"Where our house was I found only trees": Colonial Development and Shared Memory in the Village of Itulike, Tanzania

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Abstract

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Jacob Orr

When the Colonial Development Corporation (CDC) began development projects in rural Africa, it did so with a dual purpose. Projects were meant to both improve the social and economic welfare of colonial subjects in order to pre-empt calls for independence, and to create new economic opportunities for British business and government interests within the so-called Sterling Area. Thus began the story of TANWAT, a plantation style agro-forestry project in the Southern Highlands region of what was then Tanganyika, now the Republic of Tanzania. Through the alienation of land, the CDC and TANWAT moved thousands of rural villagers off of prime agricultural land in order to grow wattle, a tree native to Australia. This thesis explores the political debates which spawned the CDC and its style of development and the memories of TANWAT's arrival into the lives of elders from the village of Itulike, Tanzania, most of which were positive. Furthermore, this thesis will analyze these memories with thought given to how they may have been shaped more by rural experience through three successive shocks to Tanzanian society from the 1960's through the 2000's. The three shocks were *Ujamaa* socialism, Western imposed structural adjustment programs, and the HIV/AIDS crisis. Ultimately, TANWAT's presence in the lives of these elders and its capacity to provide support to the community mitigated the effects of these three shocks, contributing to a net positive memory of its arrival in the Southern Highlands.

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Table of Contents

After the Second World War successive British governments struggled with how the United Kingdom could maintain and develop its colonial holdings. This resulted in important policy shifts in colonial governance and development, and a number of direct investment projects in British colonies and mandated territories. Many of these projects were agricultural and forestry based, requiring the alienation of thousands of hectares of land for plantations. This land alienation had a profound effect on local communities and people. This study looks at one such project, a wattle tree plantation project in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania, and the impact it had on a local people as remembered by elders in one village that was completely surrounded by these plantations. The vehicle for these development projects was the Colonial Development Corporation (CDC), established by the government in London in 1947. The CDC sponsored a number of projects in East Africa; this study focuses on the Tanganyika Wattle Company, otherwise known as TANWAT. TANWAT arrived in the Njombe region of Tanzania in the late 1940's, and continues to exist as a private company to the present day.

This thesis explores how the CDC-owned TANWAT Company and its establishment of a wattle plantation in Njombe reflected new trends in British policy on how African and Asian development projects were to be undertaken following World War Two. In turn, it will also investigate how this new approach to development is remembered by local inhabitants in one village that found itself suddenly completely surrounded by TANWAT plantations, and how these memories were possibly affected by larger trends in Njombe, the rest of Tanzania, and the world since the arrival of the company. The study will begin with the global colonial, political and scientific trends that impacted African development policy post World War Two, and resulted in the UK in the creation of the CDC and, by extension, TANWAT. It will continue with an original study of the living memory of elders in a small village that was deeply impacted by

the arrival of the CDC on its land. The thesis will end with a discussion of how the memories of the participants may have been affected by historical shocks to Tanzanian society and TANWAT's connection to these shocks. All the participants in this original study are residents of the village of Itulike, found to the south-west of Njombe Town in the administrative region of Njombe, and all were alive when the CDC took over the pre-existing FORESTAL plantations in 1948 and expanded them massively. This study will thus begin with the global, and end with the very local.

This thesis will argue that locals living in Itulike experienced larger global forces through the arrival of TANWAT and how it conducted business in Njombe; on the whole this is remembered as a net positive experience by elders in Itulike. TANWAT's various actions in and around the village provided the people with the means to substantially improve their lives and the lives of their families, despite the alienation of prime agricultural land for the creation of plantation forests. This thesis will further argue that the establishment of the CDC and the resulting actions of TANWAT find their inspiration in two strains of policy thinking rooted in a Conservative and a Labour view of how colonial development should best be undertaken by the British government and a balance between pure profit-making and social development, between public and private investment, that is reflected in the CDC's mandate. This balanced or hybrid approach to colonial development, incarnated in the CDC and its projects, was sustained largely unchanged for decades. It will also consider how positive memories of TANWAT could have more to do with how the people of Itulike experienced a progressive series of social and economic shocks to Tanzanian society and how these shocks were mitigated by the presence of TANWAT in their area rather than a simple, "one-off" positive experience of the company's arrival. The survival of TANWAT as a profit making, largely private sector company and the

generally positive memories of the elders of Itulike about the arrival and the presence of TANWAT suggest that the balance of economic and social development that this hybrid approach was meant to create was, at least with TANWAT and an older generation of people in Itulike, successful.

This study attempts to recount "history from above" (with the struggles in London to shape post World War Two colonial development policy) and "history from below" (as the people of one Tanzanian village experienced the impact of these policies in the form of the Tanganyika Wattle Company). As James L. Giblin points out in *A History of the Excluded: Making Family a Refuge From State in Twentieth-Century Tanzania,* "in recent years, historians have become increasingly aware that their training impels them to tell stories which place the state. . . at their centre," and that this state-centered approach is increasingly seen as inadequate.[1] A core challenge of this thesis is how to strike a balance between a state centered narrative and one that is narrated by the people living through the events. Giblin has wrestled with this exact problem, coincidentally in the same area on which this study focuses in Njombe, Tanzania. He essentially looks at how to bring together state-dominated histories with stories from people's private lives. In doing so he calls on Ranajit Guha, who, as part of the subaltern group of historians, has championed the idea that the voices of the colonized subalterns have often been silenced by state-centred, anti-colonial nationalist and Marxist tendencies.[2] Giblin also uses Dipesh Chakrabarty's ideas of "analytical" and "affective" narratives to characterize the two poles of history-telling.[3] Finally, Giblin finds inspiration in the ideas of Nobel Prize-winning poet Derek Walcott about how to include "'... the story, the fable, the rumour, as opposed to time,

[1] James L. Giblin, *A History of the Excluded: Making Family a Refuge From State in Twentieth-Century Tanzania*, (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2005): 4.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid, 6.

dates, and places'."[4] Giblin surfaces and integrates the "voices of the excluded" by focusing on the private sphere of family life in rural Njombe, how it was inevitably affected by larger state-driven actions and how the family sphere demonstrated considerable agency in responding to these actions in the forms of creating ways of living within them. Though this study will not attempt to go as deep as Giblin's into family and community structures including issues of gender and class, it nonetheless will draw on his theoretical and practical approach in order to balance the larger narrative stemming from the "history from above" of the CDC in London and the voices of the excluded in Itulike.

This study touches on a variety of themes arising from the East African context of the people of Njombe region and the village of Itulike. The broadest theme which cuts across the entire study of the history of plantation forestry in the region and its impact on the people of the village is the transition from colonial to post-colonial Tanganyika/Tanzania. This thesis will focus on understanding better that transition by looking at British colonial policy as it was shaped by domestic pressures from both Conservative and Labour ideologies and governments, post World War Two. British colonialism faced renewed international opposition during this period, especially from the American government and the newly established United Nations, with the victorious and now hegemonic USA openly promoting national self-determination for colonies over any renewal of French, Dutch or British imperialism.[5] In Tanganyika, the British would face additional pressure because of the East African territory's League of Nations (and then United Nations) mandatory status which required the UK to take rising indigenous

[4] As Giblin explains "Derek Walcott speaks of the difference between narratives of progress through time and alternative stories of subaltern endurance set in a mythical present." Giblin, *A History of the Excluded*, 6.
[5] Cheikh Anta Babou, "Decolonization or National Liberation: Debating the End of British Colonial Rule in Africa," *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 632 (2010): 42-43.

independence leaders more seriously than in its strictly colonial territories.[6] Post World War Two, the British also sought to shape their rapidly evolving relationships with colonies and mandated territories in Asia and Africa in the direction of immediate and long term economic benefit for the mother country through extraction and two way trade in the so-called Sterling area.[7]

As part of this transition from colonial to postcolonial status, another theme which becomes important throughout the time period under investigation is the evolution of post-World War Two British development strategies for Africa and Asia. Under pressure from many of the same forces mentioned above, but especially from the expectations of Labour and Conservative politicians and supporters in Britain, development strategies took on new political importance as part of the debate on the future of the British Empire.[8] Ultimately, the question of how best to support colonial economic development would receive a partial and surprisingly durable bipartisan answer in 1948 in the form of the Colonial Development Corporation (CDC); TANWAT, the Tanganyika-based plantation forestry company that is the focus of this study,

[6] Recent historiography criticizes what some see as an excessive emphasis on American and British partisan pressures for colonial change and insufficient attention to the impact of indigenous liberation leaders in the process. See Babou, "Decolonization or National Liberation," 42.

[7] Catherine R. Schenk does an in depth review of the post World War monetary challenges for Britain in her book *The Decline of Sterling: Managing the Retreat of an International Currency* and says, "it is becoming well established in the literature that the empire had a final moment of prominence in British policy-making during the dollar shortage from 1945 to 1951, but this position quickly receded." Catherine R. Schenk, *The Decline of Sterling: Managing the Retreat of an International Currency,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010): 94. For a further review of the complexities of post war currency see Divya Subramanian, "Empire Recast: Britain, America, and the Defense of Imperial Cooperation, 1945-1949," (Senior Thesis Seminar, Barnard College, 2013): 25, where Subramanian writes "Britain set up the sterling area as an ad-hoc trading bloc after the Ottawa Conference in 1931; it was formalized in 1941 and defined as a currency bloc," and that "the purpose of the sterling bloc was simply to uphold the value of sterling, alleviating Britain's balance of payments problem through the operation of a common reserve pool of dollars and gold."

[8] Babou cautions, however, that the importance of the issue in British politics should not lead to the "planned decolonization" conclusion of many historians. The scramble to leave India and the confusion over Palestine had an African parallel: "in reality, what was presented as planned policies for decolonization appeared more as bricolage aimed first at anticipating African political demands, second at containing those demands when they were not anticipated, and third at finding ways for preserving British interests when decolonization became inevitable." Babou, "Decolonization or National Liberation," 42.

would become a notable success story for the CDC and its hybrid public-private approach to colonial development. With this approach, development no longer focused on the simple extraction of resources (though that was certainly still the key motivator) but rather on building stronger economies and labour markets with economic and social benefits for local populations as well as profit for the mother country and its investors.[9] This new development framework of market-driven projects with a social mandate, though never without its critics, was applied in several British colonies and mandated territories.[10] CDC projects had a reasonably high commercial success rate (unlike the wasteful failure of one contemporary agro-forestry project, the infamous British Groundnut Scheme) and many of its development projects in East Africa survived as private companies owned by the soon renamed "Commonwealth Development Corporation" without being nationalized by newly independent governments in the region as many private plantation style enterprises were.[11] There is a rich historiography, much of it recent, that interrogates the very idea of "development" as a neutral category that can be used to describe

[9] The key leaders in the new government of Clement Attlee, elected in 1945, including the powerful Foreign Secretary, Ernest Bevin, were openly supportive of maintaining some form of the British Empire even as they accepted the inevitable loss of India. But with the remaining colonial possessions and mandated territories, they were "sensitive to criticism that such programmes were new forms of British colonial exploitation," though "Attlee and most of the Cabinet probably honestly believed that British investment and mutual trade would immediately benefit both Britain and its colonies and would eventually aid colonies by modernising the economies." Jerry H. Brookshire, *Clement Attlee*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 143.

[10] The debate around the usefulness or feasibility of development and economic aid in poorer parts of the world would go on in Britain beyond the era of the establishment of the CDC. It was a perennial topic with themes present at the birth of the CDC and often on display. As an example, Lady Barbara Ward, a proponent of development and development theories, and P. T. Bauer, a critic, actively argued for and against the kinds of development schemes which were proliferating during the 1950's and 1960's based on the assumptions of British post war development policies. See Barbara Ward and P. T. Bauer, *Two Views on Aid to Developing Countries*, (London: The Institute of Economic Affairs, 1966).

[11] The failed East Africa Groundnut Scheme became a metaphor for failed government projects in Britain well into the 1960's. It was the brainchild of the United Africa Company, who persuaded the UK government to launch an effort in 1946 to clear one million acres of bush, 75 percent of that in Tanganyika, to produce 400,000 tons of groundnuts (peanuts) per year, primarily for the production of cooking oil which was in dangerously low supply in domestic markets. A special legal entity, the Overseas Food Corporation (OFC), was created to manage government investment in the Groundnut Scheme, in the same legislation that established the CDC. The Groundnut Scheme was ended in 1955, having lost at least 32 million pounds sterling against an original capital cost estimated at 8 million pounds sterling, with almost no production delivered to the UK. It was the only project undertaken by the OFC. See Barry Ireton, *Britain's International Development Policies: A History of DFID and Overseas Aid*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) and Matteo Rizzo, "What Was Left of the Groundnut Scheme? Development Disaster and Labour Market in Southern Tanganyika 1946-1952," *Journal of Agrarian Change* 6 (2006): 205-238.

what are essentially power relationships between a dominant North and an exploited South; some of that debate will be reviewed in the conclusion to this paper showing how the concept and the term "development" can still be used responsibly though with due caution about its imperialist assumptions and implications.[12]

The third theme in this study is the rather peculiar role that TANWAT filled in its relations to the local populace as a kind of hybrid private-public entity, fulfilling for local people many functions that are usually the responsibility of local government. This theme touches on issues arising from the alienation of land by TANWAT for its plantation forestry operations, but also on the company's social and economic impact.[13] As a CDC owned enterprise, TANWAT had a mandate to benefit local populations as well as to create a profitable business; clearly, it was also in TANWAT's business interests to have a dependable local workforce and to maintain good relations with neighbouring communities. Social development was also a management imperative subject to annual review by the Board of the CDC and by Parliament as well. This theme touches on aspects of what would now be called corporate social responsibility (CSR). As Charlotte Walker-Said puts it in her introduction of *Corporate Social Responsibility? Human Rights in the New Global Economy*, a large group of scholars "consider CSR a framework for conceptualizing the business and society interface."[14] Corporate social responsibility is, in practice, when corporations integrate self-regulating policies within their own business

[12] See, for example, James Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity: Myths and Meanings of Urban Life on the Zambian Copperbelt*, (Berkely: University of California Press, 1999), Priya Lal, "African Socialism and the Limits of Global Familyhood: Tanzania and the New International Economic Order in Sub-Sahara Africa," *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development* 6 (2015): 17 - 31; and Emma Hunter, "A History of *maendaleo*: the concept of 'development' in Tanganyika's late colonial public sphere", in *Developing Africa: Concepts and Practices in Twentieth-Century Colonialism*, edited by Joseph Hodge et al. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014): 87-106.

[13] For a review of the CDC's wattle plantation's impact on local leadership in Njombe, see Giblin, *A History of the Excluded*, 209-244.

[14] Charlotte Walker-Said, "Introduction: Power, Profit and Social Trust," in *Corporate Social Responsibility? Human Rights in the New Global Economy*, ed. Charlotte Walker-Said and John D. Kelly (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 2.

development. According to Walker-Said, it represents for scholars a claim "to quantify and qualify the 'social impact' as well as the environmental and social corollaries of business in a particular space."[15] If it is not an anachronism to view TANWAT's social outreach as embryonic CSR style management of community relations, that must be tempered by recognizing that TANWAT and its owner, the CDC, were ultimately creatures of public policy with a legal mandate to balance economic and social development, not simply as a for-profit management strategy but as a conscious political choice in how to manage colonial relationships in a time of profound change.

This theme of the hybrid nature of TANWAT links closely with the previous theme of the post World War Two evolution of British foreign development policy though it focuses more on how TANWAT operations would have been viewed by the local population. TANWAT's dominant presence in the Njombe economy and its provision of a number of services - roads, schools, hospitals and health clinics - that were usually administered by government made its role and its image among locals somewhat ambiguous. Was it a company intended primarily to create profit and drive economic growth in the region? Or was it more of a social development project with its heaviest emphasis on the creation of jobs and services for locals?

The fourth theme in this thesis deals with the experience of rural Africans after World War Two as colonial power forced their increasing integration into the structures of modern, Western-dominated life. In the case of TANWAT's creation by the CDC, increased integration into modernity arrived in the form of a market-based, export-oriented, agro-forestry project sponsored by a government agency that was an expression of the UK's desire to build a new approach to colonial development that would be acceptable to a world grown tired of European

[15] Walker-Said, "Introduction," 1.

empires. Njombe area villagers were already plugged into a modern plantation-based, commodity production economy by way of the traditional labour migration by younger men of the region to the huge sisal and cotton plantations in the coastal Tanga region. They had also been introduced to European-style education and health care by missionary and church-based schools and hospitals, though these were few and far between with severely limited resources and services. However, the arrival of TANWAT brought all of the experiences of "modernity" right to the doorstep of the villagers living within the new TANWAT plantations. The company enmeshed their lives ever deeper in a commercial, capitalist world of market commodity production and wage labour. Due to the CDC's mandate to balance economic and social development, TANWAT not only brought money and jobs to these villages but also expanded education and health care infrastructure. The capacity of TANWAT to provide certain key services would be underlined during the era of structural adjustment programs, when government budgets shrunk and public services suffered. This thesis asks how this experience of a late-colonial, early-independence development effort is remembered rather than how it was lived, and tries to understand how these memories may have been coloured by the hybrid public-private TANWAT enterprise, its approach to linking the natural and human resources of rural Africa to world markets, and its connection to structural adjustment policies.

Here, as well, recent historiography has brought a critical lens to the experience of modernity and its impact on colonial African village life. James Ferguson, for example, looked at the lives of individuals and families involved in the migrant labour force in Zambia's Copperbelt; in particular, he looks at how rural and urban experience shape expectations of life for workers and their families and how they deal with the pressures of employment in a commodity-based, male-dominated industry and the challenges of existence in urbanized, consumer-driven

communities that promote the "modern family ideal". As he observes with respect to both the power and hollowness of modernity in African life, "wanting a modern family - like wanting a streamlined refrigerator - entails an imaginary relation to modernity itself, and a desire to escape from the world of the 'second class'."[16] The construction of "an imaginary relation" may be seen in the memories of the elders in this study, though in many ways their rural ways in Itulike were much less disrupted by TANWAT's presence than those of people building new lives in the industrial setting of the Copperbelt. In a similar vein, Giblin's work on Njombe is an extended investigation of how ideals of family life are shaped by Northern-driven influences including Christianity, migrant labour, and consumerism but how for the Wabena, family becomes a place of refuge and (limited but real) agency for the "excluded" of developing Tanganyikan and Tanzanian society.

Finally, oral history plays a large role in this study. How memories are recounted and how those memories could have been affected by events which occur after a particular moment in history will be a key preoccupation and theme given the original source material - and backbone of this thesis - that comes from storytelling sessions by elders in the village of Itulike. What the seniors of Itulike remember about the arrival of TANWAT and how they share it in public storytelling is an important part of this study, including reflection on how their memories may have been shaped by the history of the Njombe region and Tanzania as a whole. The memories gathered here are, for the most part, from the period of the arrival and establishment of TANWAT and the CDC in Njombe. However, these memories are not isolated from lifetimes of experience, and this study attempts to wrestle with how the memories of the earliest days of

[16] Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity*, 204.

TANWAT and its impact could have been affected by the role TANWAT played in subsequent decades in local life.

Colonial Power, Land Alienation and Plantation Forestry

The territory that would become Tanganyika was first colonised by the Germans in the early 1880s. The now infamous Karl Peters, founding member of the Society for German Colonization, concluded a series of treaties with indigenous African leaders, essentially ceding all of their territory (using a foreign, European legal framework) to what would become the German East Africa Company.[17] This company and its dubious legal title to East African lands were given full imperial protection by the government of Chancellor Bismarck in 1885.[18] During the Berlin Conference in 1885, while Belgium protected its interests further west in the Congo, Germany and Britain came to agreement on how East Africa would be divided, with Germany granted the territory secured largely by Peters' efforts as German East Africa. German colonial authorities would face widespread indigenous resistance throughout their period of rule in German East Africa, resulting most spectacularly in an infamous guerrilla war (some have claimed a genocidal war) with the Hehe people led by their renowned Chief Mkwawa as well as the Maji Maji rebellion.[19]

The First World War saw German and British forces clash repeatedly in German East Africa, with the brunt of the destruction and death being visited upon Africans and not Europeans. Both armies moved in and out of the territory, especially in the north and southwest, each time stripping the land of food and resources and pressing the youngest and healthiest men

[17] John Illife, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979): 90.
[18] Ibid, 90-91.
[19] Ibid, 108-109.

and women into serving as soldiers and porters in a conflict which had little to do with them.[20] Germany's defeat in the First World War led to its signing the Treaty of Versailles in which it relinquished all of its overseas colonial territories. German East Africa thus became a mandated territory under British control, a status that was designed as a compromise between independence and full imperial control, the idea being that these mandated territories would move eventually to independence after a period of development of an indigenous leadership. German East Africa was renamed Tanganyika.

Whereas the Germans had taken a much more hands on approach in the governance of the colony, the newly mandated British implemented a system it called "indirect rule" that they had pioneered in Nigeria and which saw Africans taking more control of local governing through systems of "traditional chiefs" whose status, revenues, and power depended directly and exclusively on British colonial authorities' patronage and approval. Roderick P. Neumann describes how "indirect rule was appealing materially to the Colonial Office; administration could be conducted cheaply as chiefs and African functionaries would be paid by the native treasuries," and that "it was also politically expedient; the Africans' own leaders were responsible for implementing colonial policy, however unpopular."[21] Neumann also observes how ideologically and in keeping with Tanganyika's status as a League of Nations mandate, indirect rule could be characterized as a "training" for eventual self-rule by Africans.[22] As a League of Nations mandate, Tanganyika would not be ruled as it had been by the Germans and, in fact,

[20] Sunseri notes how forested areas in Tanganyika often bore the brunt of the damaging effects of the war, as German forces were more likely to take refuge in forested areas in order to carry out guerrilla warfare against the invading British forces. In his own words, he admits that "the war left the Tanganyikan forests in a sorry state." Thaddeus Sunseri, *Wielding the Ax: State Forestry and Social Conflict in Tanzania, 1820-2000*, (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2009): 77.
[21] Roderick P. Neumann, "Forest Rights, Privileges and Prohibitions: Contextualising State Forestry Policy in Colonial Tanganyika," *Environment and History* 3 (1997): 49.
[22] Ibid.

would not be ruled as much of the rest of the British colonial Africa. The Tanganyikan Land Ordinance of 1923 that would frame many decisions about development in the new territory, for example, was directly influenced by the colony's mandate status: in what would turn out to be a contradictory, impractical approach, all land was declared 'public' (or Crown land) but simultaneously all "Africans were granted 'rights of occupancy' on public lands which would remain under local control through customary tenure systems."[23]

British colonial forestry policy in Tanganyika was intended to be a continuation of the previous German administration's policies. All protected forest reserves including plantations created under the German administration were renewed by the British in 1920. D.K.S. Grant, formerly a member of the Kenya Forest Service, was made the Conservator of Forests in 1921. He created a Tanganyikan forestry department which based its headquarters in the same building that housed the former German colonial forestry service.[24] Edward Mgaya claims that "the British followed the German forestry policy in terms of adhering to the idea that the ultimate ownership of the forests was held by the government," however that government was to be defined in a League of Nations mandated territory.[25] Sunseri also recognizes continuity but cautions that "British rule in Tanganyika began with a German forestry template on maps and in files, but not on the ground."[26] Neumann observes that both German and British colonial foresters often invoked rhetoric which valued European "scientific forestry" with no regard, indeed considerable disdain and hostility, for local forestry practices.[27]

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[23] Neumann, "Forest Rights, Privileges and Prohibitions," 49.
[24] Ibid, 50.
[25] Edward Mgaya, "Forest and Forestry in Tanzania: Changes and Continuities in Policies and Practices From Colonial Times to the Present," *Journal of the Geographical Association of Tanzania* 36 (2016): 49.
[26] Thaddeus Sunseri, *Wielding the Ax: State Forestry and Social Conflict in Tanzania, 1820-2000*, (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2009): 77.
[27] Neumann, "Forest Rights, Privileges and Prohibitions," 60.

The structure of timber industries and forest plantations found throughout East Africa, and indeed the entire world, can find much of its origins in "scientific forestry", having first been developed in 18th century Prussia. In an effort to make forests more eligible for exploitation, the Prussian state foresters narrowed their vision and took on abstract means of explaining the function and growth of the forest environment, an explanation which was based on the amount of revenue that each tree would provide.[28] Wood shortages became a growing concern during the late 18th century within Prussia and Saxony as old growth forests had slowly been cut away for centuries. The unmanaged regrowth of the forests was turning out to be less than ideal for replenishing wood stocks, adding further worries to the state and to a population which relied on the wood for fuel. The loss of forests would eventually cause panic within the state bureaucracy as fears of economic repercussions, as well as unrest in a peasant populace reliant on firewood for fuel, began to boil over.[29]

The first step in the beginning of scientific forestry involved the careful measuring of forests in order to ascertain how much commercially viable wood they contain. This is accomplished by taking a representative plot of land, then counting the number of species and the amount of each, then multiplying that number (after a few assumptions) to arrive at a total amount of wood available for sale or use. The second step in the process was to literally begin simplifying the forest by carefully seeding desired species while simultaneously eliminating or suppressing any trees not deemed viable or marketable by the state's standards. This was done in order to maximise the amount of high value and high yield trees available for future use. Economically speaking, the first attempts at simplification were a success for the first generation

[28] James C. Scott, *Seeing Like A State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998): 13.
[29] Ibid, 14.

of trees. However, by the second generation, trees and forests ordered using scientific forestry began failing miserably. Diseases and weather were found to be a greater danger to forests with less species diversity - if one tree was likely to fall in a storm or be affected by pests, then a monoculture forest is more likely to succumb to any individual problem. Despite these initial problems, scientific forestry continued to be a part of a state's ordering of its territories, and could be found both in the metropole and the colony. In the case of Tanganyika, Sunseri notes how the "basic premise was the need for the state to assume control over forests and woodlands so that they might be managed productively for their timber and other forest resources as part of a strategy of colonial development."[30] It is perhaps ironic that a German led scientific process of commercialising timber would be applied in a former German colony by a post-World War Two British colonial development apparatus. The CDC's approach to forestry enterprises would follow all the principles of single species cropping approaches to forests that German foresters had established as the scientific and industrial norm a century before.

The Case of the Tanganyika Wattle Company (TANWAT)

The history of TANWAT begins with the Colonial Development Corporation and the myriad of laws and acts which brought it into existence. The CDC was created in order to improve the lives of those in the colonies, and later in the Commonwealth once most British colonies gained independence.[31] Geoff Tyler describes how the CDC was never meant to be simply an aid agency or a hands-off, development-focused, venture capital fund, adding that the

[30] Thaddeus Sunseri, "Every African a Nationalist": Scientific Forestry and Forest Nationalism in Colonial Tanzania," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 49 (2007): 886.
[31] Geoff Tyler, "All Africa Review of Experiences with Commercial Agriculture: The Fall and Rise of the Colonial Development Corporation," Background paper for the Competitive Commercial Agriculture in Sub-Saharan Africa (CCAA) Study http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTAFRICA/Resources/257994-1215457178567/CCAA_Colonial.pdf.: 3.

"CDC had no intention of simply being a banker," and that "it saw itself directly tackling the kinds of countries and projects that the private sector would be wary of."[32] H. Nutcombe Hume, speaking as Deputy Director of the Colonial Development Corporation in 1956, described how the mandate of the CDC differed from that of the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, stating that the "CDC is an entirely separate organization. . . its projects must be such as will ultimately earn revenue to cover the payment of interest and repayment of capital."[33] Hume continued by outlining that the CDC is "charged with the duty of securing the investigation, formulation, and carrying out of projects for developing resources of colonial territories with a view to the expansion of production therein."[34]

The Financial Advisor to the Secretary of State, Sydney Caine, had in 1943 begun the debate which would end in the creation of the CDC. As he saw it, the coming post-war world would bring with it certain problems which required London to be more proactive in its handling of development in the colonies. Prior to the war, initiatives were commonly approved by the Colonial Office only after receiving proposals from colonial governors. All of these proposals were made in accordance with the Colonial Development Act of 1929, which provided for the grants for proposals that simply had to be approved by the Colonial Office. Caine was championing the opposite - that London should actively develop and propose its own ideas for development in the colonies.[35]

The landslide electoral victory which saw the Labour party achieve power in Britain in 1945 increased the amount of spending which was set aside for large scale developments projects

[32] Tyler, "All Africa Review of Experiences with Commercial Agriculture," 4.
[33] H. Nutcombe Hume, "The Work of the Colonial Development Corporation," *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 104 (1956): 777.
[34] Ibid, 776.
[35] Michael McWilliam, *The Development Business: A History of the Commonwealth Development Corporation*, (Palgrave: New York, 2001): 4.

in the UK's remaining colonies. The Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1940 had a mandate to provide 5 million pounds a year for colonial development. This amount was increased considerably by the Labour government after 1945 to 120 million pounds over 10 years for colonial development projects.[36] This substantially larger pool of capital and resources available for development required an advisory committee whose job it was to consider each proposal submitted to the British government by colonial administrators and governments as well as private investors and companies.

The Colonial Economic and Development Council (CEDC) was created in 1946 in order to fulfill the need for such an advisory committee and it featured both government officials and private British business interests from around the world. Any development project which sought funding through the Colonial Development and Welfare Act was required to report to this committee, where its merits would be considered. According to D. J. Morgan, writing on behalf of the Overseas Development Institute in 1964, the CEDC was intended "to advise the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the framing and subsequent review of plans for economic and social development in the Colonial Empire and on questions' of general economic and financial policy."[37]

The creation of a corporation meant to investigate and promote new projects was proposed and recommended by the CEDC, and this corporation was to have access "to substantial funds."[38] The proposal was quickly put before Parliament and accepted; Creech Jones announced to Parliament on June 25, 1947, that the government planned to set up a corporation with the ability to borrow up to 100 million pounds for investment purposes. Operating along

[36] D. J. Morgan, *Colonial Development: a factual survey of the origins and history of British aid to developing countries*, (London: The Overseas Development Institute Ltd: 1964): 32.
[37] Morgan, *Colonial Development*, 38.
[38] McWilliam, *The Development Business,* 5.

commercial lines, this corporation was also tasked to actively work in close partnership with colonial governments with an explicit mandate to keep the interests of colonial peoples in mind. This initiative was welcomed by the opposition in Parliament, especially because it was clear that the corporation was to work with colonial governments to improve the living conditions of the colonies.[39] This new corporation, the Colonial Development Corporation (CDC), was meant to take on larger development projects which combined both commercial initiative with social welfare benefits, and was seen as a way to ensure that large development projects would benefit local economies and people, not just foreign private enterprises. In accordance with this idea, the Colonial Office saw the corporation as an entity which would operate on a break-even basis, where perceived success did not depend solely on creating profits.[40]

The British government was generally very receptive and supportive of all the policies that the new corporation was to operate under as recommended by the CEDC. However, big business interests, notably Unilever (one of the largest margarine producers in the world at the time and at the centre of the infamous Ground Nut Scheme), were not as keen on the idea of the British government muscling its way into the private sphere at the end of the war. Caine went to pains to point out to business interests that the new corporation was not meant to undermine existing private sector industries. Instead, its main focus was to go into places and projects which private companies and investors were unlikely to even consider because of inherent risks or low profitability. Caine regularly stressed the evolution of the legal framework for development from the Colonial Development Act through the Colonial Development and Welfare acts, noting that the corporation was more in line with development than business.[41]

[39] McWilliam, *The Development Business,* 5.
[40] Ibid, 6.
[41] Ibid.

The CDC reflected two strains of British development thought. The first strain originated from the Colonial Development and Welfare Act, which had practical and philosophical roots in the Moyne Report of 1938 and the Atlantic Charter. In effect, the British government needed to do more in the colonies to improve the social welfare capacities of colonial states as well as the lives of colonial subjects. This was in order to pre-empt any social unrest which could lead to the independence of colonies.[42] The second strain of thought came from the Labour government's basic post-World War II attitude to the nearly bankrupted British economy, where it sought to ease the UK's dependence on the dollar and improve production and trade within the sterling zone.[43] This inherent inconsistency was ignored and was combined with an excess of confidence of a British government and public service which had successfully steered the UK economy through the war years maximising output for the war effort.[44] The urgency to establish the CDC and ultimately create projects like TANWAT was "accompanied by a belief that there was a happy correspondence between the needs of the British consumer and the creation of new productive industries," in the colonies.[45] It was also driven by postwar confidence in the British capacity to manage massive government led efforts. Larger geopolitical considerations like managing American pressures to dismantle the British Empire and the perceived opportunity to reinforce the Sterling area were also at work.

The remarkable bipartisan consensus surrounding colonial development during the interwar and postwar years stems from the relative ambivalence that both Labour and Conservative governments held for development. As Michael Havinden and David Meredith point out, "developing the 'Great Estate' [as British politicians often referred to the colonies] was

[42] Mike Cowen, "Early Years of the Colonial Development Corporation: British State Enterprise Overseas during Late Colonialism," *African Affairs* 83 (1984): 63.
[43] Cowen, "Early Years of the Colonial Development Corporation," 63.
[44] McWilliam, *The Development Business,* 3.
[45] Ibid, 4.

not an area of significant conflict between the two main political parties in Britain, which no doubt contributed to the lack of general parliamentary and public interest in the matter."[46] Even before 1914, there was little interest in colonial development among either the Labour or Conservative parties in the UK. Some high level figures in the government, such as Joseph Chamberlain, were outspoken supporters of things like imperial preference, and disagreements over colonial development contributed to a split in the Conservative party and its defeat in the 1906 election. For Labour, besides a few imperialist politicians, the more radical wing of the party opposed any imperial involvement in development for fear that it was all being done for the benefit of financial speculators. Most economic development programmes were carried out by Conservative governments throughout the interwar and war years and continued by Labour governments in between. Indeed, "the only genuine Labour initiative in this field was the creation of the Colonial Development Corporation and the Overseas Food Corporation in 1947, which represented the application of the Labour philosophy of 'State Capitalism' to colonial development."[47] As Havinden and Meredith observe, the CDC's balanced economic and social development approach was supported by Conservative governments through the 50's despite its troubled early years.[48]

TANWAT was one of many projects undertaken by the CDC.[49] TANWAT was created in order to grow black wattle trees - a species of Acacia native to Australia - in the Southern Highlands region of Tanganyika. The company was chiefly focused on producing tannin, a

[46] Michael Havinden and David Meredith, *Colonialism and Development: Britain and its tropical colonies, 1850-1960*, (Routledge: New York, 1993): 311.
[47] Havinden et al., *Colonialism and Development,* 311.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Unfortunately, very few scholars have taken an interest in the Tanganyika Wattle Company or the region in which it is based, Njombe. A notable exception is James L. Giblin, *A History of the Excluded: Making Family a Refuge From State in Twentieth-Century Tanzania*, (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2005), which deals specifically with Njombe, and which touches briefly on the wattle plantations.

chemical compound derived from the bark of the wattle tree that is used during the process of tanning leather. The TANWAT project started with the purchase of some established stands of wattle trees from a company named FORESTAL that had begun the process of planting wattle in the Njombe area of the Southern Highlands but had abandoned the project.

FORESTAL was a UK based vegetable tanning extract company, one of the largest in the world in 1946 when they began the first few wattle plantations in the Southern Highlands region. FORESTAL began as the Forestal Land, Timber and Railway Company, and was in its early years a holding company for portfolio investment, before achieving a near monopoly of the natural tanning agents market.[50] FORESTAL first began harvesting bark from *quebracho* trees, a native of South America with a gestation period of 100 years (and so a finite supply was available naturally) before it moved into wattle production. Wattle had already been planted in South Africa and Kenya since the early 1900's, and provided a far readier supply of tanning agents than its Argentinean supply. Having already substantial plantations and operations in Argentina, FORESTAL began planting wattle in Njombe in order to protect itself from what it saw as potential threats to its traditional Argentinean supply from other wattle producers in East and Southern Africa.[51]

This was a time that saw the rise to power of Juan Domingo Perón, a nationalist and a populist, in Argentina. FORESTAL, as a UK company, saw its South American operations under potential attack from a government which was nationalising many foreign controlled industries

[50] FORESTAL was not a typical English investment or merchant company. As Edward Elgar points out, "the formation of the company owes as much to German industrial technology as it did to City of London banking capital." The company was one of the few avenues used for German investment in Argentina, and the products it sold typically went either straight to the United States (tanning chemicals) or continental Europe (logs). The German connection of FORESTAL in Tanganyika is rather chilling considering Germany's history in the colony. See Edward Elgar, *Capitalism in a Mature Economy: Financial Institutions, Capital Exports and British Industry 1870-1939*, (Edward Elgar Publishing Limited: Aldershot 1990): 191-192.
[51] Tyler, "All Africa Review of Experiences with Commercial Agriculture," 7.

and businesses. As Edward Elgar explains, "within Argentina, the company amassed land on a scale which made it appear as an agent of foreign rule in one or two remote provinces."[52] Indeed, in 1948, two years after beginning limited wattle plantations in Njombe, FORESTAL's business interests and holdings in Argentina were nationalised by Perón's government. The company faced such a shortage of cash because of its problems in Argentina that it put its "insurance policy" plantations in Njombe up for sale.[53]

The Colonial Government of Tanganyika went to the CDC and asked its forestry division to take over the project. Tyler describes how the CDC had "core experience" in African forestry projects, already having begun tung oil estates in Malawi and the Usutu pine forest in Swaziland, and so took on the project.[54] CDC reviewed the project and saw an opportunity to create TANWAT to save FORESTAL's investment by expanding it considerably. FORESTAL did not wholly abandon its East African plantation, staying on as a technical advisor with a ten percent stake in the new company, until management disagreements led to a CDC buy out of the remaining share. FORESTAL continued as a technical advisor however.[55]

Why then was the Southern Highlands region chosen, first by FORESTAL and then by the CDC, as an area to invest in plantation tree growing? One explanation was the view by colonial officials that the Southern Highlands were a historically under-populated area of Tanganyika where large swathes of land were going unused. This ignored the fact that this region had seen untold devastation for decades prior to the arrival of FORESTAL and the CDC. As Jan-

[52] Elgar, *Capitalism in a Mature Economy*, 191.
[53] Ibid, 8.
[54] The Usutu pine plantations were an even larger project than TANWAT's plantations in Njombe. 66,000 hectares of pine forest were established for commercial purposes in Swaziland and Usutu Pulp, the company started by the CDC, became the biggest employer in Swaziland contributing some 15% of it GDP during the 1950's. See P.A. Jacovelli, "The future of plantations in Africa," *The International Forestry Review* 16 (2014): 144-159.
[55] Tyler, "All Africa Review of Experiences with Commercial Agriculture," 8.

Bart Gewald put it, "between 1880 and 1930, Iringa and the south-western highlands had truly been visited by the four riders of the apocalypse."[56] The British colonial government only moved into the region in the 1930's, and had by then forgotten the years of German colonial rule as well as the First World War campaigns from both sides which plundered the countryside. German colonial rule was marked by the brutal repression of indigenous power structures, and anyone who did not immediately submit to German rule was often killed or forced to perform labour for the German colonial administration. The Maxim machine gun was used for devastating effect against local warriors, and many valleys and hamlets were surrounded by the Germans and starved into submission. The outbreak of the First World War saw British and German forces move in and out of the Southern Highlands region several times. Each time an army moved through, it stripped the land of food and pressed many into service as porters and labourers. By the end of the war, from a combination of war related deaths, diseases spread by the armies, famine and an influenza outbreak, the whole region found itself severely under populated. There was little or no expressed sense of responsibility for this "underpopulation" by the new colonial masters as they eyed the Southern Highlands for development.

This lack of awareness of how people in the Southern Highlands had been devastated by years of war is reflected in African historiography of the day, a historiography that was marked by a severe absence of interest during the interwar years in European historical circles. As W. E. B. Du Bois put it in his 1946 book *The World and Africa*, "I still labour under the difficulty of the persistent lack of interest in Africa so long characteristic of modern history and sociology."[57] When interest did pick up, it did so during a time of independence and nationalist movements

[56] Jan-Bart Gewald, "Colonial Warfare: Hehe and World War One, the wars besides Maji Maji in south-western Tanzania," African Studies Center Working Paper 63 (2005): 23.
[57] W. E. B. Du Bois, *The World and Africa*, (The Viking Press: New York, 1946), viii.

across the African continent, and so the histories in the first wave of post-World War Two effort that were created generally reflected that context.

In addition to its "underpopulation", the geography of the region lends itself to the production of trees and timber products. Njombe town and the surrounding wattle plantations are found in the central part of Njombe district, where the landscape becomes quite hilly. Rainfall is higher on average in this area than almost anywhere else in Njombe district, receiving between 1000 and 1600 millimetres per year.[58]

Eventually, 18,000 hectares of land were expropriated by Colonial officials in collaboration with local chiefs and subchiefs to plant wattle on an industrial scale. Gilbert Rist defines development in a way which corresponds closely with TANWAT. Rist begins his critical mode of analysis by defining development as "a set of practices, sometimes appearing to conflict with one another, which require – for the reproduction of society – the general transformation and destruction of the natural environment and of social relations."[59] Rist makes "an effort" to extricate himself from the "connotations of the term [development]."[60] TANWAT was a classic "development" project, taking large amounts of land previously used for farming and turning it into a commodity producing plantation, employing wage earning labourers. An early scholar writing from the 1960's remarked that "in a larger sense, the existence of an active development corporation can help create a favorable atmosphere for economic progress by stimulating the

[58] C. G. Mung'ong'o, "Coming Full Circle: Agriculture, Non-Farm Activities and the Resurgence of Out-Migration in Njombe District, Tanzania," African Studies Center Working Paper 26 (1998): 2.
[59] Gilbert Rist, *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith*, (London: Zed Books, 2008), 13. Rist continues the definition by stating that "Its aim is to increase the production of commodities (goods and services) geared, by way of exchange, to effective demand."
[60] Rist, *The History of Development,* 3. Full quote: "An effort will be required to free ourselves from the connotations of the term [development], to keep at arm's length the value judgments we are supposed to make, especially when the sight of extreme poverty, and the legitimate desire to put an end to it, make 'development' look like a panacea."

ingenuity and enterprise of private investors."[61] Clearly though, as the British Groundnut Scheme can attest to, this idea of development was not successful in all cases.

According to Tyler, both the FORESTAL and TANWAT schemes faced local opposition, as nearly 5000 villagers in the Njombe area had their land expropriated with a onetime payment of cash based on the size of the plot being taken.[62] Sunseri describes how the expropriation of land for wattle plantations was "often viewed by peasants as a colonial ruse to appropriate land or to benefit chiefs or wealthy villagers."[63] Giblin points out that the cash compensation offered to peasant farmers for their land amounted to little more than a month's wage for most migrant labourers working on the territory's sisal operations.[64] Sunseri outlines in his article "'Every African a Nationalist': Scientific Forestry and Forest Nationalism in Colonial Tanzania," the relationship between nationalist feelings in late colonial Tanganyika and development and conservation projects undertaken by British officials and local leaders – leaders who owed their position and power to British indirect rule.[65] According to Sunseri, projects were often resisted by locals as an intrusion into their living and working spaces, especially when these projects were done against their will by colonial administrators and chiefs who were not universally recognized by the locals that they held authority over. Resistance towards some of these projects during the 1940's nearly devolved into armed struggles, and violent confrontations between locals and colonial officials occurred.

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[61] Lawrence C. McQuade, "The Development Corporation in Africa," *The American Journal of Comparative Law* 10 (1961): 204.
[62] Tyler, "All Africa Review of Experiences with Commercial Agriculture," 8.
[63] Sunseri, "Every African a Nationalist," 907.
[64] Giblin, *A History of the Excluded,* 214. The proceeding chapter of this project includes a short discussion of the payments made to the villagers of Itulike in exchange for their land.
[65] Sunseri, "Every African a Nationalist," 883-913.

The CDC represented a new approach to colonial development, one that was based on a balance between economic and social improvements. TANWAT was an early example of this balance, as it attempted (and in many ways succeeded) in creating a balance that both promoted the economic development of the Njombe region as well as improving the social welfare capabilities of the area.[66] There is some suggestion in the literature that despite this new approach by the CDC that their projects, and TANWAT in particular, still faced resistance by local people. This project, and especially the succeeding chapter, gathers the publicly shared memories of TANWAT and its arrival in the village of Itulike in Njombe, whose immediate surroundings were planted with wattle trees and have continuously been planted and harvested till the present day.

Shared Memories: Itulike

In this chapter this study finds its narrowest point of focus, in the small village of Itulike, about a half hour drive from the Njombe town center in the larger Njombe Region situated in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. Itulike sits near the edge of TANWAT's plantations, but has been surrounded by the company's wattle trees since the arrival of TANWAT in the region. In order to study the living memory of the arrival of TANWAT, I have tapped into a small network of seniors' groups in the Njombe Region which brings together the majority of all of the elders in Itulike for monthly gatherings in the village's concrete-floored, red brick community centre. The intent is to access a group of people in the village of Itulike who had direct experience of the

[66]This in many ways brings us back to corporate social responsibility and its place in large scale development projects. Walker-Said's chapter "Corporate and State Sustainability in Africa: The Politics of Stability in the Postrevolutionary Age," looks at how the "corporate social responsibility agenda of sustainability," has become a prevailing feature of human rights, development, and global finance. As she puts it, "global capitalism has energetically embraced sustainability as a critical measure of robust long-term financial outcomes and that it has progressively twinned its goals with that of nation states." See Charlotte Walker-Said, "Corporate and State Sustainability in Africa: The Politics of Stability in the Postrevolutionary Age," in *Corporate Social Responsibility? Human Rights in the New Global Economy*, edited by Walker-Said, Charlotte and Kelly, John D. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015): 278-279.

early years of TANWAT and to gather and assess their memories of the changes that the arrival of plantation forestry made to village, family, and individual life. This highlights the increasingly narrow focus that this essay has used throughout, beginning with the large ideas of plantation forestry as a common expression of colonial economic development and investment, continuing with the story of the creation of TANWAT in southern Tanzania, and ending with the small example of the village of Itulike, which in the late 1940's found itself on the front line, with its people having to react to these global, colonial, capitalist, technological forces first hand as they transformed their lives radically. This chapter aims to answer the question of how these global forces were experienced by the villagers of Itulike as they are remembered and recounted in a village setting.

Of great importance to this study is Gayatri Spivak's essay "Can the Subaltern Speak?".[67] A dense, complicated, but infinitely useful text, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" is a critique of Postcolonialism and postcolonialist scholars attempting to "speak" on behalf of subaltern groups and people. Spivak argues that one of the problems that occurs when academics write postcolonial works, is that words are used, rather than real experiences, to explain the lives of the subaltern. This in turn produces logocentric assumptions, based on only a part of the total experience. A second criticism advanced by Spivak is expressed in her wariness of intellectuals who claim to speak for the subaltern, rather than letting them speak for themselves. In essence, according to Spivak, it is almost impossible to recover the subaltern experience as a whole or without letting one's work becoming grossly distorted when studying from the outside of the subaltern group in question. As she explains, referring to the work done by some antisexist

[67] Spivak has published "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in multiple forms and revisions over the years, however this thesis uses the version Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, edited by Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 271-313.

activists and authors, "the assumption and construction of a consciousness or subject sustains such work and will, in the long run, cohere with the work of imperialist subject-constitution, mingling epistemic violence with the advancement of learning and civilization," and that in the end "the subaltern woman will be as mute as ever."[68]

This critique is an important reminder to the academic of their inevitable and unalterable place outside of the subaltern experience. Indeed, Spivak's critique should be at the back of every postcolonialist's mind, and should inform their work and research, as it will inform this research and the recognition of the limitations of this author's experiences with the subaltern and his unavoidable outsider status. Spivak's work brings up important questions which an author of a postcolonial study needs to ask him or herself, and this study must also attempt to answer or at the very least acknowledge these pressing questions.

Giblin's work on rural Tanzanian families in Njombe region provides an in depth, historical look into the forces acting upon families and individuals from the state in Tanzania and the imposition of authority over the people of Njombe.[69] Giblin's book shows how families became small states in and of themselves, created economic systems which lie outside of state influence, and (as one of Giblin's conclusions) helped ensure the failure of Tanzanian socialism. Giblin remarks on how "European alienation [that] would deprive families of access to land posed the most direct threat to the private sphere" and how "land – rather than national sovereignty – would be the most urgent political issue in Njombe."[70] The people in the study are all of the colonial generation in Tanzania, those born under German or British rule who

[68] Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" 295.
[69] See also James L. Giblin, "Some Complexities of Family and State in Colonial Njombe," in *In Search of a Nation: Histories of Authority and Dissidence in Tanzania*, Gregory H. Maddox and James L. Giblin, editors. (Oxford: James Currey Ltd, 2005), 128-148.
[70] Giblin, *A History of the Excluded*, 209.

subsequently lived through the beginnings of the postcolonial state, a state which by and large became a disappointment to them.

What makes Giblin's work so important to this research is not necessarily his authority on matters concerning Njombe, but his research methodology and the sources used in his study. Giblin began his research by asking local Njombe residents questions which were shaped by nationalist and state oriented historiographies, only to find out that these questions would illicit far fewer and more restrained responses than asking for stories about the past which corresponded more closely to their marginalised position in Tanzanian history, and asking these questions in familiar, familial settings.[71]

The research conducted in Itulike was designed to emulate the research strategies employed by Giblin in *A History of the Excluded*. This method of gathering evidence and stories relies less on formal interviews and questionnaires and more on extended conversations and storytelling among elders and with the younger people gathering their stories. As Giblin points out, formal interviews tend to regulate and constrain those who are interviewed, especially if they feel they have no useful knowledge in line with an interviewer's formal questions. In Itulike I had the help of two young community organizers[72] who had worked with these elders since their group's founding as volunteers more than two years previously. I had the young organizers ask for the elders' stories, and we tried in every case to keep direct questions to a minimum, and usually only for clarification. The Asante Group (it uses the English language version of the

[71] These stories were often told in the private sphere of family homes and settings, as Giblin recalls how Elizabeth Tonkin "believes that people become articulate when they command a form of storytelling which their listeners find valuable," having stated previously that "unconstrained by the interview context and scholarly questions . . . they [Giblin's subjects and informers] often spoke animatedly about the past." Giblin, *A History of The Excluded*, 3.
[72] George Sanga is an educational consultant & program coordinator with Highlands Hope Umbrella NGO and the town councillor for Ramadani ward in Njombe. Kelvin Mwinuka is a junior planning officer with Highlands Hope Umbrella as well as a peer health education coordinator.

name) was first organized by several community activists from Njombe who had previously worked primarily on HIV related issues but who extended their work to include vulnerable seniors in two local communities, Kibena and Itulike. The Itulike Asante Group meets once a month. It has a membership of about 26 and a simple governance and administrative structure with an elected chair and a local coordinator, Innocent Tovanzagilla Simbamwene Mbata II ("Jiombe")[73], who is himself a senior and was a participant in the group conversation and story-telling about the arrival of the TANWAT Company. Sharing childhood and young adult memories about life in Itulike and Njombe Region is a regular part of these monthly meetings, usually with the much younger community organizers. It was because of the group members' familiarity with the organizers that they were the leaders of all conversations with the elders for this study. In this way, it is hoped that the presence of a northern, university-based researcher had only minimal effect, being seen as just another young listener to their stories of Itulike's past. This attempts to mirror Giblin's own approach using family connections to create situations that lead to conversations that give insight into the lived history of the place. In this case, close

[73]Innocent Mbata's name is itself a fascinating, indigenous form of "gathering history", both of his personal and family and of the wider community's development. The first name, Innocent, is identifiably Roman Catholic. It was a name chosen by his parents, he reports, from a list of acceptable Catholic names for boys which the local parish priest had given them. The second name, Tovanzagilla was Innocent's father's name, and means literally "beat the headman" referring to a memorable incident in which his father got into a fist fight with the local *zagilla* ("headman"), which Tovanzagilla won. The third name, Simbamwene, was the name of Innocent's grandfather, who was himself the *zagilla*, or local headman, of the community in his generation. Simbamwene is a combination of the Kiswahili word *simba* ("lion") and the Kibena word *mwene* ("only"). Simbamwene is a bilingual name meaning "The only lion." That it combines Kiswahili with Kibena would seem to reflect the fact that Simbamwene could communicate with other elites in Kiswahili, which was both the trade language of East Africa and the language which the colonial rulers used with the tribal chiefs through whom they exercised local rule. Simbamwene's position of power came in part from the fact that he could represent his people in the language of the powerful – Kiswahili. (In Kibena alone, his grandfather's name would be Libonzimwene, *libonzi* being the Kibena word for lion.) Mbata, the family and clan name, is an onomatopoeic name meant to sound like the bellowing of a bull. The Mbata's were an influential, wealthy clan in the area, and their name was a verbal display of that power. And finally, in Ubena if a name contains II at the end it does not mean "the second" or "son of", but rather "second born." Thus Innocent Tovanzagilla Simbamwene Mbata II is the Catholic baptized, second born child of Tovanzagilla Mbata, the son of Simbamwene Mbata, headman of the village. In Bena society, at least for those descended from powerful families, names carefully capture history and reflect shifts in culture as well, such as the arrival of Catholic missionaries. The nickname "Jiombe", incidentally, was given to him by locals for his habit of greeting everyone he meets as "Jiombe"; when asked what it means, Innocent replied simply that "everyone is Jiombe."

family connections are replaced by the Asante Group, a gathering of life-long neighbours who have a two year tradition of coming together regularly to share stories with younger community activists.

The storytelling sessions took place over four days in the village of Itulike in early June 2016, first in the village government office's large meeting room with the Asante Group and then in five individual follow up sessions. Three men and two women were the focus of the individual sessions, two of whom were members of the Asante Group and present during the first group discussion, and three who were not members and who were not present at the group session. The participants from outside of the Asante Group were sought out in order to hear stories which would not be influenced by the earlier group discussion and story-telling, and to compare and potentially contrast those stories and memories with the shared memories that were raised in the group discussion. The sessions were conducted in a mix of Kiswahili, the national language of Tanzania, and Kibena, the local language. With most participants, Kiswahili and Kibena were used interchangeably by the animators. Kibena (not to be confused with the village of Kibena, also in Njombe) is the language spoken by the Wabena people, who originate from Ubena.

An academic historian should recognize the challenges of conducting oral history research in a context like Njombe; first and foremost is how to construct information gathering in an effective way for the purposes of understanding how local people viewed and experienced the arrival of TANWAT in the area. Several problems arise including what the principal investigator represents to those being investigated and how his or her perceived status and influence may shape responses. In the case of this thesis, I am white, male, Northern, wealthy in comparison to the interviewees, affiliated with a university, and closely connected (through my family's involvement in the community) to an NGO from which the community receives benefits. As E. J.

Alagoa observes about research in rural Nigeria, self-awareness, especially of power relationships that may be unspoken, can be the basis for "dialogue [which] provides academic historians with opportunities to negotiate their position on the basis of the stature accorded them by the perceived authority of the written word they represent."[74] In some cases the exchange that happens between researcher and interviewees may include an element of community and individual self-interest on the part of the interviewees: "so much stature may accrue to the historian that the community may be seen to be trying to recruit him or her as an agent."[75] These same considerations may also apply to my translator/animators who have their own histories and status with the seniors participating in this study and who are more urban, more educated, more influential, and more affluent than the villagers even though they have worked closely with the seniors for years.

The second consideration is that this is a discussion of the arrival of a company in what is for all intents and purposes a "company town". Participants may feel uncomfortable expressing any recollection that criticises TANWAT, or may fear censure or even public disagreement with their peers if critical memories are surfaced. Alagoa writes how "the meaning of silence must be considered," and that, when writing about his own research, "there were matters which some community interests wished passed over in silence. . . the academic historian generally seeks ways of breaking silences, but must remain sensitive to them."[76] At a deeper level, silence may represent an active forgetting of certain issues or memories because, as Megan Vaughan concludes, "memory is not only the recollection of past experience by an individual, but its

[74]E.J. Alagoa, "The Dialogue between Academic and Community History in Nigeria," in *African Words, African Voices: Critical Practices in Oral History*, ed. Luise White et al. (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2001): 101.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid.

"telling" or passing on to another."[77] Vaughan continues her reflection by adding that "remembering, we also know, can be a way of putting a distance and letting go (or 'forgetting'), as when we remember and memorialize the dead, whilst we may 'forget' precisely those things which we hold on to most deeply."[78] In the context of Itulike and TANWAT's arrival into the region, the participants silence on some issues surrounding possible resistance or conflict may be an active "forgetting" of a past which is at odds with a commonly held and actively defended spoken consensus that the company's presence is a positive one for the community or for influential individuals within it.

Giblin raises some other important questions related to the use of oral history in his essay "Passages in a Struggle Over the Past: Stories of Maji Maji in Njombe, Tanzania," which relate directly to this study and to its specific location of Njombe. As he writes, "my experience in Njombe has led me to feel that we academic historians engage as much in alienation of the past as in its conservation."[79] This is an important point to make considering my own place in this study and the gathering of local memories, histories, and experiences for an academic endeavour. At what point does the collection of these shared memories for an academic study actually alienate these stories from the participants from whom they come? Any attempt to surface, capture, and retell inevitably reshapes information and story, at the very least giving it a written, unchanging form that turns it into something radically other than emerging, shared, perhaps contested and revised, oral recollection. There is no simple answer, and indeed Giblin states that "I cannot offer a solution to this problem," but that "historians can begin to grapple with it by

[77]Megan Vaughan, "Reported Speech and Other Kinds of Testimony," in *African Words, African Voices: Critical Practices in Oral History*, ed. Luise White et al. (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2001): 71.
[78] Ibid.
[79]James Giblin, "Passages in a Struggle Over the Past: Stories of Maji Maji in Njombe, Tanzania," in *Sources and Methods in African History: Spoken, Written, Unearthed*, ed. Toyin Falola and Christian Jennings, (Rochester: The University of Rochester Press, 2003): 296.

becoming more aware that we have plunged ourselves, perhaps unknowingly, into a struggle over the past that began long before [historians] appeared on the scene."[80]

The group discussion and individual interviews undertaken for this study were obviously constrained due to the short period of time spent in Tanzania experiencing the broader context, and an even shorter time in the village of Itulike with the elders. This was a necessary restraint in personal terms but one that was accepted for the modest research effort that this thesis intended to be. The group discussion took place in the morning in the small, red brick community center at the edge of the village of Itulike. Of the 26 participants present at the meeting, about three quarters of them were women. All were members of the Asante Group who had responded to a general invitation to meet for the group's monthly gathering. These gatherings always include some young animators from Highlands Hope Umbrella and storytelling and memories of the past are often the focus of facilitated discussions, including discussion of current events. There was no indication in advance of the topic of discussion for the TANWAT exchange though seniors were informed that a guest from Canada would be present. The discussion opened up with introductions of all present at the meeting, as well as an explanation of my own place in the discussion as well as my connection with the community through my family and the Highlands Hope Umbrella NGO. The animators that I worked with opened the discussion with general questions of the time period when TANWAT arrived, and gently steered the conversation to focus on the company. The conversation lasted over two hours with soda provided before the participants headed for home.

[80] Giblin, " Passages in a Struggle Over the Past," 297. The struggle Giblin is referring to is one that has played out in Njombe for years, where ruling elites use history (or subvert it) to legitimize their claims to power.

Individual interviews were conducted over three days following the group discussion. The group's coordinator helped to identify possible participants. These men and women were met either in their homes or in their fields, and interviews were conducted much the same way that the group discussion was. The animators would introduce me and my reason for being in Njombe with them, and would guide a conversation to the questions of the arrival of TANWAT. These discussions were, however, structured in a way which corresponded more closely to a formal interview as more direct questions were asked, mostly for clarification purposes but also to hear more about issues, experiences, and situations which were discussed during the larger group session.

My own connection to the community as well as my animators' connection to the community deserves to be discussed. My family has been involved with the Highlands Hope Umbrella NGO in one capacity or another for the past 15 years. It is worth noting that the Asante group was organized on the initiative of Highlands Hope activists. My animators also have a close connection with the community and activism in the area through the Highlands Hope Umbrella and the various organizations that work within it. All of this triggers concern along the lines flagged by Alagoa on the "recruiting" of the historian as an agent for the community. Whether this dynamic is at play in Itulike is difficult to surmise, but it needs to be kept in mind as the stories and memories that were publicly shared by the Asante Group and the individual participants are analyzed and used in this thesis.

The discussion began with animators asking a series of broad questions about life in the 1940's, bringing up TANWAT almost as an aside. However once raised, a lively discussion of TANWAT's origins continued focusing almost solely on its arrival and the abrupt changes which occurred with the company's sudden, dominating presence in the area. Participants, both during

the discussion and confirmed by the individual stories afterwards, described the arrival of TANWAT in three phases. The first phase of TANWAT's arrival consisted of exploratory teams setting up tent encampments and beginning to explore the area, laying claim to the land which they would eventually expropriate. The second phase saw TANWAT begin to survey the land which would be used for its plantations of wattle trees. It was during this second phase that most of the people of Itulike sold traditional title to their land to the company, this following clear and repeated orders to sell from the local Wabena leadership. The third phase then saw the clearing of land and the planting of the first wattle trees around Itulike. This same three phase time framework was used both in the group discussion and among the individual interviews with very little variation in the shape of the overarching story. It is the first and highest level example of many to be discussed which can be considered a shared memory among the community members. In fact, in almost every story recounted by the elders of Itulike, the basic memories were close to identical across all participants though small details and direct personal experience did differ in some respects.

It is within this three phased arrival of TANWAT that most of the stories and memories, both good and bad, find their context.[81] Based on the interviews, men and women experienced the arrival of TANWAT in different ways, however among men the experiences were similar if not identical, and the same can be said of the women. The structure of the rest of this chapter reflects these three phases of TANWAT's arrival. Of the first phase there was little detail offered beyond it having happened. Only one elder, Esterina Kidenya, described how people began to

[81] As Alessandro Portelli noted, "time is a continuum; placing an event in time requires that the continuum be broken down and made discrete." The participants effectively periodized the arrival of TANWAT into three distinct and discrete periods. Portelli further argues that "periodization-the syntagmatic plane-is the procedure with which we are more familiar: it divides time horizontally into periods and epochs, which are 'hung' on key events operating as partitions and interpreters of each sequential unit." See Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: From and Meaning in Oral History*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991) 69.

arrive near Itulike, setting up tent camps in the area.[82] From these base camps, she said, they began to move through and investigate the area. This was no doubt during the planning stages of the plantations, in order to decide which areas were best suited for plantation forestry and what land to alienate from traditional tenure. Though the arrival of outsiders was noted among the elders of Itulike, none spoke of any direct experience or of interaction between TANWAT and themselves or the people of their village.[83] During this first phase, most interaction between TANWAT and the area's population appears to have happened only with the village chiefs and headmen, and it is they who make a much greater appearance in the memories of people when speaking of the second phase of TANWAT's arrival and development.

There were considerably more memories elicited from both the group and individual participants when speaking of the second phase of the company's arrival in the area. It was during this initial surveying and purchasing of land that the majority of negative experiences seemed to have occurred. The village of Itulike originally stood in another location, on land that was considered to be much more fertile by the elders than the current site. TANWAT chose only the best areas of land to plant their trees and the locals had very little or no input in this process, especially those below the headmen and chiefs. The local village leaders received orders from the colonial government that the land was to be sold to the wattle scheme promoters, in effect full expropriation was demanded of any area which the company determined it needed for its plantations up to huge overall acreage. As one participant described during the group discussion "it was the order from [local] Chief Mbeyela that the area was to be sold because they want to

[82]Esterina Kidenya, Itulike, Tanzania, June 13th 2016.
[83] Asante Group discussion, Itulike, Tanzania, June 10th 2016.

plant trees there."[84] He went on to describe how there was no resistance to Chief Mbeyela's orders, and everyone who was directed to sell their land did so.

In fact, two others interviewed who were not present at the group discussion nor a part of the Asante Group confirmed, without being asked specifically, that there was no dissension from the orders of the chief. Mandananga Gaspari Mkalawa explained that he remembered how "people had no power to resist what the Chief had [ordered]," and that "no one resisted selling their land because money was very scarce."[85] The prices offered for land varied between 4 and 17 shillings (among the participants) depending on the size of the plot and the fertility of its soil.[86] Some clever villagers in Itulike found ways to make more money from the sale of their land than the price pegged by TANWAT and the government. As Mkalawa explained "some of the plots were being sold more than two times by a few clever people because the one who was paying [at TANWAT] was not going around to see the plots."[87] Although the participants all agree that no landholders resisted, and indeed could not resist the colonial structures of power, there were some villagers who successfully played the inefficiencies of the company's management systems to secure more cash in exchange for their land tenure.[88]

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[84] "*Yali amri huhuma wha Mutwa Mbeyela huta ililungulu ligudzidzwe visaha huyala amabihi,"* Asante Group discussion, Itulike, Tanzania, June 10th 2016.
[85] "*Vanu vahali vangaya ngufu dza hupinga pe mgoyo adzovile . . . Hakuna aliyepinga kuuza ardhi yake kusasababu fedha ilikua haipatikani kirahisi,*" Mandananga Gaspari Mkalawa, Itulike, Tanzania, June 11th 2016.
[86] Asante Group discussion, Itulike, Tanzania, June 10th 2016.
[87]"*Kuna maeneo yaliuzwa mara mbili na wajanja wachache kwasababu aliyekua analipa fedha alikua mmoja na alisimama mahali pamoja,*" Mandananga Gaspari Mkalawa, Itulike, Tanzania, June 11th 2016.
[88] The gaming of the system undertaken by some in Itulike during the arrival of TANWAT recalls a point made by Partha Chatterjee in *The Politics of the Governed: Reflections on Popular Politics in Most of the World*. As he puts it, his work is concerned with "those parts of the world that were not direct participants in the history of the evolution of the institutions of modern capitalist democracy." Chatterjee makes a distinction between "civil society" and "political society", outlining how subordinate groups in the post-colonial world have in many instances been only partially integrated into political systems. More specifically political society describes those subordinate groups who mobilize and in doing so regularly break the laws and regulations of the formally structured civic society, much like those in Itulike selling their land multiple times. See Partha Chatterjee, *The Politics of the Governed: Reflections on Popular Politics in Most of the World*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 3.

Though it was unanimously seen in retrospect as an unstoppable event in the development of their village, several of the elders admitted that there is still some regret over losing the land. With a rising population in the area, there is less and less good land available for cultivation and for the construction of homes. Cheline Katamkanga deplored how "people were unaware that they were losing wealth by selling [land]," before adding that all the good land was planted with wattle trees, and that there is not even any unfertile land left for people and their farms.[89] Early on during TANWAT's second phase of development, some hillsides and shallow valley slopes around Itulike that were owned by TANWAT were set aside at first for the cultivation of crops by local people for their own use. However, later on, during the third phase of the company's arrival, trees would be steadily planted up the hillsides and down the slopes until the village became literally surrounded by plantations.[90] As Henrick Mtega recounted:

> [TANWAT's] area was only on top of the hills [surrounding Itulike] but later on they invaded downhill where people used to cultivate crops, which led to the destruction of wetlands and caused a scarcity of water. They did this in order to stop fire outbreaks, as the people used fire during the preparation of their farms.[91]

Though present day Itulike has less land for far more people than it did when the process of land alienation began in 1948, at the time, the cash return for land deeded to the company seemed, for most, to be a good exchange.

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[89] "*Vanu sivaelewaga nde vipotesa mali hwa hugudzi ardhi,"* Cheline Katamkanga, Itulike, Tanzania, June 11th 2016.

[90] Unfortunately I was unable to view the wattle trees planted right up to the village, as it had only been a few months since those particular plantations had been cut when the research trip was made. Only stumps and branches left as fuel for the villagers remained.

[91] "*Walipima milima tu baadae wakavamia na kupanda miti mpaka mabondeni ambako sisi tulikua tunalima, sasa imekausha mpaka maji. Walifanya hivyo ili kuzuia moto kuchoma miti yao kwani watu walikua wanatumia moto kuandaa mashamba yao,"* Henrick Mtega, Itulike, Tanzania, June13th, 2016.

The third phase of TANWAT's arrival - the planting and managing of the plantations - into the region had by far the greatest number of memories attached to it. It is also the longest of the three in terms of time span, arguably extending to the present day, as first wattle and then a mix of wattle, eucalyptus and pine trees are planted, harvested, and replanted. This cycle allows for intense local involvements at key points, especially harvest and the first season of replanting. Harvest provides considerable labour opportunities, though increasingly, the seasonal workers who do these jobs come from outside the immediate TANWAT area. The replanting, however, is structured to give local people access to the land for maize production in the first year when seedlings are set out. This is a mutually beneficial situation for TANWAT and for local people. They get access to cleared, fertilized, top quality land through a system that recognizes their residency and thus their right to participate in the exchange while the company's seedlings are protected by the nurse crop of maize and weeded by the people who will harvest the maize for their own use at the end of the first growing season.

This cycle, most commonly used with the wattle plantations, repeats itself each seven to ten years.[92] It makes sense then that this third phase has continued as a very present reality in the lives of the study's participants in Itulike, and some of the memories shared dealt with experiences which extended over years, even decades. The reason these experiences lasted so long and were so memorable is because they represented employment and cash income for the villagers. During the group discussion, participants explained that nearly everyone present had worked for TANWAT at some point in their life, two even had long-term, permanent positions at the company leading to retirement pensions from which they continue to benefit.[93] All of the

[92] Elgar, *Capitalism in a Mature Economy*, 191.
[93] Asante Group discussion, Itulike, Tanzania, June 10th 2016.

participants in the individual interviews had been paid for work at TANWAT, if only for occasional, seasonal work.

The most common positive experience and memory from both men and women stemming from their work at TANWAT was their resulting ability to purchase more goods because of their salaries from the company. For many women it was their first chance at earning a wage, and the extra cash soon went to all kinds of home goods which they could not afford before the arrival of TANWAT. One of the most important purchases most participants spoke about were animals. Chickens, cows, goats and pigs were seen as a wise use of the cash they received from TANWAT, both for food for their families and as a secondary source of income. In the group discussion, many noted the salary of around 10 shillings per month for seasonal workers in the TANWAT plantations. This was in comparison to similar jobs available to them locally in big agricultural plantations which paid only 1 shilling per month.[94]

Each of the three men interviewed individually had held a permanent position at TANWAT. Mkalawa was at various points in his 40 year career a tractor driver, a storekeeper, a guard, and a monitor in the fire towers keeping an eye on the flame-prone plantations; Mbata worked as a machine operator for five years and Henrick Mtega worked as a tractor driver. The ability to get permanent positions at the company was remembered especially positively by the men of Itulike. For them, it was the end of the regular migration to Tanga for work.

During this period, men from all over Tanganyika walked to Tanga, in the North East of the country, to work in the huge sisal plantations and tea gardens found there.[95] For the men of Itulike, and indeed for all of the men in Njombe and the surrounding area, this meant a gruelling

[94] Asante Group discussion, Itulike, Tanzania, June 10th 2016.
[95] Sisal is a plant which is cultivated for its tough fibres, useful for rope making and various other applications.

800 kilometre journey, on foot, through country which was often rough and filled at the time with dangerous wildlife. Once the men had arrived after months of walking, they then spent three to five years working in the plantations, away from their families and farms, in order to save up enough money to go back to their homes. According to John Illife, the great majority of migration to sisal plantations by the Wabena began around 1908. A combination of taxation, which required cash largely unobtainable in Njombe, and famine pushed many Bena into the migration labour market.[96] The arrival of the wattle plantations quite literally on their doorstep meant that the men of Itulike could end their migration and their years-long sojourns to Tanga.

One of the men interviewed, Henrick Mtega, recounted his experience leaving Itulike for Tanga before the arrival of TANWAT and the surprising changes that awaited him when he returned at the end of his work in the tea gardens there:

> I spent three years in Tanga working for a tea company in the plantation. When I came back I found all my relatives had been moved to their new residences. Where our house was I found only trees.[97]

For Mtega and the others, the end of the migration to Tanga meant that they did not have to leave their families for years at a time, and the substantial increase in pay meant more goods could be purchased for the home.

The experiences of women at work in the wattle plantations was for the most part very different from men. Whereas men often found permanent employment with the company, all of the women interviewed worked seasonal part-time work which consisted mainly of planting new

[96] Illife, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, 161.
[97] "*Ndikalile hutanga hwa miaha khidatu ndafanyighe kasi mukampuni ya chai. Ndawuyile na hukuta vanyalukolo vahamile petakalighe pamwanzi, vahamie hungi. Peyahali myumba yesu ndihawonaga mabihi ya milingo.* Henrick Mtega, Itulike, Tanzania, June 13th, 2016.

trees as well as weeding around younger trees. As Katamkanga noted, "all supervisors were men, all women were used for the hard labour,"; indeed none of the women who participated in both the group discussion and individual storytelling sessions held any form of permanent employment at TANWAT that would have resulted in pensions.[98] The memory of women often includes stories of abusive and dictatorial supervisors who kept an eye on them as they performed their seasonal work.

Cheline Katamkanga spoke of how "some of the supervisors were very harsh as they used to cut off your day [cut your hours] if they claimed that you did not do a good job."[99] Esterina Kidenya also recalled how the supervisors could be particularly disrespectful, naming two European supervisors by the nicknames given to them by the workers. She recounted that "there were some white leaders who were very aggressive, there was Mahalange and Goliath," adding that "they wanted us to work without time to rest."[100]

Before the construction of schools closer to Itulike, most children from the area were forced to travel to schools near Makete district in order to obtain an education. This meant that for some families, an education was not a priority if hands were needed for work back home. Katamkanga describes how the supervisors regularly took advantage of this situation. As she remembered, "if you did not go to school the supervisors used to cut down your salary because they knew you could not count."[101] The supervisors would cut workers pay without their

[98] "*Avanyapala vahali vamwadada, avamama twafanyige kasi hela*," Cheline Katamkanga, Itulike, Tanzania, June 11th 2016.
[99] "*Avanyapala vali vasali jana, ahakatige sihu nde ufanyile kasi ubaya,*" Cheline Katamkanga, Itulike, Tanzania, June 11th 2016.
[100] "*Huna vasungu vangi vali vasali kweli, uyungi ahali umahalange uyungi ye Goliati*," "*Vasahighe tufanyaghe kasi bila ya husupa*," Esterina Kidenya, Itulike, Tanzania, June 13th. The exact meaning of Mahalange, other than its derogatory use, was unknown to Esterina Kidenya and others in the community. Several other Kibena speakers from Njombe were asked about this name and none recognized it in Kibena or in Kiswahili.
[101] "*Nde usimbile shule avakalani vakatige imisahara sababu vihwelewa siwiwesa uhuvalila,*" Cheline Katamkanga, Itulike, Tanzania, June 11th 2016.

knowledge and pocket the difference. It was only after several workers had asked Katamkanga her own salary (she had attended school in Makete) that they discovered the deception. Thereafter, Katamkanga would count others salaries in order to ensure they were paid the wage they earned.[102] The supervisors did this to Katamkanga's fellow workers despite the fact that they had to rely on her and other educated workers because:

> Some of the supervisors were unable to speak and write in Swahili. When the leaders came they called those who went to school so that they could listen and at the end they could translate it for them.[103]

Despite the overbearing supervisors, most women in the group discussion spoke of how useful the extra cash was around the home, and when asked if the behaviour of supervisors and the treatment of workers was worth the salary at the time, all agreed that it was.[104]

Whereas women complained of the treatment they faced by their supervisors, men were more likely to talk about the lack of any protective gear provided and the injuries, and even deaths, which occurred at harvest time. Mtega noted this fact when he remembered that "[at first] we were not provided with protective gear like boots, helmet," and that injuries were fairly common place.[105] The lack of any protective gear was confirmed by Mkalawa.[106] In fact, in every session injuries were noted among men working during harvest, however only one participant recalled a death because of the work. Mkalawa remembers that "many people got injured at work, some died too," and that he "remember[s his] friend Jonjo, a big tree fell on him

[102] Cheline Katamkanga, Itulike, Tanzania, June 11th 2016.
[103] "*Avangi vanyapala sivawesige hudzova na husandiha hiswahili, vetwimbile sule nde tupulidzage na huvadzovela*," Cheline Katamkanga, Itulike, Tanzania, June 11th 2016.
[104] Asante Group discussion, Itulike, Tanzania, June 10th 2016.
[105] "*Kabla tulikuwa hatupewi vifaa vya kujikinga tukiwa kazini kama mabuti, kofia ngumu*," Henrick Mtega, Itulike, Tanzania, June 13th, 2016.
[106] Mandananga Gaspari Mkalawa, Itulike, Tanzania, June 11th, 2016.

and he lost his life."[107] When asked a similar question asked of the women - whether these negatives outweighed the positives - the men agreed that they did not, because the trip to Tanga which TANWAT's arrival effectively ended had been such a burden in their lives and the lives of their families.[108]

On top of earning salaries nearly ten times what was previously available in the region, the elders of Itulike remember many other positive things which the company did. One often remembered example is enhanced food security. Not only did TANWAT allow the villagers to grow maize and other crops in and around the plantations (this was not a charitable or even a "corporate social responsibility" type action by TANWAT's but rather a practice that encouraged free weeding around the tree seedlings in their first year) but the company also gave villagers and their families food. The elders described during the group session how milk, beans, and maize flour were provided to the workers and their families. In its early years, this included just about everyone in the village of Itulike. Further, meat was being provided twice a week to the families.[109] This was on top of a diet already richer in meat protein due to the ability of local people to purchase more animals using the income earned in the plantations by both men and women. Many households had two incomes from TANWAT though usually only when seasonal work was available.

Another benefit to households in Itulike from TANWAT remembered by elders was free firewood. At maturity, the wattle trees are felled, limbed, and the bark from their trunks is stripped for processing. TANWAT allowed villagers in Itulike and other communities within its plantations to gather whatever wood they needed and could gather from the branches left after

[107] "*Watu wengi waliumia kazini, wengine walifariki nakumbuka rafiki yangu Jonjo aliangukina na mti na kupoteza maisha*," Mandananga Gaspari Mkalawa, Itulike, Tanzania, June 11th, 2016.
[108] Asante Group discussion, Itulike, Tanzania, June 10th 2016.
[109] Ibid.

the bark and trunks were removed for fuel. The Southern Highlands get cold during the dry season and considerable amounts of wood are burned for heating. In addition, many villagers also gathered wood for charcoal production, much of which finds its way into the local markets for cooking fires. This is a practice which continues to this day.

As the group discussion went on, the elders of Itulike repeatedly brought up two separate, but similar things which they had always been very thankful for after the arrival of TANWAT. As mentioned previously, school age children and youth, including some present at the group discussion, had to walk into the mountains of Makete district in order to attend school beyond the first two years of primary education. This was onerous and expensive - Makete is several days walk from Itulike and children had to be boarded. This meant that many children in Njombe went without further schooling, as distance and cost were prohibitive. A number of seniors present at the group discussion indicated repeatedly that they were very grateful when TANWAT built the Kibena (village) primary school, still a three hour walk from Itulike but at a distance that allowed many families to feel comfortable boarding their children with a school program that continued up to the equivalent of grade 6.[110] Mtega noted that "[TANWAT] helped a lot in contributing to the construction of school buildings, providing money and some building materials."[111] Katamkanga mentioned that when TANWAT built schools even closer to Itulike in Maheve, it allowed older children to go to school and to work part time during the school year weeding the family maize plots in the TANWAT plantations and also working stacking brush during harvest and weeding in the seedling nurseries.[112] TANWAT may indeed have intended to enhance its workforce this way, keeping more workers closer to its newly planted and replanted

[110] Asante Group discussion, Itulike, Tanzania, June 10th 2016.
[111] "*Imesaidia sana katika ujenzi wa shule kwa kuchangia fedha na vifaa,*" Henrick Mtega, Itulike, Tanzania, June13th, 2016.
[112] Cheline Katamkanga, Itulike, Tanzania, June 11th 2016.

wattle stands but the investment in schools undoubtedly benefitted the people of Itulike, more of whom could complete primary school and some of whom could also work part time, adding even more income to their family households.

Hospitals and healthcare were the second often talked about subject during the group meeting. Before the arrival of TANWAT, there was one very small hospital serving the region.[113] The elders of Itulike remember when the company built its first hospital (this hospital would eventually be given to the Tanzanian government post-independence, but a second company hospital would subsequently be built in the village of Kibena as the quality of care collapsed in TANWAT's first, now public, hospital).[114] The elders in Itulike recalled bringing sick people to the first hospital in the region before the company built their own facility. This was remembered as taking more than a day, often carrying the patient on a stretcher.[115] As with the first primary school the new TANWAT hospital in Kibena was still a three hour walk to Itulike, but it was closer than the other hospital serving the region. Additionally, employees of the company and members of their immediate families received much of their healthcare for free. Anyone injured on the job was treated quickly and completely free of charge. However, as some of the men noted during the group discussion and during individual interviews, if someone was injured and could no longer work, TANWAT did nothing beyond treating them and they would lose their positions at the company with no compensation.[116] Speaking of the present day, it is worth noting that according to Mbata, "Elders (from Itulike) are receiving free health services from the TANWAT Hospital," adding that "to us this is most helpful."[117] This ongoing

[113] The old hospital building still stands, barely. It can be found across from the police station in Njombe town.
[114] Asante Group discussion, Itulike, Tanzania, June 10th 2016.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Ibid.
[117] "*Wazee wetu wanasaidiwa kupata matibabu bure katika hospitali ya kampuni. Huu ni msaada mkubwa sana kwetu,*" Innocent Tovanzagilla Simbamwene Mbata, Itulike, June13th, 2016.

involvement by TANWAT in the lives of villagers no doubt shapes the memories that people are willing to share publicly.

The final thing that the elders spoke of repeatedly when remembering the impact of TANWAT's arrival was housing. According to the participants in the group discussion, TANWAT provided, during its early years, free housing for employees in Kibena where its head office and processing plant were situated and at a site known as Estate No. 5 (also known as Njocho) in the western end of its property. Both sites were distant enough from Itulike that TANWAT workers from the village would sometimes stay in the company accommodations. This free housing was, however, remembered as a double-edged sword of sorts. While the villagers of Itulike took advantage of this benefit at first, the housing allowed TANWAT to steadily hire people from outside the region, who increasingly arrived in and around Njombe and Itulike in order to work for the company as word spread of the high wages that were on offer.[118] These migrant workers first took over many of the seasonal jobs which people in Itulike, especially the women, had been doing since TANWAT's arrival, then moving from part time to full time employment.[119]

In summary, the living, publicly shared memory of Itulike seniors remembers three distinct phases of TANWAT's arrival in the Njombe region. The first phase, the company's exploratory phase, held very few memorable experiences for any of the participants involved. Though outsiders appearing and assessing the area for its forestry potential was worth noting, the average person in and around Itulike seemed to have no contact with anyone from the company,

[118] My animator-translators put the same question concerning memories of the arrival of TANWAT in Njombe to a parallel seniors' group in Kibena village where the company is headquartered. Interestingly, not one of the nearly fifty elders present had been living in the Njombe area when the company started operations; all had arrived after TANWAT had set up and most came to Kibena in search of work in the TANWAT plantations or processing plant.
[119] Asante Group discussion, Itulike, Tanzania, June 10th 2016.

as most of the interaction was done through the village headmen and the chiefs who controlled them.

The second phase of the company's arrival, the surveying and purchasing of land, was mainly experienced by most of the participants once again through local leaders, however the impact that it had on their lives was far greater than in the first phase. Most of their traditional land - which they believe was more fertile than their current plots - was expropriated. The villagers of Itulike said they had little choice but to obey, as their leaders ordered them to sell their land. The cash offered in return, even if the amounts were modest, was also very welcome in a part of the world where cash was required especially for taxes and where money was scarce. The regret that came from selling their land was remembered only as occurring later in the lives of members of the Asante Group.

The third phase of TANWAT's presence in their lives was for most of the participants easily the most important, and most enduring, with participants' memories and experiences of this third phase extending over decades right down to the present. Employment at TANWAT came with very competitive wages at the time, considering that it paid almost ten times more for manual labour than comparable plantation jobs available in Njombe. For the men, the migration to work in Tanga (which regularly lasted three to five years) was no longer necessary as good paying jobs were now literally on their doorstep. For women, the chance to earn money through seasonal and part time work allowed them to purchase more goods and increased the amount of money coming into any given household. TANWAT provided food and fuel to all of their workers families, which in the beginning meant nearly everyone in the village of Itulike saw a major increase in the food security of the community. The construction of local schools meant that more children could seek a longer education. The first TANWAT hospital provided free

healthcare to its employees and their immediate families, and augmented greatly the services then available from the tiny government hospital in Njombe. Housing built near Itulike in Kibena for the company's employees was remembered as both a positive and negative feature of the company's presence - while it was available for workers from Itulike to use, the company housing eventually resulted in the arrival of workers from outside of the region, increasing competition for a small pool of available jobs.

This research has resulted in some surprising and not so surprising insights into the impact of plantation forestry on a small East African village during the colonial period. The expectation after researching colonialism and the alienation of land by colonial powers for a large agro-forestry scheme by locals might be that it was, for the most part, a negative experience for local people. This expectation would be reinforced by the knowledge that often land alienation was accomplished through force, or at least the threat of force, and in collusion with local chiefs whose authority was itself linked closely to the patronage of the colonial power and often contested. Many leaders were seen merely as an extension of the colonial government with family pedigrees to rule of questionable validity. Beyond these questions of power and authority, the sheer amount of land expropriated by TANWAT could be expected to create resentment or resistance given the large number of villages and people affected. The physical and environmental changes from traditional grasslands and indigenous forests to plantation monoculture could also result in more widespread resistance or remembered resentments as happened most notably with the "Wabena Sacred Forest".[120] As a result, one might anticipate that there would be notable amounts of negative memory attached to the arrival and early presence of TANWAT in the minds of the elders of Itulike or even stories of local resistance.

[120] See Giblin, *A History of the Excluded*, 227-231

That this was not the case was a rather surprising discovery. According to the seniors of Itulike, there was no resistance, and most families welcomed the cash given in return for land, even if it was a few shillings. Of course, later on some would come to regret the sale of land (despite not having had a choice in their own minds), but the initial experience was actually a positive one in their memories.

On the other hand, the long term success of TANWAT, unlike many other colonial era agro-forestry, plantation style development schemes, suggested that among local people the memories of TANWAT's arrival would include a number of beneficial impacts of the company's presence. Positive relations with a local community are not a necessary condition for the success of a colonial development project, but the relative social harmony of the Njombe Region and the sixty plus years of survival of the company would prepare a researcher to hear accounts of the benefits that TANWAT created for local people. This was indeed the case although here the scope and scale of the benefits were not anticipated.

The impact that massively increased wages had on the local people was highly memorable (up by 1000% from other local plantation work options in the memory of Itulike seniors) as well as the availability of work close to home that did not require the onerous trek to Tanga and months or years of absence from home. In addition, the extent to which women and children could get seasonal work was unexpected in terms of the imprint it made on living memory of TANWAT's presence. Food and energy security in the forms of grain and firewood was also lively in memory and unanticipated. The importance of TANWAT health services has been noted by other researchers but the company's involvement in education, specifically the construction of more primary schools in the area was also surprising.

However, in light of the fact that Tanganyika was a mandate territory, which brought with it certain expectations of both social welfare and self determination, the behaviour of TANWAT and the CDC is not so surprising. Furthermore, the dual mandate of the CDC stemming from its roots in both Conservative and Labour governments in Britain meant that while creating an economically healthy company and industry was the main reason for investing in Njombe, social welfare actions did not take a back seat. It seems to have been both a good business tactic and a politically sound policy. Whether it was intended to benefit the people first or to retain a favourable political position in the event of the independence of Tanganyika seems not to have mattered to the people of Itulike. Indeed, throughout the discussion there was very little mention of Europeans or the British. All participants simply referred to the company as TANWAT, and only a few spoke of how it was the British authorities who ordered the chiefs to implement land expropriation.

Giblin deals with perceptions and experiences of locals in Njombe in relation to the CDC in the chapter "The Private Sphere & the Politics of Land in the 1950's" in *A History of the Excluded*. Giblin describes widespread dissatisfaction and discontent directed at local chiefs, who many believed were directly benefiting from the alienation of land by European interests.[121] An attempt by the company to expand its plantations by another 14,000 acres was blocked. In order to counteract the negative attitude that many held towards the alienation of land and in turn the chiefs who helped move it along, TANWAT and local government officials started the Bena Wattle Scheme (BWS) in 1953. The BWS was a program whereby parcels of cleared, cultivated land an acre in size each were to be distributed amongst the Bena, with wattle seedlings already having been planted. The company also hoped to increase supplies of wattle bark, its new plant

[121] Giblin, *A History of the Excluded*, 214.

now having considerable excess capacity after the refusal to expand its land base. Giblin describes how locals "heard of the role the chiefs were to play in BWS, [and] they feared that it was a disguised form of land alienation."[122] The BWS did not become the egalitarian growing scheme first envisioned - only wealthier Bena took advantage of the system because it required an upfront investment by participants to pay for many of the cultivation and planting costs - there was no significant impact of the scheme on poorer villagers except perhaps to make them more cynical about who was benefiting from TANWAT's presence.[123] However, both the widespread discontent reported by Giblin and the BWS were not mentioned by the elders in Itulike who described following the chiefs orders unquestioningly and seeking employment with TANWAT rather than the more entrepreneurial path of growing wattle on their own plots for sale back to the company. Giblin's sources suggesting anger and pushback against TANWAT's land alienation and the BWS seem to be from among the wealthier villagers and the economic and political elite of Njombe society.[124] The participants in this study were not significant land owners, business men or local politicians as the voices presented in Giblin's chapter.[125] There was also a dynamic at work in Njombe at this time that pitted local elites against the earliest organizing by TANU, Julius Nyerere's party and the eventual ruling part of independent Tanganyika.[126] This too might complicate memory and minimize comment about resistance or resentment to TANWAT's presence.

[122] Giblin, *A History of the Excluded*, 217.
[123] Ibid, 219.
[124] One man interviewed by Giblin for the chapter on land alienation was Andreas Mlowezi, a landowner with 300 acres and a large Caterpiller combine harvester. Giblin, *A History of the Excluded*, 223.
[125] The poorer villagers of the Njombe region are not left out of Giblin's study, but the source he uses lend themselves to a study which places the wealthier villagers at the centre, if only because more sources exist.
[126] See James L. Giblin, "Nationalism and the Private Sphere," in *A History of the Excluded: Making Family a Refuge From State in Twentieth-Century Tanzania*, (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2005): 245-272.

That the elders of Itulike remembered TANWAT's arrival in Njombe in a positive light may have less to do with TANWAT and CDC behaviour during its early years (an argument which becomes too simple on paper) and more to do with the shape of Tanzanian history from the 1970's into the 90's and how that history was experienced in a village surrounded by a CDC development project. What was happening around the village of Itulike, within a local, national and international context during these years that could have affected memories recounted in 2016. Tanzanian history is not without events and eras which fundamentally changed how people lived and viewed the state and other actors on the political and economic scene, actors like TANWAT who though private could take on state-like functions in an area like Njombe - building infrastructure like roads, schools, hospitals and clinics. Just as three major periods of TANWAT's arrival were pointed out by the elders of the Asante group, three major periods and specific shocks to Tanzanian society within each period can be discussed in relation to TANWAT and the services it provided to the community which in turn mitigated how these shocks impacted the elders of Itulike.

The three shocks that shine a light on the generally positive effect of TANWAT's presence in Njombe in the life of local villagers are *Ujamaa* villagization, the most disruptive policy flowing from President Nyerere's "African socialism" that swept through the country and uprooted many people in the late 1960's and 1970's, moving them to new, centralized villages; the introduction and subsequent removal of affordable, subsidized fertilizer for Tanzanian farmers that heralded a Green Revolution in the Southern Highlands only to leave many poor farmers adrift when structural adjustment policies ended the fertilizer subsidies in the late 1980's; and finally, the HIV crisis which engulfed much of sub-Saharan Africa during the late 1980s and 1990s affecting the Njombe region particularly hard with many people dying of HIV/AIDS

before antiretroviral drugs were made available free to local patients in the mid to late 1990's. Each of these shocks was devastating to communities across Tanzania, but did Njombe and in turn Itulike weather them better than others because of TANWAT? And if so, could this have affected the stories and recollections of the seniors who lived through the period as neighbours of TANWAT?

Ujamaa villagization was a series of policies undertaken by the Nyerere government to centralize villages in order to collectivize the production of agricultural goods and to facilitate the provision of government services. The Arusha Declaration of 1967 outlined TANU and President Julius Nyerere's broad vision of *Ujamaa* which essentially translates to 'socialism', but can be translated more accurately from the Kiswahili to mean 'family'. The same year as the Arusha Declaration, Nyerere outlined in the document *"Ujamaa Vijijini"* (*Ujamaa* in the villages) that the 85 percent of the population which lived in scattered homesteads were to be moved into villages in order to speed up the development of the nation and the implementation of a socialist system. Moving into villages was not compulsory until 1973, when the government dictated that everyone must move into villages by 1976.[127]

It was a policy implemented nationwide, with varying degrees of success. Giblin reports that within the Njombe/Iringa urban area, TANU officials claimed that 800,000 villagers had been moved into collective villages in 1974, but he also points out how the total estimated population of the area was only 668,000.[128] In fact, it has been suggested in more recent research that for the entire Iringa district, which includes Njombe, participation in *Ujamaa* villages was

[127] Dean E. McHenry, Jr., *Ujamaa Villages in Tanzania: A Bibliography* (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1981), 2.
[128] Giblin, *A History of the Excluded*, 264.

only around 10 percent, despite TANU claiming a 40 percent participation rate for the entire district.[129] Clearly, TANU officials were "sexing-up" the numbers.

Whatever the numbers, it is known that many rural Tanzanians affected directly by villagization lived through huge disruption and dispossession.[130] The impact of villagization, however, was mitigated in Njombe by the presence of TANWAT. The 99 year leases held by TANWAT made the creation and movement of people to new collectivized agricultural units difficult if not practically impossible in the area. TANWAT's peculiar nature as both a private and state-subsidized entity, running a business for profit while mandated to provide for social development generally provided by government, meant that the elders of Itulike would have been spared many of the negative outcomes of *Ujamaa* villagization that their fellow citizens experienced while provided with some of the imagined benefits of *Ujamaa* collectivization by the company's investment in infrastructure, including the provision of services like healthcare and education.

The people of Itulike had been gathered from farmsteads into a village setting by the process of land alienation for the establishment of TANWAT in the late 1940's. In effect, a process of villagization had already occurred in Itulike before even the independence of the country - not for the purposes of collectivization of agriculture and the establishment of African socialism, obviously, but with very similar practical impacts on the lives of the people affected. Arguably, the residents of a community like Itulike were better off than their fellow citizens displaced by *Ujamaa* - at least they received some compensation for their lands (though transfer

[129] R. P. Misra, *Rural Development: Capitalist and Socialist Paths Volume One, an Overview*, (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1985), 91.
[130] Priya Lal, "Self Reliance and the State: The Multiple Meanings of Development in Early Post-Colonial Tanzania," *Africa* 82 (2012): 225.

of ownership was, indeed, required) and had a chance to get at least seasonal work from the company that moved in.

Ujamaa was Nyerere's attempt at building an African socialism, with people collected into villages in order to better provide government service and to collectivize agriculture, mobilize labour and centralize populations for the efficient provision of public services. The fact is that TANWAT had done almost the same thing in Itulike years before Nyerere began his socialist enterprise. The philosophical bases for the actions were diametrically opposed but the practical impact on local people was potentially the same. The people of Itulike sold their traditional farmsteads and came together into the village where TANWAT was providing many of the same services that the government would provide in *Ujamaa* villages during the 1970's. While this meant that the people of Itulike likely could not take advantage of the benefits of collective labour that were the cornerstones of *Ujamaa* villages, they were also insulated from the some of the negative aspects of government version of imposed centralization. They had already been forced to move and begun to receive services almost two decades before the Arusha Declaration.[131]

Another rural development policy that the government implemented post-independence was to encourage the production of grains, especially corn, wheat, and rice by peasant farmers. Stemming from the same philosophical foundation of African socialism, the Tanzanian government began providing small hold farmers with substantial subsidies to encourage the use

[131] Priya Lal makes an interesting assessment of villagers memories of *Ujamaa* not unlike the conclusion that this paper comes to when she says "villagers' memories of the national policy of ujamaa and self-reliance are thus influenced by the respective positions they occupied within shifting local configurations of power between the late 1950s and late 1970s. Rural people's contemporary assessments of ujamaa are also heavily inflected by their prior experiences of colonial rule and subsequent experiences of life under structural adjustment policies since the 1980s." Lal, "Self Reliance and the State," 224.

of chemical fertilizers for their crops.[132] These subsidies essentially covered two components of what would otherwise have been the full market price. First, all fertilizer was sold to peasant farmers for the cost that it took to produce it. Second, all distribution and transport costs were covered by the government in order to have a unified price across the country. Both these subsidies were essentially cut to zero as part of Tanzania's structural adjustment program in the post-socialist period in Tanzania during the late 1980's and early 90's.[133] The sudden disappearance of affordable fertilizer was one of the severest impacts of structural adjustment on the lives of rural people in Tanzania, especially in the Southern Highlands where farmers had benefitted more than other regions from cheap fertilizer but where maize production fell quickly as the cost of fertilizers and pesticides rose with the end of subsidies and the privatization of fertilizer production and distribution. [134]

The Southern Highland's region, which includes Njombe and Itulike, was heavily dependent on subsidized fertilizer production and distribution. The region is one of the most isolated in the whole country, and the climate and soils of the region make growing corn and other grains difficult without the heavy use of chemical fertilizers. One report mentions that about half of all chemical fertilizers sold in Tanzania during the era of subsidization was sold in the Southern Highlands, while another puts it at 70 percent of all fertilizer sold.[135] Nearly 75 percent of the cost of the production and distribution of fertilizer was covered by the Tanzanian

[132] Aida C. Isinika, Gasper C. Ashimogo, and James E.D. Mlangwa, "Africa in Transition Macro Study Tanzania," *Final Research Report* (2003): 36.
[133] Ibid, 46.
[134] Isinika, et al. "Africa in Transition Macro Study Tanzania," 53-54. According to this report, by 1996/7 87 percent of households reported not having used any chemical fertilizer, and 46 percent of those cited fertilizer that was too expensive for purchase (though it does also mention that fertilizer use in the Southern Highlands remains stronger than elsewhere in Tanzania).
[135] Jessica Henson Cagley, Mary Kay Gugerty and Robert Plotnick, "Political Economy of Fertilizer Policy in Tanzania," *Evans School Policy Analysis and Research* (2009): 1, and Isinika, et al. "Africa in Transition Macro Study Tanzania," 52.

government after the Arusha Declaration and the decision to encourage small holder and collective farm cereal production as a part of *Ujamaa*, rising to nearly 80 percent by the end of the 1980's.[136] This was without doubt as beneficial for the food security of subsistence farmers as it was for producers who were selling into local and international markets. All farmers had great difficulty affording inputs for competitive maize production without subsidization, especially in the remote Southern Highlands.

These programs, while extremely beneficial to a huge portion of the population which relied on subsistence farming, were deemed by the international lending community to be too expensive for the Tanzanian government as well as ineffective in developing an internationally competitive and sustainable agricultural sector. The 1970's and early 1980's were a time of intense pressure on the Tanzanian economy - repeated oil price shocks, severe droughts in much of the country, and a costly war with Idi Amin's Uganda made it all but impossible for the Tanzanian government to resist demands for structural adjustment starting in the 1980's with implementation throughout the 1990s.[137] The structural adjustment programs that were in many ways forced upon the Tanzanian government by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in exchange for ongoing assistance ended all subsidies that had benefitted peasant farmers for years beforehand. This happened in spite of the Tanzanian government's near desperate efforts to keep these subsidies in place.[138]

The people of Itulike overwhelmingly conduct subsistence farming or very small scale market farming. They, like so many in the Southern Highlands, would have felt the impact of the loss of fertilizer subsidies. In Itulike however, as in other villages in the TANWAT orbit, the

[136] Cagley et al., "Political Economy of Fertilizer Policy in Tanzania," 2.
[137] Bert Meertens, "Agricultural performance in Tanzania under structural adjustment programs: Is it really so positive?," *Agriculture and Human Values* 17 (2000): 333.
[138]Cagley et al., "Political Economy of Fertilizer Policy in Tanzania," 2.

threat to food security that the end of subsidized fertilizer represented was moderated considerably by an aspect of TANWAT's production system that all elders recognized as a major benefit of the presence of the company in Njombe.

Wattle is grown in a seven to eight year harvest cycle. In the first year of the production cycle, the company cultivates and fertilizes the land and sets out the wattle seedlings. During this first year, it encourages local people to plant maize around the seedlings on plots that are allotted to individuals to cover virtually all of the newly planted wattle acreage. Company employees and their families have first rights to access but there is enough land available each year so that virtually anyone wanting to cultivate corn in Njombe is able to if they can travel to their plot and keep it cultivated. The company gets the benefit of the maize nurse crop, especially the weeding that is done by the people growing the maize. In return, local people get access to tilled, fertilized land, saving a huge amount of labour and the expense of chemical fertilizer. Every year, another block of the TANWAT plantation is harvested, readied for replanting, and opened to the use of local small scale farmers for the maize growing season. The rotation of plantations meant that fields were available on TANWAT land each year, though the villagers would have had to walk closer or farther depending on where the new trees were planted.

The end of subsidized maize inputs, especially fertilizer, that came with structural adjustment programs affected the elders' ability to grow crops on their own *shambas* or farmlands, but the mutually beneficial TANWAT cultivated and fertilized land-for-weeding program continued and at least allowed them some measure of household food security. Whereas many across the Southern Highlands would have seen a drastic decrease in the amount of food they could produce (especially considering the hybrid maize most often planted was heavily dependent on chemical fertilizer), the villagers in Itulike, and other communities

neighbouring TANWAT plantations had a safety net which saved them from the worst impacts of the loss of subsidies.

The presence of TANWAT surrounding Itulike thus shielded these elders from one of the most tangible negative impacts on rural people of structural adjustment. The people of Itulike saw the effects of structural adjustment in the form of suddenly unaffordable fertilizer. Where the state was failing to support others across Tanzania, the villagers of Itulike continued to receive what was, in practical terms, an important fertilizer subsidy after structural adjustment ended it for everyone else. Once again TANWAT's peculiar presence as both a private company unbounded by the demands of the IMF and the World Bank and also as a quasi-state entity providing services and benefits (and in this case, access to fertilized crop land), likely contributed to the generally positive memories recollected during the story-telling sessions with the Asante Group. Where the state failed, TANWAT was often there in these people's lives providing them with otherwise unaffordable fertilizer as it did with roads, jobs, schools, and health care.

HIV becomes a particularly graphic and stark example of how TANWAT was and continues to be present in the lives of the people of Itulike and where the government has been largely absent, or at best late to the game. The Njombe region has the highest prevalence rate of HIV/AIDS in all of Tanzania, with rates climbing to 20 percent among some groups, including the highest prevalence in the nation among youth aged 15-24 at 5.1 percent.[139] The disease first appeared in the Njombe region in the late 1980's (in fact, it was the nursing matron at the TANWAT Company Hospital who made the first formal diagnosis of AIDS in the region) and

[139] Ariane Desmarais-Michaud, "Experiential Learning for Health Development: A Case Study of the Leadership Of The Highlands Hope Umbrella," (Masters Thesis, Dalhousie University, 2013): 9. And Samwel J. Kabote and Elliott P. Niboye, "Trends in HIV/AIDS Voluntary Testing in Tanzania: A Case of Njombe Urban, Njombe Region," *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences* 2 (2012): 173.

would decimate the population in many communities - it would be the children of the participants of this study that HIV affected most directly. For those living with HIV/AIDS and those dealing with its ripple effects (like orphans and vulnerable children), the government did little in the first decade of the pandemic. In terms of basic healthcare, the local government hospital and clinics in the in Njombe region (and the same can be said of many other government run hospitals across Tanzania) did virtually nothing in terms of testing for the disease or treating it until the massive global response to HIV/AIDS in the late 1990s and early 2000s finally brought wide scale testing and access to anti-retroviral drugs to the Southern Highlands.[140]

Where the government lagged in its response to HIV-AIDS in Njombe, TANWAT picked up the slack, at least for its own workers and their villages. Its first effort involved the development of a workplace-based "peer health education program", initiated by the company's nursing leader Betty Liduke, RN, in the mid 1990s.[141] Selected workers were given basic training in HIV transmission and prevention, safer sex practices, and HIV testing and care information as well as gender based violence and other HIV-related issues. All workers at the company were organized into teams and would meet every month for a one hour session with a peer health educator as part of their work responsibilities. The company moved quickly into HIV testing as well, but it wasn't until 2004 that free anti-retrovirals became available from the government. TANWAT also supported the creation of a network of community based advocates who moved

[140] Even then, corruption and inaction continued to cripple the public healthcare system. "Remarkable success in 2006 for Highlands Hope in spite of adversity," Highlands Hope Umbrella, last modified December 22nd, 2006. http://www.highlandshope.com/a-year-of-remarkable-success-for-highlands-hope-in-the-battle-against-hiv/.

[141] "TANWAT Company Hospital's new Care and Treatment Centre reports impressive progress," Highlands Hope Umbrella, last modified December 22nd, 2006. http://www.highlandshope.com/tanwat-company-hospitals-new-care-and-treatment-centre-reports-impressive-progress/.

peer health education into the 16 villages from where TANWAT workers live. Eventually, this peer health education approach would be taken into local primary schools.[142]

When free anti-retroviral drugs finally arrived on the scene, TANWAT set up its own "Care and Treatment Centre" (or "CTC" - the government designated name for specialized HIV/AIDS testing and care clinics).[143] The TANWAT CTC continued to innovate and provided more comprehensive care to its patients than the government CTCs in the region. For example, before treatment can be administered to those living with HIV/AIDS, there are a series of tests which need to be conducted to determine the progression and severity of the disease.[144] This is accomplished by using a diagnostic machine which tests levels of a specific component of the blood and is referred to as a "CD4 count". TANWAT had the first CD4 count machines in the region and though the government hospitals and CTCs eventually received these diagnostic machines, they have all fallen into disuse due to malfunctions, lack of testing reagents and other problems. TANWAT CTC is currently the only dependable source of such diagnostic testing (which is also used to track the effectiveness of anti-retroviral therapy for patients receiving the drugs) and it welcomes patients from hundreds of kilometres away who come seeking reliable service.[145] The TANWAT Company Hospital and CTC, spearheaded by Liduke, has for many years been one of very few options in the Njombe region for anyone living with HIV/AIDS, providing one of the few places to be tested and treated dependably and professionally in the

[142] Desmarais-Michaud, "Experiential Learning for Health Development," 11.
[143] Ibid.
[144] More recent best practices encourage immediate access to anti-retroviral drugs as soon as a patient tests positive for HIV; Tanzania continues to work with an older WHO standard that requires an evaluation of a patient's CD4 or viral load count.
[145] "TANWAT Company Hospital's new Care and Treatment Centre reports impressive progress," Highlands Hope Umbrella, last modified December 22nd, 2006. http://www.highlandshope.com/tanwat-company-hospitals-new-care-and-treatment-centre-reports-impressive-progress/.

entire Njombe region.[146] This is particularly true for paediatric AIDS and TANWAT is the only CTC in the Southern Highlands with specialized CD4% testing for childhood HIV patients as well as a weekly, child-focused paediatric AIDS clinic.

The HIV pandemic which has affected the Southern Highlands and Njombe so severely was responded to slowly and often incompetently by national and local governments, by the public health care system, and by international NGOs. For the elders of Itulike, TANWAT became the only organization in the area which was doing something - anything - to deal with the crisis, a crisis which was causing members of their children's generation to die off in tragic numbers. Once again, TANWAT has taken on a role which for most of Tanzania is filled (or more likely not filled) by the government and government run hospitals. TANWAT's quasi-state function allows it to make decisions and provide services that are likely done in order for its own benefit (a company needs healthy employees and TANWAT markets its social responsibility) but which, like mitigating SAP-driven fertilizer price hikes and initiating development-driven villagization, end up being more effectively done by the company than by government, cushioning local people from some of the worst impacts of these social and economic shocks. This kind of experience of the ongoing benefits of TANWAT's presence very likely affects seniors' spoken memories of the company's arrival and early years in Njombe.

Conclusion

TANWAT's arrival on the scene in Njombe was a part of a new, broader approach to colonial and mandated territory development that the British launched post World War Two with the Colonial Development Corporation (CDC). With its dual purpose mandate, the CDC was

[146] Desmarais-Michaud, "Experiential Learning for Health Development," 11.

able to take on projects which purely private sector enterprises would not begin or could not sustain as was the case with the FORESTAL wattle plantation in Njombe. The CDC dual purpose - that is, the improvement of social welfare in British controlled territories as well as the creation of new economic opportunities for business within the Sterling Zone - arose from a wide range of post war domestic influences and global trends. Conflicts between Labour and Tory ideologies, American dominance on the world stage, the rise of the UN, and a general rise of negative perceptions of empire and colonial administration of territories all played a part in the creation of the CDC, and in turn, TANWAT.

TANWAT incarnated the attempt to reconcile all these trends - a private-public partnership that stepped in to carry forward an interesting agroforestry business opportunity identified by FORESTAL after that company had to sell its enterprise in Njombe. Technically TANWAT was established as a private company but it was directly beholden to its primary shareholder and creditor, the CDC. That meant that its management needed to treat TANWAT employees and the local population in a manner which reflected the CDC's social mandate - a company "culture" that has largely continued to the present.

Negative aspects of TANWAT's arrival in Njombe were indeed remembered by elders in Itulike including abusive supervisors and a lack of protective gear as well as the non-existence of job security or compensation when a TANWAT worker was injured. The loss of prime agricultural land to the TANWAT plantations is remembered, though this memory is no doubt shaped by the reality that a growing population in all Njombe villages is faced with limited available land for homes and farms. However the positive things which TANWAT brought into the lives of the elders of Itulike, in their expressed opinion, far outweighed the negatives.

Men, many of whom had made the dangerous journey to Tanga to the sisal farms on the coast, could find permanent and part-time work in the TANWAT plantations. This ended the need for the three to five year migrations to Tanga in order to make money for the taxman and for the family economy. Women, who traditionally remained at home while the men were away, could find seasonal work close to home, substantially enhancing household incomes and creating some minimal financial independence for them. Though none of the women participants in this study ever held any permanent position with TANWAT, most agreed that the extra cash was very useful for their families. Participants described earning far higher wages working for TANWAT than from any other employer in Njombe. TANWAT also helped improve the educational infrastructure of the area, building schools much closer to Itulike than the Makete school that was several days' walk away, creating opportunities for more Itulike children to attend school for a longer period of time. A new hospital built and run by TANWAT in Kibena, while no closer to Itulike than the church run one in Njombe, did provide free healthcare for TANWAT workers and their families. TANWAT's hospital based services would eventually be extended into village-based clinics as well, though Itulike did not get a clinic. TANWAT's early and sustained investment in basic health care facilities and services for its workers and their families and communities can be viewed as an early Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)-type approach to elements of business operation and may have shaped company-community relations and local people's perception of and stories about the impact of TANWAT in Njombe, especially in the absence of an adequate public health system in the region.

The enhancement of health care is one of several impacts of the TANWAT enterprise that may have shaped memories of the company's presence in the lives of the elders of Itulike. While *Ujamaa* villagization policies were using incentives and force to move rural Tanzanians across

the country into collective village spaces in the 1970's, the people of Itulike had for all intents and purposes been villagized decades before. Theirs was not unlike the experience of disruption and loss of those moved into *Ujamaa* villages, but at the very least the people of Itulike were compensated somewhat fairly by the CDC for the loss of their traditional landholdings. The devastating effects of structural adjustment on poor rural Tanzanians, especially felt through the loss of fertilizer subsidies, was mitigated by the mutually beneficial process of nurse cropping of wattle seedlings in TANWAT's plantations. Already cultivated and fertilized land was available every year for residents in and around Itulike, and when fertilizer became unaffordable for local people after subsidies were removed, the availability of prepared TANWAT land acted as a useful safety net to their own reduced maize production. Finally, TANWAT's proactive response to the HIV pandemic which hit Njombe harder than any other region in Tanzania would have seemed like the only help available as many of the elders' children's generation struggled with the AIDS crisis.

Any thesis that investigates a Northern-instigated "development project" in Africa has to recognize the controversy that swirls around the true nature of "development" as described by Northern promoters and their witting or unwitting allies and as experienced by people in communities like Njombe. Ferguson challenges researchers to "interrogate" basic concepts of development and its economic and social ideals with Foucault's question, "how and to what effect is this concept deployed; what does it *do*?"[147] In his study, focused as he is on gender and family relationships, applying that question helps "understand how the very idea of modernity (and attendant policies of development) itself has been imbricated in those larger configurations

[147] Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity*, 205.

of power and resistance that have shaped the Copperbelt's recent history."[148] Priya Lal has demonstrated how this kind of critical perspective on modernity and development has been present in the minds of key actors in the power relationships between North and South as African colonies struggled to gain economic as well as legal independence. She quotes Julius Nyerere, founding president of an independent Tanganyika, from a speech to the FAO in Rome in 1963, where he challenged the North to recognize that "to correct the growing trend of development divergence and achieve basic economic justice for underdeveloped countries like Tanganyika... isolated commodity agreements and occasional disbursements of aid (are) insufficient."[149] But while hidden relationships of power and domination (including gender domination that is surreptitiously present in new social ideals of wage employment and urbanized and villagized life) deserve to be unmasked, the core concept of "development" remains a useful one. Lal observes, for example, that policies like *ujamaa* were characterized as "development" policies and programs by Nyerere and his ministers.[150]

Emma Hunter's comprehensive review of the use of the common Kiswahili word for development - *maendeleo* - shows that notions of Christianized social mores, modernization, economic investment and prosperity, job creation and enhanced consumer opportunities began to form a cluster of ideas with positive social force in the interwar years. These ideas were inspirational for Tanganyikan elites and came to be grouped under the term *maendeleo*, generally translated as "progress" in the earliest Kiswahili dictionaries, often made more precise in

[148] Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity*, 206.
[149] Lal, "African Socialism and the Limits of Global Familyhood," 17.
[150] Priya Lal, "Militants, Mothers, and the National Family: *Ujamaa*, Gender, and Rural Development in Postcolonial Tanzania," *Journal of African History* 51 (2010): 1.

common speech as *maendeleo mema* or "good progress."[151] She concludes that while historians must be hyper sensitive to how core concepts like "development" shift meaning from culture to culture and era to era, that with respect to Tanzania, "after the First World War a language of development became increasingly important, first as a means of legitimising the colonial project, later as a means of critiquing the claims of colonial rulers to rule, and finally as a route to establishing new ties of belonging in the post-colonial state."[152] Its utility remains. In this study, terms like "development" were intentionally not used in exchanges with elders in Itulike - the focus, rather, was on lived experience of jobs, land, food, schools and health.

TANWAT is still functioning as a privately owned company in Njombe in 2016, though the CDC has sold its stake in the company. It continues to invest in both its business and in the wider community. This thesis has shown that while the arrival of TANWAT and the CDC in Njombe was in some ways a negative experience for the people of Itulike, it is remembered as a positive presence in personal, family, and community life, and the elders of Itulike continue to speak approvingly about TANWAT to this day. This study has discussed and reflected on why the elders of Itulike speak this way about TANWAT, suggesting its presence mitigated several trends and events in Tanzanian history that had negative consequences for many rural Tanzanians. It is difficult to apply the conclusions of this study to other villages in Tanzania, even to other villages in the Njombe area, without knowing more about the individual history of each community; the neighbouring Kibena village is a good example of a notably different situation than Itulike, with most Kibena seniors having migrated to Njombe specifically to work for TANWAT (a comparison of Itulike and Kibena during the arrival of TANWAT would be an

[151]Emma Hunter, "A history of *maendeleo*: the concept of 'development' in Tanganyika's late colonial public sphere," in *Developing Africa: Concepts and practices in twentieth-century colonialism*, edited by Joseph Hodge, Gerald Hodl and Martina Kopf (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014): 92.
[152] Ibid, 102.

interesting and perhaps more wide reaching study). However, the shared memories of the elders in Itulike as gathered in this study are evidence that the new British approach to development post-war as experienced in the TANWAT agroforestry project was largely successful in realizing the intention to create viable business enterprises of international scope that would bring net positive benefits to local people. These memories are perhaps shaped less by what TANWAT has done, and more on its simple presence during an era of hard times in Njombe and Tanzania.

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Appendix

UNIVERSITÉ Concordia UNIVERSITY

CERTIFICATION OF ETHICAL ACCEPTABILITY FOR RESEARCH INVOLVING HUMAN SUBJECTS

Name of Applicant: Jacob Orr

Department: Faculty of Arts and Science \ History

Agency: N/A

Title of Project: Tanwat and Njombe: The Negotiation of Land and Resources in a Colonial and Post-Colonial Context

Certification Number: 30006252

Valid From: June 06, 2016 to: June 05, 2017

The members of the University Human Research Ethics Committee have examined the application for a grant to support the above-named project, and consider the experimental procedures, as outlined by the applicant, to be acceptable on ethical grounds for research involving human subjects.

Dr. James Pfaus, Chair, University Human Research Ethics Committee