritage Site. The researchers developed a framework for the implementation of community involvement and empowerment in World Heritage Sites after they had discovered that the community at Macau did not feel involved in conserving the heritage site (see also Chan 2016). Meanwhile, Ismail (2013) examined local community involvement in the Melaka heritage trail, a World Heritage Site in Malaysia. He revealed that the central government highly controlled the participation and involvement approach in Malaysia.

Oviedo *et al.* (2005) claimed that due to unequal power relationships, local communities frequently lack the means to promote their rights and responsibilities as stewards of their Sacred Places. They are often excluded from community involvement and decision-making processes which affect their sites, and they frequently lack information, organisational and financial support to develop and defend their interests. Also, Byers *et al.* (2001), in discussing community involvement suggested that a strategy that links the conservation of culture and nature is likely to be more effective in conserving sacred forests than a strategy that ignores traditional beliefs, values and local community. Shen *et al.* (2012) did not go far away from Byers *et al.* (2001) by believing that to promote conservation of Tibetan Sacred Places in Western China there is a need to be recognised

and incorporated in the formal conservation network. He further argued local communities should be involved in protecting and managing their Sacred Places. In India, Ormsby and Bhagwat (2010) identify challenges facing sacred forests which are ranging from pressures for the use of timber to clearing for agriculture activities. The authors proposed community involvement and traditional conservation means for solving these challenges. Jimura (2016) examined the sacred places and pilgrimage routes in the Kii mountain range in Japan. The researcher found out that local people, tourists/visitors, and experts were all actively involved in heritage management and conservation of the site though there were conflicts between heritage management, tourism, and religious practices.

In the tourism industry, Li and Hunter (2014) explored how to involve community stakeholders to achieve sustainability in heritage tourism operations. After highlighting the challenges facing heritage tourism operators, the authors recommended inter-stakeholder group collaboration, participative decision making, and benefit sharing by involving host communities. Moreover, Din (1993) and Saad (1998) looked at resident involvement and participation in tourism planning of Langkawi Island site in Malaysia, and discovered that the community participation process usually happened in the early stages but not in the decision-making process. In the same area, Azizan (2008) researched again and found that lack of inhabitant engagement in tourism management and planning in heritage site still occurred. The author went further and revealed that the Malaysian government policies were too concentrated on sharing the economic benefits rather than trying to involve the community in decision-making and management of tourism activities in heritage sites. These findings were the same in Georgetown's heritage city, in Malaysia, whereby Lim *et al.* (2008) discovered that the interest of the government to register the city into the UNESCO World Heritage List ignored the opinions and views of local communities.

Rasoolimanesh and Jaafar (2016) attempted to review the community participation and involvement literature on rural World Heritage Site destinations. The findings revealed a preference among rural World Heritage sites citizens for economic involvement and destination promotion rather than involvement in the decision-making process. Meanwhile, Kumar (2013) examined the current factors affecting the levels of community involvement in Sri Lanka. The researcher pinpointed that there were no uniform national management strategies available to get the community involvement while there was a positive attitude of the community to participate in

heritage management in Sri Lanka. Another scholar Poullos (2014) discussed a new conservation approach that promoted the empowerment of local communities and sustainable development. The author suggested that the conservation approach depended on the specific conditions of each heritage place. However, a living heritage approach would be preferable because the community would be involved in the protection of the site (*ibid.*).

In Africa, heritage conservation and management included the identification, documentation, and promulgation of necessary legislation, which was introduced throughout the African continent as part of the European colonisation (Pwiti and Ndoro 1999; Ndoro and Pwiti 2001; Jopela 2016:14). Due to this, many African institutions inherited colonial legislation after attaining their independence. As a result, the colonial legislation does not recognise the importance of community involvement and participation in the management of heritage resources in many African countries including Tanzania (Maradze 2003; Ndoro and Pwiti 2005).

Taruvinga (2007) reported on how the National Museum and Monuments of Zimbabwe involved the community in rock art management. The researcher found different strategies used in the management of the rock art site such as employing local people as site custodians, promoting sustainable tourism, tapping into traditional conservation knowledge, recognising the value placed on sites by local communities and the adopt-a-site programme. In Niger, Bardagot and Bida (2005) tried to show how the local communities were taking part in maintaining and repairing the palace of Sultanate of Zindar. The idea shows how good the community involvement helped to ensure the palace in Niger conserved until the present day. However, Bardagot and Bida (2005) revealed that community involvement and participation has disappeared as time goes on which has led to the failure in the conservation of the palace. Filipe (2009) likewise examined how local communities can be empowered to manage their cultural heritage for present and future generations in Vilanculos, Inhambane Province in Southern Mozambique. Filipe (2009) urged that the involvement of the local community in the management of the heritage sites would help in the management and conservation of the heritage site while creating employment alternatives to the community who were living around the site by guiding and selling handcrafts and replicas of the monuments (*ibid.*).

In Botswana, things were a bit different. Mmutle (2005) showed how the government of Botswana had been able to amend their legislation on the protection and management of cultural heritage and

integrate community participation and involvement in the management of the heritage resources. The argument has been supported by Keitumetse (2011) who suggested that sustainability principles related to community participation were more relevant to the field of heritage resource management in Botswana. Moreover, Chirikure and Pwiti (2008) assessed community involvement in archaeology and cultural heritage management in Southern Africa and elsewhere. They suggested that community participation and involvement was one of the most critical means of including owners and stakeholders in the protection of heritage sites in Africa. Also, Chirikure *et al.* (2010) suggested that the local situation should determine the nature of participation and involvement levels of engagement needed in the heritage management. In Kenya, Chiwaura (2003) assessed whether the local community was involved in the management of the Gede National Monument. The researcher has shown that none of the local communities are involved in the management of the Gede National Monument and suggested the need to come up with new legislation that incorporated community involvement in the management of heritage resources.

In Angola, Tavares *et al.* (2015) researched on community involvement in Geo-heritage and argued that the protection of geological heritage objects requires the local community's involvement in all conservation works, i.e., inventory, assessment, conservation, management and monitoring procedures. Selman (2007) studied situations in which local stakeholders actively participated in the protection and maintenance of 'cultural' landscapes. The author suggested that community-based initiatives were unlikely to substitute formal management of extensive protected areas, but that participatory methodology could be more effective in the protection of the sites. In the Horn of Africa, Abuhay (2015) debated on the level and role of participation and involvement of local communities in tourism development in heritage sites of Wukro town, Degum, and Megab in Ethiopia. He exposed the need for local communities to be consulted and to take part in the decision-making process of tourism in their local area. Makoena (2017) outlined the complexities of rock art management in Matatiele, Eastern Cape Province, South Africa. The researcher proposed different heritage management strategies such as school involvement to ensure proper management of rock art site.

Lastly, in Tanzania, Michael (2009) examined the involvement and participation of local communities in tourism activities at Barabarani Village, Mto wa Mbu, in Arusha. The researcher concluded by suggesting that the community wanted to see decisions about tourism development

in their areas made jointly by government officials and community leaders in meeting with the local community. After four years, in the same area Muganda *et al.* (2013) investigated the role of local communities in tourism development. The findings revealed that local communities want to be involved when tourism policies are drafted so they could address their concerns and views on the protection of community interests and increase transparency and accountability.

The literature above indicates that studies in community involvement and participation in the Limestone Cave areas along the coasts of Tanzania have not been well covered. Following up from these previous studies, there is no clear information on whether or not local communities surrounding the Sacred Limestone Cave areas are involved and are participating in all the activities regarding the use and management of these places in Tanzania. Consequently, this thesis attempts to explore the community involvement and participation in the use and management of Sacred Places along the Swahili Coast of Tanzania.

3.5 Overview of International Heritage Institutions on Sacred Heritage Places

On the international level, the United Nations is regarded as the first institution to recognise and set up some guidelines that impact land-based religious practitioners around the World. In 1948 United Nations declared the Universal Declaration on Human Rights that emphasise freedom of religion as a fundamental human right. Article 18 states that “Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion. It also includes the right of freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship, and observance” (UN 2018). From this Article, it can be argued that any interference of the local communities ritual/spiritual activities in the Sacred Places due to tourism or research activities can deny the right of the people to get a friendly environment for them to pray if the states do not provide a proper mechanism to balance these activities.

In 1994, a draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples was proposed after many years of hard work by indigenous leaders to be approved by U.N. member nations. The draft had some articles with direct relevance to the protection of sacred lands. For example, Article 13 stated that “Indigenous peoples have the right to manifest, practise, develop and teach their spiritual and religious traditions, customs and ceremonies; the right to maintain, protect, and have access in

privacy to their religious and cultural sites; the right to the use and control of ceremonial objects; and the right to the repatriation of human remains. Furthermore, it has insisted that States shall take effective measures to ensure that indigenous Sacred Places, including burial sites, be preserved, respected and protected.” Also, Article 25 stated that “Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and strengthen their distinctive spiritual and material relationship with the lands, territories, waters and coastal seas and other resources which they have traditionally owned or otherwise occupied or used, and to uphold their responsibilities to future generations in this regard.” (UNDRIP 2007).

Furthermore, there are many varieties of religious and Sacred Heritage Places that are representative of the different cultures and traditions of the people in the World. Nearly 20 per cent of the heritage sites inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List has religious or spiritual connections to the local communities (UNESCO 2018). In recent years UNESCO, IUCN, ICCROM, and ICOMOS played a leading role in the development and promotion of a powerful normative action related to the protection and management of Sacred Heritage Places. Furthermore, it includes the development of different documents such as charters, guidelines, and recommendations for the management and preservation of Sacred Heritage Places (ICCROM 2017).

Additionally, ICCROM, ICOMOS, and IUCN have carried out some research studies trying to analyse religious heritage and Sacred Heritage Places in different parts of the world. It also included some conclusions and recommendations drawn from previous meetings and activities by state parties on religious and sacred heritage, such as the ICCROM 2003 Forum on the conservation of Living Religious Heritage. Furthermore, in 2005 ICOMOS General Assembly resolution called for the "establishment of an International Thematic Programme for Religious Heritage," while in 2011 ICOMOS General Assembly called for a resolution on protection and enhancement of sacred heritage places, buildings, and landscapes. In the same year as well, UNESCO MAB/IUCN established Guidelines for the Conservation and Management of Sacred Natural Sites (UNESCO 2018). There were more recommendations directly or indirectly concerning the safeguarding of the spiritual nature of the site, particularly in the Nara Document on Authenticity, adopted at the Nara Conference on Authenticity during the World Heritage Convention held in 1994. Additionally, there were some recommendations pointed out in the

Quebec Declaration on the Preservation of the Spirit of Sacred Heritage Places, adopted at the 16th General Assembly of ICOMOS in 2008 (*ibid.*).

With many challenges and complexities facing sacred/religious heritage places especially in use and management, UNESCO, IUCN, and ICCROM also moved further and held a different international meeting with various stakeholders on the heritage of religious interest. These meetings were to explore ways to reflect these complexities and the importance of developing a proper dialogue between all stakeholders who have the interest and want to share the experience in the uses and protection of sites. Stakeholders include religious communities, State Party authorities, professionals and experts in relevant fields, property owners, funding bodies and other interested partners (UNESCO 2018). The meeting revealed that living religious and Sacred Heritage Places require specific policies or legislation for protection and management as a critical factor in their conservation and that such policies cannot be sustainable without in-depth consultation with the appropriate stakeholders and the government (Verschuuren *et al.* 2010).

On 5 November 2010, UNESCO, in close collaboration with national authorities, international experts, site managers and representatives of local communities adopted the Statement on the protection of religious properties within the framework of the World Heritage Convention. It was the first and unique document to give general recommendations on the protection and management of the Sacred Heritage Places. The framework provides twelve statements on how the Sacred Heritage Places should be managed and protected. Generally, the framework insisted on establishing a dialogue between all stakeholders and encouraging mutual understanding and collaboration amongst them in the protection of religious/Sacred Places. It has further insisted in recognising the role played by local religious communities in the creation, maintenance, and the custodial role played by them in caring for the sacred heritage which at present is far away to be recognised in Tanzania (UNESCO 2018).

Furthermore, it has stressed sustainable management of culture and environment of a Sacred Heritage Place and the responsibility of all stakeholders concerning the mutual acceptance and respect of the cultural and spiritual values of the site. Also, the framework emphasised the ongoing religious activities at the site and called for dialogue and mutual understanding between the religious communities concerning all other stakeholders who have interest with the site to preserve the significance of cultural, mixed and natural heritage sites associated with the sacred. The

understanding should include the creation of an action plan for the protection of Sacred Heritage Places to enhance the role of local communities and the avoidance of misunderstandings, tensions, or stereotypes. Finally, there is a need to raise awareness to all stakeholders on the importance of the management of Sacred Places. This will enable mutual understanding of associated spiritual and religious values. The awareness also includes the need for the establishment of training programmes in the management of Sacred Places aimed at helping representatives of religious communities and site managers to enhance and share their managerial skills (UNESCO 2018).

Also, IUCN developed guidelines for the conservation and management of sacred natural sites. These guidelines support the efforts of a wide field of faith groups, site managers and local communities of the world for the long term conservation of their sacred natural sites. The guidelines were the result of an international workshop held in Kunming, China in 2003 (Wild and Mcleod 2008). With these, all efforts were made by international heritage organisations, i.e., IUCN and UNESCO, to manage and protect Sacred Heritage Places in the world through the establishment of different guidelines and frameworks. Still, they are far from applying to all types of Sacred Heritage Places. These guidelines (IUCN) and framework (UNESCO) cannot fit or be adapted to any Sacred Heritage Place. It can further be argued that there are many types of Sacred Heritage Places which differ in features and characteristics. For example, the problems and characteristics of a sacred forest place cannot be the same as the Sacred Places in Limestone Cave areas. From these perspectives, IUCN and UNESCO guidelines and framework do not apply to all Sacred Heritage Places. With this understanding, there is a significant need to develop a framework for the best practice of managing Sacred Heritage Places in Limestone Cave areas.

Verschuuren *et al.* (2010: 176) argued that there is a need for countries to establish legislation, policy or laws for the protection and management of Sacred Heritage Places. It can further be argued that these legislations, policy, and laws should state clearly how these Sacred Heritage Places are used especially regarding tourism and research activities. As it is well known in Africa, especially Tanzania, that many laws that do exist are based on a western legal system that does not reflect the values of local communities and Sacred Places. For the past years, experience has shown that these legislations have been less effective as local communities, customary laws and practices are far away from being recognised by the government (Ndoro and Kiriama 2008:53; Verschuuren *et al.* 2010: 176).

There are some of the countries in the World which recognise the Sacred Places and protect them and the community. For example, in Australia the parliament has passed the Commonwealth of Australia to enable the Commonwealth to intervene and, where necessary, preserve and protect areas and objects of particular significance to Australia's Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander peoples from being desecrated or injured (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Heritage Protection Act 1984). This has been the same to United States (US) whereby they enacted a law allowing Native Americans to practice, protect and preserve their inherent right of freedom to believe, express, and exercise their traditional religious rights, and spiritual and cultural practices. These rights include access to sacred sites, freedom to worship through traditional ceremonial rites, and the possession and use of objects traditionally considered sacred by their respective cultures (American Indian Religious Freedom Act, Public Law No. 95-341, 92 Stat. 469 (Aug. 11, 1978, codified at 42 U.S.C. 1996). Another example can be seen in Africa in 2012 when the country of Benin passed national legislation that grants legal recognition to local community sacred groves. The law prohibits tree cutting and other destructive activities around the sacred groves. It creates buffer zones around sacred forests and designates local community management committees. Sacred groves are defined as homes to ancestors' spirits and gods worshipped by local communities, burial forests, and places of initiation ceremonies and other spiritual practices (Benin's Sacred Forest Protection Law 2012). This example shows that it is possible for any country, especially Tanzania, to develop a legal framework which governs the best practices of Sacred Heritage Places in the country. Therefore, in trying to connect and solve this dilemma, the study argues that there is a need to developed a framework (action plans) to be taken into account in the management and protection of Sacred Heritage Places in Limestone cave areas using the case study of Kuumbi and Amboni Limestone caves in Tanzania.

3.6 Theoretical Framework

Most African countries including Tanzania have not been able to develop an appropriate framework, methodologies, or approaches for the best practices of Sacred Heritage Places which are still in use by the local communities for religious and cultural activities. This failure led to complications over the use and management of the Sacred Places to the site managers, tourists, researchers and local communities surrounding these places. That being the case, an investigation of these stakeholders' views, feelings, perceptions, and concerns regarding the management and

the uses of Sacred Heritage Places without a theoretical framework would be challenging. Therefore, this section intends to present the theoretical concepts used in this thesis in the field of laws, rituals, and community involvement. These theoretical concepts also acted as strategies for data collection, discussion, and analysis in this study.

3.6.1 Ritual Theory

The ritual theory was put forward by French sociologist Emile Durkheim in the 19th century (Durkheim 1965). Durkheim viewed ritual as one of the key concepts in the sociology of religion (*ibid.*). Durkheim argued that any religious group is composed of a system of beliefs (practices) that express the sacred and is a moral community with regard to social structure (clan, tribe) that develops in concert with these beliefs (practices). Usually, these activities are enforced through norms, customs, and rules to govern the Sacred Place and the believing society (Summers-Effler 2004; Summers-Effler 2006; Bell 1997; Bell 2009). Rituals usually help to provide essential emotions or feelings and generate a sense of togetherness among the local communities. These feelings and emotions experienced through ritual and worship practices bring collective excitement to the community, strengthening group membership (Polillo 2004).

Moreover, this theory implies that any object could become socially defined as sacred and repeated veneration of sacred objects created stable social relations. It provides a powerful social mechanism that reinforces group understandability and produces social solidarity among the members of society (Durkheim 1965). However, in this theory Durkheim fails to clarify how social groups (social structures) originate or how they change, dissolve and fracture.

Furthermore, different scholars have tried to debate on this theory of ritual. For example, Stark and Finke (2000) viewed rituals theory from a different perspective. They focused exclusively on religious rituals and argued that confidence in religious explanations increased with participation in ritual activities. Rituals generally follow customs, norms, rules or traditions, but they are deliberate ceremonies in which an object is exchanged with a god or gods, and the outcome reinforces the central ideas and ideals of the group. Also, Collins (2004) argued that ritual activities are powerful because they bring social interaction to the community based on bodily co-presence and emotion. When engaged in ritual activities, individuals feel solidarity with one another and imagine themselves to be members of a common undertaking, and they become filled with emotional energy and excitement. It can also be suggested that any interference or intervention in

the ritual and worship practices from the outsiders, i.e., tourists and researchers could cause decay of the practises and sometimes produce little or no feeling, emotions or excitements to the local community. However, Collins (2004) went further and insisted that the decay of ritual activities sometimes produce little or no feeling of group solidarity and no respect for the community's symbols. The decay of rituals provoke a sense of stale ceremonialism. Therefore, the rejection of ritual activities, destruction, intervention and interference in Sacred Heritage Places leads to the collapse of social orders, structure and violent reactions. Due to this, it can be argued that there is a need to respect and recognise the ritual practices in Sacred Places by developing frameworks or approaches to ensure communities' ritual, cultural and worship activities are not disturbed, interfered or intervened by other activities within the place.

From an African perspective, some African scholars over the centuries tried to express how ritual activities have become important in traditional African societies (e.g., Mbiti 1969; Mbiti 1975; Gyekye 1987). Mhaka (2014) argued that in the African World, the traditional African religion and rituals are inseparable with culture. This argument means that any interference of the African religion and ritual practices leads to the destruction of their culture. A ritual is prescribed as a way of conducting a religious action or ceremony through word, symbol, and action by communicating in a religious language (Mhaka 2014: 374, see also Mbiti 1975). The primary purpose of rituals in African societies is to create fixed and meaningful transformations in the life cycle (birth, puberty, marriages, and death), including ecological and temporal cycle such as planting, harvest and seasonal changes (Ray 1976; Kgatla 2014:82). The argument also was supported by Mbiti (1975) who identified different traditional African rituals such as personal rituals, agricultural rituals, health rituals, homestead rituals, professional rituals and festivals.

The reason for choosing a ritual theory for detailed discussion in this thesis is that it contains interesting materials regarding the systems of beliefs (practices) and social structures. Therefore, the motivation behind borrowing this theory in the current work is to help in understanding ritual and worship practices in sacred areas especially Limestone Caves and how ritual practices are organised in social structures. As it applied to this thesis, rituals refer to a sequence of activities which involve gestures, words, and ceremonies performed in appropriate places which are respected by the community. In the same manner, as applied to the sociology of religion (Durkheim 1965), application of this theory to Sacred Places brings three benefits. The first is to understand

the community's attitudes, concerns, feelings and perceptions towards ritual and worship practices in Limestone Cave areas. The second is to identify kinds of ritual activities performed in Limestone Cave areas while the third is to understand the local community social structures found in Limestone Cave areas along the Swahili Coast of Tanzania.

In Tanzania, Sacred Places are rarely considered as a place of worship or for conducting rituals and cultural activities especially by people who are not affiliated with these places. In some cases, where they are considered, more attention is paid only to tourism activities and research investigations for the intensification of more information concerning the areas and for economic development. Normally several sacred properties, including the Limestone Caves, tombs, pools, and forests have never been taken into account as worship places as are temples, churches or mosques. Consequently, the majority of these Sacred Places, especially the Limestone Caves, continue to be invaded and the local community interferes in the religious and cultural practices resulting in the demoralisation of community solidarity and destruction of the social structure and culture of the people.

Moreover, like other worship sites such as temples, mosques, and churches where people are going for prayers, the protection of Sacred Places has been through a combination of practices, norms, customs, laws, rules, and regulations. These practices might be the same in Limestone Cave areas along the Swahili Coast of Tanzania. The presence of traditional knowledge systems used by the community ensure the protection of these Sacred Places up to present day. In these Sacred Places, usually, the land adjacent to the places are not supposed to be used during ritual activity days of the goddess associated with the Limestone Caves. Most Sacred Places have ritual and cultural activity days when the communities are practising their sacrifices (Adomako *et al.* 1998). These days were often in remembrance of a particular historical event in the communities in which the god in the Sacred Places played a role. The existence of ritual activity days associated with the belief that God was performing some beneficial services can also be seen in other religion such as Christianity and Islam.

As used in this thesis, ritual theory considers Sacred Places in Limestone Cave areas as the places which provide a powerful social mechanism and emotions that reinforce social interaction, social solidarity and social groups (Summers-Effler 2002; Summers-Effler 2004; Polillo 2004; Kgatla 2014). It can be argued that because Limestone Cave areas are regarded as a place for worship and

conducting rituals and cultural activities by the local communities, a proper plan or framework for the best practices (use, conservation, and management) of the Sacred Places should be developed by the governing authority.

3.6.2 A Theory of Legal Pluralism

In addition to ritual theory, this study adopted a theory of legal pluralism, a concept that advocates for compatibility of traditional knowledge systems including customary laws, norms, rules, traditional methods and techniques in governing certain resources. It is borrowed from the conservation and management of natural resources (Spiertz and Benda-Beckmann 1997; Spiertz 2000; Mumma 2000). Legal pluralism was developed in 19th century by German Friedrich Karl von Savigny who opposed the legislative codification of the law. He urged that codified law would become a professionalised one that would increasingly become distanced from the customary practice and social relations (John 1997:35). As it is used in this thesis, legal pluralism refers to the situation characterised by the presence of different laws in a state while the state oversees a single set of laws through the sponsored institution to govern and control certain resources or sectors (Mumma 2000:30; Jackson nd). Generally, it can be a situation in which there are some legal systems, all operating and all simultaneously valid. Examples of pluralistic legal situations include the co-existence of state law, customary law, religious law and local law.

The reason for borrowing this theory and applying it in this work for detailed discussion is to understand how traditional knowledge systems can be incorporated in the heritage legislation and policies for the conservation and management of the Sacred Heritage Places in Tanzania. Legal pluralism theory recognises cultural heritage areas as places of sociocultural and economic importance similar to other natural resource assets (Spiertz 2000). In the same manner, as applied to natural heritage resources, the motivation behind using this theory to Sacred Places management brings three benefits. The first is to understand the community's perception and concern towards Sacred Places that are legally protected by the government while their customary laws and traditional practices are being overlooked. The second is to help to identify traditional knowledge systems, methods and techniques used in the management of Sacred Places in Limestone Cave areas in Tanzania which may be incorporated in the management plans or heritage legislation of the country. Lastly, it helps to develop an effective conservation and management framework for

the proper use of Sacred Heritage Places as a result of proposing the integration of traditional knowledge systems in heritage management.

In many societies, the legal systems are pluralistic. The situation is mostly true in African countries, especially Tanzania, in which there are several operational and legal systems for the management and conservation of heritage sites. The system of laws in Tanzania were introduced by the colonial administrations and have continued to operate even after the attainment of independence (Mumma 2009). Only some amendments have been made. These laws derive their validity from the State, and are always enacted through a formal process of parliament. These state-based laws tend to dominate the other traditional techniques, methods, rules and practices which have been used in the conservation and management of heritage sites before their introduction (*ibid.*).

This scenario means that the community knowledge systems and traditional practices operate with varying degrees of effectiveness in Sacred Places before the coming of colonialism and are far away from being recognized (Berkes *et al.* 2000). These traditional systems, rules, norms, taboos and other techniques are operated by the respect and command from the community leaders. Here it can be argued that it is hard to deny that the presence of these Sacred Places today which are now the areas for tourism activists and research projects, exist due to these traditional knowledge systems and practices. If these traditional methods and techniques were not there, this generation could not find any heritage site today. So the failure to incorporate with them in the management plan or heritage legislation could lead to challenges in the management and conservation of these places. Although the relationship between the two systems is inherently antagonistic due to competition for legitimacy and influence, it is still possible for them to work together not only for the betterment of the Sacred Places but also for the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage of the local community using these places. According to Conway (2009: 210), bringing legal pluralism to the community over the management and protection of heritage sites is a fundamental human right and is part and parcel of the respect for their sites and intangible assets.

As used in this thesis, Legal pluralism would be best suited in protecting Sacred Places because it would provide a protective system which incorporates the various normative (legal) systems, i.e., the state law regime and the traditional law regime. Both regimes can be placed in a cooperative and can harmonise the situation rather than being trapped in an antagonistic relationship. It can be

argued that this will help the local community to get a space for worshipping and conducting their ritual and cultural activities without interference or intervention from tourism activities and research projects. Furthermore, legal pluralism would treasure the concept of community management and plan-making of Sacred Places. Finally, it would provide a chance for community participation and mechanisms for conflict avoidance and resolution.

Nevertheless, the thesis understands the challenge of relying on this theory to ensure traditional knowledge systems in the Sacred Place is incorporated into site management plans and heritage legislation. It can lead to a problematic situation in site management implementation. Borrowing this theory and applying it to legal and traditional knowledge systems in Sacred Places in Limestone Cave areas in Tanzania should be approached with caution.

3.6.3 Collaboration Theory

Lastly, collaboration theory was used to examine theoretical ideas on local community involvement, participation, and management of Sacred Heritage Places. This theory helped to support this work by providing a picture of how the local community and other stakeholders can be involved in the management and use of Sacred Places regarding tourism and research projects. It was adopted in the management of heritage resources and protected areas in the cultural tourism industry (Jamal and Getz 1995; Aas *et al.* 2005; Chami 2018; Jamal and Stronza 2009). Collaboration usually provides a flexible and dynamic process that enables many stakeholders including the local community to address joint issues concerning the management and the use of heritage sites (Gray 1989; Jamal and Stronza 2009:169). The need to recognise community involvement and participation in the management of heritage resources has an increasingly important aspect of the sustainability of the sites and culture of the people (Mitchell and Reid 2001).

Many scholars have tried to examine the relationship between heritage and tourism (Prentice 1993; Ashworth 2000; Garrod and Fyall 2000), and it is assumed that heritage and tourism are interdependent (Ashworth 1993). Research and tourism activities in sites of cultural and natural significance such as Sacred Places in Limestone Caves have recently increased to the highest level. The growing interest in Limestone Cave areas opened new perspectives in the economy and education in these areas which in turn led to the challenges of managing these sites due to the continued use of the site by the local communities for worship, cultural and ritual activities.

Despite the relationship between heritage, tourism, and research activities, recognition of communities culture which are expressed through ritual activities in Limestone Caves should be respected and not be interfered by other activities such as tourism, research and other educational programs at the place (UNESCO 2017). Moreover, Chirikure *et al.* (2010) argued that involvement usually involves engaging the local communities in several aspects of research, including the proposal phase, carrying out the research and the actual processes of interpretation, management, and conservation (see also Phillips 2008).

The international and local heritage organisations use different methods to protect and manage heritage sites and to ensure tourism enjoyment and a learning arena to all people in the world. However, the management is often characterised by a series of interference especially in Sacred Places where conservationists perceive heritage site as being for tourism (Nuryanti 1996), scholars perceive it as a research area for intensification of more historical information, while local communities perceive it as a site for rituals to their gods. These different perspectives led to the problems of heritage managers on how to ensure better management and use of these sites. Due to these interferences, it can be argued that a collaborative approach is highly needed to ensure reconciliation of interests between the local community, tourists, heritage managers, and researchers. Usually, the interest of these four groups on the Limestone Caves or in any heritage site in one way or another might not be the same (Chirikure *et al.* 2010:31). In most heritage places, especially in Africa, the issues of management and conservation find it difficult to reconcile with several demands on a site. Furthermore, it can be argued that collaboration through community participation and involvement is not only about engagement of the local community but also about sharing the power and final decision between the stakeholders in all aspects of sacred heritage, including research, tourism, and management activities (Chirikure *et al.* 2010; Phillips 2008).

Therefore, the reason behind the selection and application of this theory for detailed discussion in this thesis was to understand how Sacred Places in Limestone Cave areas could be sustainably used and managed through local community involvement and collaboration with other stakeholders. It includes the use of the sites for the tourism activities and research projects without conflict and interference of the community's ritual and cultural activities. As it is used in this study, collaboration refers to a process of joint decision-making among key stakeholders and the local community to resolve management problems of the heritage site related to the use, planning,

conservation and development of the site (Jamal and Getz 1995; Aas *et al.* 2005). Here, through planning and collaboration, it guarantees the better conservation, use, and management of the site and allows the local community to conduct their socio-cultural activities within site without any interference from tourism activities and research projects. In the same manner, as applied to heritage management and protected areas, the application of this theory to Sacred Places in Limestone Cave areas have brought four benefits. The first is to understand the stakeholders and the local community's attitudes and perceptions towards Sacred Places in Limestone Cave areas. The second is to identify issues contributing to the complexity in the management and use of Sacred Places especially concerning how the education programmes, tourism and research activities fit within the sites without interference of ritual activities. Thirdly, it provides effective measures on conservation and management of Sacred Places with the involvement of the local community and other stakeholders by recognising their socio-cultural and economic interest within the site. Lastly, it provides a way for the implementation of the long-term success of involvement for the better assurance of the sustainability of site and safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage of the local community.

These benefits are achieved when the local community collaborates with the other stakeholders who have an interest in the site meaningfully in the process of decision making on-site use, conservation and management decisions for themselves and while their ritual activities are recognised and respected. Furthermore, it can be argued that collaboration should involve using Sacred Places as economic resources and channels for investing back into the local community due to the positive impacts of tourism and research activities. These financial and intellectual benefits can help the local communities to consider a sustainable way of managing heritage sites as a local community sees their value and hence a need to protect them (Manyanga 2003; Abungu 2006; Chirikure *et al.* 2010). It can further be argued that meeting and negotiating with local communities, and other stakeholders with the management regime concerning the use of Sacred Heritage Places are crucial to avoid conflicts, misunderstanding between themselves or even interference in their ritual activities (Sullivan 2003; Court and Wijesuriya 2015). It should be known that in any Sacred Place, the management regime (i.e. heritage governing body) is obliged to inform the local community who are using the site for religious activities on whichever decision making and the development activities affecting their site (Hando 2003; Munjeri 2003; Sullivan 2003). The information should include all the projects and research activities which are about to

be undertaken on the site. This approach likewise helps to avoid interference with the local community's ritual activities.

Finally, as used in this thesis, collaboration theory considers community involvement in the management and conservation of the Sacred Heritage Place as very important, and it must be incorporated or added into the site management plan, heritage legislation or policy framework of the country. It can also be argued that local community's views, concern and feelings on their Sacred Heritage Places should be respected and recognised by all stakeholders who have economic and educational interest in these places. Failure to incorporate and acknowledge the local community beliefs in the heritage legislation can lead to problems in use, conservation, and management of the Sacred Heritage Places whereby the local community always regard themselves as the primary custodians of the heritage site (Bwasiri 2008; Court and Wijesuriya 2015; Wijesuriya 2015). In conclusion, this thesis understands the challenges of relying on this theory. The main criticism of community involvement in collaboration theory usually rests upon the assumption that simply by involving all of the interested parties, the power imbalances can happen. Therefore, borrowing this theory and applying it to community involvement in Sacred Places in Limestone Cave areas in Tanzania should be approached with caution.

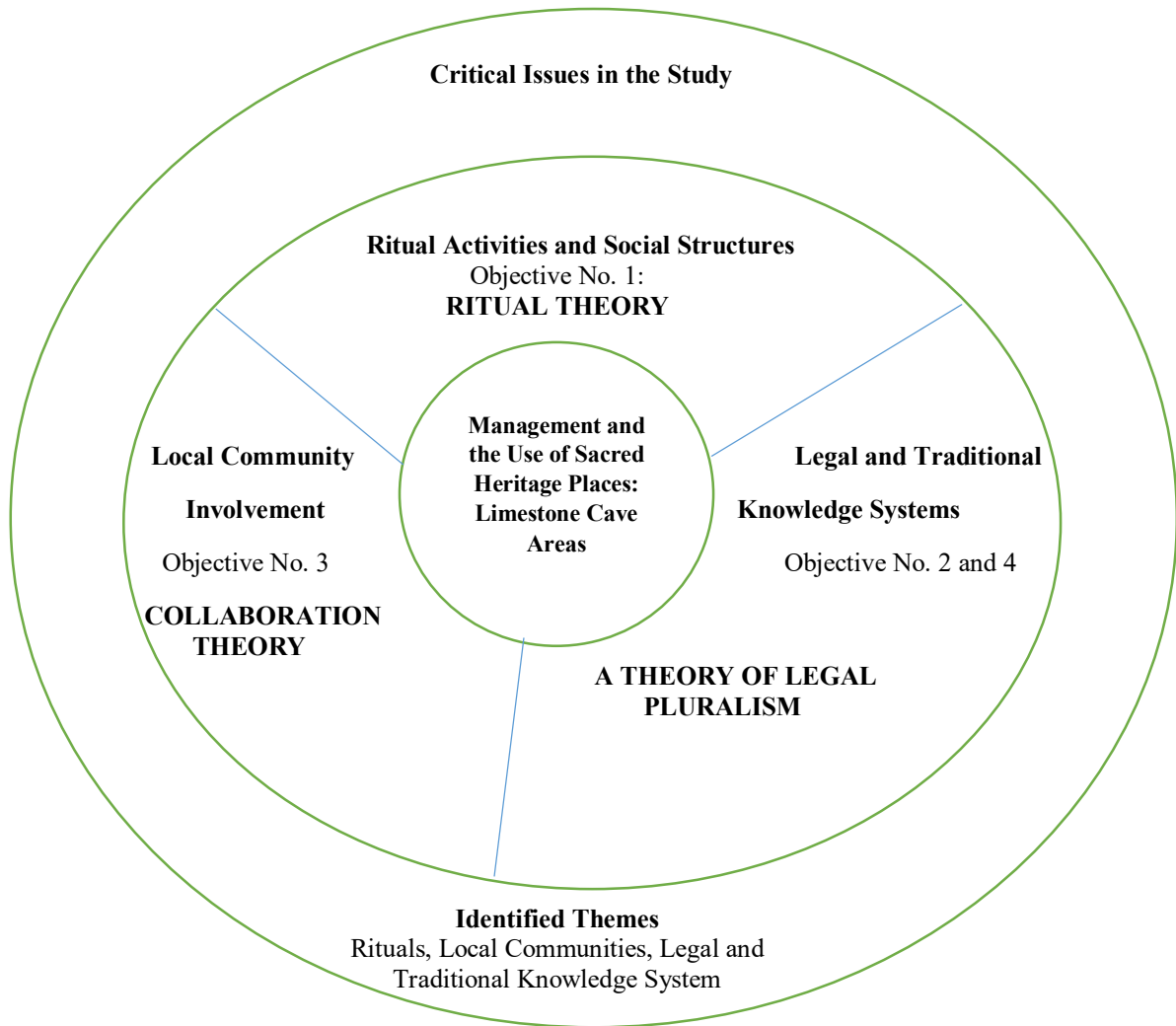


Figure 3.1: Theoretical Perspectives and Analytical Concepts in the Study
(Source: Own Construction)

3.7 Summary

This chapter was intended for reviewing the literature related to the research topic, which was done through the discussion of the previous studies and the most relevant information to the current study. The review was based on the specific research objectives. It has been able to establish existing academic gaps that provide the rationale for this work. Also, it presented the vital theoretical concepts relevant to this thesis. Historical background of these theories, reasons for selecting these theories, the motivation behind their use and related challenges for each theory

have been presented and supported by other empirical studies. Therefore, the next chapter provides an overview background of Tanzania, study areas and previous investigations in the case studies, which are the Amboni and Kuumbi Limestone Caves.

4 OVERVIEW OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA AND LIMESTONE CAVE AREAS (STUDY AREAS)

4.1 Preamble

This chapter presents an overview of the United Republic of Tanzania, focusing on the study areas of Amboni and Kuumbi Limestone Caves. It begins by introducing the country's geography, climate, demographic characteristics, and highlights aspects relating to religion that influence people's ways of life in Tanzania Mainland and Islands. The chapter further explains the vegetation and wildlife features found in the study areas and provides an insight into previous studies conducted in Amboni and Kuumbi Limestone Caves before this work.

4.2 Location and Geography of Tanzania

In 1964, Tanganyika was united with the Island of Zanzibar to form the United Republic of Tanzania. The United Republic of Tanzania is the largest country in Eastern Africa within the African Great Lakes region. It lies at latitude 0° and 11° S and longitude 29° and 40° E. It is a large country located in East Africa. Tanzania has a total area of 945,087 square kilometres with a coastline that spans 1,424 kilometres (URT 2007:1; URT 2013:7). It is bordered by Kenya and Uganda to the North; Rwanda, Burundi, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo to the West; Zambia, Malawi, and Mozambique to the South; and by the Indian Ocean to the East (Dagne 2011; Lindemann and Putzel 2004).



Figure 4.1: Map of Tanzania showing Tanga Region and Zanzibar Island (Source: NBS 2012)

The country has varied geography including mountains, valleys, large freshwater and salt lakes, national parks, and archaeological sites. Northeast Tanzania is mountainous and includes Mount Meru, Usambara, the Pare mountain ranges and Africa's highest point, Mount Kilimanjaro (5,895 m) which attracts thousands of tourists each year. On the floor of the Great Rift Valley, there are some large salt lakes, including Natron in the North, Manyara in the South, and Eyasi to the West (URT 2013:8). The rift also encompasses the Crater Highlands, which includes the Ngorongoro Conservation Area, Ngorongoro Crater, and Ol Doinyo Lengai (3,188 m) which is

the world's only active volcano to produce nitro carbonatite lava. To the west of the Crater, in the highlands lies Serengeti National Park. This park is famous for the annual migration of millions of white-bearded wildebeest. In the Southeast of the park is Olduvai Gorge site which has the oldest hominid fossils (*Zinjanthropus boisei*), found here in 1959 by Anthropologist Mary Leakey (URT 2013: 12).

Additionally, in the Northwest, there is the largest lake in Africa, Lake Victoria which is the source of the Nile River on the Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania border. Southwest Tanzania is separated from the Democratic Republic of the Congo by Lake Tanganyika which is the second deepest lake in the world after Lake Baikal in Siberia with average depth of 570 meters. The centre of Tanzania is a large plateau, which includes the National Capital, Dodoma. The Eastern Coast contains Tanzania's largest city and former capital, Dar es Salaam while North of this city lies the Zanzibar Archipelago, a semi-autonomous territory of Tanzania which is famous for its spices. The Coast is home to areas of East African mangroves. Mangrove swamps are an important habitat for wildlife on land and in the water (Glauber *et al.* 2014).

4.3 Climate

Tanzania has a tropical climate but has regional variations due to topography. In the highlands, temperatures range between 10 and 20 °C during cold and hot seasons respectively. The rest of the country has temperatures rarely falling lower than 20 °C. The warmest period extends between November and February (25-31 °C) while the coldest period occurs between May and August (15-20 °C) (URT 2007:14). Seasonal rainfall in Tanzania is divided into two periods. The short rains which are called *Vuli* (Swahili) fall from October to December and the long rains which are called *Masika* (Swahili) fall from April to May (McSweeney *et al.* 2010).

4.4 Demography, People, and Religion

According to the World Bank in 2018, the total population of Tanzania is 56,318,348 people compared to 12,313,469 people in 1967. In Tanzania, most people live on the northern border and the eastern coast, with much of the remainder of the country being sparsely populated. Density varies from 12 people per square kilometre in the Katavi Region to 3,133 people per square kilometre in the Dar es Salaam Region. Approximately 70% of the population is rural, although

this percentage has been declining since at least 1967 (URT 2014). Dar es Salaam is the business city and largest city in Tanzania while Dodoma which is located in the centre of Tanzania is the capital city.

The population consists of about 125 ethnic groups. The Sukuma, Nyamwezi, Chagga, and Haya people have more than one million members each (Malipula 2014:51). Over 100 different languages are spoken in Tanzania, making it the most linguistically diverse country in East Africa. Among the languages spoken in Tanzania are all four of Africa's language families: Bantu, Cushitic, Nilotic, and Khoisan. However, Swahili and English are Tanzania's official languages (Simango 2006:1966).

In religion, most Tanzanians are Christians or Muslims, and some are of traditional African religions. According to some estimates from 2012 statistics, 61.4% were Christians, 35.2% of the population were Muslim, 1.8% practised traditional African religions, 1.4% were unaffiliated with any religion, and 0.2% were other religions (Gahnström 2012: 114 and URT 2013). The Christian population is mostly composed of Roman Catholics and Protestants. Among Protestants, the large number of Lutherans and Moravians points to the German part of the country, while the number of Anglicans point to the British history of Tanganyika. Muslim communities are concentrated in coastal areas and there is also a large number of Muslims in central urban areas and along the former caravan routes. A large majority of the Muslim population is Sunni (Lodhi and Westerlund 1997).

4.4.1 Tanga Region

Tanga Region is one of the thirty administrative regions of Tanzania. It is located on the Northeastern coast of Tanzania. It lies between 4° and 6° S and 37° and 39° E, bordering the Republic of Kenya to the North, Kilimanjaro Region to the Northwest, Manyara Region to the West, Morogoro and Coast Regions to the South, and the Indian Ocean to the East (Peter 2013:6). The region is divided into eight administrative districts which are Tanga, Muheza, Pangani, Mkinga, Handeni, Kilindi, Korogwe, and Lushoto. It has a population of about two million people (Samoilys and Kanyange 2008). This region is where the *Amboni Limestone Caves* are found.

4.4.2 Amboni Limestone Caves¹⁰

Amboni Limestone Caves is located between Rivers Mkulumuzi and Sigi in the Tanga District. The estimated geographical coordinates are 5° 04' S 39° 03' E. Amboni is the name of the village in which the Caves are located, but Kiomoni village is the nearest to Caves. The junction to the Amboni Caves is 5 kilometres from Tanga Municipality by the Tanga-Mombasa Road (Peter 2013; Chami 2018). The Amboni Caves have a religious significance among the local communities. In this Cave, local communities are praying and making offerings in these Caves, which they deem as shrines. Amboni Limited, a company which was then operating sisal plantations in Tanga Region, acquired the area in 1892. The company notified the British colonial government about the Caves who in turn declared the Caves a conservation area in 1922 (Matthews 1995: 6). It is not known precisely when the Caves were discovered, but reports indicate that ethnic groups such as the Segeju, Sambaa, Bondei, and Digo who lived near the Caves discovered these places and started to use them for worships and rituals. The Caves were declared a protected monument in 1937 under the Monuments Preservation Ordinance, and in 1964, the government of Tanzania handed over the Caves to the Antiquities Division. It is protected under the Antiquities Act of 1964 amended 1979 (*ibid.*). However, recently there are ongoing government procedures in Tanzania to transfer authority of some of the cultural heritage sites which were under Antiquities Division including Amboni Caves to be governed by other heritage governing bodies including Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority and Tanzania Wildlife Management Authority. The transfer is a positive move which aims at connecting national cultural heritage site with the World Heritage Sites which are performing well in terms of fee collection from different touristic product, conservation and management. These procedures of transfer authority have started at the end of 2018 and it is still in the process.

¹⁰The information obtained in this section also found in my paper published in the *Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure, Volume 7 (2)* on community involvement and sustainable tourism development in heritage management the case of Amboni Limestone Caves, Tanzania (Chami 2018).

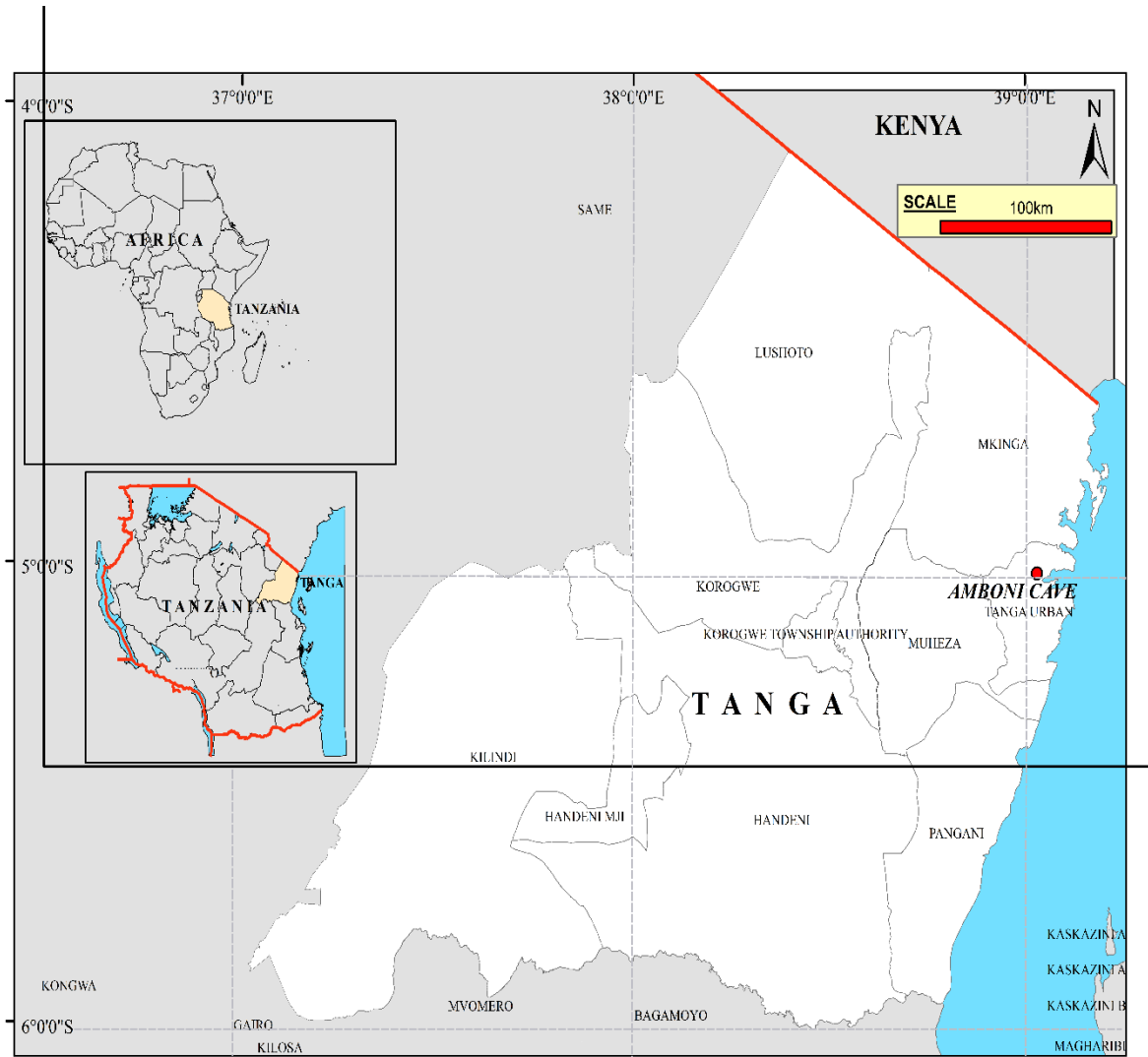


Figure 4.2: Map of Tanga District showing the location of Amboni Limestone Caves (Source: Peter 2013)

The caves were formed about 150 million years ago during the Jurassic age. These caves cover an area of 234 km². The area is characterized by deep gorges with rock walls and extensive Limestone pavements. Deep fissures and grykes cut these features, fields of eroded Limestone pillars, and extensive systems of caves and rock shelters opening to the surface within the gorges (Marean and Shea 1996; Peter 2013:9; Matthews 1995:7). The site attracts tourists as well as students for their geography lessons.

4.4.3 Vegetation and Wildlife

The vegetation of Amboni Limestone Caves is divisible into dry forest, riverine forests, and thicket. The dry forest is formed by small patches dominated by *Scorodophlaeus fischeri* and *Cynometra webberi* species. Other tree species include *Pycnocomma littoralis*, *Pandanus rabaiensis*, *Aristogeitona monophylla*, *Racinus communis*, *Nectaropetalum zuluense*, and *Sterculia appendiculata*. Above the gorges of Mkulumuzi and Sigi Rivers tree species of *Lecaniodiscus fraxinifolius*, *Combretum schumannii*, *Sorindeia madagascariensis*, *Adansonia digitata*, and *Acacia clavigera* from the vegetation (Matthews 1995: 8). The Riverine forest is found in the river valleys with several riverine tree species such as *Barringtonia racemosa*, *Ficus sycomorus*, *Ficus scassellati*, *Ficus sansibarica*, *Rauvolfia mombasiana*, *Khaya anthotheca*, *Acacia seyal*, *Rinorea elliptica* and *Tabernaemontana ventricosa*. Thicket is another category of the vegetation of the Amboni Caves area and is common in areas which were previously disturbed, and the thicket is regenerating as secondary with scattered baobabs *Adansonia digitata*. Typical thickets include *Bridelia carthartica*, *Magaritaria discoidea* and *Zanthoxylum chalybeum* (Peter 2013:13).

Also, there are 55 different species of birds of which 18 are forest species around the Amboni Caves. The wildlife of Amboni Caves is diverse with 16 species of mammals which include eight bat species and three rodent species. Monkey species include baboons and colobus (*Colobus guereza*) monkeys which are common in Amboni forests. The Bush Pigs (*Potamochoerus porcus*) are also said to be the only large ungulate mammal reasonably abundant in the area (Marean and Shea, 1996; Peter 2013; Matthews 1995) while other large wild ungulates have diminished due to intense hunting and environmental degradation.

4.4.4 Previous Research Studies in Amboni Limestone Cave Area

Limestone Caves have significantly contributed to the archaeology of the East African and Tanzania coast at large (Chami 2009). Since the discoveries of Machaga Limestone Cave in 1998/99 by Chami and Wafula (1999) in Zanzibar, archaeological works on the Limestone Caves have intensified. The discovery is yielding more clear evidence on the occurrence of the Stone Age cultures and Neolithic trade links between the coast of East Africa and the rest of the Indian Ocean World (Chami 2001; Chami 2009).

However, the exploration of Amboni Caves goes back to June and July of 1995 when Marean and Shea conducted archaeological reconnaissance in Mkulumuzi and Sigi River Valleys, two Limestone gorges (Amboni) in Northeastern coast Tanzania, Tanga District (Marean and Shea 1996:71; Peter 2013:25). This study aimed to find the remains of the Middle Stone Age (MSA) and thus would contribute to the understanding of the origins of modern humans in Africa. They believed that in Limestone Caves and in these gorges there were preserved faunal and technological sequences of substantial antiquity (Marean and Shea 1996). The significant discovery of stone tools among other archaeological material facts such as pottery, beads, and daubs seems to have had anticipated the existence of elaborate Stone Age culture in this region (Gramly 1981; Walz 2010). However, before Marean and Shea (1996) investigated Amboni Caves, Matthews (1995) with the Coastal Forest Research Programme which was created by the Frontier Tanzania Project, produced an inventory of the mammals, birds, reptiles, amphibians, and plants in Amboni Caves and Mkulumuzi river valley. This project was based heavily on the ecological investigation of the Amboni Limestone Caves area.

The recent investigation of this study area goes back to October and November 2012, when Peter (2013) investigated the archaeology of Amboni Limestone Caves on the Northeastern coast of Tanzania (Tanga Region). The study aimed to establish the cultural chronology of Amboni Limestone Caves and ascertain its relationship with that of the Tanzanian islands. The researcher revealed the presence of LSA materials (microlithics), EIW pottery, TIW pottery, Swahili materials, and Post-Swahili or historical pottery and suggested that the site was mainly used for manufacturing tools at least during the LSA period (Peter 2013). Following up from those previous studies in the Amboni Limestone Caves, this thesis was the first attempt to explore Amboni Caves as Sacred Places regarding the ritual activities, social structure, traditional knowledge systems and community involvement in use and management along the Swahili Coast of the Indian Ocean in Tanzania.

4.5 Zanzibar Island

Zanzibar is a semi-autonomous part of Tanzania in East Africa. It is composed of the Zanzibar Archipelago in the Indian Ocean, 40-50 kilometres off the coast of the mainland, and consists of many small islands and two large ones (STCDA 2014). These are Unguja (referred to informally

as Zanzibar) and Pemba. The capital of Zanzibar is Stone Town which located on the island of Unguja. This historic city is on UNESCO's World Heritage List since 2000 (UNESCO 2019; Chami 2015:38). As a semi-autonomous part of Tanzania, Zanzibar has its government, known as the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar. It is made up of the Revolutionary Council and House of Representatives (*ibid.*).

Zanzibar is located in the Indian Ocean, just off the coast of East Africa with an area of 2641 km² (Kombo *et al.* 2006). The Northern part of Unguja Island located at 5.72⁰ S, 39.30⁰ E, with the Southernmost point at 6.48⁰ S, 39.51⁰ E. The island is alienated from the Tanzanian mainland by a channel, which at its narrowest point is 36.5 kilometres from the coast shore. The island is about 85 kilometres long and 39 kilometres wide. Unguja is mainly low lying, with its highest point being 120 meters. Beautiful sandy beaches categorised Unguja with rich in marine biodiversity (Moynihan 2010:9). The Northern part of Pemba Island is located at 4.87⁰ S, 39.68⁰ E, and the Southernmost point located at 5.47⁰ S, 39.72⁰ E. The Pemba Island is separated from the Tanzanian mainland by a channel of some 56 kilometres. The island is about 67 kilometres long and 23 kilometres wide, with an area of 985 km² (Walsh 2007).

4.6 Climate

The climate of Zanzibar is tropical and maritime and follows the monsoon winds. Zanzibar experiences ideal holiday weather for almost a year (Kombo *et al.* 2006). The heat of summer is seasonally often cooled by windy conditions, resulting in pleasant sea breezes, particularly on the North and East coasts. As found near the equator, Unguja and Pemba are warm all year round (29⁰ to 33⁰ C), but officially, summer and winter peak in December and June (22⁰ to 30⁰ C) respectively (Watkiss *et al.* 2012). Zanzibar is blessed with an average of 8-9 hours of sunshine daily. The main rain season occurs between March and June (200mm- 400mm rainfall). The short rains usually start in October and end in December. The long rains generally occur in March and June often referred to as the 'Green Season,' and it normally does not rain every day during that time (Nahonyo *et al.* 2002; Kombo 2010; Kombo *et al.* 2006).

4.7 Demography, People, and Religion

The 2012 census was the most recent census for which results have been reported. The total population of Zanzibar was 1,303,569 people (URT 2013). The people of Zanzibar are of different ethnic origins. The first permanent residents of Zanzibar seem to have been the ancestors of the Bantu and Tumbatu, who began arriving from the African Great Lakes mainland around AD 1000. They belonged to various mainland ethnic groups and lived in small villages and engaged themselves in farming or fishing. Zanzibar is today inhabited mostly by ethnic Swahili, a Bantu population. There are also some Arabs and Indians as well. Zanzibaris speak Swahili (Kiswahili), a Bantu language that is extensively spoken in the African Great Lakes region. Swahili is the legally set as the national and official language of Tanzania. Many residents also speak French and Italian (Sheriff 2001). In Religion, according to the CIA (2017), Zanzibar's population is almost entirely Muslim with a small Christian and indigenous (traditionalists) minority. The mosques and churches are located closely in the Stone City of Zanzibar. The Roman Catholic Diocese of Zanzibar serves the Catholic minority.

4.8 Vegetation and Wildlife

The wildlife of Zanzibar consists of terrestrial and marine flora and fauna in the archipelago of Zanzibar. Biogeographically the flora of Zanzibar belongs to the Zanzibar-Inhambane regional centre of endemism (UNEP 2001; Nahonyo *et al.* 2002) which extends from Somalia to the Mozambique coast. There are seven forest plantations in Zanzibar covering the total area of 12,581 hectares. Main plantation species include 57% Acacias (*Acacia auriculiformis* and *A. Mangium*), 24% *Casuarina equisetifolia*, 16% *Pinus caribaea* and 3% of other species such as *Tectona grandis* and *Eucalyptus* species and *Pinus caribaea* (Kombo *et al.* 2006). Its faunal species are relatively small in size compared to the mainland coastline. Since their isolation from mainland Tanzania about 10,000 - 15,000 years ago some endemic and near-endemic species and subspecies evolved as a result of this geographical isolation. Due to the small size of the islands and habitat loss large mammal species could not be supported. The largest mammal is the Zanzibar leopard (carnivore) weighs 50-82 Kgs and the red duiker (herbivore) weighs around 14 Kgs. This fauna in Zanzibar reflects its connection to the African mainland during the last ice age (Nahonyo *et al.* 2002:7).

4.8.1 Kuumbi Limestone Cave and Its Physical Environment

“Many years ago two young lovers were looking for a quiet place to be together. They chanced upon an opening in the rock and entered. They made love, and afterwards, the young girl being satisfied threw a stone into the back of the Cave. She heard a splash and discovered sweet water.

They washed and went home reporting the Cave they had found and the precious water”

Traditional custodian of Kuumbi Cave said (Sinclair 2006:152).

Kuumbi Cave is set high up, overlooking the surrounding coral Limestone landscape about three Kilometers inland from Jambiani Village, in the Southern District on the southeast coast of Zanzibar. The grid reference for the Cave is 6⁰ 21' 40" S; 39⁰ 32' 33" E and 26 Meters above sea level. Kuumbi Cave comprises two large chambers and some minor galleries which have been formed over many thousands of years as dissolution cavities from the Coral Limestone. Stalagmites and stalactites containing useful data on climate change have yet to be investigated. The Cave is a valuable sources of freshwater (Sinclair 2006; Sinclair *et al.* 2006). The cave was first reported as an archaeological site in 2004, by Archaeologist Prof. Felix Chami¹¹ from University of Dar es Salaam, who was guided there by Jambiani residents (Sinclair *et al.* 2006; Chami 2009).

¹¹Felix Chami is professor of archaeology and history at the University of Dar es Salaam. He has been doing archaeological research along the Swahili Coast of Tanzania for more than 20 years. He has good knowledge of the Swahili Coastal archaeology and Limestone Caves of the Indian Ocean World.

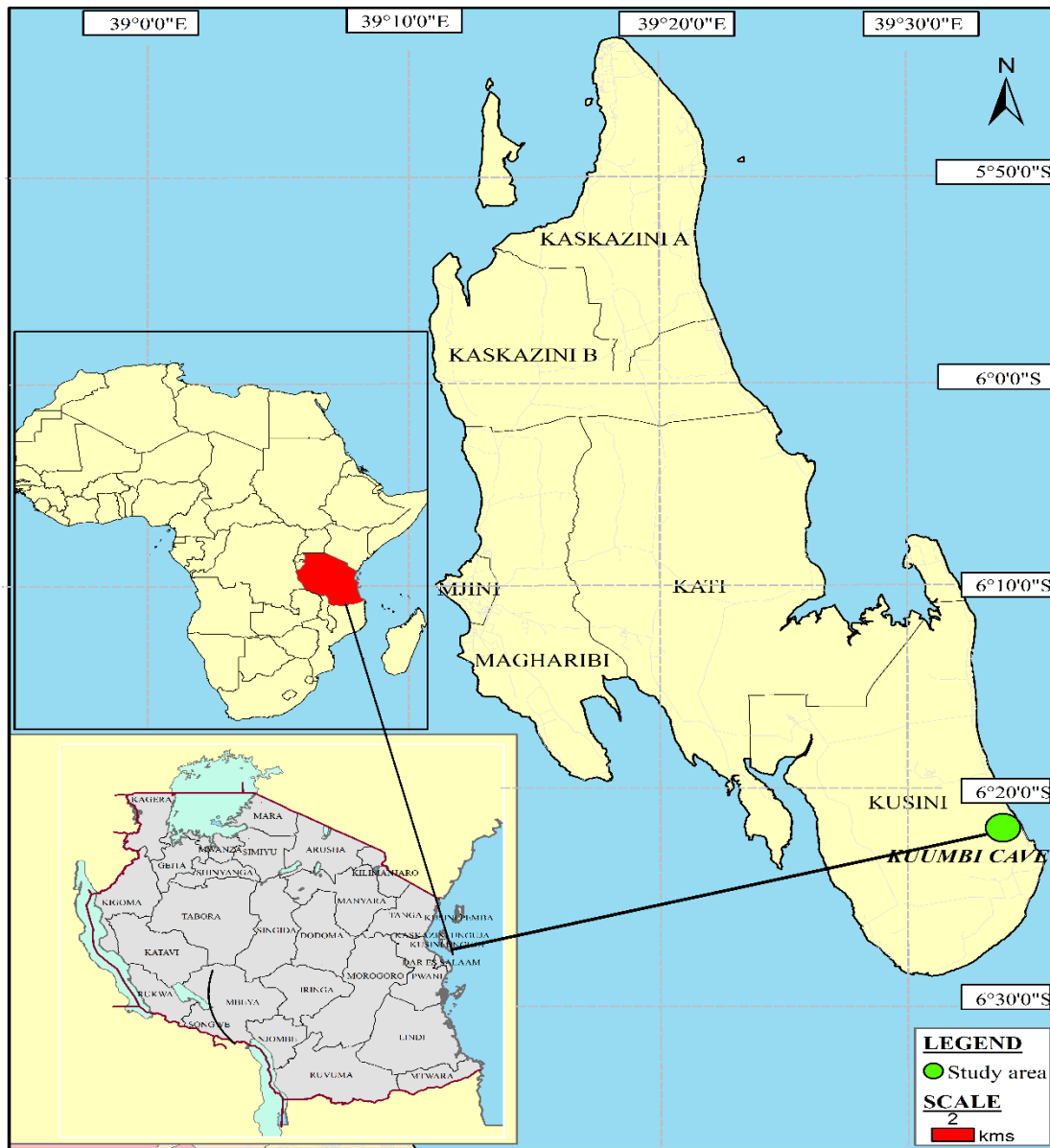


Figure 4.3: Map of Zanzibar Island showing the location of Kuumbi Limestone Caves (Source: NBS 2012)

Kuumbi Cave was occupied until the early-mid 20th century by broad-spectrum hunter-gatherers, who then moved to the coast to form or enlarge the towns of Jambiani and Makunduchi. The oldest residents in each town remember the lifeways of their parents and grandparents in the Cave and are an excellent resource to aid in the reconstruction of life in the Cave (Sarathi 2015). This place

has been a vital shrine where ancestral spirits are venerated and consulted, attracting visitors from all over Unguja, and the main island of Zanzibar archipelago. There are no visible rock paintings or engravings, and this is not especially surprising given the rapid depositional rate on the cave's walls (Sinclair 2006). The cave is guarded by traditional custodians, continuing the longstanding local bond with this Sacred Place. Also, there is a person who is the renowned Imam at a Mosque in the Stone Town of Zanzibar (Kourampas *et al.* 2015:295; Chami 2009:41; Prendergast *et al.* 2016:4).

The main features of the area are coral. The area is also a source of fresh water for the residents. Forest groves characterise the environment of the cave. These groves of forest (Flora) have been preserved in the vicinity of the cave largely owing to local cultural taboos against the destruction of the forest. Moreover, there are rare and endangered species of monkey endemic to Zanzibar, the Red Colobus within the forest (Chami 2009:41; Shipton 2016). The climate of the entire southeastern coast of Zanzibar is drier compared to the rest of Zanzibar, even though it does have an annual rainfall of between 1,000 and 2,000 millimetres. This part of Zanzibar now has many tourist hotels due to the pristine sandy and white beaches. The Cave holds deep symbolic and cultural meaning for the locals and thus it is advisable that all the excavation should be conducted with great care and with requisite permission from the community elders of Jambiani, Makunduchi and a few other villages (Sarathi 2015).

4.8.2 Previous Studies in Kuumbi Limestone Cave

Earlier archaeological investigation at Kuumbi Cave was undertaken for the first time in 2004/2005 under the direction of Prof. Felix Chami and colleagues, with a second season in the same year in collaboration with Paul Sinclair from Uppsala University, Sweden. The third time was in 2007 led by Chami and colleagues from the University of Dar es Salaam (Chami 2009; Sinclair *et al.* 2006). These investigations aimed to provide further evidence for pre-Islamic trade while the second one was to show the presence of pre-Islamic communities dating back to the Stone Age. Other aims were to show Neolithic culture on the Swahili Coast and to provide a reliable cultural sequence of the archaeology of East Africa (Chami 2009). In total, these researchers excavated nine trenches which also provided the most detailed cultural sequences.

These trenches revealed the evidence of human occupation extending back to the late Pleistocene, possible MSA affiliation and mid-Holocene (Chami 2009; Sinclair *et al.* 2006).

From there, Kuumbi Cave was exposed worldwide, and many scholars from Bristol University, Max Planck Institute for the Science of Human History in Germany and elsewhere got interested in exploring more within the cave. From 2010 to modern day, Kuumbi Cave became a site for international researchers. Shipton *et al.* (2015) reinvestigated Kuumbi Cave to obtain more historical background of the site. This new excavation suggested that the Cave's stratigraphy is complex, reflecting taphonomic processes that present interpretive and dating challenges. Moreover, the researchers moved further and suggested that Kuumbi Cave may have been unoccupied for much of the Holocene after Zanzibar became an island. In the same year, Kourampas *et al.* (2015) investigated the formation and evolution of Kuumbi Cave and its wider littoral landscape. They urged that Kuumbi and other sub-terrace Caves were developed as flank margin caves in the seaward portion of freshwater lenses during suboptimal high stands.

Additionally, Langley *et al.* (2016) examined poison arrows and bone utensils in late Pleistocene eastern Africa from Kuumbi Cave in Zanzibar Island. They found out that bone technology was a central element in the Later Stone Age material culture of Kuumbi Cave's inhabitants. It also suggested that arrow points coated with poison were in use in eastern Africa around 13,000 years ago. The more recent investigation has been conducted by Prendergast *et al.* (2016) who examined the process by which Zanzibar was most recently separated from the mainland, providing the first systematic insights into the nature and chronology of this process through sedimentary data. They investigated the cultural and faunal record of Kuumbi Cave, which provided five key temporal windows into human activities and faunal presence. These records demonstrated the presence of large mammals during the period of island formation and their severe disappearance in the Kuumbi Cave sequence by the late Holocene. However, all these studies concentrated on archaeological information of the Cave and neglected the other part of the management, use, and conservation of this place. Therefore, following up from those previous studies the aim of this work is propose a framework for better practice of Kuumbi Cave which is still in use by the communities for rituals and other cultural activities.

4.9 Summary

This chapter has provided an overview of the United Republic of Tanzania and Zanzibar Island regarding geographical location, demography, climate, and religion. Moreover, it has provided an overview of Tanga region where the Amboni Limestone Cave and Kuumbi Limestone Cave areas are found in Zanzibar respectively. Lastly, this chapter presented previous studies conducted in these Sacred Places. These previous studies made clear that there is a need to research on the use and management of Sacred Heritage Places to ensure the local communities do not interfere in their sacred space during the religious activities. These sites have received fewer research undertakings, especially in heritage studies compared to the other monumental heritage in Tanzania. The next chapter presents the methodology and strategies used in this work under which the data were collected and analysed.

5 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES FOR RESEARCHING SACRED PLACES IN LIMESTONE CAVE AREAS IN TANZANIA

5.1 Preamble

Researchers usually have different beliefs on the ways of viewing and interacting with their surroundings. Due to this, how research studies are conducted differs. There are certain standards and rules that guide a researcher's actions and beliefs in conducting research. Such standards or principles can be referred to as a paradigm (Weaver and Olson 2006). To understand why and how these methodological approaches were selected, the discussion has been completed on the paradigm (perspective) that best fitted the work.

Therefore, this chapter aims to discuss the theoretical perspective for researching Sacred Places and the research design and methodology which is utilised in this work at Kuumbi and Amboni Limestone Caves along the Swahili Coast of Tanzania. From a theoretical perspective, the researcher presents his epistemology and demonstrates the kinds of research methodologies and strategies that emerge from it. The researcher presents and discusses the approaches for heritage studies on how professional he can be in research design. Lastly, in the methodology section, the research strategies, the rationale for the study areas and methods used in collecting and analysing qualitative data are presented.

5.2 Theoretical Perspectives for Researching Sacred Places

Heritage Studies is an interdisciplinary study that draws on a range of expertise from disciplines such as archaeology, architecture, art, sociology, anthropology, psychology, and tourism (Albert *et al.* 2013; Ichumbaki 2015: 86). Because of their multi-disciplinarity, cultural heritage studies are approached differently depending on the type of heritage asset studied, and how it is conceptualised. According to Gray (2009:21), research perspectives most commonly utilised in nursing research are positivism, post-positivism, interpretivism, and critical inquiry. Therefore, this study is interpretivism because it focuses on the holistic perspective of the local people, community and their environment (Weaver and Olson, 2006). Also, it is associated more with methodological approaches that provide an opportunity for the voices, feelings, concerns, perceptions, and practices of the communities concerning the ritual activities and their involvement in the use, management and conservation of Sacred Places (Cole 2006).

Also, in this study qualitative methodologies are incorporated. The qualitative methodology usually shares its philosophical foundation with the interpretivism perspective which supports the view that there are many truths and multiple realities (Weaver and Olson 2006). This study as qualitative research is more concerned about uncovering knowledge (inductive) about how local communities feel and think concerning the use and management Sacred Places in Limestone Cave areas along the Swahili Coast of Tanzania, then makes judgments about whether those thoughts and feelings are valid (Cole 2006:26). The combination of both qualitative methodologies and interpretivism perspective provides the researcher with the ability to recognise the complex phenomena in Sacred Places in Limestone Cave areas. The discussion that follows elaborates and describes in detail how each theoretical perspective and methodological approaches are implemented in this thesis.

5.3 Research Design

This study employs a phenomenological research approach to collecting data through unstructured methods. One of the advantages of phenomenology is that it emphasises the inductive collection of large amounts of data. According to Wertz (2006) and Giorgi (1985) revealed and identified phenomenology as a qualitative research method which was originally developed by the philosopher Edmund Husserl (Setsiba 2012). Furthermore, it relies on different methods for data collection including participant observation, focused group discussion and interviews (e.g., Creswell 1994). Phenomenological research usually emphasises the inductive discovery and focuses on seeking the opinions, views, feelings, concerns, subjective accounts and interpretations of participants. Within the context of the current study, the phenomenon to be studied was the people's experiences, feelings, concern, and perceptions towards the use and the management of Sacred Places in Limestone Cave areas along the Swahili Coast of Tanzania. Moreover, it employs different research strategies such as exploratory, explanatory and critical legal analysis strategies in collecting data to answer the research questions.

5.3.1 Other Research Strategies

According to Saunders *et al.* (2007), it is suggested that exploratory strategies can be conducted by a search of the literature, talking to experts in the field and doing interviews, observations, and group discussions. An exploratory strategy provides an in-depth understanding of how a community perceives, feels and is concerned about the use and management of Sacred Places.

Likewise, the explanatory strategy is used to explain and account for the descriptive information. While the descriptive strategy may ask 'what' kinds of questions, the explanatory strategy seeks to ask 'why' and 'how' questions (Gray 2009:36). Using these said strategies for instance at Kuumbi Limestone Cave, issues such as tourism activities and research projects within the sites are revealed. The strategies aid the researcher in understanding possible ways on how to use the Sacred Places agreeable to the local communities and other stakeholders without interference or conflict. With the view of this study, an explanatory strategy is used to examine the community's views and opinions attached to Kuumbi and Amboni Caves. Lastly, a critical legal analysis strategy is used. The researcher evaluates and reviews Tanzanian's legal documents such as tourism, environment and heritage laws. This strategy helps in understanding the current situation and status of the management, conservation and the use of Sacred Places in Tanzania.

5.4 Selection of the Research Areas

The study covers two case studies (Sacred Places) in Limestone Cave areas in Tanzania. These sites are Kuumbi, and Amboni Limestone Caves found in Zanzibar Island and Tanzania Mainland along the Swahili Coast of Indian Ocean in Tanzania. The sites were purposely selected to represent other Limestone Caves of the East African coast and that of Tanzania in particular. Many of these Limestone Caves provide evidence for the settlements of ancient people, those of Neolithic traditions and before, on the Swahili Coast of East Africa and Tanzania in specific (Chami 2009: 43). Chami (2001) argued that these Caves which are found along the Swahili Coast of Tanzania have strongly indicated that animal domesticating communities could have existed on the island and mainland from as early as 30,000 BC. Therefore, these two Caves were selected to represent a picture of the other Limestone Caves in Tanzanian coast at large.

The selection of these main research areas is based on two reasons. *Firstly*, Sacred Places in Limestone Cave areas have been intensified in archaeological excavations and geological investigations to obtain the historical and geographical information of these areas compared to other Limestone Caves in Tanzania (Peter 2013; Chami 2009; McClanahan and Obura 1996). This intensification led to the destruction of the authenticity of the Cave chambers which are regarded as the sacred places of worship and for conducting rituals by the Swahili communities along the Tanzanian coast. As a result, it has increased tensions between site managers, Antiquities Authority, researchers and local communities. Therefore, Kuumbi and Amboni Limestone Caves

are considered the best study areas for investigating the local communities' feelings, views, perceptions, and concerns on the use and management of Sacred Places.

Secondly, Kuumbi and Amboni Limestone Caves experienced a good number of tourists visiting these sites compared to the other Limestone Caves along the Swahili Coast. Due to an increase in the volume of tourists, it led to the problems in the use and management of the sites. As a consequence, this led the researcher to examine whether or not the communities are facing any problems in participating in or conducting ritual practices and worships which are still in use and have been associated with the communities for a long time. Hence, Kuumbi and Amboni Caves were selected to investigate the community's perceptions, views, and feelings concerning the use and management of the sites.

5.5 Research Participants

The study selected the research participants who were knowledgeable enough about Sacred Places in Limestone Cave areas in Tanzania to generate reliable data. The participants include antiquities government division officials and site managers from Amboni and Kuumbi Caves and villagers (Kiomoni, Jambiani and Makunduchi villages). Most of the villagers interviewed were traditional custodians, traditional healer, and community elders. Site managers, as the caretakers of the sites, contributed by sharing their experiences on how the communities perceive, view and feel about the use and management of the site and provided challenges facing their sites in the management and conservation. Also, traditional healers and elders of the communities had their chance to express their views and concerns about the use and management of the sites. The study selected 41 research participants who were interviewed to assess their experience in Sacred Places in Limestone Cave areas in Tanzania. All research respondents were selected purposely to get a sample of the people who were knowledgeable enough about ritual activities in Limestone Caves to generate reliable data.

5.6 Data Collection Methods

Data collection usually starts after the research problem has been recognised and research design/plan has been chalked out clearly. For this study, both primary and secondary data were obtained. The primary data was collected through interviews and focus group discussions between March 2017 and April 2018. To ensure that those primary data provide adequate answers;

secondary data supplemented them. The secondary data were collected through literature and documentary review, published and unpublished documents and legal documents.

5.6.1 In-depth Interview

The interview is “a purposeful conversation usually between two people or more that is directed by one, to get information” (Elly *et al.* 1991:58). The method is the most common source of primary data collection for a qualitative study. In this study, in-depth interviews were conducted to collect information about the Sacred Place in Limestone Cave areas along the Swahili Coast of Tanzania between March 2017 and April 2018. The researcher conducted most of the interviews in the Swahili language so that the informants could express themselves better. It helped because the researcher was able to understand his informants in their Swahili language, rather than having to use a translator. Therefore, the researcher developed his questions in Kiswahili language to get information from the local communities and site managers during interviews considering that it was easy for them to give out information. In-depth interviews were used for the site managers at Kuumbi and Amboni Caves and traditional healers, custodians, and elders.

At the beginning of the process, the researcher introduced himself to the respondents and informed them about the purpose of the study, the benefits of the study and how their participation could make a valuable contribution to the process of understanding their views and concern on the use and management of sites before being interviewed. Additionally, respondents were informed about their right not to participate in the study, and also to withdraw their participation if they felt uncomfortable without feeling obliged to give out any reasons. The respondents were giving out subjective explanations of their feelings and concerns about the use and management of the sites which mark a typical characteristic or feature of phenomenology. Finally, the interviews were audio-recorded after an agreement with each respondent while also filling in a brief interview datasheet. However, some respondents did not want to be recorded during the interview, and the researcher understood their will. Interview questions were divided into four parts based on the objectives of the study. The first part examined ritual activities and social structures in Limestone Cave areas. The second part assessed traditional knowledge systems used in the conservation and management of sites while part three searched to find out how local communities were involved in the management and conservation of the site. The last part included the questions for site managers, researchers (archaeologists), tourism and antiquities officials (see attached Appendix).

5.6.2 Focus Group Discussion

Apart from in-depth interviews, the researcher used focus group discussions. The method was used at both the Kuumbi and Amboni Limestone Cave sites. The same interview questions were used to ask the respondents during the focus group discussions. Focus group discussions were aimed at exploring and understanding the feelings and concerns of the local communities on the use and management of sites for the future generation. Kelly (2007) argues that focus groups usually are a qualitative research method by nature as a way of listening to people and learning from them. These are guided group discussions to generate a rich understanding of respondents' feelings, views and beliefs (*ibid.*). The intention of the researcher in undertaking focus group discussions was to understand how the community would respond to each other's feelings and views on the uses and management of Sacred Places. Therefore, this investigation assisted the researcher in learning how individuals as elders and members of the communities discuss issues freely in comparison to when they did it alone. Here, the researcher became a discussion controller where he provided free ground to all research participants to contribute without interference from the other.

A total of three focus group discussions were organised during this study. The research respondents were chosen by their knowledge and age (30-80) and their position to generate reliable data.

5.6.3 Literature Review, Published and Unpublished Documents

In this section, both published and unpublished documents were reviewed to gain an understanding of the research area and research topic in general. The researcher was interested in cultural heritage documents whose writers explained the management and conservation systems of the heritage site in Africa and elsewhere. Due to that, published documents such as books and journal articles were accessed from the Brandenburg University of Technology Cottbus-Senftenberg Library. Several other documents including ICCROM and UNESCO journals, conventions, books, reports and journals were accessed online. Tanzania heritage-related laws such as tourism, environment and published works on cultural heritage law, conservation and management were examined. All these documents helped the researcher to obtain assistance and provided an understanding of how conservation and management of Sacred Places took place and who was doing it. Also, an understanding of theories and methodological approaches used in this study was attained from the reviewed published documents. Lastly, unpublished information was obtained from other

institutions including UNESCO National Commission of the United Republic of Tanzania, and Antiquities Department of Zanzibar and Tanzania Mainland. The review enabled the researcher to identify gaps that were left out without proper analysis and obtained more valuable information on the area of research and topic in general.

5.6.4 Observation Method: Naturalistic Observation (Unstructured Observation)

According to Kothari (2004), there are four types of observation which are used by researchers in the data collection. These are *structured observation*, *unstructured observation*, *participant observation* and *non-participant observation*. In this study, unstructured observation (i.e., naturalistic observations) was employed to observe and monitor the behaviour and actions of the local communities in natural surroundings especially when they came for religious activities (rituals and worship) in the Limestone Cave areas along the Swahili Coast of Tanzania between March 2017 to April 2018. Unstructured observation method (naturalistic observation) was relevant and very important in monitoring all aspect of the phenomenon that seems relevant to the problem at hand within the site (see also Biswas 2017:5; Kothari 2004:96).

The researcher conducted most of the observations in Kuumbi Limestone Caves during the time of religious activities especially on Monday and Thursday (see chapter 6). The method allowed the researcher to witness the conflicts and interference with the local communities' religious activities due to tourism activities and secondary school students who were coming for geography lessons to learn more about the Limestone Cave features. For example, on 16th March 2017, the researcher witnessed one of the confrontations between the tourists and the traditional healer inside the Kuumbi Cave after the tourists entered into the Caves without following proper procedures and started to take the pictures without the traditional healer's permission (see chapter 6). However, this method was not used in Amboni Limestone Caves due to many local communities preferring to go for religious activities during the evening and early in the morning before the tourists and students come. Their ideas were to avoid the interferences from the tourists and students who have been disturbing them in their religious activities (see chapter 7). Therefore, this method helped because the researcher was able to monitor and understand the problem in a clear picture which the local communities and the site managers are facing especially in the site use and management in Limestone Cave areas.

5.7 Validity

Validity is defined as accuracy and trustworthiness of instruments, data, and findings (Bernard 1995). A pilot study was conducted to ensure the validity of the actual study. The researcher tested the interview questions that were going to be used during the data collection process. The interview questions were administered to five PhD students in Heritage Studies at the Brandenburg University of Technology Cottbus-Senftenberg to check the applicability to capture accurate data for the research objectives. The exercise ensured that the questions were clear and understandable and in line with the research objectives. Necessary corrections could have been made if some inconsistencies during the test period happened.

5.8 Reliability

Reliability is the consistency of instruments to produce the same results at different times by different people (Bernard 1995). The researcher ensured the reliability of data by testing the data collection tools which were a focus group discussion and interviews. Also, the results were examined in the pilot study to see if there was any consistency with the results. There was consistency with data from the pilot study. Due to that, there was no need to retest the tool again.

5.9 Data Analysis

This study used qualitative methods for data analysis. Data obtained through focus group discussions, interviews and documentary reviews were analysed using thematic analysis involving organising the data into main “*themes*” for each of the interview questions and focus group discussions about the specific objectives of the study (Boyatzis 1998; Braun and Clarke 2006). Usually, it involves identifying and analysing patterns within data to develop themes that capture important things about the data and explain those themes (data) in the form of storytelling (*ibid.*). Hence, some taped interviews and the research notes were used for the analysis of the data collected during the fieldwork. The taped interviews were transcribed as soon as possible after the actual interview and discussions had been finished while they were still in mind. Data were presented primarily through text, and there was a comparison with relevant previous studies during the discussion of the results. Finally, the critical legal analysis used data collected from Tanzanian national legislation. It involved a critical examination of the facts concerning the effectiveness of

Tanzanian heritage legislation in recognition of Sacred Places in the proper use and management processes to arrive at judgments formed by legal analysis (Hall and Wringt 2008; Egute 2012).

5.10 Ethical Considerations

The current study considered several ethical issues from data collection to thesis write up. Before going to the field, my office in the UNESCO National Commission of the United Republic of Tanzania through the Culture and World Heritage Department granted me a research clearance letter. This clearance letter was used for introducing the researcher to Antiquities Authorities at the two sites (Amboni and Kuumbi Limestone Caves) in Tanzania Island and Mainland and the community's local government. Research ethics usually deals with the interaction between researchers and the people they study or interview. The significant purpose of research ethics is to look after the welfare of the research participants (Setsiba 2012). In this contemporary world, an ethical review has become mandatory for social science research. Therefore, a list of ethical guidelines that this research study adhered to is as follows;

- The researcher ensured the respondent's rights were very much respected and observed during interviews and focus group discussions.
- The researcher made sure that respondents were taught about their right to take part in the interview or focus group discussions and to pull out at any time when they felt it necessary to do so without providing any reasons.
- The researcher introduced himself to the respondents, the aim, and purpose of the study and explained to the respondents the right to participate in the study before they agreed on whether or not participate in the study.
- The researcher requested his respondents to be audio-taped to allow the researcher to take notes during the discussions and interviews. Moreover, the researcher explained the purpose of them. Some agreed to be recorded while others denied so the researcher could not record them.
- The researcher also informed the respondents that their names were not going to appear anywhere in the report. However, some respondents asked if their names and pictures could appear in the study and agreed with that.

- Also, the respondents informed that they had the right to access a copy of the thesis when the study finished, i.e., village governments and Antiquities Authorities in both Zanzibar and Tanzania Mainland will have one copy.¹²
- Lastly, the researcher explained to his respondents that should any issue arise as a result of the interview or focus group discussions (negative issues), they were free to contact the researcher. They took the researcher's mobile phone number and email address.

5.11 Summary

This chapter explained the research methodology used in the work. Primary data was collected through interviews and focus group discussions, while secondary data came through published and unpublished documents. Research participants who were community elders, traditional healers, traditional custodians, researchers, antiquities staffs and site managers were requested to provide their views, feelings, and concern for the use and management of the Sacred Place in Tanzania Islands and Mainland respectively. The targeted research respondents were all the people who were knowledgeable enough about the Sacred Places and those who were in one way or another affected or affiliated with these sites. The final section of this chapter discusses the data analysis (thematic analysis), reliability, validity and ethical consideration. The next chapter presents the results of Kuumbi Limestone Cave from Zanzibar Island.

¹²The chairman of the Kiomoni Village where Amboni Limestone Caves found, demanded one copy of the thesis for their office once completed.

6 MANAGEMENT AND THE USE OF KUUMBI LIMESTONE CAVE, ZANZIBAR ISLAND

6.1 Preamble

This chapter presents the findings of Kuumbi Limestone Cave Sacred Places found on Zanzibar Island. Interviews, observations and focus group discussions were conducted at the site and Jambiani and Makunduchi villages from 10th March to 15th April and 21st August to 28th September 2017 in Zanzibar Island. The findings have been presented in line with the specific objectives of the study. The first section of the chapter contains personal information of the respondents regarding their gender, age group, educational background and area of residence. The second section contains information on the ritual activities and social structures in the Limestone Cave, while section three presents information on traditional knowledge systems used in the conservation and management of Kuumbi Limestone Cave. Section four provides an overview of the communities' involvement in the conservation of the site while section five presents tourism officials, antiquities officials, researchers and site managers' opinions, views and concerns on the use and management of Kuumbi Limestone Cave. The last part is a summary of the chapter.

6.2 Personal Information of the Respondents

The first part was concerned with gathering the personal information of the research participants. It was essential to know the background of the research participants regarding their age, education, occupation, location, and sex. All this information was significantly crucial in determining a respondent's role as a community member and stakeholder at Kuumbi Limestone Cave. The researcher aimed to ask local people who were knowledgeable enough about the site and ritual practices to get reliable information on how the people felt and concerned on use, conservation, and management of Kuumbi Limestone Cave. As stated earlier by the researcher in the preamble to this chapter, the findings presented here are based on interviews and focus group discussions conducted in the field.

21 respondents were interviewed individually during this study at Kuumbi Limestone Cave. Out of the 21 respondents, 18 were men, and three were women.¹³ This meant that the majority of the

¹³The number of women respondents were very low due to cultural and religious reasons.

respondents at Kuumbi Limestone Cave were men. Regarding the age category, all respondents were aged between 32 and 79. The majority of the research participants interviewed were residents of the Southern District where the Kuumbi Limestone Cave is found. In term of the respondents' occupation, two respondents were traditional healers, two were site managers, two were antiquities government officials, and two were traditional custodians while eight respondents were elders from the community, many of whom were farmers and fishermen. Other respondents interviewed were two researchers (archaeologists who excavated the cave) and three tourism officers from the Zanzibar Commission for Tourism. Regarding the levels of education: nine respondents attended primary school education, four attended secondary school education, and eight attended college/university education (See Table 6.1).

Table 6.1: Personal Information of the Respondents in Kuumbi Cave (N=21)

Number of Participants (N)	
Men	18
Women	3
Occupation	
Traditional Healer	2
Traditional Custodian	2
Community Elder	8
Site Managers (Kuumbi Cave)	2
Antiquities Government Officials	2
Tourism Officers	3
Researchers (Archaeologists)	2
Education Background	
Primary Education	9
Secondary Education	4
College/University Education	8
Age Group	
32-79	21

6.3 Ritual Activities and Social Structures at Kuumbi Limestone Cave

With this objective, the researcher intended to investigate the ritual activities and social structures found at Kuumbi Limestone Cave. The investigation was regarding the meaning of the site, on why the site was special to the community and on the kinds of ritual activities performed in the cave. Also, the investigation involved who and when ritual activities were performed and lastly on the problems the local community faced during worship and ritual practices. Therefore, the

purpose of this objective was to highlight an overview of the ritual practices conducted in this sacred cave and identify problems facing the community during the use of the cave during ritual practices by evaluating their views and feeling concerning the site usage.

6.3.1 Meaning of Kuumbi Cave

The first aspect of this section was to provide an understanding of the meaning of the word *Kuumbi*. The research participants were asked about the meaning of *Kuumbi* to capture their understanding of the Cave which is used for worship and ritual practices. This question received the same answers from all research participants during interviews and focus group discussions. All the participants said that *Kuumbi* meant a *large/great hall*. The word *Kuumbi* derives from the Swahili word “*Ukumbi*” (*a hall*) (Chami 2009). Other research participants went further and said that the cave was called *Kuumbi* because it could accommodate a lot of people inside at once especially during the worship and ritual practices. Therefore, this implies that there was a better understanding of the research participants on the meaning of Kuumbi Limestone Cave.

6.3.2 Importance of the Cave to the Communities and Other Stakeholders

The second aspect in this objective was concerned about how the site has been special to the communities surrounding it. The majority of the research participants provided different answers. Some participants said that the cave was very important to the history of humanity and research activities. They went further by saying that the evidence of early human occupation and Swahili civilisation along the coast of East Africa can be found in this cave, so the surrounding communities should be proud of it. Other research participants revealed that the Cave was very important for tourism activities. With the presence of a well-built site museum near the cave, it believed that the cave could change their lives by helping to reduce their poverty through tourism activities and sale of local products in the site. However, the majority of participants did not deny the importance of the cave for worship and ritual activities to the communities as one of the essential activities which have united the communities living in Southern District (Makunduchi and Jambiani Villages). It revealed that the cave was a holy place and a spirit (*Mizimu in Swahili*) is believed to reside in the dark recesses of the cave near the freshwater spring.

Moreover, bats are also prevalent and they are thought to be spirits protecting the cave against any evils. Different offerings such as cloth, blood, and food are often deposited near the spring by the

residents of towns who were coming for rituals and prayers (Sarathi 2015). In one of the interviews, one research participant said:

“Here is where our ancestors have been buried. Like other people who are going to Church or Mosque to pray, we come here also to pray and ask for assistance from our forefathers and spirits during our troubles”.

The response above can indeed be supported by the archaeological work that has been conducted inside the cave that found a human skeleton dating back to 10/12 thousand B.C. (see figure 6.1) (Chami 2009; Bukenya 2009). The responses further indicate that Kuumbi Limestone Cave is a very important place for the worship and ritual practices of the Southern District communities in Zanzibar Island. Therefore, there is a need to respect the place in the way churches, mosques or temples are respected.



Figure 6.1: Human skeleton (cairn tomb) excavated from Kuumbi sacred cave (Source: Chami 2009)

6.3.3 Ritual Activities Performed in Kuumbi Limestone Cave

The third aspect in this section is aimed at identifying different kinds of rituals performed by the communities at Kuumbi Limestone Cave. During the investigation, the research participants mentioned different types of rituals which are practised in the Cave. These include healing rituals, protection rituals, thanksgiving rituals, fertility rituals, rituals for studies, rituals to find a job and rituals of governance. In healing rituals, the participants said that when people get sick and cannot get any better, usually they go to the cave to be prayed upon so that the gods and spirits can heal them. In thanksgiving rituals, the research participants said the people usually go to the cave to tell thanks to their gods/spirits when they get what they asked for. In the fertility rituals, it revealed that women who could not bear a child go to the cave and ask the spirits to give them children.

Another ritual mentioned by the participants during this investigation was a ritual for studies. The ritual conducted for the small kids (students) who were in primary schools, secondary schools or even college students. The ritual was to help kids or students to be brighter and to do better in class and college. In one of the focus group discussions at Jambiani village, one participant said:

“My boy now is doing quite okay in school. He has been performing very well even in his exams. Before I started taking him to that Cave, he was not doing okay in class. Now I am happy the gods/spirits have helped him a lot”.

A ritual to find a job also has been identified by the research participants during the fieldwork. Many of these participants pointed out that there was a presence of many people who were going to the cave to conduct rituals and prayers to obtain a job somewhere. Lastly, a ritual of governance was revealed during investigation in the field. The research participants said that a lot of parliament representatives and government officers were going to the cave to conduct rituals and pray to obtain a prominent position in the government such as to be a government minister. In one of the interviews, a traditional healer revealed that:

“Hon. ‘Mr somebody’ came here at the cave a lot of times to pray. We have been praying and conducting ritual activities for him to get a good position in a government. We were happy that the spirits heard his prayers”.

From the responses above, it can be seen that the Cave has been very significant to the local people who have different problems who come for prayers and ritual activities to solve their daily life difficulties (Kourampas *et al.* 2015).

Additionally, the researcher questioned the research participants on how they were performing rituals. According to them, they suggested that the rituals usually are performed depending on the person's desire or the instructions given by a traditional healer. Sometimes or in most cases a black goat or chicken is preferred for sacrifice. They are slaughtered so the spirits can drink blood in the ritual of Thanksgiving and other ceremonies. There are some days (Monday and Thursday) usually when the local communities come to the ceremony where they cook and eat together inside a cave as a way to celebrate with their spirits. However, the research participants revealed that many of these rituals are based on personal prayers where a person could go to pray or to be prayed upon by a traditional healer. Also, they put some promises when they get what they want or are looking for, then they go to repay their promises which were made to the gods/spirits before. Finally, the researcher was anxious to know why the local communities from Jambiani, Makunduchi, Bwejuu, and Charawe were coming for rituals and worships in this cave and not to other areas. It revealed that the communities believed the cave is the largest cave in all Africa. It has excellent wonders compared to other caves, and whatever they pray for or ask of the spirits inside the cave, they get (see figure 6.2). The response implies that the local communities have a big faith in their cave which they use for prayers as other people go to the churches or mosque.



Figure 6.2: The view of Kuumbi Limestone Cave (Inside)
(Source: Chami 2009:50)

6.3.4 Residents and Ritual Activities in Kuumbi Cave

The fourth aspect in this section is aimed at recognising the days where rituals are conducted in the cave and who were the people performing ritual activities. All research participants mentioned Mondays and Thursdays as the two days in a week where they went for rituals in the cave. Usually, they start in the morning up to the afternoon when they finish. Also, the researcher tried to explore why only these two days (Monday and Thursday). However, the participants failed to explain precisely why just these two days and the reason for the move to the coast remained unclear (Sarathi 2015). During the focus group discussion, one community elder said:

“We have found this law the way it is, that we should come here for worship and rituals only Monday and Thursday. We have inherited these days from our ancestors, so we don’t know exactly why only these two days”.

The response suggests that there is a need for these two days (Monday and Thursday) to be recognised by the Administrative Authorities at the site so as the local communities can participate in their religious activities without any restrictions of interference.

The researcher went further and interviewed them on who had the rights to go for rituals in the cave. The participants revealed that only the residents of Southern District, i.e., Makunduchi, Jambiani, Bwejuu and Charawe villages are the ones who are going for rituals in the Cave because it is like their church or mosque. The residents of Southern District are the ones who are regarded as the owners of the cave. Anyone who does not belong to or is not coming from Southern District cannot perform the blessing or rituals. It is a place where the local communities come for worship and rituals, and usually, they receive what is asked for by the spirits. Due to this, it has made them come to this area frequently. One research participant in the discussion said:

“It is very rare to find someone coming here for rituals which are not from Southern District or who is not originally coming from Makunduchi, Jambiani, Bwejuu or Charawe villages. However, I remember in 2008-2009’s students from Dar es Salaam came here for rituals to ask for success in their examinations and their lives to the spirits. But this Cave is mostly used by we people from Southern District. It is our Mosque or Church”.

In reality, this suggests that the Kuumbi Cave is not only crucial to the local communities but also it is owned by these people from Southern District as no one has the right to participate in the religious or spiritual activities without the guidance from the hosts.

6.3.5 Challenges of Conducting Rituals and Worship Activities

Lastly, in this section, the researcher intends to examine all the problems and challenges the local communities face during ritual activities at the cave. All of the research participants said tourism activities and students study tours (geography lesson) within the site has caused significant problems in their worship and ritual practices. It is especially in those two days, which are Mondays and Thursdays, when the local communities come for the services is when they face this interference. Many tourists and students usually shout when they come inside the cave, and they do not respect the area. One research participant in a group discussion with great sorrow said:

“These tourists disturb us a lot when they come here. Sometimes, they make some noises and take photos of us when we are praying even without asking for permission from us. It is

harrowing. I don't know if they can be able to go to the Mosque and start taking a photo of the people there and make noise”.

Another source of problems the local communities face is research activities conducted in the cave. Different research activities which have been conducted by the local and international researchers from different institutes in this site, especially archaeological excavations, have led them to fail to conduct ritual (spiritual) activities in the cave (see figure 6.3). However, the research participants revealed that some of the research projects which have been conducted in the area consulted with the local communities to provide their blessings and permission for the research activity. One community elder during the interview, with a deep concern, said:

“Since the Cave showed to the first researcher in 2004, the site has been intensified in research activities where the Cave has been excavated everywhere and at least each year. These activities have caused the authenticity of our Cave to deteriorate. It also has angered our ancestors”.



Figure 6.3: Researchers from the University of Dar es Salaam excavating Kuumbi Cave (Sources: Chami 2009)

The study noted that the local communities have experienced high-level interference and disturbance in their ritual and worship activities at Kuumbi Limestone Cave due to tourism and research activities. There is a need for the site authority to find a way to ensure the best practice of

the site so the local communities can have the rights to pray and conduct spiritual activities without any interferences.

Furthermore, the researcher tried to ask what should be done or taken into account to solve these problems facing ritual practices. The participants advised that Mondays and Thursdays should be kept free from tourism or research activities at least from morning to afternoon. Usually, these two days are the ones used for rituals and worship by the local communities. The idea would help the communities to be able to worship and perform their ritual activities without interferences. Finally, they insisted that researchers who want to investigate the Cave should ask for permission from the elders of the community. Asking for permission would help to make them aware of what is going on in the cave. Hence, it would reduce interference in their ritual and other spiritual practices. These responses imply that the local communities prefer to be asked for permission before any research project is about to be conducted in the site and be given free time and space for them to perform their religious activities without any interferences especially on Monday and Thursday. Therefore, there is a need for site managers and Antiquities Authority at the site to consider these issues in their daily basis of the management of the Sacred Place.

6.4 Traditional Knowledge Systems

With this second objective, the researcher intended to learn if the local communities have any traditional knowledge systems to conserve and manage the Sacred Place of Kuumbi on Zanzibar Island. This objective was assessed regarding customary practices, laws, methods or techniques used to ensure proper protection and use of the site and how traditional knowledge systems have been transmitted from one generation to another. Therefore, the purpose of this objective is to identify what practices the local communities use to ensure the sustainability of Kuumbi Limestone Cave as a Sacred Place for future generations.

In this objective, the research participants revealed that the local communities are prohibited from crushing coral or taking any coral stones for building or construction of their houses. Also, it goes with the prohibition of cutting any tree or collecting firewood in the cave's forest. Additionally, the research participants pointed out that the communities were forbidden to come with soap and from polluting pools of water inside the cave which is regarded as holy and used by the local communities. Lastly, hunting any animal around the cave's forest was strictly forbidden (Sarathi

2015). One traditional custodian who interviewed provided a short story about people who tried to hunt in the cave's forest. The traditional custodian narrated that:

“Some hunters were chasing down Dikdik running with their dogs in support. The animal (Dikdik) vanished behind some bushes and the hunters could not see it again”.

Furthermore, it was revealed that strong cultural taboos have protected the area against those entering without following the religious procedure (Chami 2009; Prendergast *et al.* 2016). People are not allowed to enter the cave while wearing shoes. Also, the women who are in their menstruation period are not allowed to come even near the cave. Taboos also apply to men who had sexual intercourse within the past three days as they are strictly prohibited from going to rituals or worship. If anyone does not obey these laws, usually bad things happen to him/her. However, some respondents went further and said that since tourism and research activities have intensified in this site, these laws have been broken, and the spirits were very irritated because of this which caused the water pools inside the cave to dry up sometimes. The response implies that Southern District communities have their knowledge of conserving the Sacred Place from being destroyed. These traditional practices which contribute to the sustainability of the place should be explored to conserve the resources of Kuumbi Cave site.

Lastly, the researcher investigated how these traditional knowledge practices and ritual practices are transmitted from one generation to another. The participants revealed that ritual performances have been part and parcel of their culture and life for as long and anyone could remember. When a girl or a boy turns 15 years old, that is when they start to involve them in ritual practices and different ceremonies. The procedure regularly makes them learn each procedure used in conducting rituals and familiarises and orients them in their culture. Also, traditional oral history and oral culture are used to teach the youth about the traditional conservation practices and laws used to protect the Cave from being destroyed. However, research participants pointed out that the development of science and technology in Southern District has forced the local communities to start abandoning these traditional knowledge systems. These results from the interviews and group discussions suggest that the local communities in Southern District have their ways of transmitting traditional knowledge from one generation to another. However, there is a need to safeguard these practices as now they are starting to disappear due to the negative impact of development in science and technology.

6.5 Community Involvement in Kuumbi Limestone Cave

The local communities have their initiative to conserve and manage Kuumbi Limestone Cave as their Sacred Place. The results collected from the field in previous sections indicate that the people of the Southern District have their knowledge to ensure the sustainability of this Sacred Place for future generations. But since the cave came under the supervision of the Antiquities Department of Zanzibar, the researcher intended to explore how the local communities have been involved in conservation and management of the site. With this last objective, the researcher intended to investigate community involvement in Kuumbi Cave regarding the community's relationship with the Antiquities Authority at the site. It also examined whether the local communities are involved in decision making and in all activities which affect the site in one way or another. Finally, the investigation reveals whether the community knew the National Antiquities legislation for the management and conservation of the cultural heritage and who should manage the site.

6.5.1 Community Relations with Antiquities Authority at the Site

In this section, the researcher aimed to investigate the local community's relationship with the Antiquities Authority at Kuumbi Cave. Research participants said the relationship is good because the Antiquities Authority at the site is trying to involve the communities and their elders in some projects which have been conducted at the site including the research activities. However, during the focus group discussion, the researcher met a few participants that said the relationship with the Antiquities Authority at the Cave is not good enough. After a continuation of the discussion, the researcher found out that some people have never had a chance to participate in any project activities at the site, but they feel that some colleagues who were involved received money from the project. They felt neglected.¹⁴ Many research participants responded that they saw the relationship with the Antiquities Authority and the community as a normal one. One of the interviews with a traditional custodian said:

“We go there for our worship and rituals on Mondays and Thursdays. The Authority does not disturb us, and we do not disturb them. We have a normal relationship with them”.

These responses suggest that there is a normal relationship between the local communities and the Antiquities Authority at Kuumbi Limestone Cave. But there is a need for the relationship between

¹⁴Interview with an anonymous respondents conducted in Jambiani village in March 2017.

the local communities and the Antiquities Authority to be improved to ensure that there are no conflicts that could result in adverse effects for the heritage sites.

6.5.2 Community Decision Making/ Activities on the Site

In this part, the researcher also wanted to know whether or not the communities are involved in the decision making for any activities conducted on their site. The research participants mentioned that they had been involved in the decision making and activities which are conducted on the site. They were also able to identify how the local communities are involved in the construction of the Kuumbi site museum which officially opened on 07th October 2016. Nevertheless, the participants feel that their involvement in decision making has not been significant. In one interview, one of the community elders said:

“There is some research conducted on the site, and the community were not informed. We find people are excavating the site without any information”. Another elder went further and argued that “we are involved in decision making, but at the end, our ideas are not taken into account because even though we say no, still they will go and excavate the site. So this is just like they inform us, but our decisions are not respected. But it is good at least we know what is going on there”.

This response suggests that the local communities have been involved in the early stages of decision making and all activities such as the site museum construction but their ideas on what they thought and felt were not taken into account. There is a need for proper collaboration between Antiquities Authorities at the site and the local communities.

Regarding the community awareness on national heritage legislation, the researcher asked the research participants if they knew national heritage legislation for management and conservation of cultural heritage of Zanzibar Island. All over the majority of research participants revealed that they do not know anything about the legislation for management and conservation of monuments and cultural heritage in Zanzibar (Zanzibar Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, 2002). These findings suggest that the local communities have little awareness of the primary legislation for the protection and preservation of heritage resources in Zanzibar Island.

6.5.3 Management Responsibility of the Kuumbi Limestone Cave

Regarding this question of who should manage Kuumbi sacred Cave, during the fieldwork the research participants suggested that the local communities should be responsible for the management of the Kuumbi Cave site. It was because they had known the site for a long time and it is found in their communities, and they were the appropriate managers of the site. Other participants said that there should be a collaboration in the management of the Kuumbi Cave. Antiquities Authority and the communities should be responsible for working together to ensure the sustainability of the site. Lastly, few research participants believed that the Antiquities Authority should take control of the site and be responsible for the management of it. These findings or responses from the interview and focus group discussion suggested that the management of Kuumbi Cave site must be through collaboration. Collaboration management should include the Antiquities Authority and the local communities from Southern District who use the Cave for ritual practices and worship. Collaboration between the Department of Antiquities at the site and communities who are practising rituals would help to reduce the interference of communities' ritual practices by tourism and research activities and reduce all the management and conservation problems facing the place¹⁵ (e.g., Chirikure *et al.* 2010).

6.6 Antiquities and Tourism Officials, Site Managers and Researchers

6.6.1 Antiquities Officials

Antiquities government officials in Zanzibar were also interviewed on the use and management of Kuumbi Caves as a Sacred Place. It revealed that the Antiquities Division recognises the presence of Sacred Places found in the preserved site under the law which is used by the local communities for ritual and worship practices and insists that these sites are not used for any purpose inconsistent with its character. However, the officials agree on some of the Sacred Places being used inconsistently with their character such as Kuumbi and Mwanampambe Caves. During the interview, it revealed that lack of proper and clear framework and guidelines on how the Sacred Places should be managed and used brought a lot of complexities not only to the division but also to Zanzibar Commission for Tourism and site managers. On how to ensure best practice of the Sacred Place such as Kuumbi Cave, they suggested that much of the work on the use and

¹⁵Interview with the traditional custodian Mzee Abdallah Maringo at Jambiani village in September 2017.

management of the site depends on the site managers. The site managers have to ensure that the site is used in a way that everyone, including tourists and local communities, can share the opportunities and experience the site equally without any conflict as the site is still in use by the local communities for spiritual activities.

Antiquities officials further suggested that though the antiquities legislation recognises the presence of Sacred Places in Zanzibar, it has done little to explain and provide clear cut on how these places are used regarding tourism and research activities. There is a significant need for legislation to be amended and to provide a proper explanation for the use of the Sacred Place in Zanzibar, especially regarding worship days. Finally, the Antiquities officials had little to advise on how scientific research in Sacred Places should be conducted. They proposed that the archaeological excavations in Sacred Places (Limestone Caves) should be conducted but the spiritual and worship days (Monday and Thursday) in the Cave must be observed and respected by the researchers.¹⁶ These findings imply that the management and use of Sacred Places in Limestone Cave areas in Zanzibar will be challenging and complicated due to the lack of clear framework, guidelines, and approaches on how these places should be used and managed in Zanzibar.

6.6.2 Tourism Officials

Tourism officers from the Zanzibar Commission for Tourism (ZCT) also provided their views, feelings, and concerns on the use and management of Sacred Places in Zanzibar, especially in Limestone Caves. During the interview, they revealed that Sacred Places in Limestone Cave areas are recognised as one of the tourism products. Their main job is to promote and market the products such as Sacred Places in Limestone Cave areas worldwide. The respondents further emphasise that Antiquities division and site managers must ensure best practices in these sites to avoid conflicts and interferences between the users.

Though Zanzibar tourism acts and policy have nothing or little to say on how tourism activities should be practised in Sacred Places, still the respondents believed it is the task of antiquities legislation and division as the caretakers of the sites to provide the best solution on this scenario for the betterment of tourism activities in these areas. Lastly, the respondents suggested that

¹⁶Interview with the head of Antiquities Division in Zanzibar Island Mr. Abdallah Hamisi in February 2018.

tourism activities on Monday and Thursday, especially during the time of prayers, should be stopped to provide a space for the local communities to pray though there is need to develop tourism related to deities and gods for the benefit of the communities.¹⁷ These responses imply that there is poor communication and collaboration between the Antiquities Division and Zanzibar Commission for Tourism especially in the site management and use on Zanzibar Island.

6.6.3 Site Managers (Kuumbi Limestone Cave)

Furthermore, site managers who were working at Kuumbi Cave were interviewed. The aim was to understand site managers' knowledge of this Sacred Place. It included all issues related to the challenges faced in the management of Kuumbi Cave. In the end, site managers gave their views, feelings, and concerns regarding the protection and the use of Kuumbi Cave as a Sacred Place in Zanzibar Island. On how this site is essential to the local communities, the site managers revealed that Kuumbi Cave is a very important place for the communities who are living in Southern District, i.e., Makunduchi, Bwejuu, Charawe and Jambiani Villages). It is the place where they believe their ancestors are buried (see figure 6.1). One site manager said:

“This Cave is considered a holy place and spirits (Mizimu in Swahili) are believed to be present in the Cave near the freshwater spring. So usually they come here for offerings and deposit them near the water spring”.

The site managers saw the importance of the place to the communities regarding religious practices, and also they felt the site has the potential to support the local communities regarding tourism activities. Tourism could help to change their lives by reducing poverty but only if the site is being utilised well in favour of both sides. Lastly, the site managers mentioned the importance of this site in the academic arena especially when it comes to research activities. This place provides the evidence of early human civilisation along the Swahili Coast of East Africa 30,000 B.C where an animal, human bones, and stone tools were excavated in the cave by Prof. Chami in 2004 (Bukanya 2009; Mbassa and Assey 2009). Still, the site is in use for research activities up to the current time (see table 6.2). These responses from the site managers imply that the site is significant not only for the local communities but also to the other stakeholders who are not

¹⁷Discussion with tourism officials including Mohammad Walid Fikirini at Zanzibar Commission for Tourism in Zanzibar Island in February 2018.

inhabitants of the Southern District. Therefore, there is a need for both stakeholders to share experience in the use of the site.

Table 6.2: Archaeological and Heritage research conducted in Kuumbi Cave since 2004 to present

No.	Year	Researchers
1	April 2004	African Archaeology Network Project, University of Dar es Salaam
2	June, July and September 2005	African Archaeology Network Project, University of Dar es Salaam and Uppsala University, Sweden
3	July and August 2007	African Archaeology Network Project, University of Dar es Salaam
4	2011-2013	Sealink Project, Oxford University
5	2014-2015	University of Wisconsin Madison
6	2016	University of Dar es Salaam (M.A Student in Archaeology)
7	2017-2018	Brandenburg University of Technology, Cottbus-Senftenberg, Germany (PhD Heritage Studies)

Source: Antiquities Department in Zanzibar Island.

Regarding the days or day which the communities are going for rituals in the cave, the site managers mentioned Mondays and Thursdays as the specific days for ritual practice. On these two days, usually, the communities go to perform rituals and prayers. In most cases, they conducted their ceremonies where they cook and drink in the cave with their families from morning to afternoon. The site manager narrated that:

“Sometimes they come by bus. A lot of people with their children, foods, and drinks. They cook in the Cave, drink and celebrate. We usually go there into the Cave and eat with them when we get hungry (then he laughed a little bit)”.

Also, the site managers revealed how tourism and research activities have been interfering with the ritual and spiritual practices of the local communities. This Sacred Place has been one of the upcoming tourist destinations in the southern part of Zanzibar Island where a lot of tourists are coming to visit the cave. All week, there are flows of tourists in the cave which has led to interference and contradiction with the communities’ ritual activities. Moreover, the researcher was able to witness one of the interferences and conflict between the traditional healer and tourists on 16th March 2017 in the Cave during the ritual practice. The traditional healer said:

“Nye Wazungu mbona mnatusumbua bwana? Kwanza hata hamjavua viatu. Subirini tumalize kusali kwanza basi” (in Swahili), the literal translation means *“You white men why are you disturbing us? First of all, you have not even removed your shoes. Just wait for us until we finish our prayers¹⁸”*.

It was one of the incidents which the researcher was able to witness in the Cave. The site managers mentioned research activities, especially archaeological excavations, as the cause of interference to the communities’ religious practices. These responses and incidents suggest that there are strong interferences between communities’ ritual practices because of tourism and research activities at the site (see also Jimura 2016).

Regarding the issue of local communities involved in all activities affecting the site in one way or another, the site managers revealed how the village committee is formed and is responsible for receiving all information concerning the projects which were about to start on the site, especially archaeological excavations. Before any excavation is conducted in the cave, the site managers and researchers usually go to the elders of the communities and ask for permission to excavate the site. Also, during the construction of the Kuumbi site museum (see figure 6.4), the whole community was involved and provided labour during the construction of the museum. The local communities were involved as the custodians of the site where they had been trying to ensure the forest/trees and coral stones surrounding the Cave were not removed or cut by the people. However, the site managers revealed that the village committee has already died due to the local communities’ feeling that the government has taken the site and they have nothing more to say on the use and management of the site.

¹⁸During undertaking this study, I personally observed the traditional healer getting annoyed with tourists on 16th March 2017 when they entered into the Cave while they were praying for a sick boy. I also participated in the prayer too by following all their procedures including on how to enter into a sacred cave. These tourists were in hurry but also wanted to experience the traditional religious activities practiced by the local community.



**Figure 6.4: The view of Kuumbi Site Museum
(Source: Photo by the Author)**

Concerning the challenges facing the management of Kuumbi Limestone Cave, the site managers said apart from that interference of ritual practices due to tourism and research activities, the site lacks a management plan. These challenges lead to the problems in governing the site. Other challenges identified are tree cutting which for the site has been a big problem. People who mostly are not inhabitants of the area usually come in the evening and start to cut the trees around the site (see also Ormsby and Bhagwat 2010). It has led to the destruction of the authenticity of the site. Also, the site managers mentioned the problem of other people taking the ritual instruments and offerings from the Cave. The stealing has also led many of the people in the communities to think they were the ones who were taking their properties. Water contamination by throwing stones and sand by the visitors has led to water from the spring to be polluted, while other people come for hunting in the forest which is not allowed due to the strong cultural taboos from the communities. Poor road infrastructure, lack of a site fence, restaurants, security and curio shops are other challenges mentioned by site managers.

Furthermore, site managers revealed the lack of guidelines and plans to specify clearly on the use and management of Sacred Places which are still in use by the communities for rituals and cultural activities. They went further and said that though the Act has insisted on the protection of the Sacred Place that they should not be used for any purpose inconsistent with its character (Article 8 (2a), 11 (1 and 2a)), but still these places such as Kuumbi Limestone Caves have been excavated

which marks the need to ensure the execution of the law or to develop proper guidelines on how these places should be used.¹⁹ Also, it was further suggested that the site authority lacks proper methodology on how to involve the local communities and their traditional conservation methods and techniques in the management of the site (e.g., Osuagwu 2005; Mumma 2009; Osuagwu 2017). The situation led to a big problem in governing the site. Lastly, site managers revealed interesting things that the number of local people who are coming for rituals has dramatically reduced in numbers. The site managers thought interferences from tourism and research activities, development of science and technology, plus other challenges has led to the number of local people who are coming, to reduce. One of the site managers during the discussion argued:

“The local people were coming here in big numbers. Sometimes even by three buses. But now the number has reduced very much. Sometimes they can come just three up to seven local people for rituals on Monday and Thursday”.

Therefore, the site managers felt that this would lead to the disappearance of the culture of the people of Southern District due to the failure of them to practice their rituals as it had been part and parcel in their lives. In reality, these responses from the site managers suggest that all of the problems and challenges facing the Kuumbi Limestone Cave perhaps are due to the lack of a management plan of the site and low level of communities’ involvement in the site. There is a need to develop a management plan for the site which will help to govern the site and include the local communities as the custodians.

Also, the researcher wanted to know what to do to improve the management of this Sacred Place through the integration of ritual practices and traditional beliefs. The site managers felt that the local communities should get time and space for them to be able to conduct their ritual practices. It has been part and parcel of their life. The respondents went further and said the failure to give them a chance or to interfere them has demoralised them, and that is why now the numbers of those who are coming for rituals has reduced. It is a good idea to give the local communities time and space or a chance to conduct ritual practices. So there is a need to ensure that the culture of communities is safeguarded from disappearance by allowing them to practice rituals. Finally, the

¹⁹The Zanzibar Ancient Monuments Preservation Act No. 11 of 2002 clarifies that a place of worship or tomb maintained by an Authority under this Act shall not be used for any purpose inconsistent with its character (see Article 11 (1)).

site managers revealed that there is a big need to develop a management plan or a framework which would help to guard them in the management and use of the Kuumbi Sacred Place.²⁰

6.6.4 Researchers (Archaeologists)

Researchers (archaeologists) who conducted an archaeological excavation in Kuumbi limestone cave also provided their views and feelings concerning the use and management of Sacred Places along the Swahili Coast of Tanzania. They suggested that the site has the spiritual value to the local communities who are believing that their forefathers are buried inside the cave. The response has been supported by archaeological findings whereby the human bones were excavated inside the cave dating back to 30,000 years ago (Chami 2009). These findings further suggested that the local communities surrounding this cave have been using the place or site before the modern time and they should bear the pride of possessing and connecting with something with a long history.

Furthermore, many of these archaeological excavations in Kuumbi Limestone Cave were done without public (community) archaeology taken into account. During the interview, the archaeologists agreed on their failure to conduct public archaeology before and after finishing their work. However, they revealed to have their own way of passing information to the Sheha²¹ about what are they going to do in the Cave. The Sheha then passes the information to the village communities on the research activities conducted in their Sacred Place. In one of the interview the researcher said:

“I have been in a very good relationship with the Sheha. Also, we have been working together sometimes in my archaeological investigation in the Cave. He was in good connection with the local communities and tried to tell them the importance of the site archaeologically and what was found in the Cave.”

These responses imply that many of the archaeological investigations in Kuumbi Limestone Cave were conducted without public (community) archaeology taken into account. It was understood that public (community) archaeology involves engaging the local community in sharing

²⁰Personal communication with conservators Mr. Haji Faki and Mzee Bandari in February 2018 in Zanzibar Island.

²¹The Sheha is a government appointed local community leader who serves as an extended party agent at the local level.

archaeological findings obtained from their site which they have been using and promoting stewardship of cultural resources.

The researchers further revealed that during their archaeological excavations in Kuumbi Cave, they did not experience any conflicts or misunderstanding with the local communities. Before excavations, they asked for permission from the cave owners (elders) who gave them the conditions of slaughtering goats for the spirits so they could allow them to excavate. However, the researchers also agreed on the presence of local communities coming to pray during their archaeological investigation, but they have not had trouble with them. The results mean that, though the researchers have not experienced any conflicts or misunderstanding with the local community still it can be seen that the local people have experienced an unfriendly environment when they came for spiritual activities in the cave. Finally, the researchers had a chance to advise on how scientific research activities were conducted in the Sacred Limestone Caves. They proposed that all scientific research in the Kuumbi Cave should continue to be conducted, but there is a need to develop a plan or guideline which will ensure that the local communities and researchers are not interfering with each other in the Sacred Cave.²²

6.7 Summary

The main purpose of this chapter was to present results of the Kuumbi Limestone Cave in Zanzibar Island. The Kuumbi Limestone Cave was an important site for ritual practices, prayers, and worship to the local communities from Southern District in Zanzibar Island. Despite being important in religious activities, the site has other significance to the stakeholders, especially in the academic arena, through research and tourism activities. Though there were challenges in the use, management, and conservation of the site, this study observed that tourism and research activities have been interfering in the local communities' ritual and cultural activities. The challenges may have led to them feeling demoralized, and the number of people who come for rituals and cultural activities has reduced. These issues will be discussed further in chapter 8. The next chapter presents the findings of Amboni Limestone Caves from Tanga Region in Tanzania mainland.

²²One of the archaeologist interviewed was Prof. Felix Chami from University of Dar es Salaam in March 2018. He investigated Kuumbi Limestone Cave from 2004 to 2010.

7 MANAGEMENT AND THE USE OF AMBONI LIMESTONE CAVES, TANZANIA MAINLAND

7.1 Preamble

In this chapter, the researcher presents another experimental case study's findings of Amboni Limestone Caves, a Sacred Place found inside the Tanga Region in Tanzania Mainland. The researcher aimed at understanding the communities' knowledge, views and feelings over the use, conservation and management of Amboni Caves. Moreover, the researcher explored the experience of the Antiquities site managers at Amboni Limestone Caves on the use and management of the site and investigated the community involvement at the site. Interviews and focus group discussions were conducted at the site and Kiomoni village between 15th February and 25th April 2018 in the Tanga Region. The findings are presented in line with the specific objectives of the study. The first section contains the respondent's information regarding their gender, age group, educational background and area of residence. The second section contains information on the ritual activities and social structures of Amboni Caves, while section three presents information on a traditional knowledge system used in the conservation and management of Amboni Limestone Caves. Section four provides an overview of the local communities involved in conservation and management of the site, and the last section provides the response of Amboni site managers on the use and management of the site. The last part of this chapter is a summary.

7.2 Personal Information of the Respondents

This first part was concerned with gathering the personal information of research participants. It was very important to know the background of the research participants regarding their age, education, occupation, location, and sex. All of this information was important in determining a respondent's role as a community member and stakeholder at Kiomoni village and Amboni Limestone Caves respectively. The researcher aimed to ask people who were knowledgeable enough concerning the area among the communities at Kiomoni village to obtain reliable data on how the community felt about and perceived the site uses and ritual practices conducted at Amboni Limestone Caves. The findings presented here were based on interviews and focus group discussions conducted in the field at Kiomoni village and Amboni Cave site office.

20 respondents were interviewed individually and in a group discussion during this study at Kiomoni village and Amboni Cave site office. Out of the 20 respondents, 15 were men, and five were women. It meant that the majority of the respondents were male. However, the majority of women were not ready to be interviewed because of cultural and religious reasons. All of the research participants were residents of Kiomoni village where the Amboni Limestone Caves are found.

Regarding the age category, all respondents were aged between 35 and 75. In terms of respondent occupation, two respondents were traditional healers, two respondents were security guards at the site, two respondents were site managers, three were antiquities government officials and seven respondents were elders from the community, many of whom were farmers and village government officials. Regarding the levels of education: four respondents attended primary school education, six attended secondary school education, and ten respondents had college/university education (see Table 7.1).

Table 7.1: Personal Information of the Respondents at Amboni Cave (N=20)

Number of Participants (N)	
Men	15
Women	5
Occupation	
Traditional Healer	2
Security Guards	2
Community Elder	7
Site Managers (Amboni Caves)	2
Antiquities Government Officials	3
Tourism Government Officials	2
Researchers (Archaeologists)	2
Education Background	
Primary Education	4
Secondary Education	6
College/ University Education	10
Age Group	
35-75	20

7.3 Ritual Activities and Social Structures at Amboni Limestone Caves

In this objective, the researcher aimed at investigating the ritual activities and social structures found among the local communities at Kiomoni village, especially those who were practising rituals at Amboni Limestone Caves. It was in terms of the meaning of the name Amboni, on why the site was special to the communities, on the kinds of ritual activities performed in the cave, on whom and when ritual activities were performed and, lastly, on the problems the communities faced during the use of the caves especially in worship and conducting rituals. The purpose of this objective was to highlight an overview of the ritual practices conducted in the caves and identify problems facing the communities during the use of the caves in ritual practices by evaluating their views and feelings concerning the use of the site.

7.3.1 Meaning of Amboni Limestone Caves

In this section, the researcher intended to investigate the meaning or origin of the word *Amboni*. The research participants were asked about the meaning of *Amboni* with the aim of gaining their understanding of the caves which they use for worship and rituals. This question received the two different answers from all research participants during interviews and focus group discussions. Some participants said that the word *Amboni* comes after the name of *Amboni Company Limited*, which was operating sisal plantations in the Tanga Region. Other research participants suggested that the caves are called *Amboni* because of the name of a certain woman who was called “*Mama Mboni*.” The woman had a big farm in that area. Therefore, many people who were coming to that area were saying that they were going to the farm of “*Mama Mboni*,” and unfortunately letter “*A*” was added to the name and became *Amboni*.

7.3.2 Importance of the Caves to the Communities and Other Stakeholders

In this second aspect, the study was more concerned about how Amboni Limestone Caves has been special to the communities surrounding it. The majority of the research participants during interviews and focus group discussions provided different answers. Some participants said that the caves are significant for the tourism activities. With the presence of these caves, the participants felt that the caves have helped some of the villagers to do business, especially motorcycle business, by taking tourists to the caves and getting money which helps them to reduce poverty. Other research participants said that the caves are very important to them for worship and ritual practices. Many participants revealed that the caves are regarded as supernatural formations where

supernatural powers commonly known as “*Mizimu*” are believed to have been residing since the caves formation. There are chambers treated as sacred chambers for worshipping some spirits and conducting rituals. One of them is called “*Mzimu wa Mabuvu*” (the dwelling of a powerful deity). The response from stakeholders suggested that Amboni Limestone Caves is very important for the prayers, worships, ritual practices and tourism activities in the community at Kiomoni village and other stakeholders.



**Figure 7.1: Foreign tourists inside the Amboni Limestone Caves
(Source: Kenya 2016)**

7.3.3 Ritual Activities Performed in Amboni Caves

Another aspect in this objective intended to identify different kinds of rituals practised by the communities at Amboni Limestone Caves. During the investigation, the research participants mentioned different rituals practised in the caves. These include healing rituals, protection rituals, thanksgiving rituals, a ritual for the job, a ritual for business, fertility rituals and others. In healing rituals, the participants said that when people get sick, usually they go to the caves to pray to the “*dwelling of a powerful deity*” who would heal the person. In thanksgiving rituals, the research participants said the people usually go to the caves to say thanks to “*dwelling of a powerful deity*” when they get what they requested. In the fertility rituals, it was revealed that women who could

not bear a child were going to the caves to ask the “*dwelling of a powerful deity*” to give them children. Meanwhile, a ritual to find a job had been identified by the research participants during interviews and group discussions. Many of these participants pinpointed out that there is a presence of many people who go to the caves to conduct ritual activities to obtain jobs.

Additionally, the researcher questioned the research participants on how they were performing rituals. According to them, they suggested that the rituals usually are performed depending on the person’s needs or the instructions given by a traditional healer or custodian regarding the person’s problem. In most cases, odours, frankincense, eggs, black chicken, food stuffs and money are preferred for sacrifice. However, the research participants said many of these rituals are based on personal wishes and a person can go to pray to obtain something for which they wished. These rituals likewise involve giving some promises to the “*dwelling of a powerful deity*” when they get what they want or are looking for; then they go to repay their promises by giving gifts or sacrifices to the spirit. Finally, the research participants revealed that the communities usually go to the caves because it is like their church or mosque. It is a place where the communities go for worship and rituals and usually, they get what was asked for. Due to this, they come to this area frequently from different parts of the country. The response implies that the site has been a significant place for religious activities to the local communities.

7.3.4 Residents and Ritual Activities in Amboni Caves

In this section, the researcher aimed at recognising the days for worships, rituals and the people performing or conducting ritual activities in these caves. All research participants explained that there are no specific days within a week which they go for rituals. They are going at any time of any day, but because of the tourist activities conducted at the site (caves), many of them preferred to go there early in the morning or evening after the Antiquities office at the site has closed and no more tourists or students are visiting. The idea is to give them space and time to worship and conduct their rituals. However, during the group discussion, one community elder said:

“People used to go there for rituals in the morning or afternoon. But due to the presence of many tourists and students who are coming to these Caves, they made us change our timetable and going there in the evening. But still, some people are going in the afternoon but not many compared to evening”.



**Figure 7.2: Secondary school students at Amboni Limestone Caves
(Source: Photo by Author)**

The researcher went further and asked research participants who has the rights to go for rituals in the caves. The participants revealed that only the ethnic group's communities living in Kiomoni villages such as the Segeju, Sambaa, Bondei, and Digo are the ones who go for worship and rituals in the caves many times. These are the ethnic group communities which are regarded as the ones who discovered the caves and started to pray and worship inside. Moreover, the respondents pointed out that there is the presence of other people who are not from their ethnic group such as Sukuma, Luguru, Pare and Zaramo. These people come from neighbouring countries such as Kenya (Mombasa) and Uganda, and Arabs living in Dar es Salaam and Tanga go to the caves for worship and rituals. But usually, these people are escorted and guided by the locals for prayers and rituals. These responses suggest how vital the caves are not only to the Kiomoni village and other ethnic groups surrounding the sites but also outside the country, like in Kenya.

Finally, the researcher wanted to know why the communities at Kiomoni Village and other people from different parts of the country and other neighbouring countries were coming for rituals and worship in Amboni Caves and not to other areas. The research participants revealed that the communities and other people believed Amboni Caves have great wonders compared to other

places or other caves and whatever they pray or ask the spirits for inside the caves they get immediately.²³

7.3.5 Problems of Conducting Ritual Activities at Amboni Limestone Caves

Lastly, in this section of the first objective, the researcher intended to examine all the problems facing the communities during the prayers, worship and ritual activities at the caves. All the research participants said tourism activities and students coming for a geography lesson within the site have caused interference in their religious activities. Due to this, it has made them go to the caves early in the morning or evening for their prayers and worship to avoid the interference.

Another problem which many research participants revealed was the presence of their sacrifices and other ritual equipments disappearing (being taken) in the caves. From here, the researcher wanted to explore more on who the community thinks is taking their sacrifices and ritual equipment in the caves. Many of these research participants suspected site managers as the ones who were taking their sacrifices. One research participant during the discussion revealed that:

“We suspect them (Site Managers) taking our sacrifices and other ritual equipment. We are sure that the Spirit of power does not take our sacrifice. It demoralises us even not to go for the rituals in the Caves frequently”.

Another source of all these problems the communities identified is a lack of information on all the activities taking place in the caves such as research and other things. Some of the respondents mentioned one of the research projects conducted in 2012, where one of the cave chambers was excavated by people they did not know (see figure 7.3). They were not even involved. This made them feel demoralised and destroyed them psychologically, especially upon seeing their site be destroyed. During the interview, a traditional healer, in deep sadness, said that:

²³Discussion with community elders at Kiomoni village in April 2017.

“In 2012, I remember one of the people came to my house and told me that, people were mining in the Caves. They were digging inside the Caves and putting the soil on the sieve and sorting out to look for the mines. But after trying to ask my fellow colleagues, I was told that it is research. But we believed that they were supposed to inform us of the activity²⁴”.



Figure 7.3: Researchers from the University of Dar es Salaam excavating Amboni Caves (Source: Photo by Author)

In conclusion, the respondents revealed two interesting things which have caused problems in worship and ritual practices in their local communities. First is the existence of entrance fees, established by the government, for the local communities and other people wishing to pray and conduct rituals in the site, though they have used it for a long time before the coming of colonialists (Ingrams 1967). The approach made the local communities unhappy with it. Secondly, the existence of Christianity and Islam has led to a lot of people being converted to these two religions

²⁴From September to October 2012, I personally involved in the archaeological excavation in Amboni Limestone Caves. While doing archaeological excavation the local communities used to come in the Caves and ask us if we were looking for mines.

around their villages. These religions have led them to abandon the taboos and traditional beliefs which have existed for centuries. Others were fearing that if their friends see them going for rituals, usually they could be reported to their mosque or church.

The study noted the incidence of interference in ritual activities at Amboni Limestone Caves especially due to tourism activities and education activities from secondary school students who come to learn limestone features (see Figure 7.2) while other communities' members converted to Islam and Christianity. Also, this included the imposed entrance fees for the communities who are coming to conduct rituals and prayers on the site. Furthermore, the researcher tried to ask what needs to be taken into account to solve problems facing ritual practices on the site. The participants advised that at least they should be given one day free for them to go for worship and rituals. A day should not be subjected to any activities at the site so they can pray, worship and conduct their rituals free of interference. Finally, they insisted that the information be disseminated especially on any activities conducted in the caves. Information dissemination would help to make them aware of what is going in the caves. Hence, it would reduce interference in their ritual practices. For that reason, the results suggest that the community at Kiomoni village have been highly disturbed by tourism activities and education activities from students, while some of their sacrifices have been taken, and Christianity and Islam have caused a lot of local people to abandon their taboos and rituals.



Figure 7.4: Limestone Cave features Stalactite and Natural Pillar inside the Amboni Caves (Source: Mbarouk 2014)

7.4 Traditional Knowledge Systems, i.e., Customary Laws and Practices

The knowledge to understand the Sacred Places of the Amboni Limestone Caves motivates a further investigation into their traditional protection and management systems. With this second objective, the researcher intended to identify whether or not the community had any traditional knowledge systems used in conservation and management of Amboni Limestone Caves Sacred Place. This objective assessed regarding traditional practices and customary laws used to ensure proper protection and usage of the site and how traditional systems and ritual practices had transmitted from one generation to another. Therefore, the purpose of this objective was to identify what practises or laws the community used to ensure the sustainability of Amboni Limestone Caves as a Sacred Place for a future generation.

This section aimed at finding traditional practices used by the communities in protecting and conserving the Amboni Limestone Caves. The research participants revealed that the communities were prohibited from contaminating water from the stream near the Caves. Also, the communities were not allowed to crush Limestone in the area. Other respondents revealed the ban for cutting any tree or collecting firewood in Amboni Cave's forest. Lastly, hunting any animal around the

cave's forest was strictly forbidden. All of these rules, the community knew and understood them well.

Furthermore, the research participants revealed that strong cultural taboos had protected the area. Women who were in the menstruation period were not allowed to come even near the Caves for rituals or prayers. Taboos also were applied to men who had sexual intercourse within the past two days as they were strictly prohibited from going to rituals or to worship too. If anyone did not obey these laws, then bad things were going to happen to him/her. It was to avoid contaminating the Sacred Place which they regarded as a holy place. They believed that the “*Mzimu wa Mabavu*” (the dwelling of a powerful deity) might get angry and destroy the area. Last of all, the respondents revealed that during the night the people were not allowed to pass nearby the caves. It was because the Big White Snake was coming out from the Cave during the night to provide security to the site, so whoever passes at the caves during the night, the Big White Snake kills him/her.²⁵ However, the erosion of local conservation institutions (traditional knowledge systems) in Amboni Cave areas has become the threat to the caves, water sources, animals and forest around the area.



**Figure 7.5: A sacred chamber used for religious activities in Amboni Caves
(Source: Kalagho 2012; Hivisasa 2013)**

²⁵Interview with traditional healer Salim Mbwana Rua (Mzee Mazingara) in September 2017.

In the last question in this section, the researcher investigated how the traditional knowledge systems and rituals transmitted from one generation to another. Many participants revealed that traditional knowledge systems and rituals had been transmitted within the communities from one generation to another through family education. The kids were taught the taboos and norms of their families through different stories (oral tradition). Another method which was used was through involving the children in worships and ritual practices where they were able to learn all the procedures used in conducting rituals. In fact, these responses from the interviews and group discussions suggested that the communities at Kiomoni village had their laws, rules and protection measures to ensure the sustainable use of the Amboni Limestone Caves for the future generation.

7.5 Community Involvement in Amboni Limestone Caves²⁶

The results collected from the field in previous sections indicates that the communities have their traditional means to ensure the sustainability of the Sacred Place for the future generation. But since the Amboni Caves came under the supervision of Antiquities Division of Tanzania mainland in 1963, it has been the duty of Antiquities Division to ensure the protection of the site. Therefore, the researcher intended to explore how the communities have been involved in the conservation and management of the site. With this objective, the researcher intended to investigate community involvement in Amboni Caves regarding community relationship with the Antiquities Authority at the site. Also, the investigation involved the examination of whether the local communities are involved in decision making and in all activities which affect the site in one way or another. Finally, it examines whether the local community knew the National Antiquities legislation for the management and conservation of the cultural heritage and proposed who should manage the site.

7.5.1 Community Relations with Antiquities Authority at the Site

The researcher aimed to investigate the local communities' relationship with the Antiquities Authority at Amboni Cave. Research participants believe that the relationship is not good because the Antiquities Authority at the site have failed to involve the local communities and their elders in different activities conducted at the site including the site use and management. It is understood that the local communities have been associated with this site for a long time before the colonial

²⁶In this section, some of sentiments and informations which acquired during the primary data collection for this Ph.D. thesis were used in the paper which published by the *Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure Volume 7(2)*. The paper examined community involvement and sustainable tourism development in heritage management in Amboni Limestone Caves (Chami 2018).

time (Ingrams 1967; Mercer 2007:40). These caves are regarded as their churches or mosques. Hence, the failure of the Antiquities Authority to involve them in the management and use of this site has caused conflicts between the communities and the site managers. During one of the interviews a community elder said:

“The community and the Antiquities Authority have got bad relationships. We conflict with them. They do not involve us in anything which is taking place at the site. They forgot that the community had been associated with the site for a long time even during the colonial period. Then, if it is tourism, we haven’t seen any profit of that tourism to our community”.

However, the community elders revealed that they were in the process at that time between the Village Government and the Antiquities Authority at the site to solve their differences especially in community involvement and participation in the development and management of the site in general. These responses suggest that there is no good relationship between the local communities and the Antiquities Authority at Amboni Limestone Caves (see also Chami 2018:7). There is a need to solve these differences for the betterment of the site and the communities at large.

7.5.2 Community Decision Making/Activities on the Site

In this section, the researcher wanted to investigate whether or not the communities at Kiomoni village are involved in the decision making on any activities conducted on the site. The research participants explained that they were not sure if there were a lot of activities conducted on the site, but if there were any activities or projects, then they have not been involved in any decision making. They went further and revealed that even with the tourism activities conducted at the site, the Authority has failed to involve the local communities. The participants thought that because they were not involved in the site then it is difficult for them to have any decision making on the use, conservation, and management of the site which they have associated with for a long time.

Moreover, during one of the discussions, the research participants were able to identify that one of the archaeological excavations conducted in 2012 in one of the cave’s chambers was when the communities were not informed of the work. During the group discussion, one of the community elders said:

“In the past few years, different research and other activities have been conducted at the site. But the Antiquities Authority at the site failed to inform us. Like in 2012 we thought that people were mining in the Caves. If the not clear information received later that it was research, the community also wanted to go and start to dig all the Caves chambers to find mines²⁷”.

These replies suggest that the local communities have not been involved either in any activity conducted nor any decision making concerning the use and management of the site (Chami 2018:8). For that reason, there is a need for proper collaboration between Antiquities Authority at the site and local communities surrounding the Amboni Caves in the use and management of the site as they associated with the site for a long time.

Regarding the community awareness of National heritage legislation, the researcher also wanted to explore more if the communities had an understanding of National heritage legislation for management and conservation of cultural heritage of Tanzania. Some of the research participants revealed that they knew that the Amboni Caves are protected under the law, but they could not talk much about it because they had not read it. However, the researcher observed that the majority of research participants did not know anything about the legislation for management and conservation of cultural heritage in Tanzania. These interview results suggest that the community have little awareness of the primary law for the protection and preservation of heritage resources in Tanzania. This is perhaps due to the failure of the Antiquities Division to have awareness-raising programmes on cultural heritage resource management and use.

7.5.3 Management Responsibility of the Amboni Limestone Caves

Regarding this question of who should manage Amboni Caves, during some information-gathering some research participants said that the local communities should be responsible for the management of the Amboni Cave site. The response is because they have been associated with the site for a long time, even before the independence their forefathers were praying, worshiping and practising rituals in the caves. Hence, they have all the rights to have a say and manage the site. The majority of participants said that there should be a collaboration in the management of the Amboni Caves. Antiquities Authority and the communities should be responsible for working

²⁷These sentiments from this respondent were acquired during the author’s primary data collection for his Ph.D. thesis on the management and use of Sacred Heritage Places in Tanzania. This Ph.D. thesis is anticipated to be published by Brandenburg University of Technology (Germany) in February 2019.

together to ensure the sustainable use and management of the site. The communities should collaborate with the site managers on the planning and management of the site and should be involved in all the activities that affect the site in one way or another. These findings from interview and focus group discussions suggest that the collaborative approach is needed in managing Amboni Limestone Caves. The suggestion is due to the conflicts of misunderstanding between the communities and the Authority. Collaboration management should include the Antiquities Authority and the community through the village government at Kiomoni village which they felt associated with the caves for ritual practices and worship. Collaboration between the Antiquities Authority at the site and communities who practice rituals would help to reduce the interference of communities' worship and ritual practices from tourism, education and research activities and reduce all the management and conservation problems facing the site.



**Figure 7.6: Discussion with community elders and traditional healer in Kiomoni Village
(Source: Photo by the Author)**

7.6 Antiquities, Tourism Officials, Site Managers and Researchers

7.6.1 Antiquities Officials

Antiquities government officials also had their say on the Amboni Caves as a Sacred Place in Tanzania. It revealed that the Antiquities Division recognise the presence of Sacred Place found in the preserved site under the law which is used by the local communities for ritual and worship practises. However, it further revealed that the Division is not much concerned with the ritual or worship activities of the local community, but they are allowed to conduct their rituals (spiritual activities) and educate them the importance of conserving and managing the site for the communities and nation at large.²⁸ On how to ensure best practise of the Sacred Heritage Place, especially Amboni Caves, they suggested that much of the work on the use and management of the site depends on the site managers. The site manager should ensure that the sites are used in a way that everyone, such as tourists and local communities, can share the opportunities equally without any conflict or interferences as the site is still in use by the communities for religious practices. These findings imply that the local community's spiritual beliefs and activities on the site is not something important in the management and use of Amboni Caves. The findings also mean that all the on-site power of use and management has been granted to the site manager to decide on how the site is used without any proper framework or plan which is not respectable for the site development.

In the extent Antiquities legislation to recognise Sacred Heritage Places and ensure best practices in research activities, Antiquities Officials revealed that the Act has done enough to protect the immovable cultural heritage resources of the country though it has done little to explain clearly how the Sacred Places should be used by different stakeholders. However, it further explains that Cultural Heritage Policy of 2008 recognised the religious sites though it has no explanation on how these places should be used by different stakeholders who have different interests with these places. Finally, the respondents proposed that there is a need for Antiquities legislation to be amended to explain clearly how the research and spiritual activities should be carried out at the

²⁸Personal communication with Christowaja Ntandu in June 2017. Ntandu is a principal conservator at the Antiquities Division in Tanzania.

Sacred Places to avoid interferences and conflict which could result in the negative effects of the site.²⁹

7.6.2 Tourism Officials

Tourism officers from the Tourism Division also had a chance to provide their views, feelings, and concerns on the use and management of Sacred Places in Tanzania Mainland, especially in Limestone Caves. During the interview, they revealed that Sacred Places in Limestone Caves are recognised as the place for tourist attractions. It further revealed that the management of the site is not under their custody rather than the Antiquities Division.

Additionally, the Tourism Division and Antiquities Division for some time have been working together to ensure better management and development of the site and community without concentrating much on the spiritual value of the site. On how the Tourism Division ensures best tourism practices in Sacred Places, the respondents said that it had been the duties of Antiquities Division and site managers to ensure best practice of tourism activities without destroying the culture and beliefs of the local communities around the site. This response implies that the aspect of the spiritual value of the site has not been taken into account by Tourism Division which concentrates much on capitalising the Sacred Places as the source of attraction. The problem also includes the failure to provide a good plan to ensure the best tourism practices in Sacred Places.

On the tourism legislation, the respondents revealed that the Tourism Act and Policy has done enough to provide a legal framework to ensure sustainable tourism development in the country, though tourism activities in Sacred Places are yet to be clarified and explained by the Authorities. However, the respondents believed that Antiquities legislation should do much better to ensure the best practice of tourism activities in the Sacred Places which they manage.³⁰ Finally, the respondents had the chance to propose what should be done to ensure tourism activities are conducted in a way which can not interfere with community religious activities. They advise on the need to ensure collaboration approach based on the stakeholders and policymakers to

²⁹Interview with Rachel Lucas and Evelyn Swai in April 2018. Lucas and Swai are government officials working conservators at the Antiquities Division in Tanzania.

³⁰Some of Tourism officers also were interviewed including Reuben Rwiza a senior tourism officer at Tourism Division in Tanzania in April 2018.

understand the potentialities of the Sacred Places to the local community trying to provide a mechanism for equal shared opportunities between all people.

7.6.3 Site Managers

Also, in this section, the researcher interviewed site managers who were working at Amboni Caves. The aim was to understand site managers' experience at Amboni Cave. It also included all issues related to the challenges faced in the management of Amboni Caves as a Sacred Place. In the end, site managers gave their views, feelings, and concerns regarding the protection and the use of Amboni Caves as a Sacred Place in Tanga Region. On how the site was important to the communities, the site managers revealed that Amboni Caves were a vital place for the communities who were living around Kiomoni villagers and other people from different places. They came here for worship, prayers and to perform their rituals in the special area which has been used since the ancient time. One site manager said that:

“This was a very important place for the communities because they believed that there is a spirit of power who could help to solve their problems. So usually they come every day here for prayers and worships. Others come, and surprisingly they spread their offerings in this all area”.

Also, site managers revealed the importance of the site regarding tourism activities. Through tourism activities at the site, it has changed the lives of the local people by reducing poverty whereby the people have been able to buy a motorcycle for carrying tourists up to the caves. Lastly, the site managers mentioned the importance of the site to the secondary school students who were coming here with their teachers to learn the geological features of the Limestone Caves in Geography lessons. These responses from the site managers suggest that the site is very important not only for the local communities but also for the other stakeholders and students who were not inhabitants of Kiomoni village. Regarding the days in which the communities are coming for rituals in the caves, site managers said that there were no specific days for them to go for the rituals or worship. They usually come at any time of a day as long as they do not break the rules of the site, and they pay for entrance fees. Site managers went further and revealed that tourism activities have been a problem for the communities or any person who wants to worship or conduct rituals. During the interview, the site manager said:

“We have experienced problems or interference between the tourism activities and the people who were coming for prayers or rituals. If the community comes and sees tourist are being taken to the Caves or students usually they wait for some minutes until they finish. It is the same to us if we find them praying or doing rituals; also we were waiting for them until they finish. However, in many cases, it leads to time-wasting especially for the tourists who might have another timetable”.

Table 7.2: Number of Tourists Visited Amboni Limestone Caves from 2010-2014

No.	Year	Tourists, i.e., Local and Foreign Tourists
1.	2010	12,808
2.	2011	11,717
3.	2012	13,488
4.	2013	27,073
5.	2014	16,040
Total		81,546

Source: Antiquities Division, Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, Tanzania

These responses from site managers suggest that there are interferences or problems arising from tourism activities to the communities who want to conduct ritual practices because of tourists and secondary school students at the site (e.g., Jimura 2016). These problems can be due to the lack of a proper framework or guidelines that lead the site managers on how to deal with these complications.

Regarding the issue of community involvement in all activities affecting the site in one way or another, they revealed the Amboni Limestone Caves site is not like another cultural heritage site which has had a lot of activities going on around the area. Usually, there are not any important projects or activities performed or conducted in the area which might need the communities to be informed. Concerning the challenges facing the management of Amboni Limestone Caves, site managers revealed a lack of a management plan and boundaries conflict with the local communities. Some of the local communities are cultivating beyond their boundaries and enter into the site boundaries. The boundaries problems has caused a lot of conflicts between them and the communities.

Moreover, they identified the Limestone crushing activities which were conducted around and in other caves near the site have caused the tourists to fear and think of terrorism due to the use of fireworks in crushing the Limestone. It also included invasion of the site by Limestone crushers

beyond their boundaries. The site managers mentioned floods as a big challenge facing the site which have destroyed the site properties as on 8-9th May 2017. In fact, some of these challenges can be due to the lack of clear site buffer zones within the site. Additionally, the heritage legislation (Antiquities Act of 1964 amended in 1979) failed to specify clearly on the use and management of Sacred Places which are still in use by the communities. Also, it includes the failure to recognise how community involvement, and customary laws have been observed in the Act (e.g., Osuagwu 2005; Mumma 2009; Osuagwu 2017). These failures led to a big problem in governing the site.

Lastly, the site managers thought the number of people who were coming for worships and rituals have reduced. It revealed that the development of science and technology has caused many people not to believe in traditional beliefs anymore and abandon their taboos (Mapesa 2016).

Additionally, the researcher tried to find what to do to improve the management of the Amboni Caves through the integration of ritual practice. Site managers felt that the local communities should get time and space for them to be able to conduct their ritual practice as they used to do. They explained that the communities have all the rights to come to worship and pray as it has been part and parcel of their life. The failure to give them a chance or to interfere them might lead to the conflicts between them and the local communities. They concluded by suggesting that it is difficult to identify all the communities that are coming for ritual activities at the site. Organising best ways for site use and the failure to give local communities space and time to practice rituals and worship might lead to the disappearance of their culture which has existed for many years. Hence, site managers finished by proposing the need for information dissemination to communities and other people on the site use, especially in ritual practices if they decide to find a free time for people to worship and pray.³¹ However, whatever reasons one should provide, still there is a significant need for the site to have a management plan which will help to control the site activities and help to reduce all complexity and challenges which site managers in Amboni Caves are facing in their daily activities.

7.6.4 Researchers (Archaeologists)

Researchers (archaeologists) who conducted an archaeological excavation in Amboni Limestone Caves also provided their views and feelings concerning the use and management of Sacred Places

³¹Interview with site manager (conservator) Jumanne Maburi at Amboni Limestone Caves in March 2017 and September 2017 respectively.

along the Swahili Coast of Tanzania. The respondents suggested that the site has the spiritual value to the local community who have been using the site for a long time. The response has been supported by archaeology whereby it has suggested that the coastal people were using the cave after the 15th century more spiritually regarding shrines for making offerings, veneration of ancestors, and revering of spirits (*Mizimu/Mashetani*). The results further suggest that the “Amboni Main Cave” was used for religious functions including offerings, and legends point to the beginning of such spiritual activities back in the 16th century A.D. (Peter 2013: 90). This finding suggests that the communities surrounding the Amboni Caves have been using the place before the modern time and their spiritual activities need to be respected as part and parcel of their culture.

Furthermore, many of these archaeological excavations in Kuumbi Limestone Cave were done without public archaeology³² taken into account. During the interview, the archaeologists agreed on their failure to conduct public archaeology before and after finishing their work. However, they revealed that some of the local people passed by or came to the site during the excavations, especially those who were curious to know what was going on in the caves. Also, it included the secondary and primary school students who come for study tours in the caves. The respondents, however, revealed that it could make more sense if they were able to provide public archaeology to the local communities around the Sacred Places, but it was difficult due to the lack of funding. These responses probably suggest that lack of funding has been a hindrance factor for many researchers to conduct public archaeology in Tanzania.

The researchers further revealed that during their archaeological excavations in Amboni Caves, they did not experience any conflicts or misunderstandings with the local communities. However, during their archaeological investigation in the caves, many local communities were coming for spiritual activities.³³ Other local people believed that the archaeologists were doing mining activities in the caves which resulted in confrontations with some local people who came to the site. This response probably implies that though the archaeologists did not experience any conflicts during their investigations, still the local community have been facing interference during their

³²Public Archaeology is about engaging the local communities at some level in what the archaeologists are going to do in their Sacred Place and share sometimes information and data which they found in the place back again to the community.

³³Interview with Mandela Peter archaeologist works at University of Dodoma in March 2018. He researched and excavated Amboni Limestone Caves from 2011-2012.

spiritual activities on the site. Finally, the respondents suggested that the research activities should continue to be conducted at the Sacred Place, but the government and Antiquities Division should develop a plan which will provide a chance for all stakeholders to have equal shared opportunities with the site.

7.7 Summary

The main purpose of this chapter was to present the results of Amboni Limestone Caves in Tanga Region, Tanzania. The Amboni Limestone Caves have been an important site for ritual practices, prayers, and worship to the Kiomoni village and other people outside the village. Despite being important in rituals, prayers, and worship, the place has other importance to the tourists and the students who, many of them, were coming to the site. Although there were challenges for the management and conservation of the site, this study observed that there was a conflict between the local communities and Antiquities Authority due to lack of involvement and decision making in the use and management of the site. The failure of involvement has led to a misunderstanding between the local communities and the Antiquities Authority at the site. The researcher will further discuss these issues related to the evidence from the findings of Amboni and Kuumbi Caves (see chapter 8) with the relevant literature in the next chapter.

8 DISCUSSION: EXPLAINING THE RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

8.1 Preamble

This chapter discusses the analysed data that directly answers the research questions outlined in chapter 1 of this study. The discussion helps to gain more understanding of the findings presented in chapter 6 and 7. The concluding argument is viewed in context and supported by secondary data obtained from the theoretical framework and literature review. The information from local communities (i.e., traditional healers, custodians, elders of the communities), site managers, researchers, antiquities and tourism officials were evaluated and combined to highlight the important findings on the use, conservation and management of Amboni and Kuumbi Limestone Caves areas along the Swahili Coast of the Indian Ocean in Tanzania.

This chapter is divided into four sections: (i) Ritual activities and social structures in Amboni and Kuumbi Limestone Cave areas (ii) Traditional knowledge systems, i.e., customary laws and traditional practices (iii) Community involvement in conservation and management of the sites and (iv) Effectiveness of Tanzania's legislation to recognise Sacred Places. As it was stated earlier, each of these objectives discussed the data presented in the previous chapters (2, 6 and 7) along with the large body of literature review and theoretical framework. The last section is a summary of this chapter.

8.2 Ritual Activities and Social Structures in Amboni and Kuumbi Caves

On the aspect of ritual activities and social structures of Amboni and Kuumbi Limestone Caves, the findings from the previous two chapters (6 and 7) reveal that the majority of the research participants know the meaning and origin of these Caves (Amboni and Kuumbi). It was to capture their understanding of the caves which are used for worship and ritual practices. The results included the importance of these Caves for worship, prayers and ritual activities to the different ethnic groups such as Sambia, Digo, Bondei, Segeju in Amboni Caves (see chapter 6) as well as local people from Southern District in Kuumbi Limestone Cave (see chapter 7). Moreover, other findings in these aspects reveal different types of ritual activities performed in these two Limestone Caves. Some of these include rituals such as healing rituals, protection rituals, thanksgiving rituals, rituals for work, rituals for business and fertility rituals. These whole results are consistent with previous studies (e.g. Gebremichael 2016; Cisse 2005; Ceesay and Ceesay 2005) which also found

out that there were ritual practices performed by different ethnic groups such as the Konso, Bojang, and Bulu in Ethiopia, Gambia, and Mali respectively.

Additionally, the findings in chapter 6 (Kuumbi Cave) discovered the presence of specific days for ritual activities which the communities of Southern District used for the worship, prayers, and rituals. These findings also support some previous studies (e.g., Kourouma 2005), which found out comparable results in Niagassola, Guinea, where there were specific days for the Sosso-Bala to be displayed to the public for rituals and worship. However, this has been different in Amboni Limestone Caves whereby the communities have no specific days to go to the caves for rituals, prayers, and worship (see chapter 7). According to the oral evidence, this is perhaps due to the effects of colonialism whereby Osale Otango³⁴, the person who gave colonialists a hard time, used to hide in Amboni Caves (Abedi 2016). Due to this, it led the colonialists to go to the Caves and try to search for the person. These incidents might have caused the fear of the local communities to be involved in the events of colonialists, hence they changed their days for ritual practises and worship.

Lastly, the findings from the two previous chapters reveal that local communities have been facing different problems when going for the rituals, worship, and prayers in the caves. These problems include entrance fees to the local communities who come for rituals, rituals equipment and sacrifices being stolen, a decrease in the number of local people practising traditional beliefs, tourism, education and research activities. It also includes some local communities abandoning their traditional beliefs and taboos, and converting to Christianity and Islam. These findings support some previous studies (e.g., Mapesa 2016; Jimura 2016; Ormsby and Bhagwat 2010; Jopela 2016; Eneji *et al.* 2012; Makhuvaza and Makhuvaza 2012), which have found out comparable results from the management and conservation of heritage resources in Uganda and Nigeria. For example, Mapesa (2016) revealed that ritual practices and other taboos have died due to newly imposed government regulations on the use and management of the Mountain Forest which has accelerated the local community to abandon their taboos and ritual practices.

³⁴Osale Otango was a Kenyan who moved to Tanzania and became a freedom fighter fighting for the rights of Africans in Tanzania during the colonial era. During the 1950's, He made his priority to kill and steal from "Wazungu" (white people) especially the German settlers of the Tanga region. Otango used the Amboni Caves as his hideout between his night excursions to haunt the white settlers and authorities. Stories of his supernatural powers quickly grew among the people. However, he was shot and died in 1958 but many people still believe he could not be killed and is still lurking somewhere in Amboni Caves (Jumbe 2015).

Based on these findings, it is clear that the local communities in Kiomini, Makunduchi, Jambiani and Bwejuu villages have used Amboni and Kuumbi Sacred Limestone Caves along the Swahili Coast of the Indian Ocean in Tanzania for rituals and cultural practices before the coming of the colonialist. These caves have been associated with local communities whereby they have regarded these caves as their churches, mosques or temples. It should be understood that ritual practices, worship and prayers have been part and parcel of their life and culture in general (e.g., Mhaka 2014). It can be argued that worship and rituals (spiritual activities) have been powerful to the local communities because it has brought social interaction between themselves and other individuals to feel solidarity with one another and imagine themselves to be members of a common undertaking. This argument has been supported in *Ritual Theory* by Collins (2004) who revealed that ritual activities usually bring social connection and unity among the members of the communities.

Moreover, the high presence of secondary school students who come for geography lessons to learn Limestone features, a high number of tourists, and research projects within Kuumbi and Amboni Limestone Caves have all led to significant problems to the local communities to practise their religious and cultural activities. These activities have interfered and intervened with the local communities' rituals and cultural practices and demoralised the local communities when going to the caves for prayers. Probably, this is because the communities cannot get a friendly environment and space for them to meditate and to speak with their gods, hence, it discourages them from going for the prayers, worship and from conducting other cultural activities. It can also be argued that the existence of tourism, secondary school students and research activities within the sites have influenced the collapse of social structure and community solidarity with the local communities. The collapse of social structure has accelerated the disappearance of the intangible culture of the local communities which they have tried to safeguard for many years through their traditional practises. This debate has been supported by Collins (2004) in *Ritual Theory* who went further by arguing that the decay of rituals provokes a sense of stale ceremonialism. However, in this part, it can be concluded by claiming that, the decrease in numbers of the local communities going to the Amboni and Kuumbi Caves for rituals and prayers, while others opt to convert themselves to Christianity and Islam perhaps is due to the lack of space and friendly environment for them to pray and conduct other cultural activities. The local communities lack a friendly environment to meditate and conduct their ritual activities due to the interferences and intervention from secondary

school students, tourism, and research activities. Also, the development of science and technology has a significant impact on the social life of the local communities in these areas, hence, there is abandonment of their traditional beliefs and taboos. Science and technology have changed the local communities' perspectives in these areas towards their beliefs and practices and now they are viewed as a primitive way of life.

All the stakeholders (tourists, researchers) who are not affiliated with the sites should understand that the main purpose of rituals to these communities is to create fixed and meaningful transformations in their life cycle (birth, puberty, marriages, and death), as well as ecological and temporal cycles such as planting, harvest and seasonal changes (e.g., Ray 1976; Kgatla 2014). It means that ritual, as one of five domains of Intangible Cultural Heritage, needs to be safeguarded from any destruction or interference in these Sacred Places for the future generations (e.g., UNESCO 2003). It only can be done by giving space and a friendly environment to the local communities to practise their traditional beliefs and culture away from interference, and ensure best possible practises in shared experience and opportunities in the use of places to other stakeholders who have an interest in the sites. Perhaps it should be solved by developing a proper framework or guidelines which will help to highlight how tourism, research, and management activities should be carried out in these Sacred Places which still are in use by the local communities. Furthermore, it can be argued that the existence of ritual activities within the sites will benefit Tanzania as in Asian countries such as Nepal and Japan, which have been investing in tourism related to gods, goddesses and traditional religion at large (Shrestha 2017:15; Bideci and Manhas 2016). The idea also can be done in Tanzania by copying from the Asian countries like China, Nepal and Japan. However, whatever the reasons one could provide, it suffices to note that local communities' ritual activities and social structures in Amboni and Kuumbi Limestone Caves have been affected and interfered by research, tourism and secondary students who come for the geography lesson. These activities have led to the decrease in the number of the local communities going for rituals in the sites. Hence, it can be further argued that a framework for the best practice in Sacred Places in Limestone Caves should be developed to avoid the interferences and problems facing the site managers and Antiquities Authorities in Tanzania. The framework will help to ensure the complexities in these Sacred Places on how conservation, management, tourism and research activities of the sites should be carried out and solved. The framework also will help the stakeholders, especially the local communities, to have access to spaces crucial for their religious

life which will ensure that there are no conflicts that could result in negative effects for the heritage sites.

8.3 Traditional Knowledge Systems

On the aspect of traditional knowledge systems in Amboni and Kuumbi Limestone Caves, the results in the previous two chapters show that there is the existence of traditional methods and techniques used by the Kiomoni and Southern District communities to ensure the sustainability of the places for the future generations. Also, these are related to the rules and traditional laws used to ensure proper conservation of the Sacred Places. The respondents explained the different systems such as taboos, coral crushing and prohibition of hunting activities, which were used by the local communities, to ensure proper protection of the caves and its surroundings. Based on the findings, the Kiomoni and Southern District communities in Zanzibar have traditional knowledge systems to ensure the proper management and protection of the Sacred Places. These results perfectly accord with previous studies (Vedavathy 2009; Sarfo-Mensah and Oduro 2007; Sidi and Joffroy 2005; Ntiamoa-Baidu 1991; Ntiamoa-Baidu 1995; Johan and Carl, 1997) which found similar results in the conservation and management of the natural heritage resources and traditional architecture in India, Ghana, and Mali. For example, Kankapeyeng (2005) revealed how the Talensi community in Ghana use their traditional conservation practices, such as norms and penalties, in the preservation of Tongo-Tenzuk cultural landscape.

Furthermore, on the aspect of how traditional conservation systems have been transmitted from one generation to another, the findings from Chapter 6 and 7 reveal that the local communities have been transmitting their traditional knowledge systems and ritual practices from one generation to another. It is through traditional oral education within the families, such as oral tradition and involvement in worship, that ritual activities and communities work. These results are consistent with other researchers such as (Kourouma 2005 and Kankapeyeng 2005) who also found similar results in the presence of traditional teaching (archives) in the empire of Soundjata Keita in Guinea and Ghana. However, it is considered that the rituals and cultural environment of the Amboni and Kuumbi Limestone Caves are currently at risk of deterioration or even disappearance due to the development of science and technology which has led to the intensification in the formal education and abandonment of traditional education and belief systems. The situation has led the local communities to change their perspective towards their

beliefs and practises as they perceived them as primitive practices which mark the need to safeguard these intangible cultural practices of the local communities for the disappearance. It should be well known that Sacred Places are an important place for expressing and transmitting culture from one generation to another, and therefore there is a need to recognise and protect the local communities' rituals and cultural activities. As supported by other scholars elsewhere (e.g., Bhagwat and Rutte 2006; Samakov and Berkes 2017), the formal recognition and support of Sacred Places are significant in legislation and policy issues of the country. Such appreciation and understanding can be carried out to enhance best practices and respect the rights of the traditional spiritual activities of the local communities.

These results further suggest that for a long time Amboni and Kuumbi Limestone Caves have been protected and managed by the local communities through traditional knowledge systems. These systems are operated on the sites even before the coming of colonialists, and they were able to continue operating with varying degrees of effectiveness (Mahachi and Kamuhangire 2008). However, the traditional systems in Amboni and Kuumbi Limestone Caves are currently being deteriorated and even starting to disappear from the local communities. The disappearance perhaps is because the Government, and Antiquities Authorities have failed to recognise and embrace traditional knowledge systems in the management of heritage sites in Tanzania. Though traditional knowledge systems have been recognised by international heritage conventions and guidelines (e.g., UNESCO), Tanzania is still far away from taking into account the importance of traditional knowledge systems in heritage legislation and management plans.

Additionally, local people abandon their traditional beliefs and faith for another religion like Christianity or Islam which has led to a decline in traditional knowledge systems in these areas. This situation can be supported by the presence of a number of churches and mosques which are observed and found around the local communities' environment. This debate also was supported by Jopela (2016) and Makhuvaza and Makhuvaza (2012) who had the same arguments regarding the disappearance of traditional practises and conservation systems in many of the archaeological sites in Africa. They argued that in recent years, recognition of traditional knowledge systems has been difficult due to some of the local communities beginning to embrace Christian and Islamic values, thus abandoning their traditional practices and beliefs. Therefore, this situation in Kuumbi and Amboni Limestone Caves will result in a gradual loss of the know-how and techniques used

to conserve the Sacred Places and of the transmission of this knowledge to successive generations of the Kiomoni village and Southern District in Zanzibar Island.

The United Republic of Tanzania held these two sites in high interest and requested Antiquities Divisions to enforce the country's cultural heritage legislation, to protect, preserve and develop the country's historical sites and to approve matters related to the restoration, rehabilitation, documentation, and revitalisation of ancient monuments, areas, and sites. However, the Divisions seem to have failed to recognise the existence of traditional knowledge systems and that has been a major influential factor to sites' deterioration, conflict, and mismanagement with the evidence coming from Amboni Limestone Caves. It is well known that traditional knowledge systems cannot be ignored, especially in the Sacred Places. Many of these traditional laws and practises are consistent with modern-day adaptive management as an integrated method for heritage resource management. Since the previous times, it was clear that traditional knowledge systems have proved to be useful in heritage resource management even in the modern times and do offer opportunities for long-term sustainability and challenge reduction within the sites (see also Berkes *et al.* 2000).

These traditional knowledge systems may offer sustainability regarding use, conservation, and management of the Amboni and Kuumbi sites, which have cultural and natural values are significant to local communities and other stakeholders such as tourists and researchers. Usually, traditional knowledge systems represent methods or techniques of natural and cultural heritage management and use of the sites in a way that it cannot be destructed. For instance, traditional knowledge systems, through practises and laws, would guide the preservation values of the sites associated with rituals or Sacred Places that are continuously used by local communities for worship, prayers and other stakeholders for tourism, education purposes and research activities (e.g., Jopela 2016). It can be argued that it is unquestionable that the existence of many cultural heritage sites including Sacred Places in today's world, which have been one of the areas for tourism attractions and research projects, was due to these traditional laws and practises used by the local communities to ensure proper use, protection, and management of them. So the failure of the Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar Island Governments to incorporate traditional knowledge system in the heritage legislation possibly has brought the challenges and problems facing the management of Amboni and Kuumbi Limestone Caves in the present. However, the relationship

between the two systems is inherently antagonistic due to competition for legitimacy and influence. But it is believed that it is possible for them to work together, especially when there is provision for ritual activities in the constitution of the country and the management plan of the sites. This idea will ensure not only the betterment of the Sacred Places but also the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage of the local communities (Jopela and Fredriksen 2015; Jopela 2016).

As it has been explained by many previous scholars such as Mumma (2002) and Jopela (2016), the thesis also does not go far away from their basic arguments that the concept of *legal pluralism* in heritage legislation would be best suited for a more integrated and meaningful management system and use. The *legal pluralism* concept emphasises on how the knowledge that the legal protection of heritage resources is best provided by a protective system which incorporates the various normative systems, i.e., the state law regime and the customary/traditional law regime (*ibid.*). In this kind of legal framework, the Antiquities Divisions will act more as a supervisor rather than as the owner of the Sacred Places. It will also provide site managers, where necessary, for how the Sacred Places should be managed and used by the local communities and other stakeholders for tourism and research activities (e.g., Ngoro and Kiriyama 2008:62; Jopela 2016:22). The approach would leave the day-to-day management and use of the Sacred Places to the local communities, using their traditional knowledge management systems. From the local communities' point of view, it should be noted that the main aim of traditional knowledge systems is to ensure the proper and best practices (i.e., use and management) of the Sacred Places with all kinds of activities, while safeguarding the intangible culture of the site and its associated values.

Lastly, Conway (2009:210) revealed that requesting *legal pluralism* to the local communities over the management, use, and conservation of heritage resources is a fundamental human right, and is part and parcel of the respect for the intangible assets and Sacred Places which are still in use for religious activities. Hence, whatever the reasons one could provide, it is sufficient enough to understand that traditional knowledge systems in the Limestone Cave areas along the Swahili Coast of Tanzania have been very important. It is because they have ensured the proper use, management, and conservation of the sites, which in recent years has become one of the areas for tourism and research activities. Therefore, it can be argued that the government should try to look on the other side of the use and management of the Sacred Places by incorporating traditional knowledge systems and practises in the cultural heritage legislation or management plan, while

ensuring political willingness to move from a state-centred management system of heritage sites to a more integrated one in Tanzania.

8.4 Community Involvement in Conservation and Management of Amboni and Kuumbi Caves

Apart from understanding the importance of integrating traditional knowledge systems in the national heritage legislation for the management and conservation of immovable cultural heritage, another objective of the thesis was to determine the community involvement in conservation and management of Sacred Places in Tanzania (see chapter 1). Literature across diverse disciplines demonstrates that local community involvement creates a sense of ownership among the local community, hence sustainability of the heritage site is found within their communities (e.g., Chirikure and Pwiti 2008; Taruvunga 2007; Filipe 2009). However, there is no clear information on the community involvement in Amboni and Kuumbi Limestone Caves along the Swahili Coast of Tanzania.

This part is an interesting phenomenon because it can provide valuable information on how the local community feels, views and is concerned about the use and management of Sacred Places that are still used in Tanzania. This information is vital as it is important for the Tourism and Antiquities Divisions, Government Authorities, and site managers to recognise the affection values and association of the sites for the local communities. Understanding these affections and associations can encourage local communities' participation and involvement in heritage management and tourism development.

Therefore, based on the findings, Chapter 6 and 7 showed that the local communities at the Kuumbi Limestone Cave have a normal relationship with the Antiquities Authority at the site. The scenario has been different for the local communities at Amboni Limestone Caves which revealed a poor and bad relationship with the Antiquities Authority at the site. Indeed, the main factor influencing the poor relationship between the Authorities and the communities at the Amboni Caves was due to the failure of the local communities to be involved in all the activities taking place on the site which they have associated with for a long time (see also Chami 2018:9). This problem has led to the misunderstanding and boundary conflicts between the Antiquities Authority and the local communities surrounding Amboni Limestone Caves. These findings concur some previous study (e.g., Chirikure and Pwiti 2008) which found comparable results in Domboshava, Zimbabwe

where it was revealed that failure of community involvement led to the conflicts between the community and site authority.

The findings further suggest that the communities at Southern District in Zanzibar Island where the Kuumbi Limestone Cave is found were involved in the early stages but not in the decision-making process, especially when the caves were about to be excavated for research projects. However, their decisions were not taken into consideration. These results also are symmetrical with (Din 1993; Saad 1998) in Langkawi Island, Malaysia who discovered the same results. The results have been a different case in Amboni Limestone Caves, whereby the Kiomoni village communities revealed the failure of them being involved in any decision making on their site. These similar results also have been found elsewhere by Lim *et al.* (2008), Rasoolimanesh and Jaafar (2016) in different World Heritage Sites. Finally, the findings of Kuumbi Cave reveal that the communities wanted to collaborate with Authority in the use, management, and conservation of the site (Li and Hunter 2014), while in Amboni Limestone Caves the community insisted on the village government to have the power in the management and conservation of the site. However, based on these findings, it can be argued that the *collaborative approach* should be used by the stakeholders with participatory decision making, and responsibilities and benefits sharing, by involving hosting communities in all activities affecting the sites.

Concerning the administrative framework experienced in the development of the Amboni and Kuumbi Limestone Caves, it is clear that the amount of power Antiquities Divisions have has influenced and allowed the participation and involvement of local communities to range from tokenism to manipulation. This also has been revealed by Kamamba (2005a) who pointed out that the Antiquities Division in Tanzania as a government institution is responsible for all duties related to protecting, preserving and developing the country's historical sites, approving of matters related to restoration, rehabilitation, documentation, and revitalisation of historical monuments, areas, and sites (see also MNRT 2017). Tosun (2000) emphasised that various levels are commonly found in many developing countries, including Tanzania. The Antiquities Divisions usually made the final decision for the local communities rather than allowing the communities to decide the best course of action for themselves and for the sites which are surrounding them, and on use of the site for worship and ritual activities (see also Tosun 2006). Perhaps it can be argued that the level of local community involvement in Tanzania and particularly in Amboni and Kuumbi Limestone Caves

has remained at the level of tokenism. The problem is because of the various local limitations such as a closed decision-making structure, lack of management plans, and the failure of heritage legislation to recognise community involvement and their traditional beliefs.

Collaboration between the local communities, other stakeholders and Antiquities Division at the site will help to pinpoint issues contributing to the complication in the use and management of sites, especially on how the tourism and research activities fit within the sites without interfering communities' religious activities. Moreover, using the means of the *collaborative approach* will help to ensure effective measures on conservation and management of Sacred Places with the involvement of the communities and other stakeholders by recognising their socio-cultural and economic interest and position within the heritage sites, especially these Sacred Places which have both natural and cultural values to the different stakeholders. In order to achieve these ideas, it can further be argued that the local communities and other stakeholders including Antiquities Divisions which have interest in the sites should collaborate meaningfully in the process of decision making on site use, constructing a management plan, conservation, and management, while the local communities ritual activities should be recognised and respected.

Additionally, it is noted that in any Sacred Place, the management regime (Antiquities Site Authority) is obliged to inform the local communities on any decision making and the implementation process of any projects or activities in the site (Hando 2003; Munjeri 2003; Sullivan 2003). It is because the sites are also regarded as the churches, temples or mosques to the local communities who are going to pray and worship in the caves. This means that meeting and negotiating with local communities and other stakeholders by the Antiquities Site Authorities about the management and use of sites which are still regarded as living heritage is very important to avoid conflicts, misunderstanding and even interference in their ritual activities and other stakeholders' activities at the sites (Sullivan 2003; ICCROM 2015). The local communities should get the financial and intellectual benefits from tourism and research activities that can help them to consider a sustainable way of managing heritage sites (see also Abungu 2006; Manyanga 2003; Chirikure *et al.* 2010). Finally, education awareness also is crucial to the local communities to understand the importance of sharing opportunities and experience with the other stakeholders in the use of sites. Therefore, to suggest the best practice of communities' involvement in Amboni and Kuumbi Caves, it can be argued that one needs to ensure the *collaborative approach* in the

use and management of Sacred Places in Tanzania. The idea will help to ensure proper use of the sites that are still in use by the communities for the religious activities and other stakeholders for tourism and research activities. Furthermore, the *collaborative approach* will help to solve all the problems concerning the use, conflicts, interferences, and management of the sites by ensuring that communities have access to spaces crucial to their religious life and also ensure that there are no conflicts that could result in negative effects for the heritage sites.

8.5 Heritage Institutions, Legislation, and Recognition of Sacred Places in Tanzania³⁵

The previous discussions explored the community involvement and traditional knowledge systems in the management and conservation of Sacred Places in Limestone Cave areas along the Swahili Coast of Tanzania. However, to understand this last objective of this thesis, on how the Tanzanian's cultural heritage legislation and institution recognises and protects Sacred Places it was essential to assess the degree of legal recognition of Sacred Heritage Places. Cultural Heritage Policy of 2008, Antiquities Act of 1964 amended 1979, Tourism Acts, Environmental Act 2004, Zanzibar Ancient Monuments Preservation Act 2002 and the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania Article No. 19 were analysed in advance. The analysis was through critical analysis (legal review) of legislation which is used in the United Republic of Tanzania for the protection of immovable cultural heritage resources (see chapter 2).

As earlier mentioned, before colonialism in Africa and Tanzania at large, heritage resources, including the traditional landscape were managed through traditional institutions and communities headed by chiefs and elders (Egute 2012: 28; Mahachi and Kamuhangire 2008). When the colonial masters came, the African traditional knowledge systems were destroyed and replaced with European legal systems (Ngoro and Kiriyama 2008). These European legal systems had the European perspective on how the cultural heritage resources should be used, conserved and managed. Many African countries later adopted these laws after independence, including Tanzania.

Based on the findings from the critical legal analysis (see chapter 2), it has been revealed that Antiquities Act No. 10 1964 to Antiquities Act No. 22 of 1979, Cultural Policy of 2008, Tourism

³⁵Some of the information obtained in this discussion section also are found in my paper published in the *South Asian Journal for Tourism and Heritage*, Vol. 11 (2):5-15 on Sacred Limestone Caves: Effectiveness of Heritage Legislation and Institutions in Managing Sacred Heritage Places in Tanzania (Chami 2018).

Acts and Environmental Act 2004, which operated in Tanzania mainland, has failed to recognise the existence of Sacred Places and specify how tourism and research activities should be conducted in Sacred Places. This has been different from Zanzibar Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 2002 which has been able to recognise the presence of Sacred Places including the caves, which need to be protected from any destruction and specify that they should not be used for any purpose inconsistent with its character (see Article 8 (2a), 11 (1 and 2a)). Additionally, the Zanzibar legislation has failed to recognise the traditional knowledge systems and community involvement in the management and conservation of the Sacred Places on the island. These findings support some previous studies (e.g., Osuagwu 2005; Mumma 2009; Osuagwu 2017), which have found comparable results in Nigeria and other countries in Africa.

It can be further argued that in Tanzania all the problems raised due to the use and management of the Sacred Places in Tanzania perhaps is because of the failure of Tanzania Heritage Legislation to specify best practices of Sacred Places in regard to tourism and research activities. Furthermore, it includes the failure to recognise the importance of traditional religious beliefs to the local communities who are using these Sacred Places. In Zanzibar, Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 2002 in Article No. 11 (1) and (2b) have been able to put emphasis on places of worship that shall not be used for any purpose inconsistent with its character and it is strictly prohibited for the entry except for conditions prescribed with the concurrence of the persons in religious charge of the said monument. But still, Sacred Places such as Kuumbi Cave have been highly intensified and used in archaeological research and tourism activities in the past ten years which is against the law.³⁶ This is possibly due to the lack of a proper framework which would have to specify clearly how this kind of site should be used by other stakeholders who have an interest in the sites.

Moreover, about the presence of Cultural Heritage Policy of 2008, Tourism Policy 1999 and Tourism Act of 2008 in Tanzania mainland, still, they have failed to look at the proper use and management of Sacred Places from tourism and research activities. Ichumbaki (2013) argued that the cultural heritage policy of 2008 is not a legal document but rather, a guideline. Therefore, there is a need for regulations which will compile all these components including Sacred Places. In Zanzibar Island also, they are in the process of preparing a Cultural Heritage Policy to support the

³⁶The Zanzibar Ancient Monuments Preservation Act No. 11 of 2002 clarifies that a place of worship or tomb maintained by an Authority under this Act shall not be used for any purpose inconsistent with its character (see Article 11 (1)).

Zanzibar Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 2002, and it can be argued that they should incorporate the ideas on how to use and manage the Sacred Places from tourism and research activities. It is because these Sacred Places have been regarded as the place for worship and prayers by the local communities. The idea will help to reduce interference with local communities' religious practices. It should be well known that many Sacred Places including Amboni and Kuumbi Limestone Caves have not been protected legally in terms of activities which are conducted in these places and are posing threats, broadly related to the impact of modernisation and globalisation (see also Oviedo *et al.* 2005). These threats include agricultural expansion and erosion of traditional values, particularly associated with the widespread diffusion of institutionalised religions (Christianity and Islam) brought in by Europeans and Arabs which have considered traditional beliefs as 'superstitious'. Furthermore, the expansion of the mining industries, i.e., Limestone crushing industries, especially in Amboni Caves, tourist development and administrative and policy changes, particularly in the last two decades, are some of the other threats facing Sacred Place. Many traditional knowledge systems that acted as effective controls in protecting and conserving the sacred environment are now being overwhelmed by these threats.

These findings further suggest that the government bodies, i.e., Antiquities and Tourism Division have also failed to provide a useful mechanism for the best practices of Sacred Heritage Places in Tanzania. It includes a lack of proper communication and cooperation between these institutions when it comes to ensuring best practices in these Sacred Heritage Places. It can also be argued that all of these problems facing the management and use of the Sacred Heritage Places in Tanzania might be due to finger-pointing or avoiding responsibilities between these government bodies. It perhaps has affected how the Sacred Places are managed in Tanzania. There is a significant need for these two institutions to work together through good communications and arrange different meetings and worships to try to find different approaches to the best practices of Sacred Heritage Places in Tanzania. Whatever the reasons one could provide, it is enough to say that Antiquities and Tourism Divisions should work collaboratively to develop management plans to ensure the Sacred Heritage Places are managed properly and that all stakeholders, especially local communities, are getting the chance to conduct their religious activities in a conducive environment.

Lastly, the Constitution of Tanzania, i.e. Article No. 19 (1), right to Freedom of Religion (see chapter 2) states that every person has the right to the freedom of thought or conscience, belief or faith, and choice in matters of religion, including the freedom to change his religion of faith. This also can be seen at the international level whereby the United Nations provided a Universal Declaration on Human Rights which emphasised on the freedom of religion as a fundamental human right. Article No. 18 of the declaration states that “Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion” (UN 2018). The local communities which are going to rituals, worship, and prayers in the Sacred Places, i.e., Amboni and Kuumbi Limestone Caves, are experiencing some problems and interference from tourism and research activities. These local people lack a friendly environment and space for them to conduct their rituals and cultural activities. Perhaps it can be argued that there is a need for Tanzanian government to follow the footsteps of USA, Australia and Benin governments to construct the legislative framework for managing and protecting the Sacred Heritage Places (Benin’s Sacred Forest Protection Law 2012; Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Heritage Protection Act 1984; American Indian Religious Freedom Act, Public Law No. 95-341, 92 Stat. 469 (Aug. 11, 1978 codified at 42 U.S.C. 1996). Therefore, whatever the reason could provide, it is sufficient to say that there is a need for the Tanzania Heritage Legislation and institutions to recognise the traditional beliefs and Sacred Places used for worship and rituals by the local communities. The recognition will give the rights to the local communities to worship, pray and perform rituals by understanding their ritual activity days as in other religions, such as Christianity and Islam. The approach also will help to not only safeguard the intangible cultural heritage of the communities from disappearance but also to remove the disconnection between the communities and their heritage which has driven many people from their traditional religions into religions like Christianity and Islam.

8.6 Summary

The chapter has discussed the research objectives about the data presented from the case studies, legal documents and published data (chapter 2 and 3) from elsewhere. The use and management system in Amboni and Kuumbi Caves has been affected and interfered by tourism, education and research activities. Most of the local communities have opted to abandon their traditional beliefs, and taboos due to the impact of science and technology, while others have converted to Christianity

and Islam because of the interferences they experienced during their ritual practises in the caves.³⁷ This evidence can be supported by the presence of a number of churches and mosques which are found around the local communities' environment. There were also failures in community involvement in the decision-making and management and use of the Sacred Places.

Moreover, Tanzanian Heritage Legislation fails to recognise Sacred Places and specify clearly how these Sacred Places should be used by different stakeholders such as tourists and researchers without interfering with the communities' religious activities that could result in negative effects for the heritage sites. Based on this discussion and problems or issues that are identified in the work (see findings chapter 6 and 7), the thesis feels that there is a need to develop the framework for the best practices, i.e., use, conservation and management of the Sacred Places in Tanzania. Therefore, the following chapter presents the proposed framework for Sacred Places in Limestone Cave areas along the Swahili Coast of Tanzania (*MTRCC framework*).

³⁷On 16th March 2017 the researcher personally observed and experienced the traditional healer getting annoyed with tourists when they entered and interfered them in the Cave while we were praying for a sick boy. The researcher also participated in the prayer by following all their procedures including on how to enter into a sacred cave.

9 FRAMEWORK FOR MANAGEMENT AND THE USE OF SACRED PLACES IN LIMESTONE CAVE AREAS (*MTRCC FRAMEWORK*)

9.1 Preamble

This chapter proposes a framework for the management of Sacred Places in Limestone Cave areas along the Swahili Coast of Tanzania. The framework, which the researcher gives the acronym of *MTRCC* (i.e., *M- Management, T- Tourism, R- Research, C- Conservation, C- Communities*), is the result of extensive discussion (chapter 8) and the findings from Amboni and Kuumbi Caves (chapter 2, 6 and 7). *MTRCC framework* describes the planning issues and opportunities that are to be addressed towards attaining the overall purpose of the best practices on the use and management of the Sacred Places in Limestone Cave areas in Tanzania and elsewhere. Based on the list of problems and key issues identified in the thesis and during the review and fieldwork process, the *MTRCC framework* set out the five main key areas to consider for ensuring best practice of Sacred Places in Limestone Cave areas. The Antiquities and Tourism Divisions which act as the legal and administrative body in Tanzania might use the proposed *MTRCC framework* to Sacred Places, especially Kuumbi and Amboni Caves, and other Limestone Cave sites which do not have management plans and share similar characteristics with these caves.

Therefore, this chapter is divided into three sections: (i) the purpose and aim of the framework (ii) explanation of the five key issues of the framework and (iii) conclusion. The proposed *MTRCC framework* is being discussed in correlation to the findings presented in the previous chapters (2, 6 and 7) with the support from the large body of literature review and theoretical framework in chapter two and three respectively. The last section is a summary of this chapter.

9.2 Purpose and Aim of MTRCC Framework

This section addresses the purpose and aim of the thesis (see chapter 1) to develop the proposed framework for best practices of Sacred Heritage Places in Limestone Cave areas along the Swahili Coast of Tanzania and elsewhere. The *MTRCC framework* provides a plan or method for the best practise of Kuumbi and Amboni Limestone Caves to ensure proper management, use, and conservation of authenticity and integrity of these Sacred Places. It should be noted that these five key issues (management, tourism, research, conservation, and communities) were the results of the findings observed in the study which have caused big challenges and complexities on how to

ensure best practices of Amboni and Kuumbi Caves in Tanzania. Furthermore, these identified five key issues will ensure the local communities' rituals and cultural activities are conducted at these places without any problems or interferences. As demonstrated in this thesis (i.e., statement of problem), the context surrounding management and the use of Sacred Places in Limestone Cave areas has been challenging and complex, including the secondary school students, local communities, tourists, researchers and site managers themselves.

Thus, taking into account the nature of the sites in current practice that this thesis has identified, this chapter outlines broad strategies for the best practices of Sacred Places to the Antiquities and Tourism Divisions and site managers to develop in their heritage sites and management plans. It is understood that these key issues could be incorporated during the construction of management plans (*action plans*) of sites. As a researcher, it can be believed that the *MTRCC framework* shall act as the controller for the best practice not only in Sacred Places but also to all other spiritual sites which have similar characteristics like Amboni and Kuumbi Caves for long-term sustainability and socio-economic development for the local communities and the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania. Furthermore, this framework is not offered as a prescription, but rather as a direction to assist Antiquities and Tourism Divisions and site managers to be more aware on decisions with regards to the management and the use of Sacred Places in Limestone Cave areas. It includes *what to do on the site; how will it be done; who will do it; and when to do it*. Finally, figure 9.1 below proposes five critical areas of context to consider in the Kuumbi and Amboni Caves through how findings are reported. These five main key areas are *Management, Tourism, Research, and Education Activities, Conservation and Communities*.

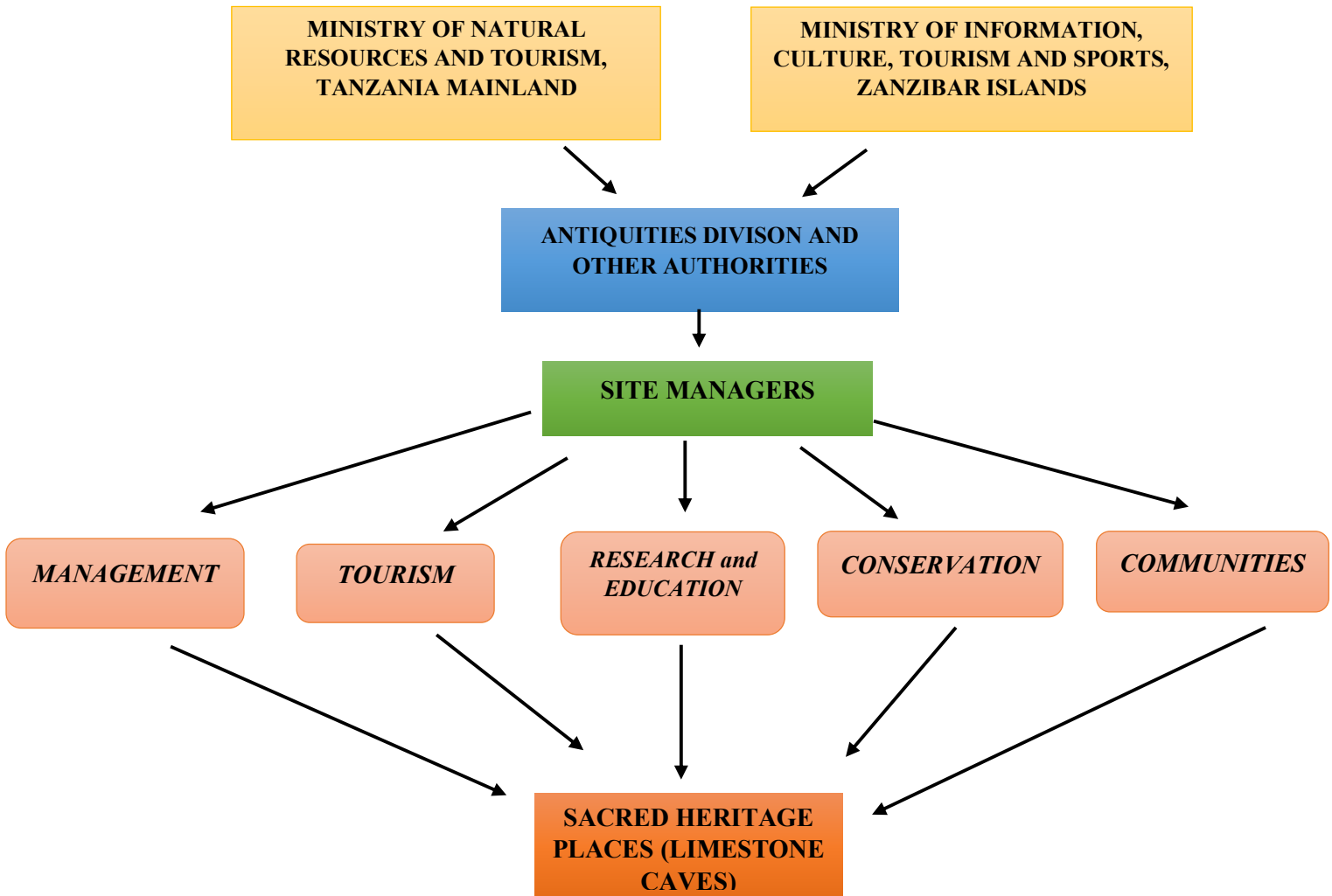


Figure 9.1: MTRCC Framework for the Sacred Places in Limestone Caves

(Source: Own construction)

9.3 Management

Kuumbi and Amboni Limestone Caves are living heritage sites where rituals, worship, and prayer services have been practised for a long time even before the coming of colonialism until today (Mercer 2007; Chami 2009; Peter 2013). The Amboni and Kuumbi Caves also include tangible and intangible heritage preserved for a long time for the future generations. The variety of heritage resources calls for the best strategies to be put in place that will ensure the preservation of all types

of heritage, i.e., tangible and intangible values. Therefore, the thesis proposes the following course of action to be considered in the proper use and management of these Sacred Places:

1. Establish a management committee at the sites. The committee should include the Local Communities, Ministry of Tourism, Department of Culture, University Researchers and Antiquities Divisions. The committee will ensure proper planning, protection, development and management of the Kuumbi and Amboni Limestone Caves. It will help to solve the problem of interferences in the use of these sites by different stakeholders due to tourism and research activities as it was observed in these Sacred Places (see chapter 6 and 7).
2. Identify and record all ritual and worship ceremonies (important) days for the local communities and give them a chance, time and space to pray and conduct ritual activities without interference from any activities such as tourism and research activities. This also has been found in the Constitution of Tanzania, i.e. Article No. 19 (1), Right to Freedom of Religion that every person has the right to the freedom of thought or conscience, belief or faith, and choice in matters of religion, including the freedom to change his religion or faith (see chapter 2). Also, the United Nations Universal Declaration on Human Rights Article No. 18 stated that “Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion” (UN 2018). Therefore, there is a need to provide a space and chance for local communities to practice their rituals and cultural activities.
3. Update legal instruments by recognising Sacred Places, traditional beliefs and offer proper protection and practises. Kuumbi and Amboni Limestone Caves face many threats and pressures from the outside world. It is highly observed in heritage legislation that Sacred Places were not given much attention with proper protections legally on the use and management (see chapter 2). Therefore, many efforts should be undertaken by site managers and Antiquities and Tourism Divisions with the support of local custodians to convince the government to create mechanisms which recognise and protect Sacred Places and its practises from the outside world which significantly threaten the values of these places (e.g., Wild and McLeod 2007). The effect also should include the establishment of by-laws to ensure protection and access to the Sacred Places to the people who are not affiliated with the places to maintain the sacredness of the areas.

4. Determine the buffer zone around the sites. This includes site mapping, and identifying the boundary and conservation zone of the site. Site managers should ideally identify and build a buffer zone upon the traditional zoning established by traditional custodians and local communities. Zoning can help not only to achieve the objectives of controlled access and management of the sites but also to support the biodiversity values of the area and habitat restoration (e.g., Verschuuren 2008). The buffer zone will help to solve the problems of sites encroachment by the local communities and Limestone crushers as it observed in Amboni Caves where people are cultivating and crushing Limestone beyond the site boundaries (see chapter 7).
5. The established management committee should select a traditional custodian to work with the site managers with the responsibility for monitoring development within the Sacred Places and to ensure the community's sacrifices are not taken from the Sacred Caves. Site managers in Amboni and Kuumbi Caves should recognise the primacy of traditional custodians in managing their sites, as they have successfully cared about the sites for many generations. The recognition will help to promote cooperation between site managers and custodians of the sites towards the enhanced management and proper use of these places.
6. Remove all entrance fees for the local communities who come for rituals, prayers and worship in these sites. Site managers and Antiquities Authorities should be able to develop appropriate policies and practises within the sites that respect local communities' rights to have access to and use their sites without paying entrance fees or to follow complex and unrealistic permitting procedures (e.g., Wild and McLeod 2007). These procedures are seen and observed in Amboni Caves where the local communities pay entrance fees for religious practices or services on their site (see chapter 7).
7. Lastly, ensure a collaboration approach with the local communities in decision making on activities which affect the Amboni and Kuumbi Limestone Caves in one way or another. Strong efforts should be made to ensure that local communities retain decision making control over all activities within the sites. It should be noted that Kuumbi and Amboni Caves are culturally sensitive and potential risks are many. Therefore, caution is needed over the use and management of these sites to recognise and maintain the integrity of the sites.

9.3.1 Strategies to Achieve the above Management Actions

In order to achieve the above management actions, some of the following strategies need to be done. These are as follows;

- ✚ Establishment of the management responsibilities of these Sacred Limestone Caves Sites, i.e. Amboni and Kuumbi Limestone Caves.
- ✚ Undertake a comprehensive survey which involves identifying and documenting all the natural and cultural elements of the Sacred Limestone Caves.
- ✚ Consultation with the Ministry responsible for management and conservation of heritage resources in the country on the legal update concerning the effective recognition of Sacred Heritage Places in Limestone Cave areas.
- ✚ Mark all the boundaries of the Sacred Heritage Places, i.e. the protected area within its settings.
- ✚ Introduce and initiate the collaborative site management approach which will involve all the stakeholders including the local community surrounding the Sacred Heritage Place.
- ✚ Appoint an official local person responsible for assisting the site managers in the management of these Sacred Heritage Places (See Table 9.1 below).

Table 9.1: Management Action Plan for Sacred Heritage Place**Primary Objective:** Effective and efficient management of Sacred Limestone Caves

Actions	Activities	Implementer	Priority
Establish a management committee at the sites	Establishment of the management responsibilities of these Sacred Limestone Caves Sites, i.e. Amboni and Kuumbi Limestone Caves	-Site Manager -Site Authority (e.g. Antiquities Division, Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority)	High
Identify and record all ritual and worship ceremonies (important) days for the local communities and give them a chance, time and space to pray and conduct ritual activities	Undertake a comprehensive survey which involves identifying and documenting all the natural and cultural elements of the Sacred Limestone Caves	-Site Manager -Site Authority	High
	Put aside one free day or time in a week for the local communities' rituals and cultural activities		
Update legal instruments by recognising Sacred Places, traditional beliefs and offer proper protection and practises	Consultation with the Ministry responsible for management and conservation of heritage resources in the country on the legal update concerning the effective recognition of Sacred Heritage Places in Limestone Cave areas	-Ministry responsible for Heritage Resources	High
Determine the buffer zone around the sites. This includes site mapping, declare the boundary and conservation zone of the site	Mark all the boundaries of the Sacred Heritage Places, i.e. the protected area within its settings	-Site Management Committee -Village Government	High
Select a traditional custodian to work with the site managers with the responsibility fo monitoring development within the Sacred Places	Appoint an official local person responsible for assisting the site managers in the management of these Sacred Heritage Places	-Site Authority -Village Government	Medium
Remove all entrance fees to the local communities who come for rituals, prayers and worships in these sites	Stop collecting fees for site use from the local communities who come for religious activities	-Site Authority	Medium
Ensure collaboration approach with the local communities in decision making on activities which affect the Amboni and Kuumbi Limestone Caves in one way or another	Introduce and initiate a collaborative site management approach which involves all the stakeholders including the local community surrounding the Sacred Heritage Place	-Site Authority	High

9.4 Tourism

This section addresses issues of site tourism related to the Sacred Places in Limestone Cave areas. Best practice in tourism activities in these sites is crucial to avoid all interference and conflicts between tourists and the local communities' rituals and worship practices. To solve the mentioned interferences and complexities, this thesis proposes the following guiding principles to be taken into account to ensure proper use of the Sacred Places from tourism activities:

1. Carry out training to the tour guides and provide them with up to date information on the various local communities' events and values such as ritual activity days on the sites. The training will help the tour guides to have accurate information on the local cultural events and values of the sites to help enforce appropriate behaviours, restrictions, and taboos to the tourists. Also, it includes how to behave when entering a Sacred Cave, and when not to take photographs of a ceremony or ritual activity (e.g., Wild and McLeod 2007). This problem was observed in the study whereby the local communities lamented on how the tourists were taking pictures and entering the caves without following the religious values and procedures, especially in Kuumbi Limestone Cave.
2. Improve tourism management by disseminating information to the tourists and tour operators, which can lead to the people who have diverse backgrounds to be encouraged to visit the sites on the days and times which are not used for ritual practises and prayers by the local communities. The approach can be made by preparing tourist brochures and information materials and disseminate them to the different stakeholders. It will help the stakeholders to get information and reduce interferences with the local communities' religious activities as observed in the two Sacred Places.
3. Establish information offices to assist in information dissemination to the visitors, especially tourists. It will help provide necessary information about Amboni and Kuumbi Limestone Caves to visitors before going to the sites. Furthermore, it will assist the visitors, regarding necessary information on how to behave and respect the taboos and cultural values of the sites and the local communities.
4. Initiate and ensure profit-sharing mechanisms with the local communities from tourism activities at the sites and encourage them to practice tourism activities related to deities,

gods, goddesses and traditional religions in general. This form of tourism can be a very important part of cultural tourism that can thrive in the Swahili Coast of Tanzania. This kind of tourism will make the country one of the vital destinations regarding traditional and cultural beliefs like Far East Asian Countries such as Nepal and Japan (Shrestha 2017:15; Bideci and Manhas 2016). It will help the local communities to benefit from this kind of tourism and help them to earn money for their life.

5. Traditional custodians and local communities should supervise tourism activities within the Kuumbi and Amboni Caves. When tourism activities are owned and operated by the custodians or local communities, there is a greater chance that tourism will be beneficial, support livelihoods of the local communities and maintain the sacredness of the place. Moreover, it will help to solve the problem of sacrifices, rituals and worship equipment being stolen in the caves as it was revealed in both sites. This technique will positively help move towards the best practise of the sites while ensuring conservation of both natural and cultural values of Kuumbi and Amboni Caves (e.g., Ormsby 2007).
6. Lastly, all tourism activities within the Amboni and Kuumbi Caves must be culturally appropriate, respectful and guided by the traditional or community value systems and practises of custodian communities (e.g., Wild and McLeod 2007). Site managers should encourage recreational users to control inappropriate use of the Sacred Places through both site regulations and visitor education programmes that could promote respect for the cultural values of the sites.

9.4.1 Strategies to Achieve the above Tourism Actions

To achieve the above tourism plans, some of the following strategies need to be done. These are as follows;

- ✚ Prepare a workshop and capacity building programme to the tour guides concerning the information of the site and how to handle their clients the Sacred Heritage Place.
- ✚ Enforce the establishment of the printed brochure, tourist information centres and provide information to the media on the daily site use.
- ✚ Prepare education programmes for the tourists before they are going inside the Sacred Limestone Caves.

- ✚ Established management committee should select one official local person to supervise all the tourism activities at the Sacred Heritage Place.
- ✚ Ensure equal sharing of tourism profit at the site with the local community.
- ✚ Identify and establish local community cultural groups practising rituals and cultural activities at the site for tourism purposes and for their benefits (See Table 9.2 below).

Table 9.2: Tourism Action Plan for Sacred Heritage Place

Primary Objective: Sustainable tourism management in Kuumbi and Amboni Limestone Caves to ensure equal sharing opportunities and experience to all stakeholders.

Actions	Activities	Implementer	Priority
Carry out training to the tour guides and provide them with up to date information on the various local communities' events and values such as ritual activity days on the sites	Prepare a workshop and capacity building programs to the tour guides concerning the information of the site and how to handle the clients of a Sacred Heritage Place	-Site Manager	High
Improve tourism management by disseminating information to the tourists and tour operators	Enforce the establishment of the printed board, tourist information centres and provide information to the media on the daily site use	-Site Authority	High
Initiate and ensure profit-sharing mechanisms with the local communities from tourism activities at the sites	Ensure equal sharing of tourism profit at the site with the local community	-Site Authority	High
	Identify and establish local community cultural groups practising religious activities at the site for tourism purposes and their benefits		
Traditional custodians and local communities should supervise tourism activities within the Kuumbi and Amboni Caves	Select one official local person to supervise all the tourism activities at the Sacred Heritage Place	-Site Authority -Village Government	Medium
All tourism activities within the Amboni and Kuumbi Caves must be culturally appropriate, respectful and guided by the traditional or community value systems	Prepare education programme to the tourists before they are going inside the Sacred Limestone Caves.	-Site Manager -Tourism Division	High

9.5 Research Activities and Education

Research and education activities are key issues that are conducted or practised in the Kuumbi and Amboni Limestone Cave areas. Therefore, sustainable practices of research and education activities in these places are crucial to ensure the appropriate use of the sites and to avoid all interference and conflicts with the communities' rituals and worship practises. Lastly, this thesis proposes the following course of action to be taken into account to ensure the best practice of Kuumbi and Amboni sites from education and research activities for schools and University stakeholders;

1. All research and excavations in the sites should include the community elders, especially traditional custodians, in the activity. Site managers and Antiquities Authorities should make all possible efforts to ensure local custodians access and be included in all research and archaeological excavations which may affect them or be of benefit to them (e.g., Bertucci 1996). Collaboration in supervision will help to show the directions to the researchers on which parts of the sites should be excavated or which ones should not. Moreover, this will help to maintain the authenticity and integrity of the sites to the local communities.
2. All education programmes at the sites, especially to the secondary school students, should be taken or conducted on the days when sites are not used for prayers, worship and ritual activities. This will help to reduce the problem of interference of ritual and worship activities by the secondary school students who are coming to learn Limestone Cave features in their geography lesson as it was observed in both sites.
3. Establish a site museum where all artefacts discovered during the research and excavation within the sites is organised and put into showcases. Site museum displays, exhibits and the use of festivals, which are conducted in these places will help to promote knowledge about sacred caves (e.g., Gokhale 2003). It is hoped that all visitors and students who come to these places learn about the sacred caves traditions and history.
4. Site managers should provide site signage that will contribute to public education and the interpretation to the students and researchers on the places which are not allowed to be visited, touch or excavated. The lack of signage on both sites which explain the importance of the sites as Sacred Places to the local communities was also observed. The site signage on cultural interpretation will help to provide explanations on the cultural and spiritual values of the sites to the local communities. The signage will help to promote cultural understanding through the interpretation of local traditional beliefs to visitors and how it can be respected (Verschuuren 2008).

9.5.1 Strategies to Achieve the above Research and Education Actions

To achieve the above plans, some of the following strategies need to be done. These are as follows;

- ✚ Establish one official local custodian to participate in all research activities.
- ✚ Provide education awareness to the researchers and students on the site use and management.
- ✚ Constructing a site museum at the Sacred Heritage Place.
- ✚ Consulting the local communities' elders and traditional healers before undertaking research activities around the Sacred Limestone Caves.
- ✚ Put in place public archaeology and a participatory approach in research activities at the site (See Table 9.3 below).

Table 9.3: Research and Education Action Plan for Sacred Heritage Place

Primary Objective: To ensure sustainable research and education management in Amboni and Kuumbi Limestone Caves.

Actions	Activities	Implementer	Priority
All research and excavations in the sites should be supervised by the community elders, especially traditional custodians	Establish one official local custodian to participate in all research activities	-Site Authority -Village Government	High
All education programmes at the sites, especially to the secondary school students, should be taken or conducted on the days which sites not used for prayers, worship and ritual activities	Provide education awareness to the researchers and students on the site use and management	-Site Authority	High
Establish a site museum and all artefacts discovered during the research and excavation within the sites organised and put into showcases	Constructing a site Museum at the Sacred Heritage Place	-Ministry Responsible for Management and Conservation of Heritage Resources	High
Site managers should provide site signage that will contribute to public education and the interpretation to the students and researchers on the places which are not allowed to be visited, touch or excavated	Put in place signs around the sites.	Site Authority	Medium
Ensure that all research and excavations are conducted in great care in the sites, and it should be mandatory to ask for permission from the communities and traditional custodians.	Consulting the local communities elders and traditional healers before undertaking research activities around the Sacred Limestone Caves	-Site Manager -Traditional Healer -Traditional Custodian -Researcher	Medium
	Put in place public archaeology and participatory approach in research activities at the site.		

9.6 Conservation

Amboni and Kuumbi Limestone Caves have significantly contributed to the archaeology and historical significance of East Africa and the Tanzania Coast at large (Chami 2009). However, these places are of deep archaeological and historical significance alongside traditions beliefs, rituals and worship activities that continue to be practised to the present time. These places are comprised of tangible as well as intangible heritage that are related to the value of the sites. These are Sacred Places of spiritual significance to the communities surrounding who have been associated with these sites for a long time, even before the coming of the colonialist (Ingrams 1967).

Therefore, the conservation action plan is required to give emphasis to the preservation of the tangible and intangible elements of the sites including forests, features, traditional practises and water sources that surround these sites and should be preserved in their natural condition, and to work on the way to improve the quality of the degraded environment in the sites. The proposed guidelines will help to regulate all harmful human activities to be carried out surrounding the sites to avoid the assumption that these places are treated as wildland. To address the proper conservation needs of Sacred Places, this thesis proposes the following procedures to be put into the account in this section of conservation to ensure the authenticity and integrity of the Amboni and Kuumbi sites maintained:

1. Ensure Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) and Cultural Heritage Impact Assessment (CHIA) before implementing any big projects near the sites. Site Managers and Antiquities Divisions should ensure that a conservation plan is developed for the sites before any excavations or other human activities occur. These assessments will help the sites face no danger at present or in the foreseeable future. Moreover, any project development or preventive archaeological work at the sites should be carried out together with appropriate Environmental Impact Assessments (EIA) and Cultural Heritage Impact Assessment (CHIA) based on the EIA or CHIA Proclamations of the country and guidelines (see chapter 2).
2. Intangible cultural heritage within the Amboni and Kuumbi Caves which includes rituals, worship activities, festivals, chants, history and oral tradition should be documented and safeguarded for the future generations. The site authority needs to record and register all these activities in the national inventory and specify measures to protect these activities. This intangible heritage needs to be protected for its cultural, religious, educational and economic values. Conservation practises should include the protection of the everyday practises that include the festivals and rituals associated with the sites. Safeguarding and documentation of ritual practises will help to solve the problem of the disappearance of traditional practises within these Sacred Places.
3. The geological makeup of the Limestone Caves and interlinking structures of different kinds of features and tunnels are to be conserved and protected. Site managers should develop a strategy for the conservation of the features and structures within the Limestone

Caves so as they cannot be destructed. These features are very important for the tourism and education activities to the students in the geography lesson as shown in this study.

4. The water collecting channels, wells and water pools inside and surrounding the sites should be protected and conserved. The site managers should ensure that the tourists who are coming inside the sacred caves do not contaminate the sacred water which is used by the local communities as it was observed in Kuumbi Caves (see chapter 6). Also, all the agricultural activities conducted near the sources of water or water channels like in Amboni Caves should stop to maintain the authenticity of the sites.
5. Lastly, the cave chambers used for ritual and worship practices should be conserved, and other people who are not associated or affiliated with sites are strictly not allowed to go in those chambers. Also, forest resources and animals around the Amboni and Kuumbi sites also should be conserved and protected from illegal hunting and timber activities.

9.6.1 Strategies to Achieve the above Conservation Actions

In order to achieve the above conservation action plans, some of the following strategies need to be done. These are as follows;

- ✚ Control all the development projects around or nearby the Sacred Heritage Place.
- ✚ Ensure CHIA and EIA studies are conducted before any implementation development project around or at the Sacred Place.
- ✚ Document and identify all the intangible cultural heritage values of the site.
- ✚ Establish a conservation plan for all geological features at the site.
- ✚ Put in place boundaries and zones to all sources of water around and inside the Sacred Heritage Place.
- ✚ Ensure community participation in the conservation of the sites.
- ✚ Find and invite the funding agencies to support the conservation plan of the Sacred Place.
- ✚ Introduce awareness programmes to inform the people about the conservation plan of the Sacred Heritage Place (See Table 9.4 below).

Table 9.4: Conservation Action Plan for Sacred Heritage Place

Primary Objective: Effective and efficient conservation of the Sacred Limestone Cave areas for the future generation.

Actions	Activities	Implementer	Priority
Inappropriate project development that disturbs the landscape, visual and physical setting of sites should be stopped or controlled	Control all the development projects around or nearby the Sacred Heritage Place	-Site Authority -Ministry Responsible for Heritage Management of Resources	High
Ensure Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) and Cultural Heritage Impact Assessment (CHIA) before implementing any big projects near the sites	Ensure CHIA and EIA are conducted before any development project around or at the Sacred Place	-Site Authority -Ministry of Environment	High
Intangible cultural heritage within the Amboni and Kuumbi Caves which includes rituals, worship activities, festivals, chants, history and oral tradition should be documented and safeguarded for the future generation	Identify and Document all the intangible cultural heritage values of the site	-Site Authority -Ministry of Culture	High
	Ensure community participation in the conservation of the site.		
The geological makeup of the Limestone Caves and interlinking structures of different kinds of features and tunnels are to be conserved and protected	Establish a conservation plan for all geological features at the site	-Site Authority -Geological Division/Department	Medium
	Introducing awareness programmes to inform the people about the conservation plan of the Sacred Heritage Place		
	Find and invite the funding agencies to support the conservation plan of the Sacred Place		
The water collecting channels, wells and water pools inside and surrounding the sites should be protected and conserved.	Put in place boundaries and zones to all sources of water around and inside the Sacred Heritage Place	-Site Authority -Ministry of Water (Water Division)	Medium
Cave chambers used for ritual and worship practices should be conserved and protected	Put in place restrictions and by-laws to the people who are not affiliated with the site to visit the sacred cave chambers	-Site Authority -Village Government	High

9.7 Communities

The management of Sacred Places depends largely on the support of the local communities who are living around the sites. They can play an important role in the conservation and management of these Sacred Places. These local communities are directly associated and are descendants of the people who created and started to worship and pray in these places and they have been the custodians of the sites. Among the inhabitants in the areas, at least two to six people are coming

for the services of these Limestone Caves. This is an extraordinary link between the local communities and the Limestone Caves of Amboni and Kuumbi which signifies the importance of these sites to the local communities. Therefore, to enhance local communities' involvement in the use and management of the Sacred Places, the following course of action should be taken into account:

1. Community empowerment comes through active participation in decision making on any project that affects them and the sites. As observed in chapter 7, that relationship between Antiquities and local communities' custodians is not good, and trust was lacking due to the failure of them being involved in the decision making. Therefore, site managers and Antiquities Authorities should involve the local custodians in the decision-making process which will help to raise the strong sense of ownership of the sites (e.g., Wild and McLeod 2007).
2. Involve and integrate the local communities to adopt their specific measures to protect the sites regarding their traditional knowledge and practises, and all Government Authorities and other visitors should respect them (see chapter 6 and 7). Site managers should ensure that communities' traditional knowledge and practises are fully utilised for the conservation and management of Amboni and Kuumbi sites by involving and integrating traditional custodians and traditional healers who have a wealth of knowledge on the biophysical environment in these places (e.g., Berkes 1999).
3. Ensure equal distribution of the income obtained from the tourism activities with the local communities. Tourism provides an alternative source of income in any country. With the growing interest in traditional cultures, Kuumbi and Amboni Caves can play a role in enhancing income and community livelihoods. If tourism income generated from these sites is equally distributed to the communities, there is a greater chance that they will have benefits and support in their livelihoods. The technique can have a positive impact on the conservation and management of the cultural values of these sites.
4. Create job opportunities for the local communities such as a tour guide in the Sacred Places. Also, facilitate a working area for selling and creating a market for their local products. Finally, the site managers and Antiquities Authorities should assist local communities in the preparation and implementation of their projects proposals.

9.7.1 Strategies to Achieve the above Communities Actions

To achieve the above action plans, some of the following strategies need to be done. These are as follows;

- ✚ Organise awareness programmes to the local community leaders on their importance to participate in the protection, conservation and decision making.
- ✚ Support and integrate the local community through traditional means of protection and conservation of the Sacred Place.
- ✚ Provide a certain percent of tourism profit to the local community government.
- ✚ Provide entrepreneurship skills and training on the tourism-related activities to the local communities.
- ✚ Provide funds to the local communities associations to start their business (See Table 9.5 below).

Table 9.5: Communities Action Plan for Sacred Heritage Place

Primary Objective: To enhance community participation in the management of the Kuumbi and Amboni Limestone Caves.

Actions	Activities	Implementer	Priority
Community empowerment through active participation in decision making on any project that affects them and the sites.	Organise awareness programme to the local communities leaders on their importance to participate in the protection, conservation and decision making	-Site Authority	High
Involve and integrate the local communities to adopt their specific measures to protect the sites	Support and integrate the local community traditional means of protection and conservation of the Sacred Place	-Site Authority	High
Ensure equal distribution of the income obtains from the tourism activities with the local communities.	Provide a certain per cent of tourism profit to the local community government	-Site Authority -Ministry responsible	Medium
Creating job opportunities for the local communities such as tour guide in the Sacred Places	Provide entrepreneurship skills and training on the tourism-related activities to the local communities	-Site Authority	Medium
	Provide funds to the local communities associations to start their business		

9.8 Implementation of the MTRCC Framework

This framework was developed through a process that took time and required significant input from a large number of participants during the data collection investigation before the information was analysed. It should be well known that the *MTRCC Framework* has been developed through full participation of relevant Government institutions (e.g. Antiquities Departments and Tourism Divisions) and other stakeholders (e.g. Archaeologists, community, tourism offices). The German Government through DAAD provided the full funding for the development of the framework including the various missions and stakeholder meetings that took place in Tanzania and Zanzibar Island during the development process.

Finally, this framework will help to ensure sustainable management and use of the Sacred Limestone Caves along the Swahili Coast of Tanzania through equal sharing opportunities and experience by all the stakeholders. In the realisation of this framework, this thesis has succeeded in achieving the aim of the study that was set out to be delivered (See Chapter 1). The time has come for the regulating and implementing of this proposed framework for the management of

Sacred Limestone Caves, which will help the Tanzanian government through their heritage governing bodies such as Antiquities and Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority, in partnership with the Local Government Authority to regulate or implement the framework. The framework can be implemented by these heritage governing bodies being informed of guidelines or incorporating the framework as the action plan in the management plan of the Sacred Limestone Caves.

9.9 Conclusion

These five key areas need to intensively be observed in the use and management of Sacred Places in Limestone Cave areas that are still in use for religious or spiritual purpose by the local communities, and at the same time for educational, tourism and research activities. Moreover, the proposed *MTRCC framework* ideas can be combined or incorporated during the construction of management plans, especially in the action plan of these Sacred Places. The framework can act not only as a plan to the heritage managers but also to the Antiquities Divisions and other Government Institutions on how Sacred Places can be properly used and effectively managed for the future generations. It has outlined and described the various ways that can be undertaken within the sites to achieve the outcome of sustainable management and use of Sacred Places along the Swahili Coast of the United Republic of Tanzania and elsewhere. The framework will ensure effectiveness in management and the best practise regarding use of the sites for spiritual use, historical research and tourism purposes.

9.10 Summary

This chapter presented the proposed framework for Sacred Heritage Places in Limestone Cave areas along the Swahili Coast of Tanzania (*MTRCC framework*). Also, it has presented the aim, purpose, five guiding principles and a conclusion of the chapter. The following chapter presents the conclusions and recommendations of the study.

10 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

10.1 Preamble

This study set out to investigate the management and the use of Sacred Heritage Places in Limestone Cave areas along the Swahili Coast of Tanzania using the Amboni and Kuumbi Limestone Caves as case studies. Previous studies suggested that there was a lack of empirical findings to investigate ritual activities, social structures, traditional knowledge systems and community involvement in the use, conservation, and management of Sacred Places in Limestone Cave areas in Tanzania. In fact, this thesis was a first attempt to develop the plan (*MTRCC framework*) for the best practices (i.e., use and management) of Sacred Places in Limestone Caves between the stakeholders, i.e., local communities, tourists, researchers and students in the Tanzania setting. This framework will help the site managers and Antiquities Divisions to deal with the challenges and complexities in the management of the Sacred Places in Limestone Caves which have natural and cultural values to the different stakeholders. Also, this framework can be incorporated during the construction of the management plans (action plan) of these sites. The research questions of this study presented in chapter 1 were as follows:

- i) What are the ritual activities and the social structures found in Limestone Cave areas along the Swahili Coast of Tanzania?
- ii) What are the traditional knowledge systems used in the conservation and management of Sacred Places in Limestone Cave areas?
- iii) How are the local communities involved in the management and conservation of the sites?
- iv) How do Tanzania's heritage legislation and institutions recognise, protect and manage Sacred Places?

For the sake of clarity, the conclusions of each of these research objectives and research questions will be discussed separately. The next sections of this chapter provides recommendations, limitations of the thesis, areas for future studies and a summary of the chapter.

10.2 Conclusions of the Thesis

Firstly, on the ritual activities and social structures in Amboni and Kuumbi Limestone Caves in Tanzania, it was revealed that the local communities have used these places for rituals, worship and prayers. It can be argued that the places have been regarded as the holy places by the different ethnic groups such as Bondei, Digo, Sambia, Makunduchi, Jambiani, and Bwejuu communities who are found along the Swahili Coast of Tanzania. However, the study cannot ignore other stakeholders who are using the sites for tourism, studies and research activities. This situation suggests the importance of these sites to the different stakeholders who want to share opportunities and experience in using the sites. It can further be argued that there is a need to have a framework, plan or guidelines to ensure best practices of the Sacred Places in Tanzania to avoid the interference and problems in the site use and management. Therefore, this study has proposed a plan (*MTRCC framework*) to be adopted by the site managers and Antiquities Divisions in Tanzania. The framework ensures best practices of Sacred Places in Limestone Cave areas and possible shared opportunities in use and management of these sites which have cultural and natural values to the different stakeholders who have an interest in the sites (see chapter 9). This framework will help to reduce interference, tension, conflicts, and complexities in the management of these sites to the site managers and Antiquities Divisions in Tanzania.

Secondly, on the traditional knowledge systems, i.e., customary laws and traditional practises have been identified as the methods, techniques, and rules used by the local communities to ensure proper use, protection and management of these sites for a long time, even before the coming of the colonialists (Ingrams 1967; Peter 2015). The existence of these sites up to recent times can be due to the methods and rules which were put forward by the local communities to ensure the sustainability of the sites. These traditional knowledge systems and practises for the protection of the Sacred Places should not be ignored or overlooked. Therefore, the Government and Antiquities Divisions should try to look on the other side of the management and use of these sites by incorporating traditional knowledge systems in the United Republic of Tanzania heritage legislation or in the management plans for protection and management of immovable cultural heritage.

Thirdly, on the community involvement in the management and conservation of Kuumbi and Amboni Caves, the findings revealed that the local communities at Kuumbi Limestone Caves were

involved in the early stages but not in the decision-making process. Their decisions are not taken into consideration. It has been different in Amboni Limestone Caves whereby the local communities have not been involved in any activities concerning the management and conservation of the site. Also, it includes the failure to be involved in any decision-making affecting their sites (see chapter 6 and 7). The findings suggest that there is a need to ensure the collaborative approach in the use, management, and conservation of these sites. Collaboration approach will help to involve all stakeholders who have an interest in the sites. The approach will help to ensure best practices in the management of these sites and solve all the problems concerning the site boundary's conflicts and interferences of local communities' worship and ritual practices from tourism and research activities.

Fourth and last, on the effectiveness of Tanzania's cultural heritage legislation in recognising and protecting Sacred Places, it was revealed that the Tourism Policy of 1999, Tourism Act of 2008, Environmental Management Act of 2004, Antiquities Act No. 10 1964 amended to Antiquities Act No. 22 of 1979 has failed to recognise and protect Sacred Places. Also, it includes the failure to specify how tourism and research activities should be conducted in Sacred Places without interfering with communities' religious activities (see chapter 2). The scenario has been different to the Zanzibar Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 2002 in Part II Article No. 8 (2a), No. 11 (1) and (2a) has been able to recognise the Sacred Places (religious/spiritual sites). For example in Article 11 (1) it is stated that *“a place of worship or tomb maintained by an Authority under this shall not be used for any purpose inconsistent with its character.”* Still, a lot of archaeological excavations and tourism activities have been conducted in these areas such as Kuumbi Limestone Caves which has interfered with the local communities' rituals and cultural activities. Therefore, whatever the reason could provide, it is sufficient to note that there is a need for the Tanzania heritage legislation and institutions to recognise the Sacred Places through amending or establishing heritage legislation which will provide a legal and institutional framework for management of Sacred Places in Tanzania. This also will help to safeguard the intangible cultural heritage of the local communities from disappearance due to the failure of the communities to practise their culture and traditions without being interfered by different activities during their religious practices.

10.3 Recommendations

With respect to the importance of Sacred Places that are still in use and associated with the local communities, being regarded as the church, mosque or temple, while also having significance to the other stakeholders, especially in education, tourism, and research activities, this study recommends that the Government and Antiquities Divisions to considers the following:

First, because there are many interferences in local communities' religious activities, this thesis recommends that site managers in these Sacred Places should develop management plans which will help to give them direction on how the sites will be managed especially on the site use without interference with communities religious activities. These management plans should be periodically reviewed and renewed to cope with the new development especially due to science and technology which could have a negative impact on the Sacred Heritage Places.

Second, the existence of many Sacred Heritage Places in Africa and elsewhere which have become places for tourism and research activities such as Amboni and Kuumbi Caves, have been maintained and protected for a long time by traditional knowledge systems (Abungu 2005; Eboreime 2008). Hence, this thesis can recommend that traditional knowledge systems of the local communities should be incorporated in the use and management of the Sacred Heritage Places in Limestone Cave areas to ensure the sustainability of the places for the future generations. It will help to reduce challenges which are faced by the Kuumbi and Amboni Caves such as tree cutting, limestone crushing, illegal hunting, pollution of water sources and more.

Third, communities' involvement in the management and conservation of Kuumbi and Amboni Caves in Tanzania and elsewhere has been problematic and incomprehensive (e.g., Chirikure and Pwiti 2008; Li and Hunter 2014). In Kuumbi Limestone Cave, the local communities were involved in the early stages, but their ideas were not taken into consideration while in Amboni Caves, the local communities were not involved at all. Therefore, it can be recommended that there is a need to ensure a *collaborative approach* between the site authority, tourism divisions, local communities (village government) and other stakeholders on the use and management of the Sacred Places. The *collaborative approach* will help to create a sense of ownership among the local communities, hence, ensuring sustainability of the heritage site found within their communities and ensuring shared opportunities with the other stakeholders without any conflicts or interferences (e.g., Chirikure and Pwiti 2008; Taruvinga 2007; Felipe 2009).

Last, heritage legislation for protection and management of Immovable Cultural Heritage in Tanzania has failed to clarify and prioritise how tourism and research activities should be practised and controlled in the Sacred Places which still are in use by the local communities (see chapter 2). It includes the failure to harmonise with the traditional beliefs, customary laws and community involvement in the management of heritage sites (e.g., Osuagwu 2005; Mumma 2009; Osuagwu 2017). Therefore, it can be recommended that the primary heritage legislation for management and conservation of the heritage sites should be amended and clearly define its priorities by recognising Sacred Heritage Places such as Limestone Caves like other monumental heritage and guarantee a state of traditional knowledge systems, community participation, and involvement. Finally, it can further be recommended that there is a need for the government of Tanzania to establish a legislative framework for the management and protection of the Sacred Heritage Places.

10.4 Areas for Future Research

There are four possibilities for future research in the Amboni and Kuumbi Limestone Cave areas;

Firstly, there is a need to investigate how to safeguard the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) of the local communities living around the Limestone Cave areas along the Swahili Coast of the Indian Ocean in Tanzania. This is because the study revealed that many of these traditional practises in Limestone Caves are starting to disappear due to the development of science and technology and the presence of the Islam and Christian religions.

Secondly, there is a need for a comparative study of different heritage settings for further investigation in traditional knowledge systems, management, use, and ritual practises. This kind of research will help to determine whether or not the management, traditional practises, and ritual activities from different Sacred Places might have the same results with the Sacred Places in Limestone Cave areas which are found along the Swahili Coast of Tanzania.

10.5 Limitation of the Study

The study had various limitations as discussed below:

The main constraint was the unwillingness of respondents to be interviewed especially women due to cultural and religious reasons. Consequently, the study had more men participants than women. Also, it was challenging to find local community elders and to make focus group discussions due to many of them going to their daily activities, especially agriculture and fishing activities.

Another limitation that arose when conducting the fieldwork was a shortage of capital (financial cash) to cover return flights to Tanzania and Zanzibar Island. The capital was not enough for accommodation, local transport, and food. If financial resources had not been so constrained, the researcher would have preferred to expand his investigation to the other Limestone Caves along the East African coasts. However, these results may be transferred to other sacred limestone caves and then compared and evaluated.

10.6 Summary

This chapter mainly has drawn the key conclusions of this work regarding the objectives of the study. It has also provided recommendations that arose about this work. Lastly, it has provided limitations encountered in the study and has suggested directions for the future research areas in Limestone Cave areas along the Swahili Coast of Tanzania. This chapter was the last one.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Interview Guide (Focus Groups and Individual Interviews)

I am Maximilian Chami who is registered as a PhD student in Heritage Studies at the Brandenburg University of Technology, Cottbus in Germany.

The purpose of the interview is to hear your experiences, thoughts, views, feelings and perceptions of the use, management and conservation of ritual heritage sites in Tanzania. The focus will be on examining the ritual activities and social structures, traditional conservation systems and community involvement along the Swahili Coast of Tanzania.

Part A: Biographical Data Sheet

- Gender.....
- Age.....
- Occupation.....
- Educational Level.....
- Residential Area.....

Part B: Ritual Activities and Social Structures of the Rituals Activities in Limestone Caves

1. What does Amboni/Kuumbi mean?
2. Why is this site special to you and your community?
3. What kind of ritual activities/practises performed on this site? Can you mention them?
4. Following the ritual activities/practises mentioned above (9), who are the ones have got the rights to performing ritual activities in this cave Limestone Cave?
5. Due to the mentioned **'people'** above (10) who have got the rights to conduct rituals in this cave, when and at what time are these ritual activities and practices are performed by these **'people'**?
6. How are these ritual activities performed by these 'people' who are coming to this cave?
7. Why do you think these **"people"** are performing ritual activities in Limestone Cave and not to the other areas?
8. Since you started conducting rituals and worship in this area, have you ever faced any problem? Can you mention them?

9. Based on your experience, what do you think should be taken into account to solve these mentioned problems?

Part C: Traditional Conservation Systems

1. Since you have started using this Cave for rituals and worship, was there any traditional practises employed in the conservation of the site in general? Which ones?
2. Apart from these mentioned traditional practices, are there any traditional customary laws, rules or legislation used to ensure proper protection and usage of the Cave?
3. How have traditional conservation systems been transmitted from one generation to another?

Part D: Community Involvement in Conservation of the Sites

1. With all your experience of living in this village and using this Cave, how is your relationship with the Antiquities Authority at the site? Good or Bad? Why?
2. Based on your experience, since the site started to be monitored and controlled by the Antiquities Authorities here at the site, have you ever been involved in decision making/activities which affect the site in one way or another as one of the stakeholders?
3. Do you know Antiquities legislation for management and conservation of cultural heritage resources?
4. Based on your knowledge, do you think the Acts have done enough to recognise ritual heritage site?
5. Based on your opinion, who do you think should manage this site? Why?

Appendix II: Antiquities, Tourism Government Official, Site Managers and Researchers

A. Antiquities and Tourism Government Officials

1. Does the Antiquities/Tourism Division understand the presence of Sacred Places used by the communities for religious purposes? How do you deal with them?
2. How does the Antiquities/Tourism Division ensuring that the activities such as archaeological excavation/tourism does not interfere with the communities religious activities?
3. To what extent does the Tourism/Antiquities legislation recognise Sacred Places and ensure best practises in tourism and research activities in these sites?
4. Should you be given the opportunity to advise on how tourism/ scientific research conducted in Sacred Places (Limestone Caves) what will you say?

B. Site Managers

5. Based on your experience, do you think this site is significant to the local community? How? Why?
6. At what time of day the communities usually come for ritual practises on your site?
7. Apart from them coming for rituals and worship on this site, what have been the hindering matters for them to practise ritual activities in this Cave? How do you solve them?
8. Have you ever involved the community in the conservation and preservation of the site? How?
9. Are they involved in all activities which affect their site in one way or another?
10. Away from all these issues, what challenges do you face in the management of this ritual site?
11. Should you are given a chance to decide on the use of Sacred Heritage Place; will you give a chance for the community to practice rituals on this site?
12. What can be done to improve the management of this Amboni/ Kuumbi Limestone Cave area through integrating ritual practise?

C. Researchers

13. As a researcher (Archaeologist) who conducted an archaeological excavation in this cave, do you think this site has any value to the local community? Why?

14. Before you started an archaeological investigation or after you finished, did you conduct community (public) archaeology to the local communities?
15. Did you experience any conflicts or misunderstanding with the local communities who came for religious activities at the site during your archaeological investigation?
16. Should you be given an opportunity to advise on how should scientific research be conducted in Limestone Cave areas (Sacred Places) what would you say?

Thank You for Your Time!!!

Maximilian Chami