



PROJECT REPORT

AN INVENTORY OF THE INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF THE MAASAI PEOPLE OF OLOLOSOKWAN AND SOIT-SAMBU WARDS, NGORONGORO DISTRICT, REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface.....2

Executive Summary.....3

Introduction.....4

Intangible Cultural Heritage.....4

Background.....5

Formation and Preparation of Research Teams.....6

Project Design, Methodology & Fieldwork.....7

Project Design.....7

Methodology.....8

Fieldwork.....9

Data analysis and Results.....10

Data analysis.....10

Results.....10

Indicators.....16

Age variance in the ICH sector.....16

Commitment levels in the ICH sector.....18

Literacy levels in the ICH sector.....19

Threats to ICH and proposed safeguarding measures.....20

Conclusions.....23

Challenges.....24

Recommendations.....26

PREFACE

Intangible cultural heritage means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills - as well as the instruments objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated with these, which communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage.

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This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly created and recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.

Information on intangible cultural heritage in Tanzania, in general, is scattered and scarce and reliable data about Maasai intangible cultural heritage is almost non-existent. Tanzania, having ratified the UNESCO *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* and the 2005 UNESCO *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions* only in 2011, they are yet to undertake an inventory of intangible cultural heritage. The Loliondo Division of Ngorongoro Division is no exception. This is a gap that needs to be filled as soon as is practically possible, since such an inventory of intangible cultural heritage will enable progressive work on its safeguarding and use for community strengthening, social / economic development, promotion of sustainable practices and intercultural dialogue.

As an effort to address this gap therefore, UNESCO-Dar-Es-Salaam, together with the Centre for Heritage Development in Africa (CHDA) and the IrkiRamat Foundation, a local NGO in Loliondo Division of Tanzania, with financial support from the European Union undertook this research that was aimed at developing an inventory of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of the Maasai people of Tanzania in general and specifically for the Ololosokwan and Soit-Sambu Wards, of Loliondo Division.

The survey is intended to create increased ownership and appreciation of the intangible cultural heritage of the Maasai by working with the community to identify, safeguard and promote the cultural expressions and intangible cultural heritage (ICH) to be continuously transmitted from generation to generation.

We would like to thank our partners, UNESCO-Dar-Es-Salaam and the IrkiRamat Foundation for their collaboration and their support. We most sincerely thank the European Union for the financial support that enabled this research and inventory. We must also thank the field and data entry personnel and their supervisors, as well as appreciating the patience and cooperation of respondents.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

UNESCO 2003 convention define “Intangible Cultural Heritage” as practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills-as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated therewith-that communities, groups, and in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. For many years, intangible cultural heritage practices among African communities have faced many threats of destruction and disappearance. This is a result of modernity and cultural dynamism. In Tanzania for instance, intangible cultural heritage that was once a vibrant sector among local communities has been confronted with underserved lack of support and guidance by subsequent regimes. This is because successive governments have failed to look at intangible cultural heritage as a potential means to economic advancement of communities and the nation at large. This explains why many communities are quickly moving away from their once rich traditional practices that served many purposeful functions intended to sustain livelihoods of all residents.

The absence of government structures to coordinate the management of the culture sector therefore calls for a broader approach aimed at resuscitating the sector by embracing all other relevant players including local and international bodies and organizations. It is for this reason that UNESCO/Tanzania initiated this study with the aim to establish an inventory of existing intangible cultural heritage elements and domains among communities living in the areas of Oloosokwan and Soit-sambu wards of Loliondo division in Ngorongoro province, northern Tanzania.

In this regard and in an effort to restore the culture sector in Tanzania, UNESCO found it important to adopt a “do no harm” approach in establishing the level of awareness among residents of the area on the existence of the various ICH elements in their midst, significance of such elements, and whether there exists any safeguarding measures laid out by the communities and individuals in ensuring sustainability of such.

Following an analysis of this study and establishment of an inventory, the study has provided an array of strategies for the rehabilitation and promotion of Intangible Cultural Heritage in the region. It is hoped that if properly adopted, the recommended steps towards safeguarding of ICH in Tanzania will make local communities cross over from poverty to opulence based on the cultural wealth and creativity of communities and individuals.

INTRODUCTION

Intangible Cultural Heritage

This report is the culmination of a four months research work done between April 2014 and August 2014 by the Centre for Heritage Development in Africa (CHDA) in collaboration with UNESCO/Tanzania and IrkiRamat Foundation. In effect, the work was the beginning of a conscious effort in the form of inventorying of intangible cultural heritage (ICH) of the communities in Tanzania. It will enable the country build an informed ICH framework and policy that will help safeguard the intangible traditions and practices of communities for posterity. The results provide an authoritative database that is going to inspire planning and investment by the government and private sector in Tanzania in order to foster the emergence of a dynamic ICH sector. Due to the hitherto lack of reliable inventory and information on the ICH elements in Tanzania, few policy and investment efforts have targeted this sector. Consequently, the potential contribution of ICH in ensuring sustainable development and poverty alleviation in Tanzania has not been exploited. The project identified some of the various ICH practices and forms of intangible cultural expressions that constitute the domain.

The 2005 Convention defines Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) as practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills-as well as the instruments, objects artifacts and cultural spaces associated therewith-that communities, groups, and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.

Intangible Cultural Heritage as define in the convention thus entails *inter alia* the following domains: oral traditions and expressions, including language as vehicles of the intangible cultural heritage; performing arts, social practices, rituals and festive events; knowledge and practices concerning nature; traditional craftsmanship.

Background

Tanzania is a country of diverse cultures among who are the Maasai that are spread out in Ngorongoro province, Loliondo division and surrounding territories. The Maasai is a nomadic pastoralist group whose livelihoods revolve around livestock and related products. Loliondo division in which this inventorying exercise was conducted is largely inhabited by the Maasai, a people whose cultural traditions remain largely unpolluted and authentic to date. The cultures and traditions of the Maasai around Ololosokwan and Soit-Sambu wards have had very limited contacts with the Western influences, given the remoteness of their territories and absence of basic infrastructural facilities.

Despite all these positive cultural aspects, Tanzania's ICH industry faces great challenges. Top of this is the lack of an inventory of the ICH that would be important for the generation of social and economic benefits to the community. As such, Tanzania being a signatory to the 2005 convention lacks a framework through which it can concentrate its efforts in the development of ICH. Also due to the ignorance of the economic potential of ICH by residents, it is very difficult to get the communities involved in the safeguarding of ICH elements in their midst.

Communities all over the world have over the centuries been engaged in intangible cultural heritage practices that serve their varied interests. They have lived and grown in the tradition of dance and song, indigenous knowledge, beliefs, magic, prediction, oration, among other ICH practices. However, although marginally mentioned in press and social conversation, these traditions are yet to translate into practical and profitable recognition and consequently possible rewards to the cultural bearers. Many of these cultural bearers continue to generate in obscurity very rich intangible cultural heritage outputs. Despite the fact that many cultural bearers continue to hold the key to communities' identities, they remain "marginalized" in national policy and conversations. As a result of this realization, CHDA in collaboration with UNESCO - Dar-es-Salaam and the IrkiRamat Foundation embarked on this exercise to demonstrate that rural contexts of the 21st Century still hold critical ICH elements and domains that can be harnessed, not just for recognition, but, more importantly, as facilitators of an interface between culture and socio-economic development.

Formation and Preparation of the Research Teams

The implementation of this project began by first and foremost identifying and engaging a Lead Researcher with a strong background in anthropology and cultural research. This culminated into the signing of a contract agreement between the CHDA and the Lead Researcher. This was then followed by a reconnaissance exercise that necessitated a preparatory mission to the study area by the CHDA Project Coordinator and the Lead Researcher not only for general orientation but also for introductions with the grassroots leadership as well as to identify and recruit field assistants. With active involvement of the local area project coordinator and his two team members, it was possible to identify 4 field assistants and 1 supervisor from each of the target Wards i.e. Soit-Sambu and Ololosokwan, forming a total of ten (10). Cognizant of the gender consideration requirements, at least one lady was recruited through a competitive process into each of the teams.

Once identified, a subsequent mission was undertaken by the CHDA Project Coordinator and the Lead Researcher aimed at training the field assistants and supervisors. This exercise was also enhanced by continuous radio RAMAT announcements to help sensitize the local community of the planned activity. Radio RAMAT, run by the third partner on this project, the IrkiRAMAT Foundation, is a vernacular station based in Ololosokwan and broadcasts its programmes in the local language of the Maasai. In an exercise lasting six (6) days, field assistants were introduced to various research methods including: community entry points; identification of respondents; interviewing methods; ethics; documentation of responses; sharing of tasks; framing questions; gaining informed consent; managing anxiety and community expectations; data management etc.

It is during the same training session that questionnaires were reviewed and redesigned jointly with the local teams to check the appropriateness of the questions and wording, considering the target community values, virtues, and norms. In so doing, emphasis was laid on the Maasai translations of the wordings as used in the questionnaires so as to avoid offending or intimidating the potential respondents in any way. At the culmination of this training and provision of all necessary logistics, the ground was set for the study to begin.

PROJECT DESIGN, METHODOLOGY & FIELDWORK

Project Design

The design of the research instruments started early, right at the beginning of the project. With the indulgence of the Project Lead Researcher, an initial research tool was developed and shared with CHDA Project Coordinator. There were various discussions that came up regarding the kind of informants to target and which language of study to be adopted given that most of the cultural bearers would not necessarily be competent in the use of English as the medium of communication. It did emerge at this point that most residents of Loliondo division were comfortable in mother tongue (*Ki-Maasai*) or Kiswahili. It was resolved that those to be recruited as field assistants ought to be competent in both languages besides English-being the language of the study. Field assistants therefore had to be young men and women who had either graduated from school at form four (4) level or University. On the basis of this recruitment benchmark, it was possible to bring on board a competent team that would be able to work independently even in the absence of the CHDA Project Coordinator and The Lead Researcher. The same set of Interview guide was therefore administered across board regardless of the respondents' varied educational levels and backgrounds. It was also important to ensure that the interview guide bore the same number of questions asked in the same manner and order.

For the sake of probing and ensuring detailed information was obtained, the data collection process adopted the use of open-ended questions that did not limited the range of possible answers. The number of hours each day in the field varied for each research team according to the different experiences and challenges encountered by the field assistants. Hardships in the transport logistics and vastness of the area made it difficult to reach out to some of the informants as per the time schedules. Also, these challenges notwithstanding, each of the research teams had to arm itself with a digital camera and video, together with a set of interview guides each day of their field operation. The use of cameras and video recorders was inevitable in this study as it enabled the documentation of various on-going activities by the cultural bearers.

Methodology

This study employed the most common survey methods used in social research as outlined below:

- (i) *In-depth Interviews*. Through the help of opinion leaders including local area chiefs, elders, and others, ICH bearers (herein referred to as key informants) were identified and scheduled for in-depth interviews. These kinds of interviews were based on pre-designed interview guides that were self-administered by the research teams operating in pairs. In each interview session, one of the two field assistants engaged the informant by asking questions as outlined in the guide as the other did the recording of responses. Since the questions were open-ended, it allowed a wide range of answers with explanations; which made the interviewing process a bit more indulging. This made it possible for the teams to ask a total of only 14 direct questions, answerable in a proximately 45 minutes. This method proved more efficient especially in cases where the ICH bearers were found to operate as individuals and not as groups.

- (ii) *Focused-Group Discussions*. This method was most applicable to ICH bearers who were found to operate in groups. In such cases, they would be brought together into a discussion based on the interview guide. They would be taken through the same number of questions (14) asked in the same manner and order, to which any member of the group had an equal and non-zero chance to answer. However, the field assistants reported that in most cases in which they conducted FGDs, the group leaders often took advantage of their positions in the groups to attempt to answer most of the questions. Having been trained and equipped with the necessary skills in managing group discussions, the field assistants were able to regulate the discussions as appropriate to ensure full participation of all members in the groups. This approach also offered an opportunity to the research teams to carry out their own assessment of the groups' performance.

- (iii) *Photography and Video documentation.* The use of digital cameras and video recorders was inevitable in this inventorying process. The research teams needed to visually document on-going activities not only for recording purposes but also to support testimonies that originated from the ICH bearers themselves. At the culmination of every day's activity, each team ensured that the equipment was emptied and made ready for the next activity. This was made possible through an established database centre and by engaging a database manager at the IrkiRamat Foundation.

Fieldwork

This project started by a reconnaissance during which the field assistants and supervisors were taken through a community familiarization process in which each pair had to go through the villages, talk to the local leadership and identify the various ICH bearers herein referred to as key informants. Appointments and schedules for interviews were predetermined in the process to enable smooth running of the exercise once it kicked off. In so doing, the teams also undertook a pretest of the research tool (interview guide) with a small sample of informants to check their relevance, validity and effectiveness. From this exercise, it was possible to revise the tool appropriately in order to achieve the intended results of the inventorying process. Once all structures were put in place with field assistants trained and supervisors properly briefed, systems were set to go. The data collection process was to run under the watch of the local project coordinator assisted by the supervisors and intermittently checked by the Project Lead Researcher.

After this phase, the study kicked off as planned with the research teams applying the right community approach methods as earlier articulated in the training programme. First and foremost, the teams, while operating in pairs ensured they obtained Informed Consent by each and every key informant and/or group before proceeding to the interview or discussion stages. In order to ascertain informed consent, the teams administered a predesigned consent form on which each respondent placed his or her signature/thumb print. These were then collated as back-ups against possible copy rights issues that could arise from the inventorying process.

More often than not, interviews were hardly conducted as per schedules given the complex nature of domestic routines of individuals and groups in the area of study that usually changes according to daily

needs and circumstances. These were managed by the teams as appropriate to be able to fix interviews as was agreeable to the informants. Although these changes in the interview schedules interfered with the intended timelines and outputs, they allowed for flexibility that would ultimately allow for coverage of all the targeted informants. As a result, a total of 197 key informant interviews had been undertaken across the study area at the end of the research period. This sample included both individual and group ICH bearers.

DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

Data Analysis

Once all the data was collected and collated, they were processed with the use of rightful statistical packages available in order to make derivations from the qualitative data generated from the in-depth interview guide. Analyzed data was based on the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) as practiced by individuals, organized groups, or institutions in Loliondo division of Tanzania.

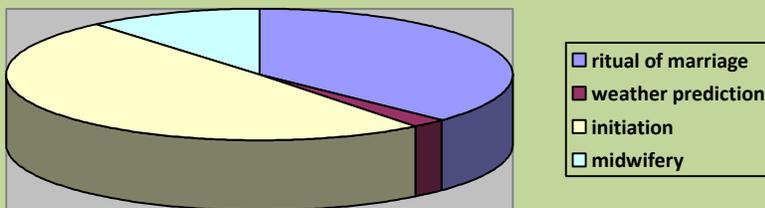
Results

Inventorizing ICH in the area

Result of this study indicates that the different domains of ICH form part and parcel of the lives of the Maasai people of Loliondo division. Though varying in the degree and scope of practice, the various domains play an integral role determining the life and times of individuals and groups in the area. It was also evident from this inventorizing exercise that the distribution of various ICH elements among residents is equally diverse. The chart displays the distribution of some of the most common ICH elements in the area .

This breakdown shows that marriage and circumcision are the most common practices in the area with prevalence rates of 100% and 90% respectively. Circumcision among the Maasai is a symbolic transition of young men and women into adulthood. In the case of men, the foreskin is removed by specially skilled traditional circumcisers who are not medically trained but have got inborn talents which in many cases are transmitted through lineage of one's either parents. Only 7 male circumcisers were found to exist in the area as at the time of this research. It also emerged that female circumcision is also a prevalent practice in the area and every family ensures that their girls undergo the cut in secrecy given that the government has

declared the tradition illegal. It is for this reason that only a few female circumcisers were willing to speak freely on the tradition in spite of them being very special individuals in the society. It was reported that circumcisers are regarded with special awe and honor. Their compensation after every ritual performance is usually given in the form of livestock and not cash as would be the case in modern times.



Marriage was found to be the most valued ritual practice of the Maasai community given that it serves as a means to ensure societal continuity by way of procreation. Among the Maasai of this area, emphasis is laid on highly negotiated marriages in which a detailed process of investigating the backgrounds of both the suitor and the bride-to-be must be undertaken. In this way, it is almost impossible for one to identify and get married to an uncircumcised girl; leave alone one from a related clan. As part of the ritual process, compensation to the family of the girl is also highly negotiated in which only an agreed number of livestock (cattle in this case) can be given at a particular point in time of the marriage process.

Like in the case of traditional circumcisers, midwifery was also found to be common to some extent. Most female residents of the area were found to be highly dependent on traditional birth attendants reportedly due to remoteness of the area. Residents thus seemed to have a lot of confidence in these cultural specialists who are usually treated with much respect across all ages. Though residents are currently getting discouraged from dependence on traditional birth attendance, many are still stuck in the belief that this is what has made the community to flourish to its current population status. The matrix below gives the distribution of ICH elements across the research area.

Table1. An inventory of ICH elements and their distribution in Loliondo division

Name of specific Element	Short Description	Prevalence rate (%)	Practitioners' details (age, gender)
Marriage, wedding & virginity test	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -identification of bride through family networks -Bride-wealth negotiations in terms of cattle -virginity testing through checking of matrimonial bedding for possible bleeding on the first night of sexual contact -Payment of bride-wealth and formalization of the marriage as a ritual through a traditional wedding 	100%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -youthful men and women -18yrs to 35yrs -must have been initiated
Circumcision/initiation Local name- <i>Emuratare</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -boys and girls of 18yrs get cut on their genital organs -a ritual process precedes the cut during which the initiates are prepared psychologically through socialization and seclusion -initiates must display a lot of courage by not screaming or showing any signs of panic/pain in the process as a sign of maturity and bravery -a male circumciser cuts the foreskin of the boys organs while a female specialist cuts the clitoris of the girls -ritual usually takes place at the wee hours of the morning 	90%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -18yrs and above -both men and women graduate into adults
Prediction & foretelling Local name- <i>Enaibon</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -usually done by a spiritual leader commonly known as <i>Oloibon</i> -spiritual leader can predict calamities and/or fortunes that will befall individuals or entire community 	3%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -usually a male domain -60yrs and above

	<p>-They are consulted in times of misfortunes to explain causes of such and to intervene on behalf of the community to the deity</p> <p>-they can as well curse, act as seers, and also cleanse</p> <p>-by cleansing, driving away bad omen or curses, they can stop deaths in families and/or clans, heal barrenness, and other ailments which are perceived to result from evil or bad omen.</p>		
Rain-making and blessing	<p>-There are cases where the community is faced with a severe drought and livestock are threatened with mass deaths</p> <p>-a rain-maker is then approached to beseech the gods for rain to fall. Those endowed with this ability usually asks for an offering-a blameless animal (cow or sheep) that is slaughtered and roasted in an open fire.</p> <p>-It is believed that this kind of sacrifice appeases the gods and ancestral spirits thus making the rain to fall at the moment of need</p>	0.3%	-either sexes of advanced ages
Midwifery/Traditional birth attending Local name- <i>Enkitoyore</i>	<p>-once born, the baby is shaven clean after a day or two depending on the sex</p>	87%	-only women of 50yrs and above
Traditional medicine & healing	<p>-with the use of herbs drawn from the local bushes and forests, traditional medicine men in the area administer treatment of various ailments to local residents.</p> <p>-in this category medicine and healers, there are those endowed with the ability of bone-setting as well</p>	7%	-either sexes of advanced ages

	<p>-traditional medicine men and witch-doctors can also tell the origins of a disease or accidents while offering solutions to such at the same time</p>		
Witchcraft & Sorcery	<p>-these individuals who are keen to cause harm to individuals through a remote use of magic</p> <p>-It is difficult to describe their operations since it is usually difficult to get people coming forth and declaring that they do cause harm to others. However, reports indicate that their operations are as discrete as the ailments they cause to their victims.</p> <p>-They are feared, they are dreaded, and they are avoided by most people in the community</p>	11%	<p>-usually men and women of middle and advanced ages</p>
Fire-making skills	<p>-this entails rubbing of a dry stick in between the two palms against a stone heaped with fine-dry fibre and/or grass with a frequency that results in a fire</p> <p>-usually works well in dry environments</p>	1%	<p>-purely a male domain</p> <p>-aged men of above 35yrs</p>
Care of livestock	<p>-cattle and goats form the most significant part of the stock per family</p> <p>-livestock are moved from one place to another in search of greener pastures and water</p> <p>-a lot of indigenous knowledge to predict seasons and where pastures exist is important</p> <p>-traditional veterinary skills for animal health plays a significant role to ensure sustainability of the large stock throughout the year</p> <p>-women and children are designated the role of caring for smaller stock such as goats and sheep</p>	100%	<p>-all ages</p> <p>-women and children care for smaller stock</p> <p>-youth (<i>morans</i>) care for cattle</p>

	<p>-smaller stock must never be moved further afield</p> <p>-tagging and use of bells as safeguards against theft and/or raiding is significant</p> <p>-young energetic and circumcised men must guard against the community attacks and its livestock against foreign aggressions</p>		
Acquisition and preservation of food	<p>-this involves the indigenous knowledge of how to bleed smaller livestock using an arrow for blood which is then drunk raw without risking the lives of the animals</p> <p>-Preservation of milk from the livestock using traditional methods such as fermentation as well as sustaining it fresh for days without clotting</p> <p>-drawing ghee from animal milk for use in cooking other food stuff</p> <p>-sun drying of meat for future consumption without the risk of rot</p>		-women of middle and advanced ages
Oral traditions & Expressions Local name- <i>Indung'eta Erashe</i>	<p>-short stories with meanings told by older people within families to the young ones to shape their moral values and rightful thinking especially when they grow up</p> <p>-stories are usually formulated from the local environment in which ordinary wildlife, plants, valleys, rivers, hills and heroes are used</p>		-elderly men and women
Traditional house-making skills Local name- <i>Enchatare</i>	<p>-constructing a traditional hut with poles and sticks; finally smearing with wet earth mixed with cow dung'.</p> <p>-Purely a female domain in which men must not take part. Women assist each other in the construction process by mobilizing those within</p>	89%	-married women above 18 yrs of age

	closer family circles		
	-All married women must own their individual huts in which they live with husband and children		

Of the total 197 key informants, 97% were found not to be registered and operated under no legal licenses. This in essence means that a huge percentage of ICH bearers operate on informal arrangements that are non-recognized by the government of Tanzania or any other Non-governmental organizations in the area. On seeking to understand why most of the bearers are not registered or licensed, the study learnt that most did not know how and where to register. Majority thought that being a traditional practice born out of sheer talent, they did not necessarily need to register with a government department or get a license of operation.

INDICATORS

Age variance in the ICH sector

For this indicator, the study wanted to know how the ICH bearers (key informants) varied by age in each traditional practice herein referred to as element. Table2 below gives a summary of the age range per ICH element in the study area.

Table2. Age variance by ICH element in Loliondo division

ICH element	15-30yrs	30-50yrs	50-above
Marriage	→		
Circumcisers		→	
Foretellers			→
Rain-makers		→	
Midwives		→	
Medicine men		→	
Witches/sorcerers	→		

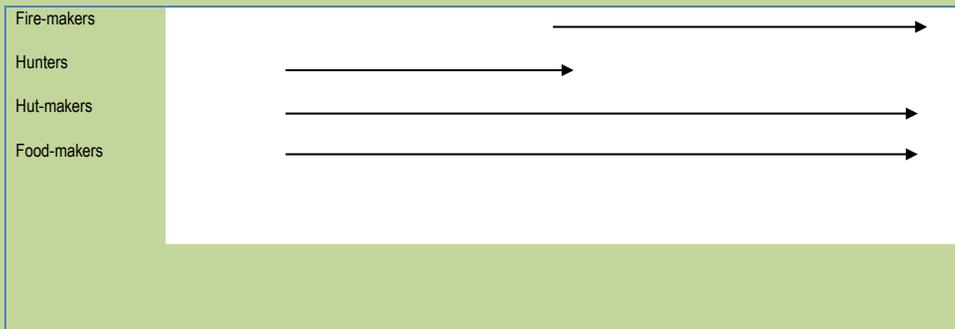


Table3. Residents' confidence levels in ICH practices by age

Respondents age range	15-30yrs	30-40yrs	40-50yrs	50-60yrs	Above 60yrs
Circumcision	85%	90%	90%	90%	100%
Marriage	56%	52%	47%	80%	95%
Witchcraft	13%	24%	30%	59%	87%
Midwifery	15%	46%	50%	66%	88%
Trad. medicine	34%	35%	40%	45%	78%

Following the above analysis, it points to the fact that most residents especially the young and the youth are losing interest in ICH practices; a pointer to the fact that tradition is threatened and will not be able to sustain in a few generations to come. As it appears, more confidence in the various ICH elements in the area occurs in the cadre of the aged above 60yrs. It was also apparent that majority of those still with the ICH knowledge in the area are in the advanced age brackets. Reasons given for lack of confidence among the young and the youth were varied in nature ranging from thinking that they are primitive practices to being based in sheer guess work!

Commitment levels in the ICH sector

It was established that the ICH sector is dominated by self driven people, who enjoy the work out of passion and talent. In seeking to gauge the extent to which the various ICH bearers were committed to their respective calls, we asked whether they were involved in other activities or employment besides the traditional activity(s). The response to this question yielded a less than 50% approval, with many individuals reporting that what they gain from their ICH activities alone was not sufficient to sustain them and their families throughout the year. This was explained by the fact that most of their actions were not meant for profit or income generation but a call to assist members of the community in times of dire need. Many reported offering their assistance to individuals and communities freely except in cases where one would want to give a token of appreciation in terms of an item or cash offer.

Table4. Commitment levels in the ICH sector

ICH bearer	Number of those committed
Circumcisers	3
Witchdoctors	23
Fire-makers	6
Midwives	34
Medicine men	21
Foretellers	2
Rain-makers	1

Literacy levels in the ICH sector

This survey sought to establish the literacy levels in the ICH sector within Loliondo division. On the question as to whether the bearers had any formal education or training, majority of the respondents answered to the negative. The figure below illustrates the response trend on this question.

ICH element	primary	secondary	college	University	Postgraduate
Circumcisers	2	0	0	0	0
Foretellers	1	0	0	0	0
Rain-makers	0	0	0	0	0
Midwives	3	1	0	0	0
Medicine men	5	1	0	0	0
Witches/sorcerers	4	2	0	0	0
Fire-makers	1	1	0	0	0
Hunters	6	4	1	0	0
Hut-makers	10	11	2	1	0
Food-makers	15	8	3	2	0

This distribution shows that a minimal percentage of ICH bearers have attained primary education and above. This was justifiable by the fact that Maasai people live deep in their tradition, and do not prioritize formal education as a means to better livelihood.

Threats to ICH and proposed safeguarding measures

This inventorying exercise identified various threats to intangible cultural heritage practices in the area and the possible subsequent measures that would promote sustainability of the same. The table below provides a detailed breakdown on this.

ICH Domain	ICH Element	Threats	Proposed safeguarding measures
Oral traditions & expressions	Story telling	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -introduction of formal education and schools in the area takes away much of the children's time in the evenings as they get indulged in doing classroom home work -natural attrition has reduced the number of those elderly & talented individuals who can tell stories to young ones in the community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -introduce story telling in the primary schools curriculum -encourage intergenerational transmission of the knowledge from the elderly to the youth through community based forums to ensure this tradition does not disappear
Performing arts	Music & dance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -livelihood quests have scattered individuals and groups who would otherwise join forces to stage performances in the evenings as was the tradition within villages -formation of dance troupes targeting tourists resorts and hotels in the urban areas has diverted interest of the locals who are now seeking the cash oriented markets 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -encourage establishment of community-based performance troupes targeting the promotion of cultural traditions of the Masai through music and dance and get them motivated through appreciation in terms of audience and tokens -sensitize communities against tourist oriented cultures by emphasizing the need to promote and protect cultures in their authentic contexts
Social practices, rituals & festive events	Circumcision	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -enhanced campaigns against female genital mutilation has 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -document these traditional practices in their authentic context for future generations to see

	<p>Midwifery</p> <p>Food preparation</p>	<p>continued to discourage locals from this tradition</p> <p>-the spread of HIV/Aids scourge has discouraged people from seeking traditional methods of initiation by way of facing the knife. Attention is now continuously drawn to modern medical facilities for those men who want to undergo the cut. This makes the ritual to lose its symbolic meaning in the Maasai community</p> <p>-traditional birth attendance and dependence on midwives is highly discouraged by agencies and the government due to the perceived risks that it entails</p> <p>-chances of mother to child transmissions of the HIV virus are higher and this has resulted in the many attempts to discourage women from reliance in this traditional practice</p> <p>-the use of modern food preservatives and equipment has continued to render traditional methods of food preparation and preservation irrelevant. This paradigm shift continues to threaten food preparation using traditional methods to a large extent</p> <p>-children and adults included tend to prefer market generated food stuff as opposed to that</p>	<p>where they came from and for posterity</p>
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		<p>which is generated in a traditional manner thus putting this traditional practice on a death bed</p>	
<p>Knowledge & practices concerning nature & universe</p>	<p>Foretelling Rain-making Traditional medicine</p>	<p>-the use of modern technology and scientific knowledge continues to be embraced by communities given the perceived accuracy and reliable information generated from it.</p> <p>-since traditional medicine is not tested and scientifically found to treat ailments, many people today tend to have more confidence in the contemporary medical services vis-à-vis the traditional ones</p>	<p>-sensitize communities towards continuation of their traditions that largely served in their interests without necessarily compromising modern technology if both can complement each other</p>
<p>Traditional craftsmanship</p>	<p>Hut-making</p>	<p>-though still highly valued among the Maasai, traditional huts are fast getting replacement by the corrugated iron sheets and other building materials. Some of the reasons given by residents is that traditional huts are less durable given that they are usually made from locally available materials that have shorter life spans</p> <p>-the few educated young people in the community continue to speak well of modern housing and are changing the community perception that a modern house is a symbol of wealth and modernity.</p>	

Conclusions

The increasing attention that Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) is receiving by academia and the development institutions has not yet led to a unanimous perception of the concept. None of the definitions is essentially contradictory; they overlap in many aspects. ICH is unique to a given culture or society. ICH contrasts with the international technological systems generated by universities, research institutions and private firms. It is the basis for local-level decision making in agriculture, health care, food preparation, education, natural-resource management, and a host of other activities in rural communities. ICH is the information base for a society, which facilitates communication and decision-making. They are dynamic, and are continually influenced by internal creativity and experimentation as well as by contact with external systems.

In the emerging global knowledge economy a country's ability to build and mobilize knowledge capital, is equally essential for sustainable development as the availability of physical and financial capital. The basic component of any country's knowledge system is its intangible cultural heritage. It encompasses the skills, experiences and insights of people, applied to maintain or improve their livelihood.

Significant contributions to global knowledge have originated from indigenous people, for instance in human medicine and veterinary medicine with their intimate understanding of their environments. ICH is developed and adapted continuously to gradually changing environments and passed down from generation to generation and closely interwoven with people's cultural values. ICH is also the social capital of the poor, their main asset to invest in the struggle for survival, to produce food, to provide for shelter or to achieve control of their own lives.

Today, many ICH elements among the Maasai are at risk of becoming extinct because of rapidly changing natural environments and fast pacing economic, political, and cultural changes on a global scale. Practices vanish, as they become inappropriate for new challenges or because they adapt too slowly. However, many practices disappear only because of the intrusion of foreign technologies or development concepts that promise short-term gains or solutions to problems without being capable of sustaining them. The tragedy of the impending disappearance of ICH is most obvious to those who have developed it and make a living through it. But the implication for others can be detrimental as well, when skills, technologies, artifacts, problem solving strategies and expertise are lost.

This study found that ICH is part of the lives of the rural poor of Loliondo division; their livelihood depends almost entirely on specific skills and knowledge essential for their survival. Accordingly, for the development process, ICH was found to be of particular relevance in the following sectors and strategies: Animal husbandry and ethnic veterinary medicine, Use and management of natural resources, Primary health care (PHC), preventive medicine and psychosocial care. ICH is not yet fully utilized in the development process. Conventional approaches imply that development processes always require technology transfers from locations that are perceived as more advanced. This has led often to overlooking the potential in local experiences and practices.

Development agents (CBOs, NGOs, governments, donors, local leaders, and private sector initiatives) need to recognize it, value it and appreciate it in their interaction with the local communities. Before incorporating it in their approaches, they need to understand it – and critically validate it against the usefulness for their intended objectives. ICH forms part of the global knowledge. In this context, it has a value and relevance in itself. ICH can be preserved, transferred, or adopted and adapted elsewhere.

The development process must interact with intangible cultural heritage. When designing or implementing development programs or projects, three scenarios can be observed: The development strategy relies entirely or substantially on ICH; overrides ICH; or incorporates ICH. Planners and implementers need to decide which path to follow.

Challenges

This inventorying exercise was faced with a myriad of challenges as outlined below:

1. Due to financial constraints, it was not possible for the Lead Researcher to continuously stay in the study area throughout the data collection period. This made it difficult to closely watch over the process so as to offer directions in the survey as appropriate. The same financial limitations disallowed payments of the recruited Field Assistants to their expectations thus making them less committed as the case would have been if the rates offered were satisfactory

2. Since no similar survey had previously been conducted on the same subject area in the region, there was absolutely no reference point from which the survey teams could learn or even make comparisons aimed at improving the output of the exercise.
3. The difficult terrains and poor infrastructure in terms of access roads and communication networks in the area of study made the fieldwork and coordination between teams quite cumbersome. These conditions slowed the data collection process resulting in failure to deliver the project within stipulated timelines
4. Since the language of the project to the funding partners is English, it was imperative that the interview guide be done in the same language. The Field Assists were then compelled to translate the questions into local vernacular languages in order to enhance communication with the informants. In this kind of arrangement, some element of inaccurate translations could result into questions being asked in a different way from what was initially intended. It also delayed the interviewing process in every session with the various key informants.
5. Although interview schedules were already prepared during the reconnaissance and pre-test stages of the inventorying, more often than not, the respondents failed to honour the appointments due to unforeseen commitments or sheer forgetfulness. This also affected the smooth flow of the data collection process.
6. Since the project was perceived to have been funded by a well established organization- UNESCO/Tanzania and the European Union, this raised community expectations in terms of compensations especially on the part of the ICH bearers for the times spent in the interview sessions. It took the expertise of the field teams to maneuver through articulate explanations of the purpose and intent of the project.

Recommendations

The Study recommends the following toward improving creative cultural industries in the area.

- i. There should be an established network of ICH bearers or a forum in which they can congregate and engage the relevant authorities, exchange opinions, and fight the challenges they face
- ii. Government departments concerned with cultures and traditions should make regular visits to ICH bearers at the grassroots to encourage and advise on their activities appropriately
- iii. There is need to build capacities of the ICH bearers to equip them with the necessary safety skills and procedures especially when dealing with human life.
- iv. There is need to change the public perception and attitudes especially on the younger generation towards the ICH and the significant roles it plays in society.
- v. There is need to encourage locals towards ICH safeguarding efforts in order to secure it for posterity
- vi. Educate residents and make them learn to appreciate the value of Intangible Cultural Heritage in their midst
- vii. Set up a mechanism for establishing cross-cutting policies and inter-ministerial decisions that will support the Intangible Cultural Heritage sector