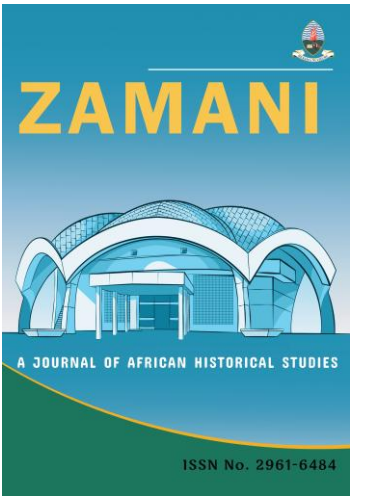
Zamani

A Journal of African Historical Studies



ISSN: 2961-6484 (print) Journal URL: https://journals.udsm.ac.tz/index.php/zjahs

Research Article: Introduction: Failed Futures? (Post)-colonial Planning and Future-making in Tanzania

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Article URL: https://doi.org/10.56279/ZJAHS1112

Citation: Lindner, Ulrike. "Introduction: Failed Futures? (Post)-colonial Planning and Future-making in Tanzania." *Zamani* 1, no.1 (2024):1-17. DOI: 10.56279/ZJAHS1112

Submitted: May 2024

Accepted: November 2024

Published: December 2024

Introduction: Failed Futures? (Post)-colonial Planning and Future-making in Tanzania

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Historical Background

Future-making and planning as social practices are strongly related to the surrounding society's political structures and power relations. In this special issue of ZAMANI, we conceptualize future-making as physical changes and social practices that shape future conditions by making future an issue in the present. We analyse how different approaches to the future, and also surprises and unintended side-effects, have informed the politics and practices of planning in Tanzania and its various regions.[1] When we ask: "Failed Futures?" we address future in the plural, a term that has diffused into historical scholarship rather recently and originates from futurology/future studies, known as the interdisciplinary study of possible, desirable, and probable future developments and design options as well as their prerequisites. The term "futures" tries to capture the image of past

[1] For general considerations on Africa and futures, see Clemens Greiner, Steven van Wolputte, and Michael Bollig, "Futuring Africa: An Introduction," in *African Futures*, eds. Clemens Greiner, Steven van Wolputte, and Michael Bollig (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 3 and Brian Goldstone and Juan Obarrio, "Introduction: Untimely Africa," in *African Futures: Essays on Crisis, Emergence, and Possibility*, edited by Brian Goldstone and Juan Obarrio (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 12-13.

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spaces and different possibilities that historical actors can and could choose.[2] As historians, we generally address past futures in such a sense that we look at past planning and future-making in order to understand the aspirations and hopes that were present at the time period we choose to analyse.[3] Furthermore, if we look at the larger contexts among the future-making designs of past times, then interest groups and conjunctures of certain future horizons become visible and can be historically investigated.[4]

The special issue focuses on Tanzania and its colonial as well as post-colonial history. Having been colonised first by Germany as German East Africa since 1884 and then being under a British mandate as Tanganyika Territory after the First World War, gaining independence in 1961, the history of Tanzania provides a rich portfolio of past attempts of future making.[5] German East Africa was to be developed into the most important and economically relevant colony of the German Empire. To this end, Germany invested heavily in economic infrastructure, particularly in railways to transport resources from the hinterland to the coast as well as in plantations and cash-crop schemes.[6] However, the policy of *mise-en-valeur* with a constant increase of taxes and the forced cultivation of cash crops led to resistance by the local population and the devastating Maji-Maji-War with around 300,000 African victims in the South of the colony.[7]

[2]Elke Seefried, "Geschichte der Zukunft, Version: 1.0," *Docupedia-Zeitgeschichte*, 10.03.2023, https://dx.doi.org/10.14765/zzf.dok-2464.

[3] See for this understanding of possibilities Arjun Appadurai, *The Future as a Cultural Fact: Essays on the Global Condition* (London: Verso, 2013), 299–300. Appadurai calls for an ethics of possibility.

[4]Lucian Hölscher, "Theoretische Grundlagen der historischen Zukunftsforschung," in *Die Zukunft des 20. Jahrhunderts: Dimensionen einer historischen Zukunftsforschung*, ed. Lucian Hölscher (Frankfurt a.M.: Campus, 2017), 9–10.

[5] See for the history of German East Africa/Tanganyika/Tanzania generally John Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Michael Pesek, *Koloniale Herrschaft in Deutsch-Ostafrika* (Frankfurt a.M.: Campus, 2005); Andrew Coulson, *Tanzania: A Political Economy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), and Andreas Eckert, *Herrschen und Verwalten: Afrikanische Bürokraten, staatliche Ordnung und Politik in Tanzania 1920-1970* (München: Oldenburg, 2007).

[6] See for the economic policy in German East Africa e.g. Juhani Koponen, *Development for Exploitation: German Colonial Policies in Mainland Tanzania, 1884–1914* (Münster: LIT, 1995).

[7] See Heike Schmidt, "(Re)Negotiating Marginality: The Maji Maji War and Its Aftermath in Southwestern Tanzania, ca. 1905-1916," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 43, no. 1 (2010): 27–62 and Ludger Wimmelbucker, "Verbrannte Erde: Zu den

After the war, the German colonial administration intensified its politics of exploitation and value creation in German East Africa. Under German rule, social infrastructure for African people was only rudimentarily developed. If accessible at all, it was mainly located in the coastal cities, leaving the introduction of rudimentary Western social and health services in the rural areas to the missions. Many of these missions had been active even before the land was occupied by the Germans.[8] Luoneko Kaduma's paper in the special issue addresses the concepts and plans of missionary medicine, elaborating on planning trajectories in colonial times. Generally, future-making during German colonialism was a contested undertaking with diverging interests between the colonial administration, the European settlers, and the missions. The local population was mainly seen as cheap labour force, their plans and wishes played hardly any role.

After WWI, under the British League of Nations mandate, "colonial development" became the new catchword of the 1920s in order to justify the colonial administration of Tanganyika territory.[9] However, due to insubstantial resources, necessary reforms and the expansion of social systems and infrastructures made hardly any progress. Furthermore, the doctrine of indirect rule which the British introduced in Tanganyika territory hindered the development of urban elites and the establishment of an African professional class.[10] Additionally, due to poor access to educational opportunities under British rule, the local population had few possibilities to express and develop their own plans and future trajectories.

The country finally attained independence in 1961 under President Julius Nyerere and the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) party. Despite its strong focus on African self-reliance, the new postcolonial government took over many plans and aspects of late British colonial

Bevölkerungsverlusten als Folge des Maji-Maji-Krieges," in *Der Maji-Maji-Krieg in Deutsch-Ostafrika 1905-1907*, eds. Felicitas Becker and Jigal Beez (Berlin: Ch. Links, 2005), 87–99.

[8] John Iliffe, *East African Doctors: A History of the Modern Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1998), 19–27. See for the missions in German East Africa also Richard Hölzl, *Gläubige Imperialisten: Katholische Mission in Deutschland und Ostafrika (1830–1960)* (Frankfurt a.M.: Campus, 2021).

[9] Ulrike Lindner, "The Transfer of European Social Policy Concepts to Tropical Africa, 1900-50: The Example of Maternal and Child Welfare," *Journal of Global History* 9, no. 2 (2014): 208–231.

[10] Eckert, *Herrschen und Verwalten*, 39–50.

development policy.[11] Politicians had no other choice as path dependencies were too strong. Furthermore, many of the future-making processes resembled planning procedures of colonial times and planning phases still stretched over decades. These aspects are discussed in depth in the paper by Frank Edward and Ulrike Lindner as well as the one by Veronica Kimani. The authors show how the future-making process was invariably shaped by detours, delays, disconnections, and failures. Particularly in the field of infrastructure, imperial legacies are key to understanding the planning trajectories in Tanzania. Again, surprises and unintended side-effects informed the politics and practices of large-scale planning and infrastructuring – aspects that will be addressed in the papers of Jono Jackson and Emma Minja as well.

In February 1967, Tanzania reached a new turning point in planning and future-making when Nyerere published the Arusha Declaration.[12] Generally, the Arusha Declaration emphasized the establishment of a socialist state in Tanzania, highlighted self-reliance, and stressed the particular importance of rural development and agriculture. It is also seen as a response to the new positioning of Tanzania in the international landscape.[13] Tanganyika had tried to follow a non-aligned course in foreign policy directly after independence. During the heydays of the Cold War in the 1960s it was very difficult for newly independent countries to choose between the political options and futures offered by the Western and Eastern powers. Throughout the first years after independence, Tanzania was still on good terms with Western countries. This changed after the revolution on Zanzibar and Zanzibar's unification with Tanganyika to Tanzania in 1964, which was seen as highly problematic by Western countries, especially the US. Then, Tanzania broke off relations with Great Britain in 1965, until then its largest financial donor, due to the British policy in Southern Rhodesia that supported the White minority government. This left Tanzania in search of new major donors of financial

[11] Cranford Pratt, *The Critical Phase in Tanzania 1945–1968: Nyerere and the Emergence of a Socialist Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

[12] See for the Arusha Declaration Julius Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism: 1965–7* (Dar-es-Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1968), 231–250.

[13] George Roberts, *Revolutionary State-Making in Dar es Salaam: African Liberation and the Global Cold War, 1961–1974* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 43–46.

and economic aid; in this context the re-orientation towards socialism was also seen as a new positioning in foreign relations, especially towards China which offered significant help in different policy areas, such as health, railway infrastructure, and industrial development.[14]

The implementation of the principles of the Arusha Declaration and the creation of an African socialist development path for Tanzania met with many problems and obstacles. The principle of self-reliance could hardly be followed by a country with few resources. Indeed, Tanzania was highly dependent on foreign loans and foreign aid.[15] Against this backdrop, Nyerere put forward the Ujamaa concept, which would become the most important concept for social planning during the 1970s. In declaring Ujamaa the basis of African Socialism, Nyerere stressed the need of development through the rural sector and through communitarian values. This was to be accomplished with the establishment of Ujamaa villages all over Tanzania, prompting massive and highly problematic resettlement campaigns in the 1970s.[16] Ujamaa planning and its consequences are addressed in the special issue by Musa Sadock.

Generally, the aim of this collection of papers is to revisit future-making processes in Tanzania in the late 19th and the whole 20th century, looking at the history of Tanzania in colonial and post-colonial times. In so doing, the issue presents future-making as a complex, multi-layered, and changing historical process that has shaped modern Tanzania's social policy and infrastructure development.

Theoretical Aspects of Future-making

As already elaborated, the special issue conceptualizes future-making in a broad way and analyses both physical changes and social practices that

[14] Eckert, *Herrschen und Verwalten*, 220–222; Pratt, *Critical Phase of Tanzania*, 148–166; see for China: Martin Bailey, *Freedom Railway: China and the Tanzania-Zambia Link* (London: Collins, 1976).

[15] See generally on the development of Tanzania in the 1960s and 1970s Coulson, *Tanzania*.

[16] Michael Jennings, "Ujamaa," in *Oxford Research Encyclopaedia of African History*, ed. Thomas T Spear (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2017). See also Emma Hunter, "Revisiting Ujamaa: Political Legitimacy and the Construction of a Community in Post-Colonial Tanzania," *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 2, no. 3 (2008): 471–485.

shape future conditions.[17] The papers in this issue address past planning processes and have a strong focus in the fields of health services and infrastructure development. Infrastructures are understood in a broad and flexible way, not only as description for replicable, stable, large, and durable systems, but as a category of analysis of state inputs in economic and social spheres, including social infrastructures.[18] Several questions connected to the aspects of planning and future-making are taken up in various forms. The authors ask quite generally how future-making combines visions of the future with possibilities and probabilities, and how it is influenced by the positionality of the respective agents and actors.[19] The papers therefore address different groups of actors and investigate how they used their claims of power to plan and design futures. It will also be examined how the processes of planning and future-making were negotiated and appropriated within Tanzanian society. This is combined with an analysis of the impact of uncertainties, disturbances, and unpredictable events on the growth and/or decrease of social systems and infrastructures.[20]

Another important point should be the process of "emptying futures." Peter Dannenberg and Gideon Tups have observed a phenomenon that is often found in the process of future-making and planning. They understand the ordering of futures and the privileging of a certain future as an "emptying of the future." The future is emptied when the "supercomplex reality" of possible futures is de-complexified by reducing the alternatives, eventually elevating one dominant imaginary. What is often perceived as "the" future is rather what is left of an eliminative mechanism, which gradually unmakes most possible futures. Approaching "the future" as something that remains from such a mechanism, rather than from a generative mechanism of producing futures, highlights the political nature of how future imaginaries are socially constituted, negotiated, and

[17] Goldstone and Obarrio, *Introduction*, 1–22.

[18] Mary Lawhon et al., "Making Heterogeneous Infrastructure Futures in and Beyond the Global South," *Futures* 154 (December 2023): 1–15; see also Dirk van Laak, *Imperiale Infrastruktur: Deutsche Planungen für eine Erschließung Afrikas 1880 bis 1960* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004), 19–20.

[19] See for the distinction between probability and possibility Appadurai, *Future as a Cultural Fact*, 299–300.

[20] See for a new understanding of uncertainties Ian Scoones, "What is Uncertainty and Why Does it Matter?" *STEPS Working Paper* 105 (Brighton: STEPS Centre, 2019).

contested.[21] This seems to be a very important observation especially when dealing with social infrastructures and past planning.

When looking at "failed futures," one is led to think of failed mega-projects, e.g. the dams that were not built, the development corridors that were never introduced, or the infamous British groundnut scheme in Tanzania that was introduced but failed completely.[22] However, as Detlef Müller-Mahn, Kennedy Mkutu, and Eric Kioko have pointed out, one should not only analyse the failures but also consider the symbolic role that infrastructure projects have played in future-oriented development politics as objects of imagination, vision, and hope.[23] Research should also include the "politics of aspiration," the symbolic dimension for desirable futures. The approach refers to Arjun Appadurai's notion of the future as a "cultural fact."[24] Appadurai emphasises that the future is not just a technical or neutral space, but is produced with specific conceptions of imagination, anticipation, and aspiration. In the same vein, failure of futures must be understood not in absolute terms, as a total collapse, but rather as a relative category in which achievements are compared to the originally declared goals.[25] It is therefore important to analyse the complicated social constitution and negotiation of plans and future-making, including their imaginations. One has also to reflect what defines a "crisis" or a "failure," and take into account the constancy of transformation which especially shaped urban Africa in the 20th century, as Brian Larkin proposes.[26]

As an additional point, the notion of "failed futures" can be well connected with Ann Laura Stoler's idea of "imperial debris" – the "protracted imperial processes" and "the uneven durabilities of

[21] Gideon Tups and Peter Dannenberg, "Emptying the Future, Claiming Space: The Southern Agricultural Growth Corridor of Tanzania as a Spatial Imaginary for Strategic Coupling Processes," *Geoforum* 123, no. 4 (2021): 25.

[22] Matteo Rizzo, "The Groundnut Scheme and Colonial Development in Tanganyika," in *Oxford Research Encyclopaedia of African History*, ed. Thomas T. Spear (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2017).

[23] Detlef Müller-Mahn, Kennedy Mkutu, and Eric Kioko, "Megaprojects – Mega Failures? The Politics of Aspiration and the Transformation of Rural Kenya," *The European Journal of Development Research* 33 (2021): 1069.

[24] Appadurai, *Future as Cultural Fact*, 286-287.

[25] Müller-Mahn, Mkutu, and Kioko, "Megaprojects – Mega Failures?," 1086.

[26] Brian Larkin, "The Form of Crisis and the Affect of Modernization," in *African Futures: Essays on Crisis, Emergence, and Possibility*, eds. Brian Goldstone and Juan Obarrio (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017), 44.

colonialism" as she specifies it.[27] Stoler especially pays attention to the arrested and failed futures of a post-colonial world, be it the long and problematic (social) afterlife of colonial and imperial institutions or the literal ruins of development projects. Similarly, diverging concepts of time, imaginations of deferral, and backwardness play an important role in post-colonial future-making. When looking at infrastructure planning that often stretched from colonial to recent times or at the institutions of the Tanzanian health system, the concept of "imperial debris" can be very insightful. The special issue aims to reflect on how futures were imagined and designed, and how imperial and colonial structures shaped future-making, leading to the production of various arrested and failed futures. Finally, one can ask which implications the observations of future-making have for a critical understanding of the notion "development" itself, a question that is central to the history of modern Tanzania.[28]

Contents of the Special Issue

The issue can be divided into three sections with different yet complementary perspectives on planning and future-making in Tanzania:

1) Infrastructure planning in Tanzania from colonial to post-colonial times – local and international negotiations
2) The planning of health services after independence – infrastructure problems and Ujamaa
3) Rural developments in Tanzania's health system from colonial to post-colonial times

The three main sections of the special issues reflect different themes of planning and analyse specific historical and sociocultural configurations of future-making – from medical intervention at the end of the 19th century to socialist Ujamaa-concepts to mega-projects in the late 20th century.

[27] Ann Laura Stoler, *Imperial Debris: Reflections on Ruins and Ruination* (Arlington, VA: American Anthropological Association, 2008), 202.

[28] See for a critical assessment of development Uma Kothari and Martin Minogue, "Critical Perspectives on Development: An Introduction," in *Development Theory and Practice: Critical Perspectives*, eds. Uma Kothari and Martin Minogue (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 1–15.

Part One: Infrastructure Planning in Tanzania from Colonial to Post-colonial Times – Local and International Negotiations

The first part of the special issue is dedicated to different planning regimes that dealt with the use of rivers in Tanzania and lasted from the colonial era to the present day. Already under German colonial administration, there were plans to straighten rivers and develop them for irrigation and better navigability. After the Second World War, considerations as to how electricity could be generated from hydropower were more common, to account for increasing consumption, especially in then independent Tanzania which hoped for rapid industrialization. However, both cases discussed here show the repeated failure of plans, firstly in the local context of the Kilombero River, and secondly in the context of international planning efforts for Stiegler's Gorge where planning with Norwegian investors lasted for decades without the implementation of the actual dam-building.

In "Sold Down the River: Histories of Production, Trade, and Transport along the Waterways of the Kilombero Valley, Tanzania," Jonathan M. Jackson examines the history of waterways as infrastructure in the Kilombero Valley. Early German investigations sought to establish whether the Kilombero River could provide a navigable waterway for large, stern-wheeled steamboats from the coast to the Uhehe (Southern) Highlands. Successive visions during the British colonial era focused less on through traffic, and more on utilising the valley's riverine networks for internal transport of rice and cotton. The paper thus explores the "failures" of colonial powers to establish systems of river transport. The dominant mode of river transport in the valley remained the long-standing and prevalent dug-out canoe – or *mtumbwi* – but this was considered unsafe, inefficient, and bound to be replaced by modernised methods. Efforts to effect such change ultimately failed, and the canoe prevailed. The paper then considers how perspectives on waterways as transport infrastructure shifted into the post-colonial era. Rivers became central to ambitious schemes for hydropower and irrigation. But waterways continued to complicate communications to, from, and within the region of Kilombero. The paper explores how successive post-colonial governments continuously failed to address the impacts of its waterways and their annual inundations on mobilities. While floods brought agricultural fertility, they

could also destroy crops, isolate communities, and threaten both lives and livelihoods. The first bridge to cross it was only opened in 2018. The paper generally shows the centrality of Kilombero's waterways to local economies and their shifting roles within colonial and post-colonial development planning.

The second paper by Emma Minja, "Imagining Hydropower: Transnational Narratives and Realities of the Stiegler's Gorge Project in Tanzania, 1960s-1980s," gives an account of how the support for hydropower development has been an important part of several donor programmes in Tanzania stretching over decades. Adopting a historical perspective and drawing on the idea of transnationalism, this article examines hydropower aid interventions and the dynamic shifts of specific actors and discourses in bilateral relations. The article focuses on Norway, a leading actor in planning the Stiegler's Gorge hydropower project in the 1970s and early 1980s. It aims to delineate how, despite substantial financial aid, the project failed to kick off in the face of Tanzania's post-independence drive for industrialisation. The paper identifies the structure of international aid as a major factor in delaying the whole future of the project. The study unravels a history of shifting and sometimes conflicting discourses, offering a richer and more nuanced understanding of the Stiegler's Gorge project and the role of the Norwegians in planning hydropower development in Tanzania.

Part Two: Health and Welfare Planning after Independence – Health Infrastructure and the Ujamaa Concept

The second part of the special issue deals with the health system in Tanzania after independence in 1961 and looks at future visions and concrete planning that were evoked by the new government. Generally, better health and access to healthcare for all people, particularly in the rural areas, were formulated as important goals of the new administration under President Nyerere. However, the country had to struggle with many problems and deficits deriving from structures of the colonial era, which had a lasting impact on the health services and were difficult to change. In particular, there was not enough trained medical staff available, and the medical infrastructure was not sufficiently developed. This could only be remedied through lengthy structural changes and considerable investments which

were difficult to manage for a country with a low gross national income. While Tanzania experienced an improvement in health service conditions in the 1970s, the 1980s and 1990s were characterized by austerity measures and social cuts. Whereas the first paper by Frank Edward and Ulrike Lindner gives an overview over the (oftentimes) failed plans in the area of health service provision and directs attention to the themes of staffing and infrastructure, the second paper by Musa Sadock deals with a case study from the public health sector and looks at the planning and organization of smallpox vaccinations in Tanzania in the 1960s.

Frank Edward's and Ulrike Lindner's "Health Infrastructure Planning in Tanzania, 1961-1980s: The Problems of Future-making" deals with the multitude of plans that addressed the development of health services since the 1960s but were rarely implemented, often due to staffing and infrastructure problems. Still, between 1961 and 1978, Tanzania invested significantly in health service provision – from recruitment of requisite manpower and provision of health education to building the necessary infrastructure in order to improve health conditions of the population. As existing research indicates, the investment paid off considerably, for instance, with a gradual increase in life expectancy and a decline in infant mortality. This paper looks at the planning trajectories, the ensuing problems, and examines health services by using the prism of infrastructure. The paper follows the thesis that the vision of the state with regard to health issues centred on the provision of primary health care in rural areas without paying enough attention to population dynamics and critical health challenges. This set the antecedents for the crisis in the health sector that unfolded in the neoliberal era, particularly from the 1980s onwards. The article, thus, challenges the long-established narrative in health policies' literature that infers that health conditions started deteriorating in the post-colonial era due to neoliberal policies. As such, the paper contributes to knowledge on the futures of public health in the Global South. It concludes by arguing that although the policy of rural health improvement was translated into the construction of primary health infrastructure, its nature premised the future crisis due to the mismatch with population growth and poor sanitation infrastructure.

The paper by Musa Sadock, "'Prevention is better than cure': Smallpox vaccination and Ujamaa in Tanzania, 1961-1980," evaluates the planning

and implementation of a smallpox vaccination programme in Tanzania during the Ujamaa (African Socialism) period. It departs from existing scholarship on Ujamaa which depicts its planning and implementation as a failed experiment. This paper shows that specific programmes, in this case for smallpox vaccination, produced complex results. The paper argues that the planning and implementation of a smallpox vaccination programme in Tanzania achieved its objectives, though it was confronted with some challenges. The successes of the programme were due to the adoption of public health policies specific to the campaign, namely mass vaccination, public health education, and external assistance from the WHO and other donors. The Ujamaa strategy that focused on rural areas also had a major impact, particularly the use of the so-called ten house-cell structure and political mobilization. The challenges included administrative issues, transport difficulties, and cultural problems. This study adds to the historiography of Ujamaa, especially in the realm of health which is not sufficiently covered in existing scholarship.

Part Three: Rural Developments in Tanzania's Health System from Colonial to Post-colonial Times

This section comprises of two case studies from Southern Tanzania and asks for planning trajectories in colonial and postcolonial situations. It deals with non-state actors and looks at missionaries as well as traditional healers and midwives as providers of health care. Missions were the first providers of a rudimentary form of Western biomedicine in Tanzania, often before colonial administrators reached a certain area at all. Traditional medicine remained an important and durable alternative, especially for the rural population which often had poor access to the colonial and later to the health care system of the independent state. The first paper by Luoneko Kaduma is concerned with mission medical assistance that was seen and planned by the missionaries as a way towards Christianity but was rather used as a solely medical service by the local population in the Southern Highlands. The second paper by Veronica Kimani addresses the health policies of the independent state of Tanzania trying to integrate traditional healing practices with Western biomedicine, using the Kilombero region as case study.

Luoneko Kaduma works on "Medical Mission Futures: German Protestant Missionaries and Modern Healthcare in Southern Highlands, Tanzania, 1891-1940." As Kaduma argues, the history of colonial missionaries in Tanzania is marked by a complex interplay between evangelical efforts and the provision of Western biomedicine, which functioned as crucial mechanisms for conversion and cultural transformation. Missionaries viewed the improvement of African health as a project aimed at attracting converts and propagating Christianity. However, the available data indicates that instead of genuinely expressing interest in the conversion to Christianity, the majority of locals primarily sought mission medical assistance for medical reasons while maintaining strong connections to their traditional beliefs and healing practices. This paper, drawing on archival documents, ethnographic accounts, and missionary writings, focuses on Southwest Tanzania to explore how Protestant missionaries of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries sought to integrate healthcare and religious conversion in their missions. This endeavour, however, did not unfold as missionaries had anticipated. It sheds light on the overlooked aspect of the failed trajectory of medical missionaries, often absent from the broader narrative of colonial medical histories in Tanzania.

The second paper by Veronica Kimani, "Nurturing Traditional Midwifery and Medicine: The Entangled Path of Health Integration in Post-Independence Kilombero, Tanzania," investigates the ambitious endeavour of the Tanzanian government to enhance health and particularly midwifery services following independence. The initial strategy involved promoting Western medicine by establishing healthcare facilities and training medical personnel. However, the strain of a growing population and limited resources soon became evident, prompting the government to recognize the need for the incorporation of traditional medicine. This integration posed its own set of obstacles, as the focus on herbal remedies overshadowed crucial aspects of traditional midwifery, such as rituals. While research has shown the resolve towards medical integration, this paper shows that incorporating other actors such as voluntary agencies and traditional health workers proved a formidable task for the post-independence government. Using the Kilombero District as an example, this paper examines the complexities and setbacks of government planning in

this context, highlighting how the intended path to improvement took unexpected turns, failures, and detours, leading to a re-evaluation of strategies and priorities.

With these different approaches and cases studies, the special issue seeks to shed a new light on planning trajectories in Tanzania from colonial to postcolonial times. It explores enduring structural continuities but also new constellations that made sometimes change possible.

Acknowledgments

The special issue consists of papers presented at the workshop "Failed Futures?" organized by Frank Edward, Veronica Kimani, Ulrike Lindner, and Musa Sadock, which was held at the University of Dar es Salaam on March 22, 2024, where we discussed our papers with a wider audience and received important and helpful feedback. We would like to thank the Department of History at the University of Dar es Salaam for making this workshop possible. We would also like to thank the Cooperative Research Centre (CRC) 1288 "Future Rural Africa" at the Universities of Cologne and Bonn which supported the workshop in various respects, including financially. Three sub-projects of the CRC 1288 which consists of numerous interdisciplinary projects contributed to the workshop. Veronica Kimani, Ulrike Lindner, Frank Edward, and Musa Sadock are part of the C07 sub-project which analyses past futures in health planning, Jono Jackson is part of the A02 project on past futures and has worked on micro-histories of rural development in southern Tanzania in an earlier phase of the CRC. Emma Minja is part of the C03 Project on Green Futures dealing with large irrigation infrastructure and its consequences. Another researcher joined us in our endeavour to do research about planning, past, and failed futures: Luoneko Kaduma, who works on mission healthcare during the period of German colonialism. We would also like to thank Antonia Schweim who helped us with the copy-editing of the papers.

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