



Working Paper Series on
Rural-Urban Interactions and Livelihood Strategies

WORKING PAPER 1

The case of Himo and its region, northern Tanzania

by

Bitrina Diyamett, Mathew Diyamett, Jovita James and Richard Mabala

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Human Settlements Programme
IIED
3 Endsleigh Street
London WC1H 0DD

Tel: (44) 207 388 2117
Fax (44) 207 388 2826
E-Mail urban@iied.org
Web: www.iied.org

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**International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED)
3 Endsleigh Street, London WC1H 0DD, United Kingdom
Tel: (44) 020 7388 2117
Email: urban@iied.org
Website: www.iied.org**

Contents

1.	Introduction	2
2.	The study settlements	2
3.	Land and productive activities	4
	Productive Activities	4
	Farming in Marawe Kyura	4
	Gender and access to land in Lotima	12
4.	Access to productive inputs	13
	Irrigation in Lotima	13
	Capital	15
	Remittances	17
	Investment	18
	Commercial services	19
	Credit	19
5.	Employment	20
	Employment in the household	20
	Employment outside the household	22
	Out-migration in search of employment	23
	Trade	24
6.	Services	27
	Education	27
	Health	29
	Water and sanitation	30
	Extension services	30
	Electricity	31
	Security	31
7.	Himo	31
	The role of Himo	31
	The inhabitants of Himo	32
	Himo market	33
	Revenue generation	35
8.	Conclusions and recommendations	35
	The status of Himo	35
	Expansion of Himo	36
	Himo and youth employment	38
	General	38

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1. Introduction

Rural-urban interactions include 'spatial' linkages - flows of people, of goods, of money and other social transactions between towns and countryside - and 'sectoral' interactions – rural non-farm employment and urban agriculture. Households increasingly rely on both rural and urban-based resources for their livelihoods. For low-income groups, this is often a survival strategy to make ends meet by engaging in a variety of activities. For higher income groups, investment across sectors of activity and between rural and urban areas, for example by acquiring farmland with income from trade or urban-based employment, is an accumulation strategy to increase assets and income. In Tanzania, economic reform since the mid-1980s has accelerated the demise of state intervention in agricultural production and marketing, and at the same time has opened up new sectors of activity, especially trade. With the decentralisation reform introduced in the mid-1990s, local government's responsibilities have extended to local economic development and poverty reduction. A better understanding of the constraints and limitations of rural-urban interactions, and of the policies affecting them, is increasingly important, especially in the context of small and intermediate urban centres and their surrounding regions.

This report explores how different groups rely on rural-urban interactions and linkages in and around the town of Himo, in the Kilimanjaro region. A similar study was conducted in and around the town of Lindi in southern Tanzania (Working Paper no 2 in this series). Both projects were undertaken by researchers at the University College for Land and Architectural Studies and the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme of Dar es Salaam.

Research was carried out between September 1998 and April 1999 in two villages and one low-income urban neighbourhood. The first phase of the fieldwork was based on the use of qualitative and participatory tools; this was followed by a questionnaire survey administered to 120 respondents, semi-structured interviews with key informants and in-depth analysis of the commodity chains of tomatoes and bananas, two important cash products in the area. Stratification according to wealth, gender and generation considerations was applied in both the qualitative and quantitative stages of the research. A more detailed and critical discussion of the methodology used is presented in the Working Paper No 3 in this series.

2. The study settlements

Himo is a new town which began to emerge in the 1970s after the nationalisation and dismantling of the sisal plantations and allocation of land as compensation to those who were moved from the valleys and water sources on Mount Kilimanjaro. Since it is situated between Mount Kilimanjaro and the Pare mountains, it was originally a place where the Wachaga (from Kilimanjaro) and Wapare met to exchange goods and agricultural produce (bananas from Kilimanjaro for *magadi* (soda) and milk from the Wapare). It is also on the main road from Dar es Salaam and Moshi to Kenya. Thus it has grown steadily into one of the most important markets in the Kilimanjaro area. This growth was boosted by a sudden spurt in more recent times when Himo became the centre of a thriving smuggling trade across the border, exchanging agricultural produce from Tanzania for manufactured goods from Kenya. There was a crackdown on such smuggling in the mid 1970s, but the status of Himo as a major market had already been consolidated with the result that many people from all over Tanzania are eager to acquire plots in the designated township.

Mtenga is the neighbourhood in which the market (one of the main centres of rural urban interactions) is situated. The houses are mainly built of bricks with corrugated iron roofing, but the majority of the inhabitants are tenants who rent rooms in order to be able to participate in the trading activities. As will be noted later, it was impossible to carry out any wealth ranking in Mtenga given the nature of the population and the extreme suspicion of anyone asking questions about their lives and livelihoods, as a result of the history of extra-legal trading activities.

Marawe Kyura is an amalgamation of two villages, Marawe and Kyura, which lie on the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro about 8 kilometres above Himo. It is a typical Chaga village with very few outsiders. Every household has a plot of land on which bananas and coffee are grown. For other staple food crops, households depend on farms in the valley near (or inside) Himo town. The main road (*murrām*) from Himo to Kilema (a major centre of the Roman Catholic church) passes through the village and all the shops are clustered on the road near the village office.

One of the first things that strikes a visitor to Marawe Kyura is the age of most of the inhabitants. It is definitely an aged population, consisting of retirees or old farmers, many of whom have large, block houses which they built themselves or were built for them by their successful children. Thus the village gives an impression of prosperity and greenness as the banana trees lazily shade the coffee trees beneath. However, as our research shows, the peaceful rustic exterior hides a mounting crisis in the community.

Lotima is situated about six kilometres below Himo town in the plains between Mount Kilimanjaro and the Upare mountains. It is thus a natural meeting place for the Chaga and Pare peoples and it is believed that the settlement was actually started by a Chaga man who married a Pare as his second wife. The first inhabitants were mainly Pare because the Chaga were afraid of moving into a malaria-infested area, since, in those days, there was no malaria on Mount Kilimanjaro. It is a sprawling village which spreads throughout the plain right up to the border with Kenya. Many of the inhabitants are Kamba who originally came from Kenya.

According to the inhabitants, Lotima was originally a very fertile area, benefiting from the topsoil washed down from the mountain. However as a result of large scale felling of trees, especially in the 1960s when cotton was a major cash crop, it is now losing its own topsoil to settlements still further into the valley.

In addition, it has become a dry area which depends heavily on irrigation. It is easy to identify the irrigation ditches in the dry season because of the sharp lines of green and the concentration of houses that surround them. However, the irrigation water upon which it depended is threatened by the increasing population above them on the mountain and in Himo. The houses are, in general, fairly small and very few of them are made of cement blocks. Livestock are much in evidence as they roam through the village. The possession of cement block houses and livestock were two of the important aspects of wealth ranking. Given the flatness of the land, bicycles are also very important in transporting agricultural produce and participating in the cross-border trade, and one of the definitions of the poorest group was that members of the group did not even have a bicycle.

Originally the main road to Dar es Salaam passed through Lotima, adding to its prosperity, but this is no longer the case. Thus Lotima inhabitants are very dependent on Himo (to which they are connected by a *murram* road), for all their basic necessities and as a market for their crops. They also believe that Himo belongs to them as it is really an extension of Lotima, and they would like to see Himo market relocated closer to them so that they can control it more effectively. Thus, the two villages were found to be different in almost every respect: eco-systems, agricultural activities, ethnic and religious make up.

3. Land and productive activities

Productive activities

In the two villages researched, agriculture and livestock remain the two major productive activities. The proportion of respondents who identified farming as their first activity were 58.8 per cent, while 33.6 per cent identified trade. If the second activity is included, 85.9 per cent of respondents in Marawe Kyura and 97.6 per cent of respondents in Lotima are involved in agriculture.

While this section will look at both villages, the main focus will be on the comprehensive productive system developed in Marawe Kyura, which is representative of communities living on the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro.

Farming in Marawe Kyura

In Marawe Kyura, almost every household has a small farm of coffee and banana trees surrounding their house. In the majority of cases, the size of the farm is less than one acre. These farms have been growing progressively smaller as they are divided up among (some) children from each new generation. Thus many households depend on a second farm, '*porini*' (in the bush) in the plains above and below Himo, in Masaera and, above all, in Himo Pofu. Here they cultivate their food crops, particularly maize and beans, and, for those with access to an irrigation canal, cash crops of vegetables and tomatoes. Seventy-three per cent of respondents in Marawe Kyura had farms in the village, but only 36 per cent had a second piece of land in the village (whereas by comparison, almost 100 per cent of respondents from Lotima had more than one piece of land in their village).

As the land shortage becomes ever more acute on the mountain, they are increasingly dependent on their farms in the valley, not only for growing their food crops but also to bequeath to their sons (and rarely daughters) so that they can set up their own farms. However, even these plots of land are small. Thirty-three per cent of respondents from Marawe said that their second piece of land was smaller than one acre.

With regard to livestock, many of the households on the mountain have at least one cow and some goats, and practise zero grazing which means a continual demand for fodder.

Production and development in Marawe Kyura: a holistic system

For the past 50-60 years, the inhabitants of the mountain have developed and refined a holistic production and livelihood strategy which has been conspicuously successful.

- Mixed agriculture of coffee and bananas. The coffee trees grow in the shade of the banana trees and while bananas provide the staple food, coffee provides the cash for other development activities.
- The coffee farmers were among the first farmers in the country to develop their own producers' cooperative union (KNCU), both to protect their interests as producers and to act as a community welfare organisation which released money from the sale of coffee at critical times in the year for buying production inputs such as pesticides and fertilisers, and for paying school fees etc.
- In order to avoid splitting up the land into segments that were too small to be productive, they quickly embraced formal education and sent their children (boys and, increasingly, girls) to school so that they would be equipped to take advantage of employment opportunities in the formal sector as well as starting their own businesses. Inheritance of land was restricted to the first and last sons only.
- Land was also identified in the valley from as early as the 1930s and allocated to other sons by the traditional leaders (*mangi*). This land was used for cultivation of other food crops and herding of cattle and goats.

Decline

However, this holistic system is under threat from many different directions at the same time.

i. KNCU

The abolition, reinstatement and decline of KNCU have led to the collapse of the social security system which has operated for the last half century. At the feedback meeting in Marawe Kyura, there were conflicting opinions on liberalisation. On the one hand, people wanted their inputs to come through KNCU as before. As they said:

‘We like KNCU because it cannot abandon us. We plan together and it keeps records of sales while in the free market you sell and go just like in Himo’.

In other words, selling coffee is not like selling tomatoes or maize. It is the foundation of the household economy for the whole year, which is why it is not something one does lightly. KNCU is an integral part of their lives.

However, many disagreed:

‘KNCU helped us in the past but not these days. Our money is deducted for inputs which we never get. KNCU is only good for those who are inside it. The free market is better because you are paid on the spot’.

At the same time, people said that the KNCU price was now better than the free market price offered by coffee-buying companies. In 1998 one kilo of coffee fetched 1600/- at KNCU and 1500/- on the free market. However many said that the KNCU price was actually a product of the free market (competition).

The reasons for disillusion with KNCU lie in the fact that the coffee farmers now see KNCU as an exploitative rather than a service institution. KNCU employees get rich off the backs of the coffee farmers. They gave one example of when KNCU collected 5000/- from the farmers in order to open an account which would later be used to buy coffee. However this resulted in nothing. People were not given receipts and the account was never opened (although the money had been collected in 1994). The agricultural extension officer at the feedback meeting admitted that the people had justified grievances.

As a result of this disillusionment, many have turned to private buyers for whom coffee is just a question of buying and selling. Therefore, KNCU can no longer afford to give people agricultural inputs on loan because it has no guarantee that the borrowers will eventually sell their coffee to them. Inputs are therefore too expensive for most farmers, the pesticides are not bought and used, production of coffee declines and with it the income of every household. This, in turn, affects the ability of households to pay for education for their children and offer them a chance to find a life elsewhere, which leads to increasing division of plots on the mountain, overcrowding and continuing decline in incomes¹.

The decline in coffee has also had serious effects at the household level.

- Traditionally, the money from the sale of coffee belonged to the man, whether he used or misused it. As a result of the decrease of coffee money, many men have begun to break into the women's traditional source of income, particularly dairy products. This leaves women with even less income for themselves and their families, especially when the men are irresponsible.
- Parents are increasingly unable to meet the requirements of their children, such as clothing, school fees etc. As a result, young people are moving away from the mountain in search of a new life with minimum or no qualifications. In the case of young women, many are tempted into commercial sex work as a way of making a living, as a result of which HIV/AIDS is becoming an increasingly prominent threat in society. In addition, many have given birth to children outside marriage. They then bring these children to live with their ageing grandparents putting an even heavier burden on households which are already under stress.

ii. *Porini* (the bush)

As stated above, people have become increasingly dependent on their farms' '*porini*'. This refers both to the mothers who farm maize and beans to feed their families and to young people (young men and, even more, young women) who borrow or rent farms in Masaera, which is below Marawe Kyura and above Himo, or elsewhere where they can gain access to irrigation canals in order to grow tomatoes, oil seed and other crops which

¹ As a sideline to this issue, many women welcome the free market, especially when their husbands are irresponsible. They gave examples of husbands who disappear for weeks after receiving the money from the sale of coffee and only return when the money is finished. Sometimes, the only way a woman can maintain the household is to sell some coffee herself. This was impossible when KNCU was the sole buyer, as all sales of coffee are recorded in the name of the husband. However, the free market keeps no such records.

allow them to make some money for themselves. The survival strategies of young people will be looked at in more detail later in the report but areas like Masaera are very important for them.

The importance of the land on the lower slopes of Mount Kilimanaro was realised a long time ago and people living on the mountain were allocated the land in Masaera and Himo Pofu about 60 years ago by the *mangi* (the traditional ruler). It was an official allocation, which involved the payment of a traditional fee and which was witnessed by traditional and government officials. This allocation was recognised by the then colonial government and the government after independence. It is difficult to estimate how many people specifically from Marawe Kyura have land in Himo Pofu, but it is a sizeable percentage. In the words of the village feedback meeting,

‘If Himo Pofu goes, we are finished!’

Given the centrality of ‘*porini*’ to the survival of households and the community as a whole, anything which encroaches upon it is seen as a major threat to the community. In 1994, the Roman Catholic Church which owns the land around Mandaka College planned to extend the college, which would have meant some people losing access to the church land on which they had been farming. The people demonstrated until they succeeded in forcing the church to rescind its earlier decision. In the words of the women’s focus group discussion, ‘It was war’. At present, the community sees an even greater threat to their land as a result of the expansion of Himo. They recognise that Himo, like any other town, has to expand but they are strongly opposed to the manner in which it is being done.

- The land which is being taken over belongs to them, whatever the official language may say. They have cultivated and, in some cases, lived on that land for 60 years and therefore no-one has any right to take the land from them, even by government order.
- The government, or district council has not even consulted the people who own land in that area. Notices may have been posted on electricity poles or in offices but this is not enough. As one inhabitant of Marawe Kyura said, ‘The government has decided to take people’s land without even informing them’.

Since the land belongs to them, any decision affecting the land should involve them as well before any government notice is given.

- Bureaucratic methods are being used to dispossess people of their rights. At the feedback meeting, an example was given of a man who had two acres in Himo Pofu. One of his sons lived there, had built a house and was thus allowed to retain his plot. The old man expected that his other sons would be allocated the other sections of the farm but when he went to register them, he was told he was too late: many others had registered before him and he had no right to allocate the land to his own children. He should put their names on the list, and if they were lucky, they might get allocated land somewhere else.

In addition, in order to survey his own land, the owner has to pay substantial fees (as much as 300,000/-) on the pretext that the government has no money to send its officers to measure the land for plots. This is seen by the villagers as a way of depriving them of the land which is rightfully theirs.

- There is a strong sense among the villagers that the issue of land appropriation and reallocation was being used by certain people to enrich themselves. They told stories of plots being allocated to outsiders for large payments. By contrast, according to the parish priest, others have been given plots free which they then sell for around 300,000/-.
- The villagers also questioned why the town expansion is taking over fertile farming land, especially when that land is so essential to their livelihoods. The Himo parish priest emphasised this point when he talked of the destruction of the green belt around Himo.

‘The biggest problem in town planning is that the expansion of the town destroys fertile land. There is no balance between food and town. They do not create a feeder zone around the town, and do not look at what people will eat. They should encourage and process agricultural produce, and maintain a green belt around the town’.

‘In spite of the global environmental movement world wide, those who have plots are still not given any conditions such as planting trees, grass etc. This should be controlled by The Ministry of Land’.

The same concern was shown by the inhabitants of Meresini, a neighbourhood immediately above Himo. Some of the area has already been surveyed for plots, and the inhabitants of the remaining area live in fear of also losing their land. Their grievance is even greater because they were allocated land in Meresini, a mere twenty years ago, as compensation for being forbidden to cultivate their land around water sources and river banks. As one old man said:

‘The expansion of Himo is war. They want to kill those of us with low incomes. People will kill one another with *pangas*. You cheated me that I had to move from the river banks because I am causing soil erosion and destroying water sources and now you want to move me again. Who will listen to the cry of the poor?’

The inhabitants of Meresini also made the point that Himo should expand down the mountain where the land is stonier and less fertile and there is no farming. They complained that they were the victims of having been allocated land in a more pleasant area. Needless to say, the inhabitants of Lotima below the road were also concerned about expansion there encroaching upon their own farms, although land shortage has not really been an issue to date.

The situation was summed up again by the parish priest within a historical context:

'Himo was originally a town of sisal workers. After nationalisation, just the buildings remained. Farms were distributed to those who lived in the valleys in the 1960s and 1970s. People built their houses. Then Himo was declared a town and plots were surveyed. People were given one or two plots but no compensation. There is a burning sense of injustice. They were moved and now they have to move again. The government is the owner of all the land. If it says you have no permanent crops, you get no compensation. The cunning and the insiders (*wajuaji*) benefited, and the land surveyors, and the government leadership and big (and even some small) traders'.

Finally it was felt by the researchers that even if the appropriation and reallocation of land is being done with the intention of promoting development, that intention is based on a false premise. Most of those who are *allocated* plots have no interest in developing Himo, but rather regard their plots as an investment for the future. By contrast, someone who *buys* a plot is prepared to pay out substantial amounts of money because s/he wants to make more substantial amounts in the near future. S/he has a specific plan for that piece of land. Thus, if villagers were allowed to sell their land to those who want it so much that they are prepared to pay for it (willing seller, willing buyer), this would both compensate villagers for the loss of their livelihoods and promote more rapid development of the town as well as providing employment. As it is, no one benefits except land speculators.

During the feedback workshop in Marawe Kyura, the following recommendations were made:

- a) Before distributing plots, the District Council should first sit and discuss with people owning the land which is targeted for appropriation. The Council should make it a point to hold village meetings on the issue.
- b) The town should expand downhill since the town is for their benefit. They are immigrants
- c) There should be a free market for land, willing sellers and willing buyers, and the government should just supervise the planning, e.g. services, roads etc. and compensate those whose land is taken for services (maybe from a special tax on the sale of other land).

The researchers strongly agree with a) and c). They are aware of the colonially inherited ordinance on appropriation of land to allow for town expansion, but natural justice as well as the stated commitment of the government to participatory development and transparency, all point to the need for much greater consultation with the people on an issue so fundamental to their lives. In the context of rural-urban interactions, it is a good example of how careless planning, or lack of planning leads to urban-rural imbalances and lack of development, since the rural population is deprived without any corresponding urban development to absorb these people.

Land ownership within the household

Marawe Kyura

The overall community crisis in relation to access to land and therefore livelihoods is reflected strongly within households. As stated earlier, the Chaga were aware of the danger

from the outset, and attempts were made to regulate excessive division of land by restricting inheritance to the first and last sons, and encouraging the other children through education, marriage and informal links with relatives to move out in search of employment or business opportunities elsewhere. However, in so restricted a space, such a strategy can only work for a certain length of time. As a result, Marawe Kyura could now almost be called a low density town, rather than a village.

This division of all available land is exacerbated by the fact that opportunities elsewhere have also greatly diminished, leaving a growing number of young people whose only hope of a livelihood is centred on the allocation of some land on the mountain, however small. At the same time, as noted by the better-off men, there is too little land to give them. There is just no space to farm as shown by the fact that the majority of farms are less than one acre in size. There is not even enough land to build a house. As a result, there are increasing land conflicts in the community and the existing laws are unrealistic. The young men gave an example of a conflict over a banana tree which was hanging over the land of a neighbour. When they went to court over the issue, the judge pronounced that according to the law, no-one is allowed to plant within 20 paces of the boundary, so as to reduce conflicts such as these. But for many families, if they plant 20 paces from their boundaries, they will be forced to plant inside their houses.

This has led to an increasing crisis within households. Even on the issue of who owns the land, there was substantial disagreement. In the intra-household matrices, the different focus groups ranked ownership of land as follows²:

Table 1. Ownership of Land: Marawe Kyura

	Poorer women	Better-off men	Young Men	Better-off women	Young women
Father	12	12	15	9	11
Mother	8	6	-	3	-
Brother	-	3	5	3	9
Sister	-	-	-	2	-
Male relative	-	-		3	-

This table shows differences in perception according to gender and generation. Naturally the father comes across as the main owner of the land, but if he dies, the question of who inherits is a difficult one. While the better-off men allow space for the mother, the young men (who want the land for themselves) discount their mothers and sisters altogether. The young women hold out no hope of inheritance even from their mothers. The poorer women are more hopeful, while perhaps the most differentiated are the better-off women who also allow a space for male relatives who are as powerful as the widow and the son. In the discussion around this matrix, many issues were raised.

² In ranking, each group is given 20 counters and asked to allocate counters according to who owns more land.

Father-son

Traditionally, the son would not be allocated household land until he was married (and according to some respondents) had one child. Otherwise, he was regarded as still being at an irresponsible age with the possibility that he might sell the land. This was stressed by the better-off men who said that in the past, land was not given out indiscriminately. The son must show effort, honesty and maturity. By contrast, the young men said they no longer wanted to get married because:

- It only causes conflicts with their fathers who are unhappy about having to distribute land to the newly married couple;
- If they get married, they no longer have access to land farmed by their mothers.

At the same time, many other sons are fed up with waiting for a piece of land and even go as far as asking their father ‘When will you die?’

Fathers are put off by the aggressiveness of their sons and have now taken to exercising a system of privilege. Those sons (and even daughters) who look after their fathers well are given land, at the expense of the other children. In the short term, this may be a good strategy for the father, ensuring that he receives the basic necessities in his old age, but it is a recipe for tension and conflict in the family.

Mother-son

In the focus group discussions, there was disagreement about whether or how much a wife can inherit land if her husband dies. While the girls argued that when the father dies, the mother has the most say over land ownership, followed by her son, their ranking in the matrix showed that it is their brothers who will inherit, not their mothers. This was supported by the better-off women who said it was the son who inherits. However, they argued that daughters, and even wives, could inherit land, as long as they had given birth to sons, thereby becoming custodians of land for their male offspring. If the widow has only young daughters she will inherit nothing. The young men said that women have no decision-making power over land. Even if the father dies, it is the male relative who will decide. Such differences in perception lead to conflicts.

Brother-sister

Traditionally the daughter cannot inherit land because she is expected to get married and make her home in someone else’s family. However, changes in society have also led to changing practices. Not all daughters get married and even if they do, the rate of separation and divorce is high. In the three locations, out of 61 women, 10 or 16.4% were widowed and another 5% were separated. This is a very high percentage and if you exclude young unmarried women from the 61 women, it is even higher. Thus if daughters do not get married, some fathers allocate them land on which to build.

In addition, owing to the conflicts mentioned above, if daughters are successful in their lives and provide support to their fathers, they can inherit. As the better off women pointed out:

‘These days girls are more successful than boys and look after their parents more. Therefore the father is open to giving her land if she has a child (male).

If she is not successful and therefore gives nothing to her father, she is given nothing’.

Interestingly, the questionnaire showed an equal number of sons and daughters providing remittances to their families (18 men and 19 women).

Finally, as a reaction against the aggressive behaviour of their sons towards them, some fathers also give preference to their daughters on issues of inheritance. While this has led to greater gender equality, it is also the source of much conflict. While the young men admitted that if a daughter looked after her father she might get something, they were adamant that their sisters had no rights to the land.

‘The daughter gets nothing. If she has no brother, a male relative inherits. But it depends on her character. If she respects and looks after her father, she might get something. Today’s laws say that a woman has rights. Maybe it will happen one day but it hasn’t happened yet’.

However, while gender is a significant issue in relation to inheritance and ownership of land, the major issue is generational. The land is just not enough and parents have nothing else to offer their children. As a result young people are moving out in search of opportunities with little or no qualifications or capital.

Gender and access to land in Lotima

In Lotima the issue, as expressed in the wealth ranking, was not so much the shortage of land but the means to cultivate it. In contrast to Marawe Kyura, nearly all respondents owned farms (often more than one farm) in the village and their farms were significantly larger. The first farm of the respondents in the questionnaire ranged on average from 2-5 acres and the second farm from 1-2 acres.

Therefore the issue of access to land was more of an intra-household than a community one with an even stronger gender component than in Marawe Kyura. It was agreed that the land belongs to men and the daughter had no right of inheritance. The better-off men said that girls do not expect to inherit anything, especially land, if they remain at home. The better-off women pointed out that a father can allocate a portion of his farm to his daughters for them to use, but when he dies, they will not be able to inherit those portions and are often deprived of them. Girls who get married and then divorced return home to find the land is already distributed. Finally, if girls are allocated land, they have no starting capital. Thus their brothers, who find it easier to get some form of employment, make some money and return to deprive their sisters of the land.

As a result, the rate of out-migration of Lotima girls to towns, especially Mombasa, is very high (20.5 per cent of all out-migration in the three locations), as is the rate of social problems caused by such out-migration. Many girls return with children and/or ‘*kilo mbili*’ (AIDS). This was recognised in the feedback meeting as the major social problem in the village. The girls were adamant that if given land, they would not leave the village and both boys and girls said parents should give them land so that they don’t have to migrate. The girls were so adamant that they leave because there is no alternative that, by the end of the

feedback meeting, there seemed to be some kind of consensus that men should give their daughters a piece of land to encourage them to stay.

4. Access to productive inputs

While this was an issue in both Marawe Kyura and Lotima, the discussion will concentrate on Lotima, where the issue of access to water for irrigation is particularly serious.

Irrigation in Lotima

The out-migration of young people in Lotima (with fewer qualifications than those in Marawe Kyura) is also an expression of a community in crisis. Before the new road was built 20 years ago, Lotima was on the main road to Dar es Salaam. This gave it access to many trading opportunities, and the older respondents painted a picture of Lotima as a thriving community with plentiful rain and abundant harvests, whereas now it has become marginalised. Respondents complained that the climate has changed in the last 20 years, a fact which KEDA attributed to the destruction of tree cover in order to grow cash crops, which had led to increased drought as well as soil erosion. Lotima is now a very dry area dependent on irrigation.

As a result, the major issue in the community is not so much lack of land as lack of water. Irrigation canals from the mountain run through Lotima and all people, even women, have access to water rights, provided they pay the membership fees. Just as the inhabitants of Marawe Kyura stressed that without Himo Pofu they would die, the Lotima inhabitants said that without irrigation canals they would die because rainfall in the valley is scarce. In the service Venn diagrams, all three groups ranked irrigation canals as the most important service, placing it either on the edge or outside the circle, which meant that they saw the service as almost inaccessible despite its centrality to their lives. In the feedback meeting they stressed:

‘All our attention is focused on the irrigation canals. The plan was prepared a long time ago but nothing was done’.

This issue has become critical because, as analysed by the young men:

- a) The canals are old and a lot of water is lost.
- b) There are too many consumers for the amount of water.
- c) Some areas of Lotima are on a hill and therefore have no canal.
- d) In the mid 1980s the sources of water for Lotima and Himo in general decreased after two pipes were built, one for Rombo and the other for Holili.

The issue was expanded upon by the better-off men who said that water started to decrease when people moved into the sisal area and intercepted the water before it got anywhere near Lotima.

Upon our return for the second phase of the research, the Village Executive Officer informed us that, after confronting Kiliwater, the company responsible for the pipes, water is now flowing to Lotima. He attributed the shortage of water to negligence on the part of the water

company. However, as the population of Himo and above Himo continues to expand, the possibility of increasing water shortages is very high.

The shortage of water has:

- Forced many villagers to rent farms from people in neighbouring villages.
- Reduced employment opportunities for young people. Like the young people of Marawe Kyura in Masaera, the young people of Lotima use irrigation farming to produce a wide variety of crops, *kunde*³, vegetables, *choroko*⁴, cabbage, tomatoes, beans etc. Insufficient water severely restricts their production.
- Led to conflicts over water allocation. In the feedback meeting, people complained that the young men steal water not allocated to them in order to prevent their crops drying up. Anyone trying to stop them is told '*mzee ishia mbali*' ('Get lost old man').
- Created gender inequalities. It was perceived that young women could not use their water allocation if it is at night, especially if they have small children. It is not safe for them. Girls stressed in the feedback meeting that the improvement of irrigation would reduce their problems.

However, while the work of Kiliwater has led to an increased supply of water to the residents in the plain, potential for serious conflict exists. This is centred on the issue of metering piped water. In the feedback meeting in Marawe Kyura, people complained that it was unfair to introduce meters since the water belonged to them from time immemorial. Lotima's piped water does not come from the same source as Marawe Kyura but from further round the mountain at Mwika where the same attitude to metering as Marawe Kyura is shown. According to the Village Executive Officer of Lotima, such resistance is strengthened by the fact that one large-scale farmer near Mwika was metered, continued to use piped water to irrigate his farm and found himself confronted by a bill of 70,000/- at the end of the first month.

By contrast, he claimed, the inhabitants of Lotima know that unless metering is introduced, they have no chance of accessing sufficient water, and are therefore very willing to accept meters. Irrigation was ranked as the highest priority in the services Venn diagram of all the focus group discussions, although all groups considered that it was not a very accessible service. It seems very unlikely that the inhabitants of Lotima will have access to water without metering, leading to more frugal use of such water for irrigation further up the mountain.

One possible solution to the problem is the tapping of underground water. According to KEDA, a large underground river flows beneath Lotima which could be used very effectively with the provision of water pumps. This was not, however, mentioned by any other respondents.

³ A kind of bean

⁴ A kind of pea

Tree nurseries

One other productive activity which seems to have started with institutions such as KEDA and Kiracha Agricultural Centre (run by the Roman Catholic Church), but which is now spreading to commercial producers, is tree nurseries. The importance of trees is obvious, and where there is irrigation, many trees have been planted.

Capital

The general complaint was that, money was now in short supply. With regard to the three locations, this is exacerbated by specific conditions.

- In Marawe Kyura, the decline of coffee has led to a general shortage of money.
- In Himo and Lotima, the crackdown on border smuggling has also led to a shortage of money and income-generating activities. Several young men in the interviews had been participating in the cross border trade but had now stopped because it was no longer worth the risk of being caught by the police and beaten. In Himo itself, the thriving guesthouse and bar trade had virtually come to a standstill. In the guesthouse in which the researchers were staying for two weeks, only three other visitors stayed and then only for one night, whereas we were assured that in the past the guesthouse was full, especially on market days.

The shortage of money has led to increasing family conflicts. The intra-household matrix for both Marawe Kyura and Lotima shows clearly who controls the money.

Table 2: Ownership and Control of Money

	Marawe Kyura					Lotima		
	Poor women	Rich men	Girls	Rich women	Boys	Rich men	Rich women	Girls
Men	15	15	11	9	17	14	15	15
Women	5	5	9	11	3	6	5	5

From the above table, it is clear that the men control the money supply to a very large extent, even more so in Lotima than in Marawe Kyura. Only the richer women and the girls in Marawe Kyura give the mother much control over money, maybe because of the trading activities of women which allows them to supplement their incomes while the men control the coffee money. As the girls said:

‘You only get the coffee money if it drops out or is forgotten in his trouser pocket’.

However, the richer women in Marawe Kyura commented that the decline in revenue from coffee had caused the men to try and appropriate women’s traditional sources of income, rather than adjusting their expenditure patterns to changing times. In addition, the father was jealous if he saw his wife handling money, afraid she would rule the household. The better-

off women also said that if the man had no money, the wife felt ashamed and gave him some (after first ensuring that she had bought the essential household needs). They concluded that if the husband had no money, there was no peace in the household.

Thus, while the major expenditure of families in Marawe Kyura is still school fees for children, the better-off women in Marawe Kyura said that discussions between parents on how to use the money took place in only a few families with good household relations. They also complained that when men received the money for coffee sales they might disappear for up to two weeks until all the money was finished.

The behaviour of men in Lotima, differed little from Marawe Kyura:

‘Men demand money at all times. For example, if the mother sells the milk, the husband demands the money without caring about small household needs such as salt’ (poor men).

In general, the inhabitants of Lotima complained that while the money supply had dwindled as a result of decreased fertility and surplus of crops (i.e. tomatoes), both expenditure (in terms of taxes, fees, health etc) and expectations (of their children) had increased.

‘In the past, children celebrated Idd in their school clothes. These days they don’t accept’ (rich women).

Whereas in Marawe Kyura most of the money generated circulates inside the village (which has its own sources of entertainment and schools), in Lotima most of the money is spent elsewhere, ranging from education in Kenya to entertainment in Himo.

Such a situation has had two major effects on rural-urban interactions:

- The lack of family resources (or the misuse of the insufficient resources) is a major contributing factor to the out-migration of young people, especially young women. As was commented at the Lotima feedback meeting:

‘What can girls do? They are forced to go to Mombasa to look for domestic labour or to sell their bodies’.

- Himo (and to a much lesser extent other towns such as Moshi) is a major winner at the expense of some villages surrounding it. While in Marawe Kyura the day to day sources of entertainment (especially *mbege* clubs) lie in the village itself (men only come to Himo to watch major sporting events like the World Cup on television), Lotima residents depend almost entirely on Himo for entertainment. Lotima has no bar at all while Himo has approximately 80. Even the coffee money from villages on the mountain is largely spent in Himo as the men would not openly spend their money in the village. One retired officer who is now a farmer just outside Himo commented that, even when the prices for their crops rise (such as the price for *simsim*), the farmers do not benefit because they do not know how to save money. They waste it all on drink and women in Himo. In Marawe Kyura, the women complained that even the sons are following in their fathers’ footsteps, spending their money on cigarettes, alcohol and sometimes marijuana.

As a result, families in the villages are impoverished, while those on whom the money is spent in Himo, such as bar workers, benefit. One businessman in Himo claimed that a large number of the houses in Himo had been built by women, many of whom had originally come to work as bar workers. Another market trader gave the example of Machame girls (from the southern slopes of Kilimanjaro) who started as petty traders and had now built their own houses. The parish priest and educational institutions complained that the presence of men with money to throw around was a major factor in girls' giving up their studies. However, the increasing reliance on commercial sex work (full-time or part-time) has led to a serious increase in unwanted pregnancies and HIV/AIDS.

Thus the major movement of capital is from the villages to the town but not so much in the other direction. Quite apart from entertainment, traders who come to Himo market will usually buy their basic needs in the town, and have a drink before returning home.

Remittances

While Himo is the net beneficiary of rural-urban interactions with regard to money, remittances are an important source of income for many families, especially in Marawe Kyura where many children have moved to town and have well-paid jobs or businesses while their parents remain in the village and are unable to continue farming substantially because of their age. Out of 120 households in the survey, 37 (30.8 per cent) receive remittances from relatives. Of these, 53 per cent are from Marawe Kyura, 21.6 per cent from Lotima and 16.1 per cent from Mtenga.

Respondents were shy of explaining to what extent they depend on remittances, saying that only the families concerned knew how much they were supported by their absent children. They talked of 'money for buying sugar' but it was clear that the amount of sugar could be fairly large and, as seen above, fathers judge their children and even decide inheritance on the basis of such remittances. However, greater hardship and other important aspects such as the increasing cost of educating children has led to the out-migrants sending less in remittances than before.

The young men said that remittances were particularly important for women who received support from their daughters. For example, they said, the daughter might bring 5000/- for her father and 10,000/- for her mother. The rich women commented that these days daughters more than sons are looking after their parents, so are considered more often for inheritance.

This net inflow is connected particularly with Christmas (and less so with Easter) which is traditionally the time Chaga living elsewhere return to celebrate with their relatives on the mountain. It is a time when much money flows in entertainment while family meetings are held and support is given. However, respondents all said that the importance of Christmas had declined with the drop in money supply and the growing costs faced by out-migrants in looking after the family.

In Lotima, it seems that remittances are less important because there are fewer people holding well-paid jobs or businesses. In spite of the exodus to Mombasa, we were unable to find any examples of men or women who had been successful in Mombasa and were able to send money home, or return home with money. It was an unending story of failure. The

community also blamed the girls who spent any money they made on themselves. Instead of returning with money for investment they came back with '*sura za kununua dukani*⁵' (i.e. a lot of expenditure on cosmetics, creams and hair).

Investment

Although remittances are common on the mountain, there is little evidence of actual investment in Marawe Kyura, apart from the construction of family houses. Many successful out-migrants prefer to build and invest where they have settled elsewhere in Tanzania. There is one example of an indigenous son of Kilema who wished to build a tomato-processing factory in Marawe Kyura, but he was frustrated by the issue of land. While others were prepared to sell him their land, one owner of a small farm (half an acre) in the area where the investor wanted to build categorically refused to sell his land despite all kinds of offers ranging from a truck to a house in Marangu with running water and electricity. As a result the factory is now being built just above Himo Town.

Such large-scale investment in a directly productive activity is unique. However, in the focus group discussions, examples were given of a few, including young men and women, who return to the village and invest, particularly in agriculture (tomatoes and vegetables) and trade. As a result there are a few examples of successful accumulation by young people in such activities.

Such accumulation is more in evidence in Himo where many people accumulated significant wealth particularly during the smuggling era. There are several examples of young people, women and men, who came to Himo as petty traders and succeeded. One such example is one of our key informants who came to Himo in 1989 as a petty trader but who now owns several houses and commuter buses. The nature of his investment is common. Most of those who succeeded have invested in guesthouses, bars and shops, as well as transport such as small commuter buses. Again, in the smuggling era, these investments gave rapid returns but with the decline in the border trade, the guesthouses are empty and many may close. As one major businessman (who has moved to Himo from the mountain) said:

'Bar and guesthouse business was very good at that time because of border smuggling. Bars, butchers and guesthouses were very profitable. My own guest houses were full to the point where people were sleeping on the couches (whereas nowadays you hardly get one customer a day). I was killing up to five goats a day'.

He complained that the decline in profits had been exacerbated by the amount of taxes they had to pay.

At the same time, most of the wealth in Himo is owned by people who do not live there. Most of the large traders come from the mountain and return there in the evening and many of the owners of the houses live in Dar es Salaam. This means that, with the exception of the tomato processing plant, there is a lack of productive investment.

⁵ shop bought faces

Commercial services

There is a difference between the two villages. Marawe Kyura is a small commercial centre with several shops, bars and *mbege* clubs and two milling machines, one owned by a private individual and the other by the women's wing of the ruling party, UWT. Neighbouring villages on either side (Masaera and Kimaroroni) both have weekly markets (Kyano and Lyamombo respectively) where Marawe Kyura residents go to sell bananas, milk and beans and buy other produce such as vegetables, as well as manufactured goods from Kenya and elsewhere. Young women also use these local markets to buy produce which they sell in Himo.

In contrast, Lotima has few shops and no bars, and the only milling machine was provided by a national NGO (UMATI) on the basis of a participatory rural appraisal in 1997. The nearest market for all buying and selling is Himo, with the exception of the goat market which is located in Lotima itself and the cattle market which takes place in the bordering district of Mwanga. In the past Lotima depended more on the cross border trade with Kenya, but the crackdown on smuggling has removed this option.

However, both Marawe Kyura and Lotima depend heavily on Himo for their commercial transactions which is why market days in Himo are so important. Himo provides the large-scale outlet for their agricultural produce (bananas and tomatoes from the mountain, tomatoes from Lotima) and the goods and services they require. While residents of Marawe Kyura mainly drink in their village, the men in particular go to Himo to watch international football on television, and many people take advantage of market days to socialise in Himo. The only thing that is lacking is a guesthouse, which can be attributed to the strong religious beliefs of the inhabitants. Guesthouses are not seen as a place for a visitor to stay the night, but rather as a cloak for adultery. Lotima has few recreational facilities and depends almost entirely on Himo.

Credit

Participants in Marawe Kyura complained that credit was no longer available, although one woman stated that this was not surprising given the misuse of credit by the women's organisation. It had several flourishing projects including a milling machine and a bus, but these had now declined or disappeared because of embezzlement and misuse. In addition, as shown earlier, the role of KNCU in providing credit through inputs had been severely eroded by the loss of its monopoly position as a buyer which meant that no credit was available for farming coffee.

Similarly, poor men in Lotima complained of the drying-up of credit. Credit was seen as essential capital which would allow them to get a start in life. This is similar to the complaint of the girls that even if they were allocated land, they have no access to starting capital which means that, in the end, they will be deprived by their brothers.

However, there is a system of informal credit among tomato growers. There are some traders who lend inputs and even money to village farmers (especially tomato farmers). Some like to be repaid in cash with interest after the farmer has harvested and sold his crop. Others impose conditions that they must sell their crops to the lenders for a low price until they have paid off their debt. For example, a person who lends 70,000/- will buy *tengas* of tomatoes for

1000/-, while the market price is 2000/-. So he will take 70 *tengas* at 1000/- and sell for 140,000/- a profit of 100 per cent. The borrower has the right to sell any surplus on the open market.

Tomato traders interviewed in Moshi also testified to the provision of credit, based on comprehensive knowledge of the tomato farmer. They said that they sometimes gave credit to farmers but only after they had planted their tomatoes. They then visited the farms and assessed the situation. Credit can be in terms of cash or fertiliser and other inputs. Sometimes such relationships exploit the poor farmers who do not understand the implications of the credit and thus lose control over their produce because they have to sell their tomatoes at a fixed price to the trader who provides the credit. The trader also determines the price.

However, credit is not only one-way. According to the growers, they sometimes sell their tomatoes to the trader on credit and are paid after the trader has sold the produce. From the above, it can be seen that the trader is in a strong position, but since the trader is also dependent on the farmer to continue trading with her/him, s/he is careful to maintain good relations (including good credit relations) with the farmers. Sometimes they give incentives of up to 20,000/- to the best farmers to keep them from selling to other traders.

Women food vendors in Himo also depend on credit from the shopkeepers from whom they buy their goods such as cooking oil. They are allowed to take the goods on credit and repay them in the evening after they have sold their food.

5. Employment

A frequent benefit of rural-urban interactions is that the growth of the town compensates for the loss of land by the provision of new employment opportunities, both agricultural (in terms of increased production to meet the demands of the town) and other employment (to meet the needs of expanding economic activities in the towns).

Employment in the household

Traditionally, farming was the major source of employment in both Marawe Kyura and Lotima. However, for the reasons mentioned above:

- Increasing land shortages and the decline of income from coffee in Marawe Kyura
- The lack of water and capital in Lotima

farming no longer provides the employment opportunities or incentives to young people. In addition, as a result of the changes in society, young people no longer accept unpaid family work. As the poorer women of Marawe Kyura complained, 'even if you send your son to sell coffee, he demands to be paid'. Similarly, after completing Standard Seven, the boys and even the girls are no longer prepared to work on the family farms. They prefer to migrate in search of their own sources of income, which is another reason for the decline in production.

As a result, waged labour in Marawe Kyura has become increasingly important. The better-off women estimated that about 20 per cent of households employ workers to cultivate and also look after the animals and the house. These workers are so important in the household that if the mother travels, she has to remember to bring presents for the servants. Most of these workers come from outside the village especially Rombo but also Tanga, Mbulu, Upare, Kondo and Arusha. The Maasai are also employed as watchmen. Some of these have married and settled in the village. In the survey respondents validated the women's estimate since 28.1 per cent of households in the survey employ waged labour. The figure was higher for Lotima, probably because of the large number of people who employed people to take their cattle to pasture.

However, the better-off women also pointed out that:

‘If the father worked, we wouldn't need servants’

They said that there are only five men in the village who work hard, cultivating and tending to their livestock. Because they are so few they are very conspicuous and are called ‘slaves of the house’ by the other men.

Thus, the majority of the household labour falls upon the mother. The following table, which shows how different focus groups ranked the division of labour among family members, reveals some interesting factors:

Table 3: Household labour in Marawe Kyura

	Father			Mother			Son			Daughter			Workers		
	A	L	Hh	A	L	Hh	A	L	Hh	A	L	Hh	A	L	Hh ⁶
Poor women	2	2	-	8	9	10	2	2	-	2	4	6	6	4	4
Better off men	4	4	3	6	8	10	3	1	-	3	3	5	4	3	2
Young men	10	4	-	5	6	6	5	1	-	-	4	6	-	5	8
Better off women	2	2	3	8	5	5	-	2	2	2	3	3	6	8	6
Young women	5	4	-	8	8	11	4	-	-	2	4	7	1	4	3
Total	23	16	6	35	36	42	14	6	2	9	18	27	17	24	23
Grand Total	45			113			22			54			64		

There is a surprising level of uniformity among the responses of the different groups, with the exception of the amount of work attributed to men by the young men who insisted that men should be credited with a lot of work because of the supervisory role they play, visiting the farm and the cowshed and giving advice and instructions.

⁶ A = Agriculture; L = Livestock; Hh = household

However, it is very clear that the mother does most of the work by far, more than twice as much as the father and the daughter. The son does by far the least of the work, with the exception of agriculture where he does more work than his sister; even the young women agreed with this analysis. The other noteworthy fact is that the workers (relatives living with the family and, above all, paid workers) do more of the work than either the sons or the daughters. Where there is no servant, that work again falls mainly to the mother, followed by her daughter.

Thus, it is clear that, in practice, even if they remain in the household, the contributions of the daughters and above all the sons to the household economy are very small. The division of labour is somewhat different in Lotima.

Table 4: Household Labour in Lotima

	Father			Mother			Son			Daughter			Workers		
	A	L	Hh	A	L	Hh	A	L	Hh	A	L	Hh	A	L	Hh ⁷
Better off men	7	2	n/a	5	1	n/a	5	1	n/a	3	-	n/a	-	13	N/a
Better off women	6	3	1	3	2	8	3	3	2	2	1	7	6	11	2
Young women	2	4	2	6	6	7	2	4	2	6	2	5	5	8	4
Total	13	9	3	14	9	15	10	8	4	11	3	12	11	32	6
Grand Total	25			38			22			26			50		

Again, there is a fairly general consensus between the different groups, although the young women are not convinced that their fathers work in the fields and believe, more than the other groups, that the young women work in the fields and at home. However, it is interesting to note that once again the mother does more of the work than anyone in the family, followed by her daughter. The son does the least of all the groups. The importance of paid labour in relation to livestock is particularly noteworthy. This is because, in Lotima, cattle are taken out to pasture instead of zero grazing. It may have been the responsibility of the son in the past but not any longer. This explains why 46.1 per cent of respondents in the questionnaire said their household employed waged labour.

Employment outside the household

In Marawe Kyura, the young men said that there are still some jobs for young men in the village, particularly agricultural labour, construction, carpentry, plumbing and portering. This explains why young men do not leave the village in the same numbers as girls who have almost no employment opportunities except perhaps to work as a shop assistant. Young men and women have also tried to find land elsewhere, particularly irrigated land in places like Masaera where they can grow cash crops such as tomatoes. However, Masaera is also filling up now and returns from tomato farming are dropping because of a glut in the market. This

⁷ A = Agriculture; L = Livestock; Hh = household

situation may be remedied to some extent by the construction of a tomato processing factory in Himo.

The same situation applies in Lotima where young men participate in agricultural labour in neighbouring villages, and portering and operating handcarts and bicycle taxis in Himo, Moshi and Kenya. Some also go to farm (paddy) in Kileo (Mwanga) and Kitobo (Kenya). Many participated in growing tomatoes and suffered from the very low price caused by the glut in the market. There are fewer opportunities for girls because most of the jobs available depend on physical strength (e.g. carrying loads, construction etc.) Young women and, to a certain extent, young men, also depend on petty trade between Himo and the village.

Out-migration in search of employment

Of 55 households in Marawe Kyura and Lotima, 62.9 per cent had boys and 38.9 per cent had girls who had out-migrated. These are distributed as follows.

Table 5: Out-migration

	Young men	Young women
Marawe Kyura	40.8%	12.1%
Lotima	9.3%	20.5%

In the focus group discussions, it was said that young men from Lotima and Marawe Kyura go to the mines in Mererani and some go to work in Dar es Salaam. From Marawe Kyura, many go to Dar es Salaam (particularly Gerezani and Buguruni) to become apprentice mechanics and welders to those who went before them. If they work hard and are successful, they set up their own small businesses there. Some also go to Arusha to work as porters for the Asian traders or participate in the tourist trade.

The young women are more likely to travel further afield because of the lack of opportunities closer to home and negative attitudes to the kind of work they can find which is predominantly as bar workers. They would not like to be seen doing such jobs by their relatives. It was claimed by the young men that even if young women go to Dar es Salaam, they will claim that they are married or have another job when in fact they are engaged in commercial sex work. Those from Marawe Kyura go to Arusha or Dar es Salaam while those from Lotima are attracted to Mombasa where they work primarily as domestic workers or hairdressers, some as bar workers and increasingly as sex workers.

A small number of young men and women have also moved to neighbouring areas and further afield in formal employment (teachers, police etc.) From Marawe Kyura and, to a lesser extent Lotima, there are also a substantial number of middle-aged people in formal employment or conducting larger businesses throughout the country. Many of these have migrated and settled permanently where they are working. One young man in Marawe Kyura said that he personally knew of at least 200 people who have moved out of the village. If they moved back it would be a disaster as there is no space for them.

The pattern of employment can be shown to some extent by the mobility matrices. When talking about where people go to work (in neighbouring villages, Himo and Moshi) and

migrate to in Arusha, Dar es Salaam and Kenya, they ranked the different places as follows in terms of popularity for different activities.

Table 6: Employment (casual and permanent)

	Neighbouring villages	Himo	Moshi and other nearby towns	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Kenya
Boys (MK)	2	4	-	6	4	-
Girls (MK)	3	4	3	3	7	-
Rich women (MK)	6	6	3	2	3	-
Poor men (MK)	-	3	2	6	9	-
Boys (Lotima)	6	12	7	3	5	7
Poor men (Lotima)	3	6	7	1	1	4
TOTAL	20	35	22	21	29	11

From the above table, several points can be made:

- Himo is by far the most important source of employment for Lotima, followed by Moshi and Kenya.
- In contrast, in Marawe Kyura, Dar es Salaam is seen as the most important source of employment followed by Himo and Arusha. The poor men see most opportunities in going further afield, followed by girls who are particularly interested in Dar es Salaam. The rich women see fewer opportunities further afield and stick to Himo and neighbouring villages. The interest in Dar es Salaam and Arusha could reflect the fact that many people from Marawe Kyura have already gone before and new out-migrants move to join their fellow villagers.

However, overall, Himo is still perceived as the most important source of employment. As will be seen in the next section, Himo is even more important when it comes to trade.

Trade

The major activity for young men and women who do not want to migrate is trade, an occupation mentioned by 43.8 per cent of Marawe Kyura respondents and 5.2 per cent of Lotima respondents. For the better-off, this consists of running a business, a shop or a kiosk in the village or in Himo; for others it involves buying agricultural produce (bananas, tomatoes) in Marawe Kyura and neighbouring markets, Kimamoroni and Kyano and selling it in Himo, and/or buying manufactured goods in Himo and selling them in Marawe Kyura. This form of petty trade is particularly important to young women who travel as far as Kenya and Kiboroloni in Moshi (for second-hand clothes).

Table 7: Involvement in Trade (selling goods)

	Neighbouring villages	Himo	Moshi and other nearby towns	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Kenya
Boys (MK)	4	13	3	-	-	-
Girls (MK)	3	15	2	-	-	-
Rich women (MK)	4	8	2	3	1	3
Poor men (MK)	10	6	4	-	-	-
Boys (Lotima)	-	14	1	-	-	5
Poor men (Lotima)	4	9	-	-	2	5
TOTAL	25	65	12	3	3	13

Table 7. shows the dependence of young people from both Marawe Kyura and Lotima on Himo for trade. Nearly three-quarters rated Himo the most important. In contrast, older men and women still regard Himo as important but not nearly as much. Poor men in Marawe Kyura saw more opportunities in neighbouring villages.

Some of the trade relations can best be seen in the commodity chain analysis carried out for tomatoes and bananas.

Bananas

Bananas are part of the traditional livelihood system on the mountain, and even in the valley where there is sufficient access to irrigation canals. According to the farmers, it takes about six months from growing to harvesting and the costs are very low. All that is needed is frequent weeding and pruning - which normally utilises family labour.

Even the trade in bananas follows a largely traditional pattern. Farmers, mostly women, normally sell their bananas in the village on market days. It is very much a subsistence trade to meet household expenses or buy other commodities at the same market for use at home. When the researchers visited the market, they found that most of the sellers were not selling more than one *mkungu* (whole bunch) each, for between 300/- and 400/- per *mkungu*.

The bananas are normally bought from the same villages by small traders (mainly women) who then transport them to Himo market to sell for a small profit. They normally buy only six to ten *mikungu*. Once again this is a form of subsistence trade, as shown in the following analysis of costs and income:

Banana, 400/- per <i>mkungu</i> , for 10 <i>mikungu</i>	4,000/-
Transport 200/- per <i>mkungu</i> , for 10 <i>mikungu</i>	2,000/-
Tax 100/- per <i>mkungu</i> , for 10 <i>mikungu</i>	1,000 /-
Total Cost	7,000/-

After these payments, one *mkungu* can be sold at prices ranging from 800/- to 300/-. Even at the highest price of 800/- per *mkungu*, a woman who sells ten *mikungu* in Himo gets only 8,000/-, a profit of 1000/-. However, her own bus fare to and from the village is 400/-, thus leaving her with a net profit of 600/- (providing that she is lucky enough to sell all her *mikungu* at 800/-). This profit is used to buy other goods for household consumption.

Thus the whole process is of marginal benefit to the women who participate in it. They normally take bananas to Himo market without knowing whether they will be able to sell them or not and at what price. They have relations with the big traders who transport bananas to Dar and other main towns. In most cases they operate at a loss because they have to transport back the unsold bananas, or give them away for almost nothing at the end of the market day. Even as we left the market after our interviews, another woman begged us to take at least one *mkungu* for 200/-. She was nearly in tears. This is one reason why there is a fierce battle over the issue of market duties (described in section 7.). If a woman evades these duties, she at least increases her profits by another 1000/-

Tomatoes

Unlike bananas, tomatoes are a crop which, according to the farmers interviewed, require significant capital and agro inputs as well as a lot of time and hard work and the hiring of labour. The whole trade is more systematic, starting with the farmer him/herself. Through discussion with different farmers, it was estimated that the costs involved in cultivating half an acre of tomatoes, harvesting them and transporting them to market range between 100,000/- and 150,000/-. From such cultivation they should get 125-150 *tengas* (large baskets).

The problem arises in the selling. There are two seasons: March-April, which coincides with the rainy season and demands extra cultivation expenses; and June-July after the rainy season which is easier, but coincides with a potential glut in the market, not only in Himo but elsewhere in Tanzania. According to 1998 prices, those who cultivated in the March-April season, were able to sell their *tengas* at 5000-6000/- to traders who came to their farms to buy, or 8000/- at Himo market (after paying transport and duties themselves). Thus they made a profit of more than 500,000/- on their half acre of tomatoes. By contrast, farmers in the June-July season made a loss because the glut in the market reduced the selling price of a *tenga* to 200-800/-. In earlier years, the glut was not so great, and the original farmers made a satisfactory profit. As a result, everyone turned to tomatoes, rendering tomatoes an unprofitable crop.

In addition, in order to be successful, significant interaction with the traders is required. Of the farmers interviewed, the March-April farmers sold their crop directly to traders they knew and with whom they were able to negotiate for credit and price. They are also aware of the price in Dar es Salaam, either through telephone contact with relatives and friends in Dar es Salaam or through petty traders selling goods at the Dar-Moshi-Himo crossroads who are always up-to-date on the current prices. The June-July farmers may have some of the same information but they are dependent on the going price at Himo market for a particular day. They do not have relations with the traders and begin their journey to the market without knowing whether they will be able to sell and at what price.

The traders themselves live in town but are very knowledgeable of their market. They know the farmers not only in Himo but also Machame and as far as Arusha, since the farming season differs according to the location. They also know the intricacies of tomato production, from the kind of land required to the diseases which attack tomatoes.

In fact the traders exist at the centre of a well-spun web of interlocking relations. They also need to have close relations with the transporters, not the owners of lorries but the conductors of the buses between Moshi and Dar es Salaam, as buses are cheaper and more reliable than lorries. Once again there is a relationship of trust between the trader and the transporter. The conductors transport the goods, often on credit, to the *dalalis* (auctioneers) at the other end and ensure that the goods are delivered safely, for which they are paid.

Finally, the traders need to know and have good relations with the *dalalis*, even if they only correspond by telephone and through the bus conductors. According to the traders interviewed, there has never been a case of cheating or loss of money, even though the *dalalis* sell the tomatoes and then transport the money to the traders either through the post or through the bus conductors.

Thus, unlike the banana trade which tends to be more local, the tomato trade depends on a whole set of interactions, depending on webs of relationships between the farmers, the traders, the transporters and the *dalalis*. Many of these would come from the same home area, if not the actual village. It is a good example of how interactions develop around specific economic activities.

6. Services

Contrary to what might be expected, Himo Town is conspicuously lacking in social services, compared with the villages on the mountain. This may be because of the haphazard manner in which Himo has been developed. People come to Himo for what they can take out of it, rather than for settling permanently there.

Education

Both the villages and Himo Town have primary schools and in the ranking of important services during the focus group discussions, education is ranked first or second in Marawe Kyura and second or third in Lotima. Accessibility in terms of proximity is high, although for some Lotima residents, Kitobo school across the border is actually nearer than Lotima primary school. However, there are very different levels of performance in the schools themselves and different perceptions about schools. Marawe Kyura primary school has been able to send up to 28 children to secondary schools every year and was seen to be doing a reasonable job. However there are insufficient teachers and the school is too small to accommodate all the children. In the Lotima and Himo group participants were not at all happy about the quality of education. In Lotima they said no child had been chosen for secondary school in the last seven years. There are too few teachers, many of whom have insufficient qualifications and who are brutal in the way they treat the children. They also felt that the school did not prepare their children for life through family planning education. This was especially the case with girls. They commented that unless the general level of education was raised, even control of HIV/AIDS would not be possible.

As a result, many parents, especially in the neighbourhoods bordering Kenya, send their children to Kitobo for the following reasons:

- It provides a higher quality of education and is strict about performance. It is not possible to progress to the next grade without passing the examinations.
- Although it demands school fees, it is actually cheaper because of the hidden costs in Tanzanian primary schools (building funds, desk funds, art, UMISHUMTA etc).
- It pays more attention to education than to farming activities.

Many similar complaints were made about Himo primary school which, it was claimed, has not sent any child to secondary school in the previous 14 years (a statistic later corrected by the councillor to two pupils in 10 years). The school has insufficient classrooms which meant that while in 1998, 120 children registered, the school was only able to accommodate 45 of them. Thus many children start school late which can have profound long-term effects, especially on girls, given the nature of Himo and its attractions for adolescents. The lack of classrooms means that the school has to use a crop godown as classroom space. There are no partitions which means that the noise from competing teachers makes it very difficult to concentrate.

Many group members also complained of an uncondusive learning environment. One aspect of this is the use of children for non-classroom activities. This was seen by the researchers when they found primary school children sweeping the offices of the ward (all girls) and Himo village.

With regard to post-primary education, there was more satisfaction in Marawe Kyura which is surrounded by several secondary schools such as St. James' Seminary, Olaleni and Lombeta. As the better-off women commented:

‘These days the Arusha secondary schools have come to the village’

meaning that they used to send their children to schools in Arusha, but they no longer need to do so because of the opening of local schools.

In Lotima, secondary schools are more distant and Himo, despite being a town in the making, still has no secondary school although plans are well developed to build Muungano Secondary School. Marangu Secondary School is also easily accessible to Himo residents since it is situated just outside the town boundaries.

However, it will be noted that all the schools mentioned above are private secondary schools, with the exception of Muungano which is a government school. Thus affordability is becoming increasingly difficult. The school fees go up while income from coffee goes down.

While Himo is lacking in basic government educational services, it is rich in a whole host of other educational institutions including at least five private English-speaking primary schools, two vocational training centres run by the Roman Catholic Church (Furaha and Kiracha), two more vocational training centres, one run by an NGO, Mkuki (*Mradi wa Kudhibiti Ukimwi Kilimanjaro*) for children whose parent(s) have died of AIDS, and even a

computer school for the village youth. However, these institutions were not mentioned at all in the focus group discussions (with the exception of Kiracha, named by one respondent), and seem to be of little benefit to the local inhabitants. The owner of one English-speaking school, Saint Scholastica, told us that he had no pupils from the mountain or from Himo itself, except for his own children. Kiracha also seems to be more attractive to institutions elsewhere in Tanzania (and even outside Tanzania) than to individuals around Himo.

The main reason given for this was the size of the school fees. For example, the fees of some of the institutions are as follows:

Furaha School:	35,000/- p.a.
Kilacha:	100,000/- p.a.
Scholastica:	600,000/- p.a. for first year and 500,000/- subsequently for boarders 300,000/- p.a. for first year and 200,000/- subsequently for day scholars

Makuyuni Nursery (run by the Roman Catholic church): 1000/- a month.

In all cases, pupils are dropping out. Saint Scholastica, however, had several children of Chaga parents living elsewhere such as Dar es Salaam.

Thus, education contributes little to rural-urban interactions, except where the surrounding villages provided educational opportunities to the town dwellers.

Health

Himo is even poorer in government health services. Makuyuni Ward has one government dispensary situated in Lotima, but there are no services in Himo itself. People either have to travel to Kilema Hospital just above Marawe Kyura, which is owned in partnership by the Roman Catholic Church and the government, or to Marangu Hospital, or Mawenzi Government Hospital in Moshi Town. They are very unlikely to go to Lotima Dispensary, which suffers from a chronic shortage of medicine. If medicine is delivered to the hospital, it normally lasts for five days, after which they have to wait a month for a further allocation. The researchers actually gave a lift to two young women who had had to walk to Himo and back from Lotima to get their babies immunised. It is hardly surprising that, while groups in Marawe Kyura felt that health services were reasonably accessible (except for family planning services), Lotima residents felt the opposite.

Alternatively Himo residents can go to one of the 12 private medical facilities in the town. There were differing views of these services. Several said the services were limited, especially for pregnant women. They also said they were very expensive. One man said that he had to spend 22,000/- in a single day for basic medical services (registration, consultation and medicine). The same services would have cost him 1970/- (+ 1000/- for transport to and from Moshi) in Mawenzi hospital. Thus, while some of the facilities give good treatment (young men, Himo) and are run by experienced doctors from elsewhere (women, Himo), they are only for those who can afford them. Also, because of the lack of government services, the majority of pregnant women in Lotima go to traditional birth attendants who charge 3000/- for their services. However, they are also insufficient, especially given the size of Lotima. Some of the sub-villages have no traditional birth attendants.

Finally, in Lotima, a famous woman called Babu was rated as the most accessible service by the poor women. There was once a traditional doctor who healed through supernatural powers (rather than herbs). Currently his granddaughter is informed periodically through a dream about the problems and cures of people in Lotima. The dates of Babu's visits are not known in advance (because they depend on dreams). When she dreams, the next morning she lets the people know so that they can gather at her place for healing. The women actually came very late to the focus group discussion because they had gone to see Babu (which is how the researchers learned about her existence).

Thus, health services contribute minimally to interactions, principally among the better-off who can afford the services of private doctors in Himo. The lack of services in Himo has led to Lotima residents' returning to traditional practitioners such as Babu and traditional birth attendants.

Water and Sanitation

As stated earlier in this report, water is of particular importance to the residents of Lotima, both for irrigation and for domestic use. However they see the service as inaccessible. A similar problem exists in Himo Town itself where there is insufficient water for its inhabitants. People complained that all the water was taken by the large traders who owned guesthouses and bars and had reservoir tanks in their houses. The majority of the other inhabitants had to pay for buckets of water, 100/- for piped water and 50/- for water from the River Whona. The people of Meresini (who belong to Himo village but not Himo Town) were particularly bitter. They said that they were told to dig the trenches for the water pipes, which they did, but piped water was given not to them but to the people in Himo who had dug nothing. The people of Meresini are still suffering from water-borne diseases.

In Marawe Kyura, there was greater access to water because the streams from the mountain flow through the village and are tapped with ease. This explains why the Marawe Kyura residents did not make any distinction between water for irrigation and water for domestic use. However, the poor women still regarded water as being insufficiently accessible because piped water was sometimes irregular and not universally available.

Sanitation services do not exist, which causes pollution both in Himo and the villages below it. There has already been one outbreak of cholera. Once again the inability of Himo to control its own revenue collection makes it impossible to develop a proper system. It is also another example of how Himo could develop its own services, using hand carts once it has access to its own revenue.

Extension services

Although government extension services exist, centred at ward level (i.e. in Himo town), there was little enthusiasm for them in either of the villages and they were ranked very low in importance during the focus group discussions. They were not even mentioned by the men in Lotima and Marawe Kyura. The women in Marawe Kyura ranked extension services as eighth in importance. In the focus group discussion with better-off men in Marawe Kyura, the agricultural officer tried to intervene in the discussion on seasonality to give the official version but the men told her to keep quiet since they were explaining the real situation, not

the theoretical one. One man also told her that he had not even used the inputs she had given him. In Lotima, the groups complained that they had never seen the agricultural officer at all. They also said that several of their cattle had been dying, and that the chickens were also dying of disease but they had not seen the veterinary officer. In the district feedback workshop, it was explained that the veterinary officer had to spend most of his time checking the meat in the butchers' and had no time to visit Lotima. Even the incentive to go there had decreased since the dip was no longer functioning.

Electricity

Electricity was perceived to be the key to other activities, especially in Lotima where it was placed second by the young men who explained that many young people had left the village because of the lack of electricity. However the cost of installing electricity had sky-rocketed in recent times, from 20,000/- to 200,000/-.

Security

While there is a police station in Himo, respondents were generally unappreciative of its services, which were ranked low, or not at all, in order of importance. This is because the police were regarded as being corrupt. As one old key informant exclaimed bitterly:

‘You see small kids running around with new cars’

He commented that when one policeman was given a transfer out of Himo, he broke down and cried because of the loss of income.

Thus, the police service was seen as accessible only to those with money. In and around Marawe Kyura, there have been nine murders (usually associated with robbery) in the last few years, and inhabitants spoke of a growing sense of insecurity.

From the above, it can be seen that, because of the uneven and unplanned growth of Himo and its anomalous status as neither town nor village, the usual benefits that might accrue from rural-urban interactions, with the town providing services for surrounding villages, are minimal. In fact, with regard to education and health, the opposite is true. This is why it is important to analyse in detail the status and role of Himo.

7. Himo

The role of Himo

The parish priest calls Himo a ‘young people’s town’, a fact that is reflected in the composition of his congregation. While many of the older generation regard Himo as a den of iniquity which corrupts the younger generation, albeit providing essential services to their communities, for the young people, Himo is the saviour. As the young women in Marawe Kyura said:

*'Himo ndiyo yenyewe kwani sisi wasichana kula na kulala kwetu kunategemea Himo'*⁸

This is because Himo is the major source of employment to young people, albeit at the level of subsistence labourer and trader. It also provides employment to the many in-migrants, nearly all of whom depend on the market in some way or another, such as *mama ntilies* (food vendors whose income increases fivefold on market days), porters, stall holders in the market etc.

Himo has also provided an environment for success stories: for example, one young man who started as a petty trader now owns his own businesses including small buses. Thus many people, especially young people, have moved into Himo and rented rooms or houses, which has provided a boost to the construction industry.

The inhabitants of Himo

Himo is a cosmopolitan town with inhabitants from all over the country. This could be seen even in the mixed ethnic origin of focus group participants. For example, participants in the men's group came from Songea, Kenya, Machame and Kyela. However, the women's group were almost all Wachaga and Wapare. Although it is much too small a sample on which to generalise, it would be interesting to follow up whether women traders travel less far than their male counterparts.

As would be expected, of the three locations researched, Mtenga had the highest number of in-migrants (64.6 per cent of respondents were in-migrants, by comparison with 12.6 per cent in Marawe Kyura and 22.9 per cent in Lotima). According to key informants, many of the traders have come from Same, Marangu, Mbulu, Kondoa, Machame and Tanga and live in the area surrounding the market in rented rooms. Many of them start by working for the big crop traders in their areas of origin. After being left at the market to sell the goods of their employers, they are attracted by the life of Himo and decide to stay.

Many of the girls come from Upare and the mountain. They may start as bar workers but many leave the bars and go into petty border trading. At present there are more young women traders than barmaids. One key informant (who himself comes from Mbeya) identified Machame girls as being particularly successful as shown by the houses they have built. Many women who worked for KDC (Kilimanjaro Development Corporation) had also built houses in Himo, which was attributed to corruption in the allocation of land.

However, key informants also noted a change in the in-migration pattern of young women working in the bars. While three quarters of the bar workers presently come from Upare, in the 1980s and early 1990s most of them came from Babati with the maize sellers. As pointed out earlier, few local girls work in the bars because of the low status attached to such work which makes it very difficult for girls to work in places where they might meet their relatives.

However, the heady days of Himo when the border trade (particularly smuggling) was at its height are over. As one of the major businessmen in Himo commented:

⁸ Himo is the place because for us girls everything (our eating and sleeping) depends on Himo

‘People sleeping overnight have decreased drastically because of the decline in the border trade’.

As a result of this decline, employment opportunities, legal and illegal have declined. Owners of guesthouses and bars have cut back on their employees. Many people who made their living from the cross border trade in Himo and Lotima no longer do so because of the high risk of having all their goods confiscated or even being beaten (as one Lotima young man informed us) or both. In such a situation, the importance of the market becomes even more central to Himo.

Himo market

Kilimanjaro has an elaborate and intricate market system with different villages holding markets on different days of the week. Himo market was originally one of the many markets held only one day a week. However, it grew in importance to the point where it was felt that it should be held on two days a week since it was becoming the hub of many other markets. In order to implement this, it was necessary to hold a meeting with the whole division (sub-district) to reach consensus on how the days for different markets would be arranged.

Himo is an essential collection and distribution point for smaller markets on the mountain (including the ones close to Marawe Kyura) and even larger ones such as Mwika, Tarakea, Taveta and Kiboriloni. Most of the bananas and tomatoes from the area are sold to traders in Himo who then take them to Dar es Salaam and, to a smaller extent, Moshi/Arusha and across the border. Maize and oil seed go to Kenya.

However Himo’s importance goes well beyond the local markets. Himo receives goods from as far afield as Tanga (fruits), Sumbawanga (finger millet) Mbeya (potatoes and rice), Kondo (maize and finger millet) and Arusha (maize). It also receives timber from Rombo and West Kilimanjaro, cattle from Mbulu, Weruweru and Upare and manufactured goods from Kenya.

Thus, on market days, Himo is hectic, with produce arriving from near and far, and traders, middlemen, porters, food vendors etc. all trying to cash in on the trade.

Given the centrality of the market to the economy of Himo and the surrounding areas, one might expect a similarly elaborate system of revenue collection and market services. This, however, is not the case. The latrines are rudimentary, cleanliness is minimal and the market stalls are temporary structures.

This situation is the product of deep underlying conflicts over whom the market belongs to and who should profit from it. These conflicts even had an affect on the research, as the researchers were perceived to have been sent by the Prime Minister’s Office to investigate conflicts and corruption. As a result, the focus group discussion for men nearly ended in a fight, several respondents refused to talk to the researchers and on one market day, the receipt books were hastily withdrawn and hidden as soon as the researchers arrived. The conflicts can be summed up as follows:

- The market area is too small and it is supposed to move to a larger area. However, the original area (as designated in the town plan) was sold off as plots of land. The present plan is to move the market further down the hill towards Makuyuni and Lotima, an idea which is welcomed by the leadership from that area, who regard Himo market as belonging to Makuyuni and Lotima anyway. However, commercially the move could be disastrous, unless access roads to the market are greatly upgraded. There is no reason why the focus of the market should not move from Himo to Holili, a border village which did not exist twenty years ago. The original expansion of Himo market was the result of its proximity to the border at a time when the road was not a good one and official border trade was forbidden. However, since there is now a good tarmac road to Holili and the border trade has been legalised, people might decide to move the market to the border itself.
- There are differing claims as to whom the market belongs:
 - The people of Himo themselves
 - The three villages (including Himo) in Makuyuni Ward

More fundamentally, there is a conflict between those living on the mountain and those living below the road. Both groups claim the market belongs to them. This is exacerbated by ethnic differences and spilled over into fighting during the general election campaign in 1995 when the candidate for one of the opposition parties questioned where the money collected in market duties went.

- According to several key informants, under the previous District Executive Director (DED), all money from Himo market went to the District Council. Tax collection was supervised above all by people from Lotima and Makuyuni. They therefore perceived the District Council and Lotima as benefiting from Himo market, while Himo itself did not benefit at all. They also complained of corruption, siphoning off market revenues for personal use and placing appointees in key positions to protect the interests of a few.
- While we were carrying out the first phase of the research, the new DED, on the basis of submissions that had been made a long time before, decreed that 20 per cent of the market revenues should remain in Himo. As a result, Himo personnel should supervise the tax collection. When this new plan was put into action, revenue increased sharply from around 100,000/- a week to nearly one million shillings (which proved that most of the collection before had gone into private pockets). However the people of Lotima (who stood to lose from the new system) complained that Himo was just one village in the ward of Makuyuni and that if 20 per cent was to remain in Himo, it should be for the benefit of all three villages. The Village Executive Officer from Lotima even disputed that revenue collection had gone up so much under the revised system, and went as far as claiming that individuals who wanted the new system actually withdrew their own money from the banks to add to the revenue collected so as to give the impression that more was being collected. As a result of their strident protestations, (and threats of violence witnessed by the researchers), the new plan was shelved and the old one continued in modified form. New revenue collectors were chosen by each of the three villages.

Whatever the true facts are, and we did not have time to verify which side was telling more of the truth, some people somewhere have something to hide, which was why the receipt books were hidden the day we entered the market during the second phase of the research. In addition, this struggle over control of the market is key to the development of Himo as a

town. Himo can never build up its social and other services (such as waste disposal), nor provide the kind of beneficial interactions required for the villages surrounding it, unless a true 20 per cent of the market revenue remains in Himo hands for the benefit of Himo.

Revenue generation

Himo generates a great deal of revenue. The market alone, at a conservative estimate, generates 300,000/- a week or 15,600,000/- a year. At the same time, tax revenue from other businesses is also significant. For example:

Around 40 bars pay 50,000/- a year	= 2,000,000/-
Around 40 bars cum guesthouses pay 80,000/-	= 3,200,000/-
Around 70 shops pay 10,000/-	= 700,000/-

These are the major revenues which do not take into account many other trading activities which provide revenue, such as slaughtering cattle, petrol stations etc. Just the number of bars, guesthouses and shops shows that Himo is a town. By contrast, Lotima, despite its large size, has only a few small shops and no bars at all. Thus Himo has the ability to fuel its own development, provided that its urban status is put into practice.

8. Conclusions and recommendations

The issues presented above were discussed thoroughly in the feedback meetings in Marawe Kyura and Lotima at the end of the first phase of the research, and in the district feedback meeting at the beginning of the second phase. As a result of these discussions, there was general consensus around the following major issues.

The status of Himo

Currently, although Himo provides services to its own inhabitants as well as those living in the villages around it, such services and other interactions with the surrounding area are not able to play such a positive developmental role because of the undefined status of Himo itself. District Council officials told us that Himo has already been declared a township and that all that was required now was for the central government to provide the facilitating funds required. In the meantime, Himo remains one village out of three in Makuyuni Ward, (the other two being Makuyuni and Lotima), and its anomalous position is summed up by the fact that its boundaries as a village are different from its boundaries as a town (in places the village boundaries are even bigger than the town boundaries). As a result of this:

- Although Himo is a *de facto* town with about 80 bars and 70 shops, it is still run by a village government which does not have the wherewithal to oversee such a large and complicated settlement.
- All revenues from Himo accrue to the District Council, and Himo benefits only marginally in the redistribution of resources throughout the district. Himo is the cow that provides all the milk for the Council, which do not want to give up such revenues as there is no comparable source elsewhere in the district.
- Despite its importance to the District Council in terms of revenue creation, Himo is completely under-represented in the District Council. The Himo councillor is just one

among many and is not even a Himo resident. As a result, Himo is unable to defend its own interests against the majority of councillors, all of whom want a slice of the Himo pie for their own areas.

- Thus, despite its major contribution to the revenues of the District Council, Himo is unable to provide the services it should to its own inhabitants and those surrounding it. In fact, contrary to a normal scenario, Himo the town has to depend on neighbouring villages for government social services such as health and secondary schools.

Himo will never be able to fulfil its potential until it officially becomes a town with its own administration and elected representatives to oversee its development. Since the government will not have the money in the foreseeable future to facilitate such a process, Himo should be allowed to use its own substantial revenue to do so. Once it does this, it will be able to develop the social services required of a town instead of depending on the surrounding villages for health and education.

It will also give back to the surrounding area by becoming a major source of employment as it expands more as a productive area. The tomato processing plant is close to completion and there are major possibilities for the development of a dairy industry including collection points for milk. Respondents in Lotima felt that this may be more possible in the mountain villages where there is substantial zero-grazing with high yielding cattle. However, the existence of a dairy industry would also act as a catalyst for Lotima and other villages which still depend on traditional cattle and pasturing.

In order to develop this further, there is a need to create incentives for investors in Himo based on the substantial existing advantages of good access to national and regional markets with well developed communications infrastructures.

Thus it was recommended that:

- The government, at both national and district level, should give legal recognition and authority to Himo as a town. This should not depend upon the existence of all the infrastructure required (most of which is in place anyway) but rather use the new Himo Town authority to develop and consolidate the infrastructure.
- Once Himo is given authority, it should retain the revenue it generates from its business activities to develop the town and the surrounding areas.
 - The expansion of the water system to cater for all residents
 - The completion of the secondary school and development of a health facility
 - Regulations concerning the development of plots already allocated
 - The development of a Himo investment policy to attract industrialists to build in Himo (thereby increasing both revenue and employment)
 - The identification and development of a waste dump site and the acquisition of a lorry for waste disposal.

Expansion of Himo

The major issue concerning the expansion of Himo is the appropriation of customarily owned land on which the inhabitants of the mountain depend for their household food production.

This is a major, potentially dangerous situation as people are not prepared to stand aside and watch their livelihoods being taken from them, whatever the law might say about the right of an expanding town to acquire land. Once again, the establishment of a town authority in Himo is much more likely to avoid such a situation because there will be representation from all the surrounding areas. At present the two councillors for the area around Himo are small and lonely voices in the District Council.

The following recommendations have been made:

- Above all, the people who owned and farmed the land in Himo Pofu and other areas surrounding Himo should be involved in the exercise of land distribution from the beginning. It is the task of the district council to visit the villages affected well in advance to inform villagers of the possibility of expansion and carry out a dialogue with the people on how necessary expansion should be carried out.
- Ownership of the land (which often dates back more than half a century) should be recognised whether there are permanent crops on the land or not. Permanent cultivation of a seasonal crop is just as important. Thus:
 - Owners of the land should retain their ownership and be permitted/encouraged to sell it to investors under a system of willing buyer, willing seller; or
 - Owners of the land should be paid compensation for their loss of livelihood so that they can use the compensation as starting capital elsewhere. This compensation should be paid well in advance to allow the owners to make alternative arrangements; or
 - If they wish to retain their land and develop it themselves they should be allowed to do so. Since it is their land, they should not have to pay the same surveying costs as those coming from outside.
- Expansion of Himo should take place in phases and a new phase should not be carried out before a previous one is completed. Thus, for example, there should be no further expansion of the town's boundaries until the plots already allocated have been developed.
- In addition, acquiring plots for speculative purposes should be discouraged. Those who were allocated plots for big hotels and factories should have their allocations revoked unless they fulfil their plans within a given period of time.
- The government should prepare new areas for in-migration elsewhere in Kilimanjaro and Tanzania as a whole, together with the relevant social services, and be prepared to provide loans to young people who are ready to move so that they can start a new life.
- The expansion of Himo should be balanced between farms, town, forests and factories. Areas in the town should be set aside for farming and plot owners should be required to plant trees in their plots.

The second major issue concerned how the expansion of Himo (and villages on the mountain) affected those living in the valley such as Lotima, especially in relation to the pollution of water sources and the reduction in the availability of water. The following recommendations were made:

- Bye laws about not bathing or washing cars in the river in order to prevent pollution of the water sources for Lotima and other villages should be formulated and enforced. Sewage ditches should also not flow into the river.
- A new slaughtering area should be identified. The area currently set aside is too close to the river.
- Mechanisms should be set in place to ensure that piped water reaches Lotima. This includes introducing metering and educating all on its importance.
- Bye laws should be enforced e.g. on controlling distribution of irrigation water in the village. A committee should be set up to oversee this.
- The number of wells should be increased (based on the research done by KEDA) and the possibility of rainwater harvesting investigated.
- The possibility of a catchment dam on the River Whona should be investigated.

Himo and youth employment

Himo is a young people's town. It is the only hope of employment for most of the young people, especially in the informal sector. Where they fail to find employment, they move further afield: Mombasa for those from Lotima and Dar es Salaam; and Arusha for those from Marawe Kyura. It has also attracted young people from all over the country. In the context of becoming a town and developing its investment policy, Himo could also develop a youth policy.

- Areas should be set aside for small enterprises (Jua Kali sector) for young people.
- Young people should be mobilised to form groups. The government should loan work implements to youth groups and also give low interest loans to them.
- The government should follow up youth groups more closely to supervise their development.
- Conditions for obtaining a licence should be relaxed for youth.

However, administrative solutions are not sufficient in themselves. It is very important that a dialogue opens up between young people and their parents, especially young women, as in Lotima during the feedback meeting. The elders feel their livelihoods threatened and no longer trust their children, while the young people feel their elders are depriving them of a living. It is time that fora were set up to break down the suspicions and seek community solutions.

General

- There are two NGOs working in Himo, Mkuki and KEDA. They should be brought more directly into the affairs of the town since they both address serious problems facing Himo and the villages surrounding it.
- There is a serious need to disseminate environmental education: environmental degradation is increasing as Himo and the villages continue to expand. After its reorganisation, KEDA is well placed to do so.
- One of the major social effects of Himo being a young people's town with large numbers of single in-migrants only benefiting from marginal economic opportunities is the rapid spread of HIV/AIDS. If this is not addressed it could threaten the very life of the town, hence the need to support Mkuki.