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COMMUNITY AND LAND ATTACHMENT OF CHAGGA
WOMEN ON MOUNT KILIMANJARO, TANZANIA

by

Elizabeth P. Carr

A thesis submitted to the faculty of

Brigham Young University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Science

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Brigham Young University

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BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY

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ABSTRACT

COMMUNITY AND LAND ATTACHMENT OF CHAGGA WOMEN ON MOUNT KILIMANJARO, TANZANIA

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Master of Science

Chagga women who control land on Mt. Kilimanjaro, Tanzania, have a deep and profound sense of attachment to their lands and homes. This thesis compares their reasons for attachment to the systemic model. The systemic model states that community attachment is dependent on social ties and interactions. The three factors that lead to these ties are length of residence, social status, and age. In-depth interviews with women in 2002 and 2003, a survey from 2002, and field notes from 2002 and 2003 are used to explain the main factors of attachment of women in three villages on the mountain: Mbahe, Marangu, and Chekereni. This research finds that social ties are not dependent on length of residence, but do have some connections with social status and age. Women have social ties regardless of their length of residence. They interact with each other no matter the social status of the other, but this occurs more frequently as the women are more involved in education and religion. Western influences, land shortages, and

economic pressures are causing the interactions of the young and old to be more strained. Though social ties are partly related to social status and age, this thesis finds that the attachment of Chagga women does not completely follow the systemic model. Instead, the women's attachment is primarily associated with family ties. The land has provided food and income for their families for generations and it is the hope of each of the women that it will continue to care for their families in such a way.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

*Kilimanjaro ni mlima mrefu venye vijito vengi
wenye samaki wengi wenye maisha ya watu.*

Kilimanjaro is a tall mountain having many big rivers
containing numerous fish, and is the life of the people.

-Chagga folk song

According to tradition, Mount Kilimanjaro in northern Tanzania is the life of its people, the Chagga. The land has been passed down through families for generations, making their familial connection to the land strong. The *shambas* (farms) on the mountain provide their livelihood, bringing them sustenance as well as cash or trading income. Principally through interviews and survey results, my research found that many people do not want to leave Kilimanjaro. They do not want to start a new life elsewhere and are content to stay where they are in their villages. Such strong desire to stay on the mountain shows attachment to the villages. The systemic model by Kasarda and Janowitz (1974) is used as a framework in studying community attachment in Western communities. In this thesis, the systemic model is evaluated to find if it applies to three villages of Kilimanjaro. In it, I argue that length of residence, social status, and age are not as influential for the women's attachment. The importance of the land to provide for the families and give them connections to their heritage is the principal reason for the strong attachment of Chagga women.

I went to three villages, Mbahe, Marangu, and Chekereni, on Kilimanjaro during 2002 to familiarize myself with the area and make contacts. As I met people and learned about their strong positive feelings towards their villages and land, I became curious as to why there was such a feeling. Specifically, I wanted to know why women have an

attachment to Kilimanjaro. I returned in 2003 to conduct research about the women's attachment.

The remainder of this chapter outlines the rest of this thesis by briefly describing the content of each subsequent chapter. Chapter two introduces the systemic model of community attachment. The systemic model asserts that length of residence, followed by social status and age, are important factors leading to social ties, which then lead to community attachment. These factors are later compared to the attachment of the Chagga women. Chapter two also relates the history of the Chagga women in the area, based on the three key factors of the systemic model.

The methodology I used to conduct this research and arrive at conclusions is explained in chapter three. The setting is laid out, followed by a review of the research steps used. A survey from 2002 is used to find overall patterns of attachment on the mountain, and that of women in particular. In 2003, I interviewed fifteen women. To ensure a variety of women from each village, I located women who currently have control of their land. This sampling gave me women from different clans and backgrounds, but similar villages. I spent time with each of the women each week and then interviewed each of them with a native Chagga translator. These interviews are supplemented by interviews with village leaders, Kilimanjaro National Park wardens, grandmothers on the mountain, conservation extension workers, informal interviews with the women and other village members and field notes on practices I observed in the area. These interviews and field notes validated my findings that few want to leave their villages, for reasons specific to their families and the land. The common themes from the

interviews and field notes were then examined to see how they fit into the systemic model.

The length of residence of the women is examined in chapter four. Survey results show that there are differences in length of residence among the three villages. The women's responses show that both women who have lived on their land for long periods of time and those fairly new to the area have strong attachment to it. The need to keep the land to support the family is the dominant theme of the women's attachment, and is the reason they will not sell it. The women feel it will help their family more to keep the land and receive of its products than to sell it and try to find a home elsewhere. Those who have been in the village long also feel they must stay on the land to take care of the graves of their ancestors as well as provide for future generations. Many of those who migrate from Kilimanjaro plan to return to their villages to retire. They feel families and neighbors should take care of each other, sharing the products of their lands.

The social status of women is discussed in chapter five. Land and home ownership are indicators of higher social status. As more women become or act as heads of households, their position in the social structure may be viewed as higher. Some of the women are also becoming involved in community activities, education, and religion which may give them a more dominant role in their communities. The attachment women feel to their lands is not directly related to whether or not they own it, based on their responses.

The occupation of the women is also discussed in chapter five as a part of social status. The women, in general, spend much of their day in farm-related activities such as caring for the crops and selling them when they are ripe. They are dependent on their

lands to provide income and sustenance for their families. In many cases, the land is still hoed and cared for by hand, giving the women daily physical interaction with their land. The women are also finding supplemental forms of income as their communities slowly enter a cash economy.

Strong feelings of attachment are accentuated as the women age. Age as a variable in attachment is discussed in chapter six. Some, mostly the young, are forced to leave and live in other areas of Tanzania. They appear the most willing to move to another village. Many of the elderly women feel they must stay on their land because they have spent much of their lives there. Those left behind (especially the elderly) often feel those who find jobs elsewhere should send remittances to their families left behind so they will not have to leave their villages. The older Chagga women also feel that the attitudes of the younger generation are changing, giving them a weaker connection to their immediate family members as well as their heritage.

Chapter seven concludes with the overall findings of this thesis, stating how the attachment of Chagga women fits or does not fit the systemic model. Each of the major themes of attachment from the systemic model is discussed in terms of the situation of Chagga women in the three villages on Mt. Kilimanjaro. Additional factors that were not particularly a part of the systemic model, but that apply to the women in this setting, are also described.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

INTRODUCTION

Specific places are important in giving identity to a people (Gieryn 2000; Werlen 1993). Place secures traditions (Gieryn 2000) and is an essential element of the community (Wilkinson 1991). Basso (1996, 146) believes that a "vital sense of place" can give people an "unshakable sense of self." It is important to examine attachment theories and historical factors of the Chagga on Mount Kilimanjaro as a background to research on attachment of women to their land. This chapter looks at the key points of the systemic model and reviews each point based on the setting of this research.

SYSTEMIC MODEL

The profound attachment to the homeland appears to be a worldwide phenomenon. It is not limited to any particular culture and economy. . . . The city or land is viewed as mother, and it nourishes; place is an archive of fond memories and splendid achievements that inspire the present; place is permanent and hence reassuring to man, who sees frailty in himself and chance and flux everywhere. (Tuan 1977, 154)

The systemic model, according to Kasarda and Janowitz (1974), Janowitz (1967), and Park and Burgess (1925), names three key variables explaining community or homeland attachment: length of residence, social position (including occupation), and stage in life cycle. All of these are studied by degree of involvement, meaning that the longer the length of residence, the higher one's social status, and the greater the age can determine the family and social ties one has, which is the dominant cause of community attachment (Brown 1993; Freudenburg 1986; McAuley and Nutty 1985; Sofranko and

Fliegel 1984; Fried 1982; Fernández and Dillman 1979; Marans and Rogers 1975). This model has been examined and re-examined in attachment studies (Gieryn 2000; Beckley 1998; Stinner et al. 1990; Fried 1984; Sofranko and Fliegel 1984; Fernández and Dillman 1979; Deseran 1978; Bach and Smith 1975).

These factors, based on research in Western, first-world communities, are examined to see if they apply to women in these Sub-Saharan, third-world communities. This chapter reviews the history and current status of Chagga women in each of these factors based on the published literature.

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

Studies of community attachment show that strong positive attachment is linked to length of residence (Brown 1993; Goudy 1990; Kasarda and Janowitz 1974). The longer individuals have been in an area, the more friends they are likely to have in the local community (Stinner et al. 1990). The Chagga are a combination of Bantu-speaking agriculturists and have lived on the mountain for 250 to 400 years (Fernandes et al. 1985; Masao 1974; Gutmann 1926). Spear (1997) speculates Mount Kilimanjaro itself has been continuously farmed for at least the past two millennia. The Chagga reside mainly between 1,000 and 2,000 meters above sea-level on the southern slopes of Kilimanjaro. The villages on the lower slopes have roughly 250 people per square kilometer, and those nearer to the Kilimanjaro National Park have close to 650 (Grove 1993). Kilimanjaro's once-forested foothills were cleared by incoming groups of people wishing to make the slopes their homes. Trees that provided fodder, fuel, and fruit were retained and are currently used and planted, while those less useful were eliminated and replaced by crops such as bananas and coffee (Fernandes et al. 1985). *Shamba* (farm) sizes currently range

from 0.2 to 1.2 hectares (Gillingham 1999; Fernandes et al. 1985). The landscape is filled with fairly densely grouped homes, planted fields, and roads, making it look unlike the original landscape. The presence of the Chagga in the villages on and around Kilimanjaro for generations may give the Chagga women a stronger community connection and attachment to the land.

The Chagga were historically, and are to an extent today, separated into clans (all descendants of a common ancestor), who occupy a territorial area (James and Fimbo 1973; Gutmann 1926; Dundas 1924). Each village, a collection of clans, was led by a chief who ruled over one or many villages. The chiefdoms, however, were abolished with Tanzanian independence from British colonial rule in 1963 (Mosgrove 1998). Chagga clans (or extended families) tend to have strong ties with each other, with many of the men inheriting and living on land next to other family members.

The friendliness of neighbors is "the most important determinant" in global satisfaction (Sofranko and Fliegel 1984, 370). The Chagga are very friendly to their neighbors, according to Gutmann, a missionary to the Chagga in the early 20th Century. He felt that the term "neighbor" meant much more in the African (Chagga) culture.

It is not to be understood as a merely geographical term, referring simply to people living in close proximity to one another. 'Neighborhood' in African understanding is 'neighborliness,' a relationship of friendship and mutual assistance. To have a neighbor is to have a helper on whom one can rely in all circumstances and with whom one enjoys fellowship. There is a reciprocity of assistance and protection. (Jäschke date unknown, 5).

The Chagga women currently have strong ties to Kilimanjaro itself, as "land tenure is based on a strongly held traditional belief that there is a close spiritual link between one's ancestors and the soil" (Fernandes et al. 1985, 7). Fernandes et al. (1985, 7) write that once a member of the immediate family has been buried on the land,

“tenure is assured for the current owner and his descendants and such a plot may even be abandoned for several years without the danger of someone else assuming ownership.”

This is not the case with lowland *shambas*, however. If the land there is not used for two years, it may be acquired by another.

SOCIAL STATUS

“As a group, [Chagga] women are constructed as reproducers of the domestic household, and by extension, of the state.”

Amy Stambach (2000, 51)

In the systemic model, higher social standing should allow individuals to be selective in their social relationships, which selectivity would enhance aspects of their well-being, including community sentiment (Goudy 1990). In addition, persons of higher social position imply a greater stake in the community which usually generates concern with community affairs (Kasarda and Janowitz 1974). Land is a pivotal asset in many African societies and the Chagga are no exception. Land ownership is an indicator of social status and is an important determinant of attachment to the community (Stinner et al. 1990; Fernández and Dillman 1979; Bach and Smith 1977; Land 1971; Speare 1970, Myers et al. 1967). Among the Chagga and other lineage-based societies, possession of land is personal and statutory (Macha 1997). A 1946 memorandum from Chagga Chiefs to the Moshi-Arusha Land Commission claimed that a Chagga's *shamba* (farm) represented “the essence of his very living,” conferring on him his home, his family, and his membership in the tribe (Chagga Chiefs 1946). Traditionally, as clans moved into different areas on Kilimanjaro, they were given land from the chief in exchange for gifts such as cows or goats.

In the 1970s, 80 percent of the Tanzanian population was patrilineal (James and Fimbo 1973). Through the Declaration of Customary Law (No. 4), Rules of Inheritance (1963), immediate family were given the key rights to land, with other relatives only given succession rights in default of the immediate family. Among the old Chagga, properties included land, cattle and daughters of the house. Eldest sons were encouraged to marry early and given a small portion of land divided from their grandfather's or father's *shamba*. At a man's death the youngest son took over his compound. Tribal traditions and strong family ties encourage the continuation of inheritance methods, with land going to sons.

Among patrilineal tribes, in general, women do not inherit land from their deceased fathers since a woman at marriage goes to live with her husband and because of the need to exclude strangers (their husbands) from controlling clan affairs. The Tanzania Law of Marriage Act of 1971, section 114, claims that wives are not members of the family for land-holding purposes, and the contribution of labor by a wife does not give her inheritance rights in her husband's property. The widow can, if she chooses not to marry one of the deceased husband's relatives, acquire occupational rights in his property by virtue of her children's rights therein (James and Fimbo 1973). When her sons marry, she assumes a position of authority over the daughters-in-law (Howard 1994). James and Fimbo (1973) claim that this discrimination has broken down in many areas with more females having inheritance rights in self-acquired property of their deceased fathers.

The first president of Tanzania, Julius K. Nyerere (1967), encouraged equality of women and men.

...It is true that women in traditional society were regarded as having a place in the community which was not only different, but was also to some extent inferior.

It is impossible to deny that women did, and still do, more than their fair share of the work in the fields and in the homes. By virtue of their sex they suffered from inequality which had nothing to do with their contribution to the family welfare.

... If we want our country to make full and quick progress now it is essential that our women live on terms of full equality with their fellow citizens who are men.

In this area with dependence on the land, women are slowly gaining more status in land issues. They are becoming the heads of their households as divorcees, widows, or when men migrate to the towns and the women become de facto heads of the household (Lewinson 2000; Knutsen 1999; Mbilinyi and Omari 1994). Ferreira and Tsoflias (1994), of the World Bank, and Bascom (1998) estimate that 15-25% of rural households in Tanzania are headed by women. Many list a man who may not do much for the house as a head (elder male relative), because only men can hold land in many cases.

Knutsen (1999) claimed that female-headed households can be equal to those headed by males in terms of land, livestock, or money. The traditional and cultural barriers of Tanzania, however, still assign male dominance in households. The 1993 Human Resource and Development Survey and 1995 Participatory Poverty Assessment perception surveys, as cited by the World Bank (2002), indicated a different picture of income by gender than Knutsen. The surveys (2002) concluded that

households headed by women (especially in rural areas) were more likely to be poorer than male-headed households mainly because female-headed households own less (*sic*) assets (including land and livestock), have less (*sic*) years of schooling, and have higher dependency ratios.

Kapunda (1991) agrees that in Tanzania, on average, women have low income relative to men. This conclusion is based on findings from an unpublished 1986/87 agricultural survey for Tanzania which concluded that female-headed households had smaller

holdings, did not use chemical fertilizers, pesticides, tractors, or extension advice on their farms (Kapunda 1991, 11).

As women are slowly gaining more rights in Tanzania, the literature suggests this can impact their social ties, which then affects their attachment to their communities and lands (Stinner et al. 1990; Fried 1984). Despite this change, men continue to dominate as leaders and owners in their villages and lands. Women remain, in most cases, caretakers of the lands and are not recognized as household heads.

Occupation

Expectations concerning one's occupational future are influential in mobility decisions. The type of occupation one has, then, can also impact whether the individual is likely to move, regardless of feelings towards communities (Fernández and Dillman 1979). In the Kilimanjaro Region, the Chagga work primarily in agriculture. The rich volcanic soils and complex irrigation system built by early Chagga residents for use during the dry seasons provide a choice environment in which to raise both subsistence and cash crops such as bananas, beans, cabbage, onions, and avocados, as well as coffee and maize that were brought by Swahili traders. In addition to farming, many Chagga also work in commerce, civil service, teaching or practicing medicine, making them fairly prosperous and regarded as one of East Africa's most affluent peoples (Howard 1994).

The Chagga women play an important role in their agricultural villages with their many labor contributions. The labor performed on the mountain is divided by gender. According to Mosgrove (1998), men concentrate on aspects of growing and selling coffee, water furrow canal maintenance, irrigation practice, and road maintenance.

Women are responsible for cultivating and harvesting bananas, caring for dairy cows and other farm animals (goats, sheep, chickens), attending weekly markets, collecting water and fuel wood, and preparing meals. In addition, Howard (1994) writes that women are also expected to cultivate maize and beans on the lower slopes of the mountain. To meet the economic needs of their families, women also participate in small businesses within the village such as small stores which sell basic essential commodities at the village level like salt, kerosene, matches; and some food items like maize flour, beans and rice (Tripp 1989; Robertson and Berger 1986). In addition, some make and sell banana beer (*mbege*) (Knutsen 1999; Omari 1997). Table 2.1 indicates that in 1994, women in rural Tanzania were still heavily involved in the collection and distribution of agricultural products.

Table 2.1: Farming Activities Accomplished by Gender in Tanzania.

Farming Activities	Female %	Male %	Both %
Land preparation by hoe	38.3	42.5	19.2
Land preparation by oxen	32.5	50	14.5
Sowing and planting	40.4	34.1	25.5
Weeding	69.3	12.3	18.4
Harvesting	73.4	12.3	14.3
Transportation	66.6	14.6	18.8
Threshing/Processing	79.5	12.3	8.2
Storage	69.4	18.3	12.2

Source: Tanzania National Report on Women Agriculture and Rural Development 1994

Swantz (1977) writes that new educational opportunities and the migration of men from the villages on Kilimanjaro are enabling women to use their economic capabilities more fully. Many of the women are integral in the subsistence and cash economy, but are often not recognized because not many own land (Omari 1994; Chuwa 1977). The nature of women's heavy involvement in agriculture may influence their attachment to the land upon which their income relies. Tuan (1977, 156) writes that "rootedness in the soil, and the growth of pious feeling toward it, seem natural to sedentary agricultural peoples."

STAGE IN LIFE CYCLE

The age of residents impacts their attachment to their communities and lands (Stinner et al. 1990). The older they are, the more social ties they are expected to have (Goudy 1990). The Chagga children traditionally learn to work on their farms very early in life.

Particularly may this be said of the girls, the tiniest of whom go with their mothers to the fields and return with some head burden, if it be only a single fire-stick or miniature water-jar. At a very young age it becomes the chief duty of the girls to grind corn and clean out the cattle-stall and deposit the refuse around the banana roots as manure. Boys lead a rather freer and more indolent life, their chief task being to herd the goats, which occupation leaves them very much to their own devices and calls for little care and exertion. (Dundas 1926, 212)

Today, most children attend school, and are not able to work in their homes until the school day is finished. The young girls still spend more time in responsibilities related to the care of their families' lands and homes (Knutsen 1999).

The younger community members are the most likely to leave their villages (Sofranko and Fliegel 1984; Fernández and Dillman 1979) and older couples without children and widows are the least likely to do so (McAuley and Nutty 1985). In the case of Kilimanjaro, it is often the young men who leave. Anderson Lema (1993), a geographer at the University of Dar es Salaam, claimed land fragmentation by means of inheritance has occurred so much in his home village of Lyamungo on Mount Kilimanjaro that it is uneconomical to carry out any further fragmentation. He continues that "this means that for young men wishing to raise families in the area they can not find enough land to sustain their household needs. This is why most of them out-migrate in search of self- or paid employment outside the community" (p. 40). Men return once a year to collect money earned from the crops and/or small businesses and visit their

families. The rest of the year, Chagga women remain in charge of the *shamba* (Nambuo 1994). As the young men leave in search of extra income, Chagga women of all ages care for the lands. Even if they do not own the land, their responsibility for it may lead to attachment.

The Chagga may work elsewhere, but still have a strong attachment to their home land (Knutson, 1999). Many of the migrants remain emotionally attached to the home area and want to help improve conditions there. In the Numeist study, cited in Creighton (2000), 77 percent of those surveyed from the Arusha-Kilimanjaro Region planned to return to their villages to retire.

Further studies have indicated that economic pressures have weakened kinship bonds. Creighton (2000), Tungaraza (1995), Mgale (1996) and Tripp (1997) all found evidence that the frequency of visits and the level of remittances to elderly parents in the rural areas of Tanzania have been reduced. In many cases, the traditional obligations the young adults have to take care of the elderly have been reversed and the elderly continue to help young adults. When this occurs, the women have the responsibility to care not only for those within her household, but also those who have left in search of employment.

APPLICATIONS TO THIS THESIS

The systemic model of attachment and historical information of the Chagga women are used as a framework within which to place the women of this study. Each of the three dominant variables in the systemic model is examined in relation to the responses of women who own land. Based on the systemic model, I will find that the many generations the Chagga women have been on Kilimanjaro should increase their

social ties within their villages. It follows that women new to the villages would have fewer social ties and less of an overall attachment to their villages. Their rising social status should give them more interest in their communities, and also more social ties. Finally, older women are expected to have more social ties which leads to strong community sentiment. Although the Chagga begin working early in life on their farms, economic and land shortage pressures are forcing many of the young to leave their villages. Despite this, many of the young have a strong attachment to their home villages. Though the attachment may be stronger for older village members, the literature shows that it is still present in the young. My research claims that familial ties are the constant reason for attachment in all three factors of the systemic model and that those factors leading to social ties are secondary to the dominance of the family.

Chapter 3

METHODS

INTRODUCTION

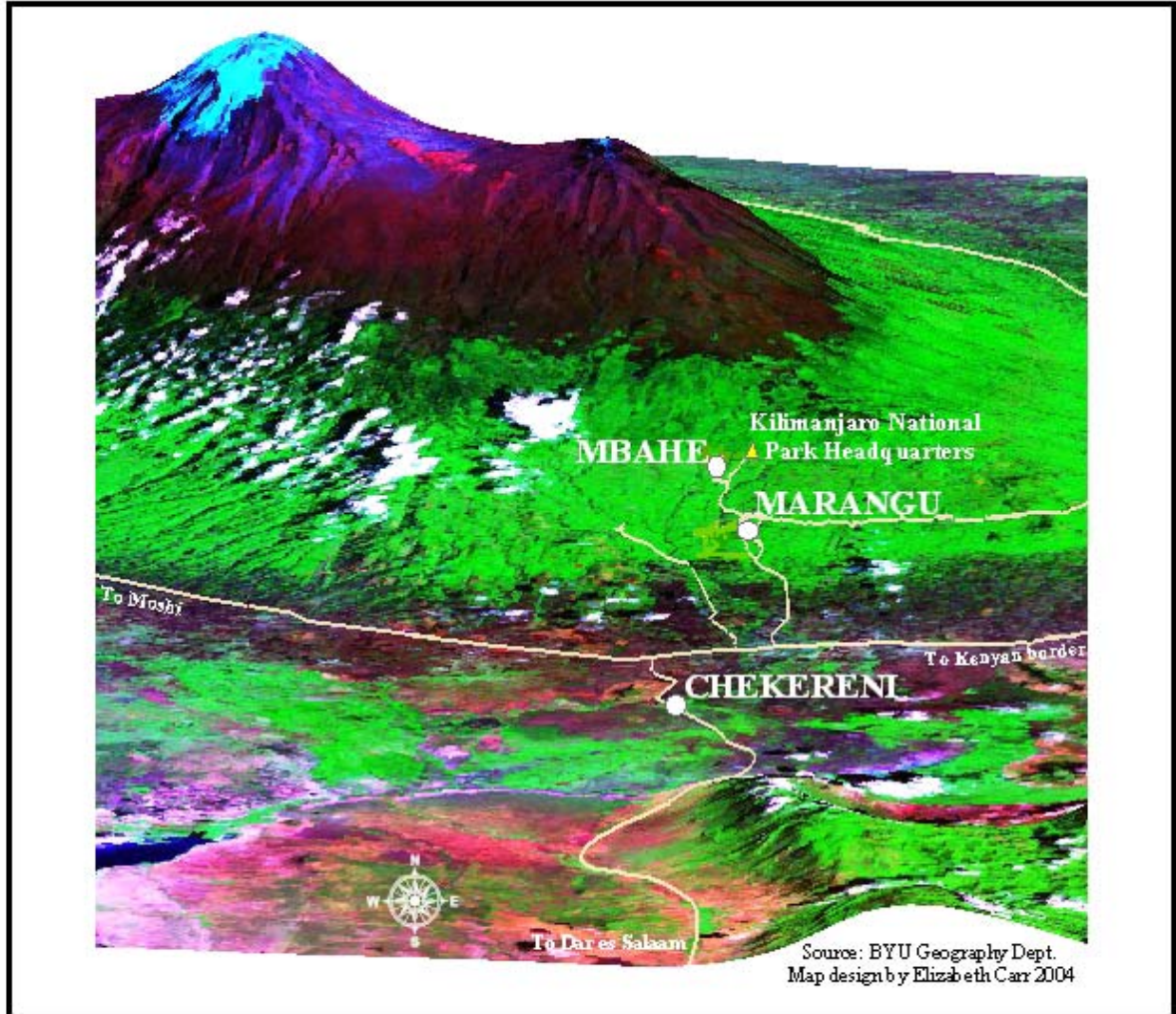
I conducted research on Mount Kilimanjaro during the summers of 2002 and 2003 to learn about land and home attachment of women in three villages. I interviewed 15 women who own land about their community and land attachment. I also use interviews of grandmothers done in 2002, as well as interviews with local leaders, to further support my thesis. In addition, a survey done by a Brigham Young University (BYU) Field Study group in 2002 is used. In this chapter, I will discuss the study area, the three different research methods, and how this information was analyzed in a way that demonstrates how women land owners have strong ties to their land and communities.

STUDY AREA

Three villages on or near Mount Kilimanjaro (Mbahe, Marangu and Chekereni) are used in this research (Figure 3.1). The physical size of the research area occupies roughly 7000 hectares (27 square miles) and included about five months of fieldwork during the years 2002 and 2003 combined. I interviewed women in the same villages used by the BYU Field Study group in 2002 for their survey on attitudes towards Kilimanjaro National Park (KINAPA). These villages were selected by their location in three different farming zones--low, mid, or high (O’Kting’ati and Kessy 1991), their differing levels of exposure to the pressures of KINAPA, commercial farming, and population growth, and their location along a main tarmac road that extends from KINAPA headquarters to the base of the mountain, where it joins the main Moshi-Taveta

road. I do not focus on issues related to KINAPA in this thesis; this village selection was used to correspond with parts of the survey that deal with attachment.

Figure 3.1 Research Study Area



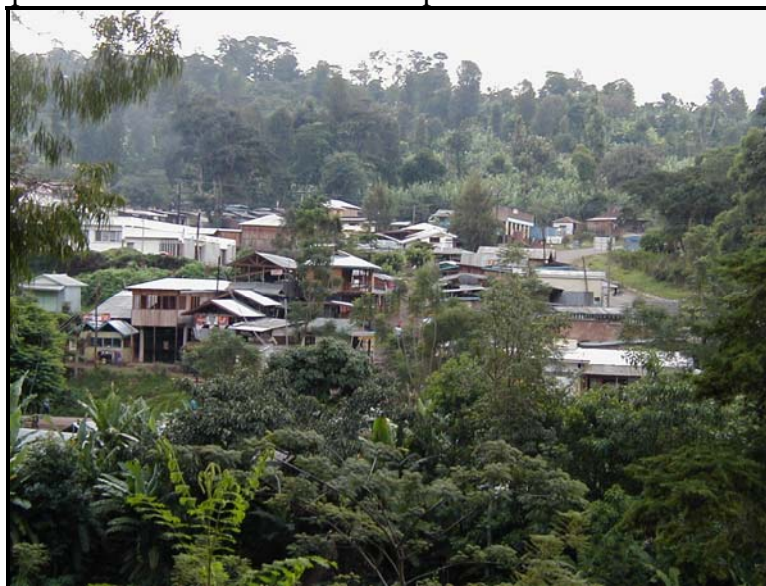
Mbahe village is in the high zone and was chosen because it borders the Kilimanjaro National Park (which is the area above 8,850 feet) and provides easier access to staff and information concerning the park for other aspects of the overall research done by the research team from BYU. The residents of Mbahe are more homogenous and tend to reserve the land there only for those who are originally from the village.

Figure 3.2 View of Mbahe village



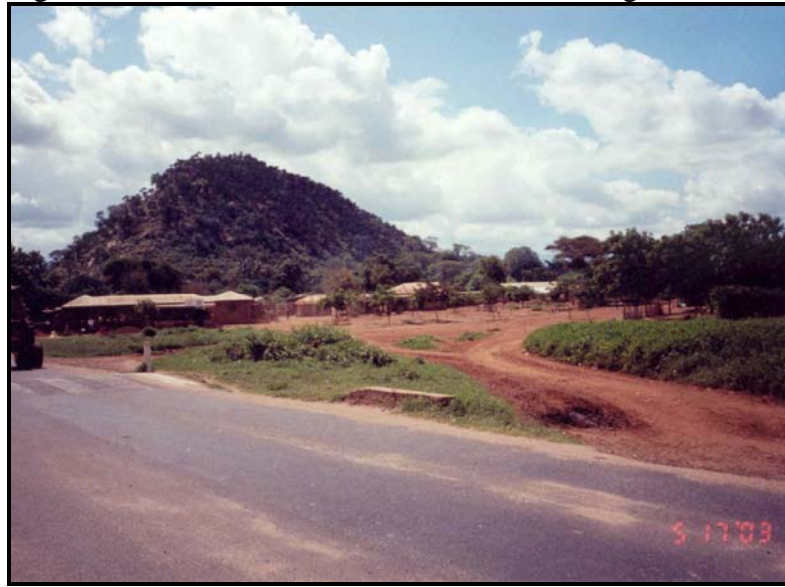
Marangu, the next village down the mountain in elevation, has smaller individual farming plots than Mbahe. The village is impacted by KINAPA and tourism because of its central location on the main tarmac road. Some residents are employed at the hotels or as mountain guides and porters. The village also has problems with intense population growth and therefore intensification of land use.

Figure 3.3 View of the market area in Marangu. Most houses are more spread out than those seen in the picture.



Chekereni is located off the mountain in an area the government used to relocate people who did not have land on Mount Kilimanjaro or in the Pare Mountains. It is in the lowest farming zone and is the most recently settled of the three villages. The village is in a much drier area and residents rely on irrigation and wells for water access. Chekereni is the least homogenous of the villages because of the nature of its establishment and has primarily members of the Chagga, Pare, and Kahe tribes.

Figure 3.4 View of the center of Chekereni village

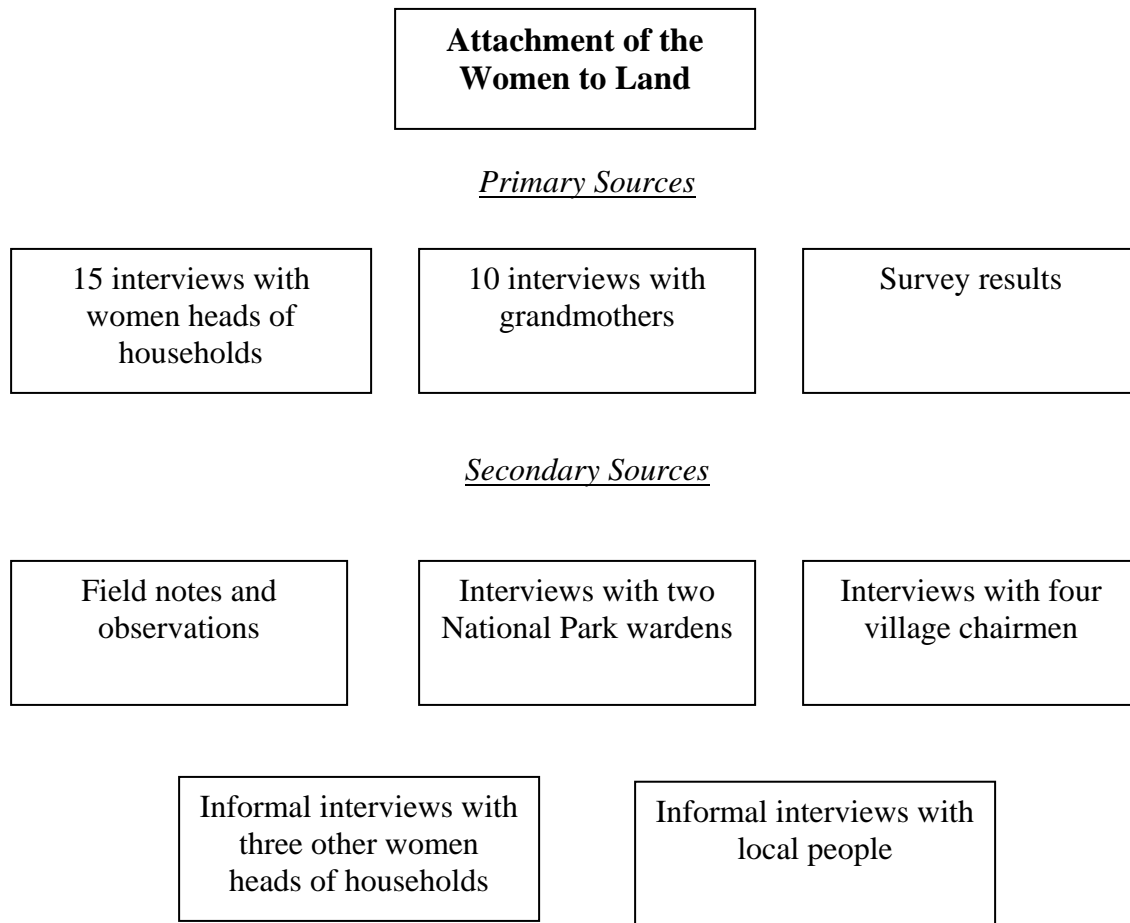


RESEARCH METHODS

This research analyzes data from various sources (see Figure 3.5). My primary sources of information are the interviews conducted in 2003 with fifteen women who own land in the three above-mentioned villages. These interviews gave me direct reactions and feelings of the women about attachment to their lands and homes. The second primary source of information comes from interviews conducted with grandmothers during 2002. Thoughts they have about their communities are included to supplement the responses from the previously-mentioned interviews. The survey conducted in 2002 shows overall attachment patterns on the mountain, as well as specific

frequencies of the women's responses. Other interviews and field notes that focus directly on attachment were also used.

Figure 3.5 Data



INTERVIEWS

Interviews with women who control land

While in Tanzania in the summer of 2002, I spent time building trust and becoming friends with ten women heads of households in Mbahe, Marangu, and

Chekereni. The women were chosen using an approach based on purposeful sampling guidelines provided by Patton (2002) to find information-rich cases for in-depth study. The principal goal in choosing these women to study is their attachment to the land, which follows the typical case approach. Looking for women with control of land enabled me to find a variety of women within the villages, while also allowing me to examine their position in the social structure better. I located the women with the help of fellow students as well as village residents. The women have a similar heritage (tribal lines), they farm similar crops (e.g., bananas, coffee, maize, and/or beans), many have not traveled far from Kilimanjaro, and they are caretakers of children.

There are differences among the women, as well. The women have different reasons they are heads of households (e.g., their husbands have passed away, their husbands work elsewhere, they inherited land from their father, or they bought the land themselves). In addition, some are fairly well-off economically for that area, while others are struggling.

When I returned in summer 2003, I worked with the ten women with whom I had built a relationship. In addition, I contacted more women who owned land in the three villages to make a total of eighteen women. The preparatory work done during summer 2002, as well as preparation while still in the United States, gave me enough time to accomplish the specified sampling objectives.

Semi-structured interview guide

From the literature on community attachment, I determined general patterns of community sentiment and was able to focus on aspects of community and women's roles specific to my research. This information, as well as the insights I learned from other men

and women in the villages were used to create an interview guide. The questions were open-ended to allow for respondents' opinions and analysis to be included. I made effort to make clear and simple questions. I did a practice interview, using the interview guide, with a native Swahili-speaking woman. She suggested clarifications and questions to make it better understood by the women of the culture. These suggestions were implemented into the final interview guide (Appendix 1).

Conduct of the interviews

All eighteen women with whom I worked were informed at the beginning of my research of the overall purpose and nature of the study in the area and of my part in it. Those I met during 2002 already knew why I was returning and expressed interest in seeing what I found. I did not tell them my specific research expectations in an attempt to prevent them from bias, but they knew in general that I wanted to better understand the roles of women on Kilimanjaro. I explained to the women (in my rough Swahili) that I would not violate their human rights during this project and at any time they could withdraw from the study. After informing them about the reasons for my research, I spent a few hours each week with each woman learning about her life and village.

During the official interview, my translator or I explained to each woman why I wanted to tape record the interview and all but two understood that I wanted to know their exact quotes and did not appear intimidated by the presence of the tape recorder. The two who appeared uncomfortable with the tape recorder were still cooperative and allowed me to record the interviews. The women who were contacted in 2002 were the most willing and open in the interviews. The women I met during 2003 were more timid in expressing views of their village. All women were reassured that their names would

not be used in the final report, as some of them were nervous about neighbors learning what they said.

As the interviews progressed, I checked occasionally with my translator to make sure I understood correctly what the women were saying and often advised her to probe more deeply into the experience of the women. In all, I was able to complete 15 interviews with women who own land. The other three were not interviewed for reasons of illness, absence from their village, or timidity. All but three interviews were done in the yards of the women and there were occasional distractions. The time during the interviews was used wisely; we went over the main issues and tried to keep the women on subject. The same interview guide was used in all interviews with the women and the translator understood that it was a guide rather than a schedule or questionnaire, thus making our interviews more conversational. The women were asked about their farms, their community, changes in the area, migration issues, and their roles as women in the communities. A small gift was given to each woman as a sign of appreciation and in almost all cases I returned another day to thank them again for their willingness to participate in the interview.

Immediately following each interview, I made notes about the setting, the attitude of the respondent, and as much as I could remember from the interviews. The interviews themselves were translated by a fluent English-speaker and subsequently transcribed.

Limitations of women interviews

The interviews (except two) were conducted in Swahili. Although I understood in general what was being said, it was a barrier to have my questions asked by a translator and not have as many opportunities to ask follow-up questions that could add to the depth

of the interviews. Also, my translator occasionally focused on things differently than I thought she was at the time, and this made the answers of less use to me occasionally. In addition, it is difficult to communicate quickly in the area, and for this reason I was not able to find three of the women at home when we were conducting the official interviews.

Grandmother interviews

In 2002, ten in-depth interviews were conducted with grandmothers in the Chagga or Pare (who live off the mountain in and around Chekereni) tribes concerning their family traditions by Marie Durrant and a translator (the same translator I used in 2003). The purpose of these interviews was to learn about the tradition in the region of taking care of specific grandchildren. The questions about caring for grandchildren, connections to family/community/land, and changes in the next generation are used to give me more information about familial and community ties and women's attachment to land in the three communities (Appendix 2). Each of the 10 interviews was recorded, were translated into English, and later transcribed. As two of the women interviewed were the same as those interviewed in 2003, all of the women were given fictitious names for the purpose of this thesis.

Other interviews

Official interviews were also conducted with four village leaders (those in Mbahe, two subsections of Marangu, and Chekereni), three extension workers from the Himo Environmental Management Trust Fund, two workers in the Regional Authority Census office in Moshi, as well as two park wardens from KINAPA. I arranged specific times for each of the interviews and met most of them in their offices. A rough interview guide was also used in these interviews. Only two of the interviewees allowed me to tape-record the

interview. The responses of others were written in my notes during the interview. These representatives were asked questions about the communities, environmental issues, population and community change. These interviews told me about land attachment in general among the Chagga.

SURVEY

A survey was conducted during summer 2002 of 191 individuals (from a population of about 7700) in the three villages in the study by a Brigham Young University (BYU) Field Study group. The villages were mapped using Geographic Information Systems (GIS) technology and each household given a number for organizational purposes. Only one portion of Marangu was used in the survey and is referred to as Marangu-Sembeti. Using SPSS software, 90 households were randomly chosen from each village. Researchers located the households and made efforts to survey the mother, father, one child over 18, and an adult house servant individually, without the influence of others in their answers.

The survey begins with overall household information including village, house structure, and family make-up (see Appendix 3). On surveys for individuals within the household, Section I asked general personal information, including livelihood, education, and land ownership. Section II, about community attachment, asks residents more questions about land ownership, length of residence, and feelings toward their community. In the final section, residents were asked about their attitudes toward KINAPA. In this thesis, I use the responses from questions listed in Table 3.1 below.

These questions show in general the attachment to land and communities of the people in

the three villages. I also look specifically at responses given by the women about their overall attachment.

Table 3.1 Survey questions used in this thesis

Variable	Measurement	Source
Household head	How many men or women listed as head of household	survey household data sheet
Village	Village in which they were surveyed	survey household data sheet
Historical ties	How land obtained (inherit, given by chief, bought, etc.)	survey household data sheet
Gender	Male or female	survey question #2
Age	Years	survey question #3
Length of residence in village	Years	survey question #9
Occupation	Percent of sample in agricultural vs. non-agricultural occupations	survey question #12
If they are willing to sell land	Yes, no, or maybe	survey question #23
Familial ties	How many relatives in area	survey question #36
Community social ties	How many adults known by name	survey question #37
Plan to stay/move option	Stay vs move	survey question #43

Limitations of survey

The residents of Kilimanjaro are not accustomed to the nature of surveys and many misunderstood theoretical questions. In addition, some were suspicious of the questions and were conservative in their answers.

OBSERVATIONS AND FIELD NOTES

During the roughly five months I spent in the field, I took copious field notes about the things I saw happening on the mountain and on my conversations with local people. I spent seven weeks in 2002 and four weeks in 2003 intensively meeting with the women at their homes or *shambas* (farms), using informal discussions and observations to learn more about the women's lives and took these facets into account when making my interview outline. I used my time to observe and become involved in many different activities related to women, their use of land or other livelihood choices, their feelings toward community, and observe the community as a whole. The purpose of these observations, informal interviews, and discussions was to learn things about the women that supply supplementary information to their interviews. These experiences and thoughts were recorded in detail in a field journal. Field notes and observations of students from the 2002 research are also included in the analysis.

ANALYSIS

Interviews and field notes

I began my analysis of the interviews and field notes by open coding (finding similarities in the data and grouping them) using N6, a social science software that allowed me to manage and classify qualitative data. The open codes are listed in Table 3.2. The problem with doing open coding alone is that it only identifies concepts and their properties and dimensions; it does not tell us why or how things have happened (Strauss and Corbin 1990).

Table 3.2 Initial Open Codes (recurring themes)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attachment • Heritage ties to the land • Length of residence • Familial and social ties • Occupation • Age • Education • Chagga women • Population pressure and land shortage • Chagga history • Chagga farming and husbandry • Chagga traditions • Chagga migration • Community change

After the open coding of the documents was completed, I began axial coding. Axial coding allowed me to relate the open categories to their subcategories and linking them to the systemic model. I re-coded all of the open codes to the key factors of the systemic model, as well as separating specific comments on occupation, attachment and family and social ties (Table 3.3). I was very careful that each case was coded into only one of the categories, so as to eliminate repetition (Lofland and Lofland 1995). I also paid attention to how often something occurs, as that usually meant it is a concern or pattern among the people. The themes are most significant to tell the story of the historical and modern views of the land and its significance to this group of people.

Table 3.3 Axial Codes (final themes)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social status • Occupation • Land and home attachment • Family and social ties • Length of residence • Age

Survey

The survey responses were entered into a spreadsheet and transferred to an SPSS statistics software file. Frequencies were run on each of the questions, showing the answers to each question alone. Pearson chi-squared tests were run comparing each of the values and only some of the significant results are included in my results. Cross-tabs were also run to better explain why different things were or were not significant. One binomial regression test was also conducted. The results of these tests are explained in the next chapter.

VALIDITY

Triangulation enables the researcher to assemble complementary and overlapping measures of the same phenomena (Feagin et al. 1991). When the responses of the women in the study coincide with the findings of the survey and responses in other interviews, patterns are validated. By using data that was collected in different ways and by different people (by me, Marie Durrant, or other students), it gives me several angles at which to look at the situation on Kilimanjaro.

CONCLUSION

I draw my conclusions based on how the feelings of women compare with the attachment literature, with its given properties and frameworks. The usefulness of the systemic model in this third-world, rural setting is discussed. The following chapters will compare the responses of women to the factors of community attachment (the systemic model specifically) to determine which factors are influential in this setting. As Gerson, Stueve, and Fischer (1977) wrote, people are attached to places in different ways. I will

illustrate in what ways this specific group of women are attached to their lands and communities.

Chapter 4

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

I like to live here and I can't go somewhere else where I can go and live. I was born here and also, I'm living here. I can't go and live somewhere else.

-Bahati, Marangu

INTRODUCTION

Increased length of residence should lead to stronger social ties, which can in turn produce more positive feelings of local attachment (Beggs et al. 1996; Goudy 1990). This chapter examines how long the Chagga have been in their villages as well as their heritage in the area. Many residents desire to stay on the mountain, even if they have to live on small farms. They are very unwilling to sell their land and start a life elsewhere. Their familial responsibilities keep them on their lands. The strategic position of their *shambas* in relation to markets as well as the favorable climate on the land is another reason women want to stay where they are.

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

The Chagga clans (families) settled the two villages on the mountain, Mbahe and Marangu. They began to clear the land and establish themselves on it.

Long, long time ago in this place here it was forest and my father, I mean the father of that time, started to cut off to clear this place and then to start digging here. [At] that time we didn't have these hoes we are using for digging now. They used this hoe they [made] from trees, so they have to make it sharp . . . and then they dig it and the women come behind, taking off the grass. They do this until the land is clear and it's the time when they can start planting the crops (Upendo 2003).

Traditionally, land was given to the fathers of clans by the chiefs of each village. The Clan Period of Chagga history witnessed wars fought over land and water use between clan groups. More recently, in the early 1900s, Europeans came to the

Kilimanjaro villages. Eastern parts of the village of Marangu were owned by Europeans during this time. A large amount of the land was sold and returned to the Chagga or other tribes during the late 1960s and early 1970s.

At the base of the mountain, however, many of the villages were settled more recently. In 1978, according to Pious Shirima (2003) of the Himo Environmental Management Trust Fund (HEMTF), the area was full of sisal plantations begun during colonial days. The plantations were abandoned when they started losing money and the government gave the area to landless people. The Father from the Catholic Mission, as well as the *Mwenyekiti* (village leader) of Chekereni, said the government officially organized their village in 1976 or 1977 and gave land to anyone who asked for it (Borchert 2002b; Mandari 2003). The oldest residents of Chekereni came in the early 1900s, but most are first or second generation residents of the village. People from the Chagga, Pare, and Kahe tribes came to Chekereni.

Table 4.1 shows the length of residence of the people in each of the villages is significantly different. In-migration (in Chekereni) and out-migration (in Marangu-Sembeti and Mbahe) may explain this. According to the systemic model, the residents of Chekereni should have fewer social ties overall because their establishment in the village was more recent (Table 4.2). The survey showed that 53 percent of women, however, have lived in their villages more than forty years and may still have attachment because of this amount of years, even if they moved there when young.

Table 4.1 Variables compared to the village of residence

Variable	Compared to	Chi-Square value	Significance (2-sided)
Village	Years in the village	27.516	0.001

Table 4.2 Years in the village divided by village

Village	Years in the village					Total
	0-9 years	10-19 years	20-39 years	40-79 years	80+ years	
Chekereni	19 (40%)	9 (19%)	16 (33%)	4 (8%)	0	48
Marangu-Sembeti	19 (24%)	13 (17%)	14 (18%)	28 (36%)	4 (5%)	78
Mbahe	6 (10%)	12 (19%)	23 (37%)	19 (31%)	2 (3%)	62

Currently, the landscape in the villages varies from humble, mud homes to large, concrete ones. In the two villages on the mountain, the houses are located in the middle of the land and farming is done around them. In Chekereni, in most cases, the houses are within the village and the farms are outside and surrounding the village. Those with little income in each of the villages have mud and stick homes about 15 by 10 feet (4.6 x 3.0 meters) in size and a thatch or sheet metal roof. Those with more money have concrete homes about 30 by 30 feet (9.1 x 9.1 meters) in size with electricity and running water within and sturdy roofs. The wealthiest have large (about 50 x 35 feet; 15.2 x 10.7 meters), gated homes with multiple bathrooms and modern kitchens, which were built primarily during colonial days and have since been purchased by local residents.

Heritage

In the Chagga culture, ancestors are buried on the land and should not be abandoned. "You have to take care of the graves of your grandfather and grandmother until when you're died they will bury you there, too" (Eugenia 2003). People forced to leave to find alternate sources of income will insist on being buried on Kilimanjaro with their family (Meikasi 2003; Mtui 2003).

If at all a child is working in Dar es Salaam or Arusha, he must come to be buried where he was born. Must come to be buried where he was born. Even if he dies in America, then the body must be transported right away to the place where he was born (Mtui 2003).

A Chagga student from Dar es Salaam came to Marangu to attend secondary school. When asked why he had come so far to attend school, he replied that his family sacrificed much financially so he can go to school there; it is important for him to be around the Chagga on Kilimanjaro and learn about his roots (Carr 2003a).

The women, in general, feel they were given their land by their fathers and it should continue within the family. This land gives them ties to the land and village. "So these grandchildren have a connection here in Mbahe with this land because their fathers will also distribute it to them" (Rebekah 2003). Matika's father said that

he doesn't like anyone else to come and help his farm. If I go, this farm it will belong to his grandchildren – my children – and no one else outside. . . . Yes, this farm belongs to my children, all of them. The girls and the boys. If I don't divide it, they might kill each other (2002).

All five of her children (men and women) were given some of her land and currently stay in the village (Matika 2003).

It is important to have family and friends close by. It does not appear to matter how long the women have been there before they have these social ties. As in many places of Africa, there is a strong sense in Kilimanjaro that everyone is an extension of your family. The young call each other brother (*kaka*) and sister (*dada*), and those older mother (*mama*), father (*baba*), grandmother (*bibi*) or wise, elderly one (*mzee*). Many occurrences indicate that family and neighbors take care of each other. When riding the local public transportation, it is not uncommon to see a mother hand her child over to sit on the lap of another for the duration of the ride (Carr 2002f). In addition, they will often feed family members or neighbors who are at their homes during mealtimes. Irine (Carr 2003c), in Marangu, said that when she married, her mother told her to always cook extra food to share with others. She needs enough food if a visitor comes. Although it was

difficult to do when Irine had children at home, she continued the tradition. Further, the Chagga are very open to having people spend the night at their homes. A woman from Marangu was shocked when she went to visit relatives in Switzerland, only to have them surprised when she arrived that she wanted to stay with them. She said that in Tanzania, neighbors and family take care of each other (Carr 2003e).

“We depend each other. Some of the people are depending on their children or some other people in the clan” (Mtui 2003). At special family events, all of the neighbors help each other. It is tradition to gather for weddings, funerals, or holidays with all of your friends and family (Irine 2003). “We have to sit together and drink *mbege* [banana beer] or soda” (Haika 2003).

The village respondents live in and how many relatives live nearby is significant (Table 4.3). Those who have migrated to Chekereni have fewer relatives nearby than in the other villages. Also, as people migrate from the villages on the mountain, it leaves fewer of their relatives remaining in the home villages. Over half of the people surveyed are related to ten or fewer people in the village, except in Mbahe where the 58 percent are related to eleven or more people (Table 4.4). The presence of relatives in their villages may give residents feelings of strong ties.

Table 4.3 Variables compared to the relatives one has in the village

Variable	Compared to	Chi-Square value	Significance (2-sided)
Relatives in the village	Village	31.000	0.000

Table 4.4 How many relatives respondents have in the villages

Village	Relatives in the village					Total
	0	1-10	11-20	21-30	31+	
Chekereni	7 (14%)	35 (71%)	4 (8%)	1 (2%)	2 (4%)	49
Marangu-Sembeti	9 (12%)	45 (60%)	15 (20%)	3 (4%)	3 (4%)	75
Mbahe	2 (3%)	24 (39%)	22 (35%)	5 (8%)	9 (15%)	62

Irine's daughter spent a few years living in the United States. When she returned to Kilimanjaro, she went to get some medicine at her uncle's dispensary. She started to pay for the medicine and her uncle and aunt became very angry that she would offer to pay, and not just accept the medicine, as she is family. On Kilimanjaro, families provide for each other (Kacher 2002).

A teacher in Marangu said if she could live anywhere in the world, she would choose to live in Marangu. She continued that she would enjoy the amenities of more developed countries, but would want to stay with the people of Tanzania.

You can go anywhere in Tanzania and speak Swahili and they will take you in and entertain you and feed you and take care of you. Everywhere you go here, people greet each other. The young and the old, it's all the same. Anywhere else is not like this; no one talks to each other. . . . What is most important is the home and family (Shayo 2002).

In all three villages, there is a propensity to either know less than half of the adults or all of them (Table 4.5). Surprisingly, in Chekereni 47 percent of respondents know most to all of the adults in the village. This is more than either of the older villages combined. Generally, social ties can help promote a positive opinion of the community in which people live. Knowing more people in their village may make up for the shorter time respondents have been in Chekereni in relation to their attachment.

Table 4.5 Adults known in village divided by village

Village	Adults known in the village					Total
	Very few	Less than half	About half	Most	All	
Chekereni	1 (2%)	19 (39%)	6 (12%)	6 (12%)	17 (35%)	49
Marangu-Sembeti	2 (3%)	36 (50%)	10 (14%)	6 (8%)	18 (25%)	72
Mbahe	4 (7%)	26 (43%)	7 (11%)	1 (2%)	26 (43%)	61

Selling land

In the village of Marangu, according to one woman, you are not allowed to sell the land because it must stay within the clan to provide for the family (Irine 2003). “You inherited it so you can't sell the land. And if I sell this land, where shall I take my children?” (Rose 2003). The women feel it will help their family more to keep the land and receive of its produce than to sell it and try to find a home elsewhere. Each of the women has people depending on their *shambas* for sustenance (Table 4.6).

Table 4.6 How many people are supported on the women's farms

Woman	Village	How many people are supported by her farm*
Nora	Mbahe	7 or 8
Upendo		4
Maggie		2
Rose		5
Eugenia		6
Neema	Marangu	4
Jubilat		2
Consolata		4
Irine		4
Haika		5
Bahati		10
Ritha		2
Amina		Chekereni
Juliet	3	
Matika	6	
Rehema	6	
Annaele	10	

When Eugenia's father-in-law told her that if she sold the family land she would either die then or go crazy (Eugenia 2003). He felt it was important to use the land for their family and later divide it for their children. ". . . You can't sell land here, there's a lot of people you have here, I mean sisters or brothers, they've got children, you can leave your land to them instead of selling it" (Upendo 2003). The land must be divided so everyone in your family is happy (Rehema 2003). Even land that is currently lying fallow in Mbahe is owned by someone and "they won't sell the land . . . because they are saving it for the use of their sons or grandsons" (Turillo 2002a).

One woman felt that only those who are acting irrationally would sell their land (Neema 2003).

Well, maybe they can move a few of them but it's not simple. You can hear [of people moving], but it's not simple. So [that is how] it is like to get land here. Maybe for the young one who smoke marijuanas and they inherited it and they decided to sell the farm, but for the one who got family it is not possible. . . . So, for the one who have family they can't sell a farm (Neema 2003).

If someone wants to sell land in order to move to another place, it is feasible, "but the one who moves is very few" (Amina 2003). It is possible, but not common, to sell land if you do not have children and need the money to support yourself in old age (Eugenia 2003). Haika (2003) knows of one person selling his land, but his children all died before him and he had no other means to support himself. They can buy and sell land off the mountain if they can afford it, but not on Kilimanjaro (Irine 2003). As Chekereni is a village off of the mountain, "so many people come here asking for land! And [residents] do sell their lands because of their poverty problem in the family" (Annaele 2003).

The survey asks if the respondent are willing to sell their land. The results show that 99 percent will *not* sell their land. This shows reluctance to part with land, even for money. Of the one percent who said they would sell land, one did not have land and the other would only sell to relatives. The survey participants indicated strongly that their land provides for them and must stay within their families. Below are examples of responses to this question.

- “Her son and daughters are buried here.”
- “If she sells her land, the rest of her family will suffer from nowhere to stay.”
- “She has been forbidden by her father.”
- “The aim of having land is not for selling. It is for taking care of everyone.”
- “Why would I [sell land] when I have family?”
- “According to tradition it is very bad to sell land that you inherited from your elders. If you sell it you will get a lot of problems.”

Location

An additional factor to the success of the women’s farms and their attachment to them is the location of the land. Many do not want to leave their village because it is in such a good location. A man in Marangu said that they live in a wonderful location where they can depend on the rain and soil to bring them crops to eat. In many places, people struggle daily for food and drink (Manyanga 2003). Proximity to markets is also important. “There is Himo, the Mtoni, I think that is enough. And the shops and Mamba and Mwika so there is no problem” (Neema 2003). “We have clean water, we have easy transportation, we have close market, close hospitals. So, I enjoy, really I enjoy [my village]” (Haika 2003).

Juliet (2003), of Chekereni, is saving money to buy land in her village because it is in such a good location, next to the highway. Chekereni is “a good place for some

different businesses because we are near to Kenya. Therefore, so many people pass here going there. Therefore, it is easy to get people for my business” (Annaele 2003).

Marangu is also a good location. According to one woman,

I get nice weather, the climate is good. My crops are doing well, I’m not starving. I’ve got tap water, electricity. Well, and my home, it is my home, I can’t [laughs]. It is my home and also I live near the market, near the church, near the shops, near the post office. Communication is good. So, I enjoy it. I really, really do (Irine 2003).

In each of the villages, few plan to move. This is the most extreme in Mbahe, where only eight percent plan to move from their village (Table 4.7). Although Chekereni is the latest settled of the three villages, there is still a strong desire to stay there by its residents.

Table 4.7 Plans to stay or move divided by village

Village	Plans to stay or move		
	Plan to stay	Plan to move	Total
Chekereni	41 (84%)	8 (16%)	49
Marangu-Sembeti	59 (82%)	13 (18%)	72
Mbahe	55 (92%)	5 (8%)	60

CONCLUSION

The women on the mountain feel they must keep their land for their family, so those without land are forced to leave the mountain where they can buy land in the lowlands. Although the women have lived in their villages for varied amounts of years, there is overall positive sentiment towards their communities. Generations of family members living on the land bring many of the women to feel responsible for continuing the tradition of passing the land to their children. They are very protective of their farms and want to ensure they stay in their families. The women also enjoy the location of their

villages and their *shambas* within them. Social ties are strong and neighbors contribute to the needs of the families, regardless of how long they have lived in the village.

Chapter 5

SOCIAL STATUS

INTRODUCTION

The status of women in the Chagga culture is slowly changing. In spite of this, they continue to wear traditional, brightly-colored *kangas*, which act as cloth covers to their skirts and occasionally as shawls for warmth. The women have a beautiful sense of propriety, even a dignity about them. They lower their eyes and curtsy slightly when greeting men or strangers. This chapter reviews the changing status of women and their contributions within their villages. It shows that the women appear attached to their land whether or not they own it and only slightly due to social status.

SOCIAL STATUS

Land is so important; it is how you survive.
-Pious Shirima, extension worker at HEMTF
conservation fund at the base of Kilimanjaro

To own land is a symbol of prosperity and status in the Chagga culture. The Chagga rely on their *shambas* (farms) for sustenance, income opportunities and security. In the Chagga tradition, "every man must have a *shamba* and must have a good house for living, and most of them must make sure that their children are educated. . . . And having bananas and coffee is our profit" (Annaele 2003). The degree of land possession by women varies in each of the villages. Some own the land, some are taking care of it until the younger generation inherits, some live with husbands or family members on their land, and others rent land. The land inherited by one woman in Mbahe has been a part of her clan for roughly 170 years. After her ancestors gave a cow or a goat to the chief, he told them to take as much land as they wanted and develop it (Upendo 2003).

In a culture where land is such a pivotal asset, owning it adds to one's social status. According to the systemic model, higher social status allows people to be selective of their associations, which can cause greater attachment (Beggs et al 1996; Goudy 1990). Those who own land are generally more prominent than those who do not. In the survey, 55 men (29 percent) are listed as the household heads, with 11 women (6 percent) listed as such. The other 124 of those surveyed (65 percent) are not household heads but rather family members or house servants.

The *Mwenyekiti* (village leader) of Chekereni claimed that women have power and prestige in their community equal to that of men, although there are few who actually own the land (Borchert 2002a). One woman inherited her large amount of land in Chekereni only because all her brothers and sisters died when they were young (Matika 2002). Women do not customarily inherit land because they are expected to move to the land of their husbands when they marry.

In our culture, women are not allocated (*sic*) to get *shambas* from their parents. Only boys are getting. But the rule of nowadays, some people decided to give even girls some *shambas*, but in the past there were not, they didn't, there was not such a thing. You just fight for your own, or get married and get your man with a *shamba* already from his family. If you are divorced, you have to look for your own, or to buy your own. If your husband died, you can stay in that *shamba* or maybe they can even take it . . . from you, the relative of that man. (Annae 2003)

The government is fighting for more rights for women of Tanzania to own land, but those rights have not been completely implemented (Meikasi 2003). Land ownership by women appears to be increasing slowly. "[In] the tradition, the boys stay home and inherit the land, but nowadays you can give the land to both of them. At the moment, we don't use much tradition, so it is the same for the girls and the boys" (Ritha 2003). Some teenagers in Mbahe told a student that everyone is equal and should get land, despite

gender (Beal 2002). A woman of Marangu wants her daughters to inherit her land. "I would like them to work like I work hard" (Haika 2003). This may indicate changes in inheritance patterns of the younger generation or differences in what people say and what they do in practice.

Discussions with women in Marangu indicated the only way women can get land in their village is to purchase it themselves (Durrant 2002). A resourceful woman from Chekereni said "nowadays, women are out buying land," she being among them. She appeared to have lost faith in the ability of men to be adequate overseers of the land. "We don't depend much on men nowadays because you can have your husband but still do nothing. Maybe he's . . . an alcoholic. Maybe he don't care about the children. Therefore, you have to fight for your own" (Annaele 2003).

Each of the women interviewed during 2003 for this thesis has control of her land. The women's control of the land enables them to have power over what happens to the income from the land. Almost every woman interviewed replied that she likes living where she is because her family is fed by and gets income from the land. By cultivating the land, "we can get some food and income so we can perpetuate our life" (Mariamu 2002). One woman in a 30' x 30' concrete house says she enjoys living in her village "because the source of the income is here, like *shamba*. I have animals here - goat, cow - so I enjoy it. Because I own it now. . . . I can't leave." (Amina 2003). The *shambas* enable the women to meet other financial needs of their households, such as school fees for their children (Bahati 2003). It appears the women enjoy their control of land which status gives them power over their land resources.

WOMEN'S ROLES

Education and Christianity have changed the status and treatment of women in the Chagga villages. In previous times, men were much more dominant over the women, often beating them. “So [the women] didn’t go to the church, they were working on their *shamba* and taking care of their animals and the women were pressed down. . . . So the only thing the women can do is stay and work hard like donkeys, you don’t have permission to go out” (Neema 2003). This still occurs, but has lessened significantly.

Now, it becomes cheerful because people know about Jesus Christ now; they know about God. . . . So, at the moment I saw that it became cheerful and the women have seen the brightness. So, now they can go out and do the things they want to do and not hitted anymore and at the moment the couples care for each other. It’s really nice (Neema 2003).

The women are able to participate in religious activities such as choirs, relief groups and general church attendance, as well as attend village meetings (Figure 5.1), which gives them more interaction with others.

Figure 5.1 Group of women meeting at village meeting in Chekereni



Contributions to communities

The women of Kilimanjaro feel they help their neighbors as well as their families. As mentioned in the previous chapter, they view each other as members of the same family and they must do their part to provide for this extension of their family, as well as they can. The following three instances show the sense of responsibility and community the Chagga women feel.

. . . one family gets maybe a problem, maybe one of his members has died, we share the sorrow. We go there to give condolences, we attend the funeral. We help the family with the home activities. So that is, I mean, there's [a strong community]. . . I can say maybe one, the relationship from one family to another, even if you are not related. If there's baptism, confirmation, we share each and every thing together (Irine 2003).

On one visit to Chekereni, Matika went to her farm and dug some cassava for me as a gift. We were followed, as usual, by many children. After giving me my gift, she proceeded to cut up the rest of the cassava and hand it out to the kids. "They like it raw," she chuckled. Although they weren't her children, she appeared to have no reservations about sharing with them (Carr 2003b).

In another instance, Consolata's five year-old grandson was gone often from her home and I asked her once where he was when I visited. She said that he leaves in the morning and plays at neighbors' houses for hours before returning. She doesn't know exactly where he goes, but knows that they will all look out for him and make sure he is safe (Carr 2003b).

The *Mwenyekiti* of Marangu-Sembeti feels the people in his village are "living very good, understanding each other" (Nyangi 2003). There is occasional discord between neighbors, "but it's not too bad, not so bad" (Bahati 2003). In speaking of his village of Mbahe as a whole, the *Mwenyekiti* said, "There are no problems, no big

problems. There can be some small, small problems, you know where there is a group of people living, the problems must be there. Ordinary Problems, but not big problems”

(Mtui 2003).

We are living happily; we love each other and if somebody have something we can share it together, I mean, even food. We are living together happily. . . . If there's anyone have a problem during, um, in that community we help each other (Upendo 2003). . . . Even if maybe there is somebody doesn't have enough food, if he comes to you and doesn't have money to buy maybe your maize, to buy bananas, you can give him freely. Or sometimes you can tell, 'Okay, help me for maybe cutting grass for my cows and then I'll give him or her some maize.' I'll give her maybe bunches of bananas. I mean, there is a kind of friendship. (Irine 2003)

These examples and thoughts from the women and village leaders shows that in Mbahe, Marangu, and Chekereni there is a strong sense of community and responsibility for neighbors. There is a strong attachment among the village members to each other and a desire to improve the lives of others, regardless of social status.

Education

Women have traditionally had an influence in the raising of their children. Today, women are able to contribute more to their community as a whole. A principal reason for this, as mentioned by several of the women, is the increase in access to education. When Irine was young, she was selected to attend Ashira Secondary School (a girls' school at the time). Some people in her village of Kidia told her father it was useless to send a girl to school. They said he should wait until he had a son old enough for school so he could benefit more from the investment. Her father, however, said that he was not sending her to school so she could help him; he was sending her so she could learn to help herself (Carr 2002g).

“And nowadays, the women, I mean the old people, have knowledge. Some of them get education. And the more they get education is the more the life here

changes and become cheerful. And the development rises up. But the past, it was [cluck] really bad” (Neema 2003).

Different women have chosen to educate people about health issues and good habits she learned in nursing school (Annaele 2003), as well as becoming entrepreneurs (Irine 2003).

As a teacher, I have started small women groups where they learn how to do small business like hair fashion group, find young ladies have their own group, how they make other’s hair. . . . And also, I’ve started another women group. This group is doing sewing. They make clothes, uniforms for the pupils and they also get a little money to keep them going. I have also initiated a men’s group where they do carpentry work. They make stools, forms, simple chairs, and they sell them. They also get good money. The profit, of course, they divide to each other, among themselves (Irine 2003).

In both of these examples, the women were able to help others because they had secondary and post-secondary education which provided them with the preparation to educate others. By contributing to their communities in different ways, the women are making efforts to improve life for others.

Salome Tondi is the Gender Officer at the Himo Environmental Management Trust Fund (HEMTF). Her position was created in early 2003 to educate and sensitize people of the need to work together in all activities and encourage equality. In most of Tanzanian society, labor is divided by gender, but organizations like HEMTF are encouraging them to work together in labor and decision making so they can produce more (Tondi 2003).

OCCUPATION

If somebody asked me to stop [farming], I can’t. I keep working. . . . I like it because it helps me, until now. The main things which help me now are taking care of herds and shamba, too. It’s how my father taught me.

-Matika, Chekereni

The Chagga women work principally in agricultural jobs, which are discussed in this section. The villages on the mountain are lush with the banana trees, crops, and grasses which grow in the rich, volcanic soil. Common crops on the mountain are bananas, maize, potatoes, coffee, cabbage, beans, sugar cane, and carrots. The market for coffee has dropped considerably in recent years, and people depend more on their other crops, especially bananas, for income. Care for and attachment to the land is shown by the use of multiple levels of crops (agroforestry), fertilizers, etc. In Chekereni, however, most crops are planted singly (e.g., maize, beans, tomatoes, watermelon, sunflowers, bananas). Women in Chekereni increasingly use fertilizers and pesticides on their fields because of the infertility and aridity of the soils near their village.

The Ghona River runs through all three villages, although it is greatly reduced by the time it reaches Chekereni. In the upper villages, the river is not used frequently for household and farming purposes due to the presence of piped water at various locations, which can be used by residents for household purposes. In Chekereni, the women are more dependent on the water from the river. They use it to irrigate their fields as well as provide water for household needs. The landscape here has little natural foliage other than acacia and baobab trees and is dominated by the deep red soils of equatorial Africa. The farms there are brought to life by the means of irrigation from the river and canal.

Type of occupation does not vary much by gender (Table 5.1). There are differences in occupation by village, however (Table 5.2). For example, more residents in Marangu-Sembeti are involved in tourism jobs (hotels and tour guides, principally). Agricultural jobs are still the most dominant form of income in all villages and give the residents continual interaction with their lands.

Table 5.1 Type of occupation compared by gender

Occupation	Gender	
	Male	Female
Agricultural Job	55 (70%)	77 (71%)
Non-Agricultural	24 (30%)	32 (29%)
Total	79	109

Table 5.2 Type of occupation within each village

Occupation	Village		
	Mbahe	Marangu-Sembeti	Chekereni
Agricultural Job	46 (75%)	48 (61%)	38 (79%)
Non-Agricultural	15 (25%)	31(39%)	10 (21%)
Total	61	79	48

A student living in Chekereni observed, "Farming is just the lifeblood of these people. If you don't own land, then you are not really living it seems like. Everyone owns land or is working to get the money to own land" (Flake 2002).

The main thing here is to dig the farm and keeping animals. . . . And some, they have banana plantation maybe and can sell bananas in the market. The main thing we can do here is working in the *shamba*. (Amina 2003)

In many cases, the land is still hoed and cared for by hand, giving the women daily physical interaction with their land. There is an attachment which has built by this interaction, as so much of their days go into making the *shambas* successful. Rose (2003) plows her field using a three-pronged hoe (Figure 5.2). Her land is roughly five acres, but she gets help in the farming from her son.

Figure 5.2 Rose on her farm in Mbahe village



Overall, the residents of both agricultural and non-agricultural jobs desire to stay in their villages (Table 5.3). In this case, the occupation one has is not a driving force in attachment.

Table 5.3 Desire to stay or move by occupation

	Occupation	
	Agricultural	Non-Agricultural
Desire to stay	116 (89%)	37 (77%)
Desire to move	15 (11%)	11 (23%)
Total	131	48

Despite other cultural changes in the villages, the women's workloads have not changed much. They are responsible for helping in the fields, going to the markets, cooking the food, raising children, taking care of livestock, gathering water (where applicable), grass and other fodder (for their animals) and firewood (for cooking), cleaning their homes, and doing laundry by hand. "Womens we have troubles every day" (Carr 2003d).

Supplementing income

Several women talked about the difficulty they face when they have to depend on their crops each year to pay increasing costs of living. “Difficulty in life is common. Maybe hunger, famine, maybe when they cultivate, a drought, there is not enough yield, not enough harvest. We just live like that. There is not another difficulty like that” (Hasina 2002). The changes are viewed with optimism, as well. “People are fighting for life in different ways. . . . [We'll] just go always struggling and observing all of the things here all together without getting despair” (Sia 2002). Many of the women are finding extra sources of income to alleviate the economic pressures on their families. A woman with a small plot in Marangu (0.5 acre or 0.2 hectare) says

it's not enough until, if you got a job, because if you have bananas here, you will need cooking oil to cook that banana. Also, you need something like vegetable or fish or meat to eat together, so you can't eat only banana without anything else (Jubilat 2003).

They increase their incomes by opening shops, selling *mbege* (the “local brew”), working in hotels or dispensaries, braiding hair, hiring on as laborers, making baskets, and teaching. Income from cattle, goats, pigs, and chickens help supplement their income. One woman is raising modern chicken (*kuku kisasa*) in her mother's barn, where they are not allowed to range, as her “project.” They are used in restaurants for their tender meat. She uses the money to pay her children's school fees (Haika 2003).

Zero-grazing (keeping cattle in their stalls at all times) is also practiced by the women in the mountain villages, as the improved breeds of dairy cattle (Fresian, Jersey, Ayrshire, and crosses between these and local breeds) now raised are not as immune to diseases and there is not enough space for grazing. In Chekereni, more people have zebu cattle that graze around the village during the day and are kept in by make-shift acacia

thorn fences at night. Some who are not as wealthy can take care of another's cow, feeding and milking it. By tradition, "if it has a calf, the first one you take to the owner of the cow. The second will be yours" (Rose 2003).

Another way Chagga women obtain additional income is through tourism jobs. Mt. Kilimanjaro is a "center of tourism business or industry," which brings income for the people by providing jobs and a market for their products (Meikasi 2003). The income and tourist interest in their villages helps people maintain attachment to their lands and villages. Traditions which otherwise would wane are kept to an extent to entertain tourists. For example, when a representative from Canada came to visit Mbahe, the school children did a dance in her honor. Performing this dance was otherwise no longer common (Turillo 2002b). The tourism jobs attract people from other tribes, but the villages remain principally Chagga (except Chekereni, which is a combination of Chagga, Pare, and Kahe). "This Kilimanjaro, I mean the mountain, help a lot of people" (Upendo 2003). Several indicated that during the high season, people of the village have more money from their tourist jobs and buy from local businesses more often.

So, if you don't have cooking oils, sugar, or tea, if when they come to buy our crops we get some money where we can buy all this. It helps us so much because they come here and buy our crops unless otherwise maybe we'll die if we plant the crops and no one has come to buy them. (Upendo 2003)

During the low season, however, people do not have as much extra money and do not buy from their businesses. "The Kilimanjaro National Park is helping us. It depend of the season. Now is winter time. And in winter time we have to live very, very poorly. . . . It is very difficult and the mountains are helping us a lot" by bringing tourists and added income to the area (Haika 2003). Some also have relatives working in the tourism industry and bring income to their families and villages as a whole. "And the ones who

can work with these tourists, they can get job opportunities to look after their lives and take care of their families” (Bahati 2003).

CONCLUSION

The women of the Kilimanjaro Region are slowly gaining more respect from the Chagga tribe as a whole. They are more educated, have religion more centrally in their lives, and some have control over the resources and management of their *shambas*. Some are using their skills to educate other women and men. Many are fighting for even more equality, as women have not yet reached their potential as influential leaders in the area. Women in each social status, rich or poor, influential or not, responded positively about their villages. This indicates that social status is not as strong a variable of attachment in this setting. Those who bought their land or inherited it from their fathers or husbands all enjoy and feel strongly about their villages and lands. Caring for neighbors is based more on the cultural feeling of family in the community, regardless of the social status of their neighbors.

In this area where occupations are predominantly agricultural, the reliance and constant interaction with the land gives the women an attachment that is not reliant on social ties, but rather on the land itself. As the cost of living increases, many women are finding ways to supplement their income. The women are slowly broadening their occupations to include more than farming in an attempt to provide for their families as their communities become more monetary-based. They all, however, still rely heavily on their farms for their incomes.

Chapter 6

STAGE IN LIFE CYCLE

At the moment there's a lot of people looking for the place where they can stay, so here's some people finding a place where they can live, not move.
Amina, of Chekereni

INTRODUCTION

The systemic model asserts that a later stage in the life cycle leads to a greater sense of community (Goudy 1990; Kasarda and Janowitz 1974). External forces of land shortage are decreasing the possibility of residents staying in their villages, especially the young. The young are forced to make migration decisions that were not experienced by the older generations, whose land sizes were sufficient for them to stay. This chapter reviews the impact of land shortage on the attitudes of the old and young towards their villages.

LAND SHORTAGE

The population is increasing every year and we can't get on. In the long run, we shan't have enough land for the people. They'll have to move.
The young ones have to move and find somewhere else to live.
Irine, of Marangu

According to village leaders, Mbahe has about 2,400 people, Marangu (the two subsets of the village--Samanga and Sembeti--which I used) has over 3,000 and Chekereni also has around 3,000 people. As the families have been in the villages for many years, each generation divides the land so their children can stay in the area. With an ever growing population, the Chagga villages on the mountain blend together to make it fairly continually farmed on the southeastern slopes of the mountain. The population increase in the Kilimanjaro Region has come to a point where the Regional Authority Secretary (RAS) office in Moshi has advised people to move to areas off the mountain.

“Why fight over land on Kilimanjaro?” Reginald Z. Kombania (2003), a director in that office, asked. “Just move to areas with a lot of land.” He claimed the population of Kilimanjaro increased only slightly from 1988 to 2002 because so many were leaving.

Mrs. Benne (2003), also of the RAS office, said that Kilimanjaro is the most fluid region in Tanzania, according to the 1988 census. The growth rate itself has decreased slightly. In 1988 it was 2.1 and in 2002 was 1.6. There are two reasons for this: too much migration and people are having fewer children (Benne 2003). Table 6.1 below shows that despite the decrease in growth rate, the density of the population is still increasing. The district specific to this research is Moshi Rural, which includes Mbahe, Marangu, and Chekereni villages.

Table 6.1 Population Statistics in the Kilimanjaro Region

District	Land area (sq. km)	1988 Census	Density	2002 Census	Density
Rombo*	1,442	200,859	139.3	246,479	170.9
Mwanga*	2,698	98,260	36.4	115,620	42.9
Same	5,186	170,053	32.8	212,325	40.9
Moshi Rural*	1,713	342,553	200.0	402,431	234.9
Hai*	2,112	200,136	94.8	259,958	123.1
Moshi Urban	58	96,838	1,670.0	144,336	2,488.6

*Mountain districts. Source: RAS Kilimanjaro, Census office

With densities more than 400 people per square kilometer in the Coffee-Banana Belt (where Mbahe and Marangu are located), “people are forced to overuse the land,” according to Mambeya Mshana (2003), an extension worker at Himo Environmental Management Trust Fund (HEMTF). The land that previously supported five people now has to support ten or fifteen people. There is no free land as all of the land is owned. Life is expensive, so people have plant every year to have an income, and use fertilizers to increase their production (Mshana 2003). There is no longer enough land for people to

have large farms that can provide sufficient income and food for their families for a year and some people are forced to look elsewhere for income.

Some women feel that even with the land shortages on Kilimanjaro, they should not have to leave their areas. Mrs. Benne of the RAS said the government had a budget to help people from Kilimanjaro to move to places such as Morogoro (another region of Tanzania) in an effort to alleviate the population pressure. The people who moved, however, got homesick for their villages and returned to Kilimanjaro which shows a strong attachment to their homes (Benne 2003). “Even if [the young] go, [and] are employed somewhere and build their own houses, still they won’t forget where they were born” (Mtui 2003). The government decided to continue encouraging people to move, but not provide them the funding to do so since it was not as successful as they hoped. The people are moving slowly due to the continued land shortage on the mountain (Benne 2003).

When entered into a binary regression, desire to stay or move is significant by age (Table 6.2). Table 6.3 shows the gradual reduction of desire to leave by age. The only people who said they plan to move are under the age of 50 (17 percent of respondents). This follows Fernández and Dillman’s (1979) claim that the youngest age category is the most mobile. Overall, 82 percent want to stay and 14 percent want to move.

Table 6.2 Variables compared to a desire to stay (binary regression)

Variable	Compared to	B	S.E.	df	Significance (2-sided)
Desire to stay or move	Age	-1.239	0.583	1	0.034

Table 6.3 Desire to stay or move by age

	Age			
	18-25	26-40	41-55	56+
Desire to stay	24 (67%)	44 (81%)	44 (96%)	38 (100%)
Desire to move	12 (33%)	10 (19%)	4 (4%)	0
Total	36	54	46	38

Most of the women in this study felt that, for them, moving

is not possible. Like me, if you take me down there, like Himo, I can't survive there. . . . I can't move here and go somewhere else and start a life from the beginning. I'll just stay here and take care of my bananas and my potato and everything here. It is difficult for me now to go somewhere else and start the life from the beginning. I can't. I can't (Eugenia 2003).

The furthest this woman had been from home was approximately 4.3 kilometers (2.7 miles) to the market at the Marangu Mtoni (Eugenia 2003). People are getting by with what they can grow on their limited amounts of land. They have small plots, but that is all the father has to give (Mtui 2003).

The changes occurring in the population are felt at the community level. Nearly all of the women indicated that getting land now is very difficult.

A long time ago it was simple to get the land. You could give a cow or a goat to somebody and he or she can give you land, but now it is not simple. Even if you have 300,000-400,000 [Tanzanian] shillings, you can't get land (Rose 2003).

Three of the four village leaders interviewed acknowledge the scarcity of land for their people.

There is not more land we can get now, yeah, around this area. If somebody needs another land, then he has to go somewhere to dig wheee [making a motion that it is distant] down there and try to get another one. But at present there is not more land. The whole land is possessed by people now (Mtui 2003).

There are too many people in Marangu-Sembeti, and this has led to congestion (Nyangi 2003). "There are too many people and some are getting sick, no enough space. No enough room" (Haika 2003).

Despite this congestion, the Chagga do not like to leave their homes (Rose 2003). "I belong to this land, so we couldn't buy [elsewhere]" (Zahra 2002). The Chagga are not like the Maasai, moving all the time. "They will stay at their home. . . . Usually, the Chagga tribe has the custom of staying where they are, they don't move" (Consolata 2002). Many of the women are older and dislike the thought of having to leave the land and homes they have been on for their entire lives. "My life is here" (Rose 2003).

[It] was where I was born. I don't have anywhere else I can go. Where shall I go? . . . And I'm old now. And I'm enjoying. Maybe the children can say that they can take me there, but I like to live here. I am enjoying living here (Neema 2003).

The young should out-migrate, according to Shikony (2003), but they won't leave. They say they do not have money to establish themselves in a new area. A few women think the young don't like to stay in their villages, though.

They like to go far to find some more income, a better life, and so people are just preferring finding more income, a better life, and so people are just preferring finding money more than living here. So the next generation is changing. And more people will be scattered more than the present generation. . . . I am wishing my grandchildren to move to another place or a town to find more income (Sia 2002).

As the young leave, "they'll go with development. If they get money they'll spend it where they're living, maybe in Morogoro or in other regions, and we won't see them often" (Irine 2003).

Two of the women from Chekereni indicated that they enjoy where they live, but would be willing to move. "I would like to live here if I will get enough money. I would like to get money and buy a piece of *shamba* and build my house and live here for the

rest of my life” (Juliet 2003). Living in town would also be nice in her opinion because she wouldn’t have to pay for transportation and could meet many interesting people. Rehema (2003) enjoys where she lives, but also would be willing to move. “If I got money or a place where I can get much money, I can go to live there. . . . I will move if I can go somewhere that I can [have] development more, but otherwise I will stay living here.” Both of these women were fairly young and are just beginning their families. None of the women on the mountain, in the villages of Marangu and Mbahe, indicated any interest in leaving their villages on any terms.

Finding a good job to support parents

The older women feel it is the responsibility of the young to ensure that they will not have to leave their villages. A grandmother from Mbahe commented on the importance of having her grandchildren close to help her with household and farm chores. "Anything which I want, I just send them and they do it, so it's my happiness and also our happiness." She also felt they help each other as neighbors if one is lacking something or needs help (Mariamu 2002).

If a member of the family gets a good job, the women feel he or she should send money home to support their parents. “I’m living here for the rest of my life until God comes to take me here, who will take me away. I am depending for the children like you to take care of me here and not take me somewhere else” (Upendo 2003).

These grandchildren, when they become grown up and older they should go somewhere to find some income so that they can have a good life and also they can bring assistance to me because they are not able to work so hard, they should go away to find some job and to work hard so that they can get good income and also help for me behind here (Hasina 2002).

All are not responding to this responsibility of taking care of their elder relatives. Several of the older women feel they will not have the care and respect from the young they should have according to tradition.

The life is shaking, differing and is changing every day. So I never know what will happen to them in the future. I don't think love will come because children and sons and grandchildren are staying far away from each other so I don't think they will help each other because it is not possible for people who are far to understand the condition of the other which is in another far place. Because this world now, people are staying far from each other (Matika 2002).

The women feel that despite having to move for economic or land shortage reasons, their children "will come back when they become older or when they retire from their job" (Consolata 2003). A grandmother in Marangu felt that her son "must come here and build a house and have a life here. When he comes here he will stay here and go there [to the city] just to visit and to look on the house" (Mary 2002). As one son in Marangu said, "The cities are no place for the old. They should return to the farms." (Carr 2003c)

COMMUNITY CHANGES

Some of the women feel outside influences are making people less caring than they should be of their family and neighbors.

In previous time there was good cooperation with neighbors, with people, because people were respecting each other, people had discipline. And people were visiting each other, talking about life or helping each other (Mwanaisi 2002).

Haika (2003) believes that social ties are now based more on an individual level. "Some are very jealous. Some are very kind. Some are thieves. Some they don't want even to work. . . . It depend from age to age. It depend." This has changed over time. In previous times "jealousy was totally absent and neighbors were cooperating and were assisting each other" (Mariamu 2002). This jealousy has torn some of the community ties.

[People] don't need each other. They fight each other due to jealousy. If someone gets something then they're not happy. They can do any means of fighting that she won't get that thing. Yeah, it is our problem in Chekereni (Annaele 2003).

The increased use of money has acerbated this jealousy, as well as changed the views of many of the younger generation. "So the whole people are not the same. I think maybe a few of them, some of them have knowledge to struggle and get something but some of them they don't know how to do" (Ritha 2003).

In the previous time the parents were very strong and had very strong decisions to their children. But also there is money so people prefer money more than humanity. People see money is better than humanity (Matika 2002).

Within the community, one woman feels that if she has any problems, she can ask those around her to help. On the whole, however, "I don't depend on somebody else, just Jesus Christ. . . . I just thank Jesus Christ [that I] got my land and the *shamba*" (Rose 2003). Frequently, the women commented that people are becoming less friendly and concern themselves more with the issues of their own households. Each must struggle for his or her own life and family.

"Everyone lives themselves in their homes and their own business. When you get up in the morning, you take breakfast and go to the *shamba* and doing this and that. The children go to school. Everyone is going to struggle for their lives and at the end of the day they return home to their house. If you don't struggle, my dear, you will sink!!"

"Really, you will sink?" my translator asked.

"Yeah! You will sink!" (Neema 2003)

In addition to the changes within the communities, the Chagga traditions are shifting. This is due, according to many, to education, as well as interaction with those of other tribes and foreigners who come to the mountain as tourists.

Now, the old people who are normally [the] people who [are] maintaining the traditional ways and [the] value[s] of the tribe are going. They are going naturally. . . . They are dying. So, what [are] remaining are the young people. . . . Now, you find because of education, life changes. They never maintain the real traditional

ways of living according to the situation now. So, the Chagga values and traditions keep on changing, but slowly. Just because of life changes and interference from other people (Meikasi 2003).

The specific tradition of bringing gifts to your family and friends has changed. It is customary to give gifts to your friends, as I saw often with the avocados, bananas, Fanta soft drinks, papaya, maize, cassava and sugar cane given to me. The reduction of gift-giving is linked, in the opinions of some, to the reduced care and respect given to others.

"The love between neighbors has disappeared totally. Everybody with his own life, everybody cares for his or her own life now. . . . For example, even now we may be passing on the road and then we meet the daughter of somebody or a neighbor. Then the daughter or the son doesn't decide to greet the old man. They can even push you and you fall down on the bushes. People in previous time, they had a good times greeting each other, maybe the son coming from the safari or some journey or was working somewhere, comes and greets neighbors, bringing gifts" (Rebekah 2002).

In the midst of these changing feelings and traditions, there appear to be divisions as to whether the change has been good. The people still delight to hear themselves greeted in the Chagga language, although it is mostly the older generation who speak in Chagga among themselves. John Shikony (2003) said, "I fear the [Chagga] tradition is becoming lower and lower." The young do not know their mother tongue, he feels, and in the long run, they will not speak Chagga properly. They will only speak Swahili.

Despite the strong value placed on education, some feel this is the means by which many of the traditions are changing. The students see more of what people do in the world around them and want to imitate them (e.g., women wearing trousers instead of *kanga* skirts). "They are learned" and feel they should go out and share that with people around the country who did not have that education. (Makweta 2003).

Some of the Chagga traditions are changed to match the new circumstances or Christianity, while various rituals are abandoned. A young woman in Marangu did not go through the traditional bridal preparations when she married, because she did not have time to do so; she had to work. She thinks it is good for her tribe to lose some of their culture and tradition because they hold back the country from development (Kacher 2002). The Principal at the Marangu Teacher's College feels that traditions such as mother languages and tribal dances are being lost, which is sad. In his opinion, however, some traditions are good to lose (Israel 2002).

A few of the women do not have a problem with the Westernization of Kilimanjaro. They feel the development that came with the foreign influence has improved their villages.

People have also built good houses, modern houses than when I moved here. Ways of communication have improved. Also, there's electricity. They, as I said communication, telephone and also roads, paths. And also, people have got of maybe cars, land rovers, and if we harvest our maize from Himo, bringing the harvest home, the product home, it is easier than when I got married (Irine 2003).

The changes can be seen as strengths to the region. "Now, for example, if someone gave you a cow, would you despise him? If somebody gives you development, you can't despise him" (Rose 2003). It can be very helpful to learn from other cultures. The foreigners and educators are "the people that have money and knowledge and they can help others, I mean like here in Tanzania, to stand strong" (Neema 2003).

CONCLUSION

The shortage of land on Kilimanjaro is forcing many of the younger generation to out-migrate. They appear the most willing of the age groups to leave their villages. The older women are able to stay in their villages because of their control of land, and so feel

more security. They do not have to face the land shortage issues as much as the young do. Most of the women were content to rely on their children to provide any extra income their families may be in need of. Only two of the fifteen women interviewed expressed any interest in leaving their village, and they were both young and would only leave provided they would have more land and income for their families.

As some of the traditions are changing for the Chagga women, they are forced to adapt to the new circumstances and reevaluate their attachment to their land. Traditional social ties between young and old are changing as the young imitate more Western ideas. This causes the attachment to imitate Western ideas, as well, with the older women feeling more strongly about their communities than the young.

Chapter 7

CONCLUSION

INTRODUCTION

This thesis compared the feelings of attachment of Chagga women in three villages along the slopes of Mt. Kilimanjaro, Tanzania, to the systemic model, based on Western community attachment. The systemic model claims that length of residence is the dominant factor leading people to social ties, which then lead to community attachment. Social status and stage in life cycle are additional factors that contribute to stronger community sentiment. The Chagga women have a profound sense of attachment to their lands and communities. The 2002 survey found that 84 percent of women respondents desire to stay on the mountain. Their attachment, however, does not wholly follow the systemic model of community attachment. Their strong attachment comes almost completely from a sense of duty and responsibility towards their heritage and current family. This chapter is divided into the three main factors of the systemic model and explains how family is the common variable in each of the ways the Chagga are attached to their lands and communities.

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

The results of the 2002 survey show that residents of Chekereni have been in their village for shorter amounts of time overall than residents of Marangu-Sembeti and Mbahe. In each of the villages, there is a strong desire to stay. Longer length of residence, according to the systemic model, should enhance their community sentiment. It does not appear, however, that the residents need to live in the villages long before they have strong social ties. This is apparent in the case of Chekereni, with the shortest length of

residence overall, yet more adults known. They do have fewer relatives nearby than residents of Marangu-Sembeti and Mbahe, however.

The Chagga women have ties to their ancestors which give them a sense of obligation to stay on their land. Knowing where they come from gives the children a sense of identity that the women feel is important. The women also have many family members dependent on them for food and support. They feel their villages are in good locations, with access to markets and business opportunities. They will not sell their land, as it must stay within their families. They treat their land like it is entrusted to them for their time only and must pass to the next generation in their family. It is the responsibility of family members to ensure the welfare of others around them.

In this case, overall, length of residence is not as important to lead to the social ties that give the Chagga women attachment to their lands and communities. If the land is sufficient to provide food and income for their families, as well as connections to their heritage, the women have strong positive sentiment towards it and their communities.

SOCIAL STATUS

Social status is the second aspect of the systemic model which leads to attachment. Land is very important to the Chagga and was historically distributed by tribal chiefs to clan fathers. The women in this study have control and responsibility over their lands, contrary to most of the women in their villages (the survey found only six percent of heads of households were women). In their case, things such as having land to provide for their children, as well as access to extra family income, are major concerns for the women and others on the mountain and impact their attachment to their land.

The women of the Kilimanjaro Region are slowly gaining more respect from the Chagga tribe as a whole. Improved social status, both by land control and in social positions, gives women more command over their resources. They are more educated, have religion more centrally in their lives, and some have control over the resources and management of their *shambas*. Currently, there is an overall feeling of community and family within the villages. There is a strong attachment among the village members to each other and a desire to improve the lives of others. Some women are using their skills to educate family members and other women and men. They are each contributing in their own ways to their communities and are integral in the subsistence and cash economy.

Women own or control their land for various reasons and feel very dependent on it for their livelihoods. Occupation is also an important variable in feelings of attachment, and in this case the reliance on the land may be another reason people desire to stay on their land. The women with control of land enjoy living on it because it serves as provider for them and their families. In many cases, the land is still hoed and cared for by hand, giving the women daily physical interaction with their land. In addition, the women involve their children in farming and give them continual interaction with the land as well.

As the cost of living increases, many women find additional ways to supplement their family income. Mt. Kilimanjaro is a center of tourism and brings income for the people by providing jobs and a market for their products. They work in small businesses as well as raise animals. The income and tourist interest in their villages helps women afford to stay on their lands and in their villages.

In summary, increased education gives Chagga women more interaction with people of their age groups and involvement in religious groups gives them more interaction with fellow village members. The overall social status of women is slowly improving, but most of the women continue in agricultural occupations. The social status of the women, therefore, is influential in providing them with increased social ties. This, along with their dependence on their farms for income, may in part explain the attachment of these women to their communities and lands.

STAGE IN LIFE CYCLE (AGE)

The survey shows age is the dominant factor influencing respondents desire to move or stay. No respondents over the age of 45 said they plan to move. As they age, Chagga women do not want to start a new life away from their family and must stay there. They prefer to stay in their homes they or their parents have built over the course of their lives. Only two women interviewed showed any interest in leaving.

Land shortage is a growing problem on Mount Kilimanjaro and is a push factor for migration because the young will not have enough land. Many residents desire to stay on the mountain, even if the division of land through inheritance means they have to live on small farms; they are unwilling to sell their land and start a life elsewhere. Some even feel it is impossible to do so. The attachment women feel is evident in their efforts to remain on their land, despite the obstacles that land shortage has brought to them.

Women of all ages feel that even with the land shortages, they should not have to leave their areas. A number of people moved from the Kilimanjaro Region during a government effort to alleviate the population pressure. The people who moved, however,

got homesick for their villages and relatives and returned to Kilimanjaro which shows a strong attachment to their homes.

The young are expected to help their older relatives and neighbors financially so they will not have to leave their lands. They, as a people, are adjusting their traditions to include outside ideas, but they try to keep as many aspects of the traditions as possible.

Overall, the Chagga women are saddened that their native language and dances are slowly disappearing. The Chagga are changing, according to some. They are increasingly more reliant on money, which leads them to change their traditions and actions towards others. These community changes show that although the ties within the community and the family appear strong at present, many fear they will not continue in this manner with the next generation. As more women rely more on their selves rather than the help of their neighbors, the bonds of community and family may loosen. If this happens, the attachment of the Chagga women to the land may loosen as well.

FUTURE RESEARCH

The culture and traditions on Mount Kilimanjaro are slowly changing, and their love and respect for their land may change as well. Future research into community and land attachment may show how the present young generation has responded to these changes. This thesis can be beneficial as an analysis of current situations on the mountain for Chagga women in particular.

CONCLUSION

As the traditions on Mount Kilimanjaro change to fit the current world situation, there remains a strong connection of the people to their land and communities. The women who control land interviewed for this research vary in age, income, education,

length of residence in the villages, and reasons for controlling the land. They all, however, share the African tradition of opening their arms, as well as homes, to family and friends.

The core findings of this thesis is that based on the interviews, surveys, and observations of 2002 and 2003, the systemic model only partially applies in the three villages on Mount Kilimanjaro. First, social ties within the villages occur quickly, regardless of the length of residence of the individual. They treat neighbors as family members, as a part of their culture. Second, the women feel strongly about their homes and communities regardless of income. Their overall social status due to the increase in their education gives them more social interaction which may be a cause for their social attachment. Their occupations in agriculture, however, lead them to be more connected to their farms than their communities. Finally, older women are more attached to their communities and land than the young. External factors of land shortages, as well as outside influences, are causing more of the young Chagga to feel less of an attachment to their communities. These influences cause the women to feel the younger generation will not take care of their families and neighbors as well as they are expected to traditionally.

Overall, I found the dominant theme of attachment was the familial connection the women have to the land and their communities, both by its connections to heritage and the future welfare of families. In their case, the systemic model does not directly apply. In each of the three factors of the systemic model, length of residence, social status, and age, their attachment was coupled with the strong sentiment they have for their families. Other factors that have influenced their attachment are out-migration due to land shortage, the agricultural nature of their occupations, and their emphasis on

location as a reason for attachment. As the communities rely more and more on a cash economy and their plot sizes decrease, however, they may depend less on their land.

Alexandar McCall Smith (2001, 144) writes

One day people would no longer [farm the land]; they would no longer go out to the lands for the planting, and they would buy their food in stores, as people did in town. But what a loss for the country that would be; what friendship, solidarity, and feeling for the land would be sacrificed if that were to happen.

Current ties of families to their land are strong and may be able to withstand the changes. For now, there is hope that future generations will respect their lands as their mothers do and echo their feelings of dependence, dedication, friendship, solidarity, and feeling for it.

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Appendix 1: Interview guide for women who own or control land.

Your participation in this interview is voluntary and we can stop at any time if you feel uncomfortable. We will not use your name in our report

NAME

AGE

SHAMBA QUESTIONS

- How often do you work in your *shamba*? Do you enjoy it? Why?
- Do you plant in your *shamba* every year? What do you plant?
- How long have you (alone) taken care of your *shamba*?
- Is the environment here good for your *shamba*? (soil, sunshine)
- Is there enough water for the *shamba*?
- Is there a good market to sell the goods of your *shamba*? How has this changed?
- How many people in your family use this *shamba* to get food?
- Are there sources of income other than your *shamba* that you have? (shops, animals, KINAPA)
- How did your family originally get the land?
- How did you get your land? (Since husband died, inherited or bought it, husband works elsewhere)
- How is the way you got your land different from the way land is usually passed on?
- Under what circumstances, if any, would you sell your land?
- Who will inherit your land? Will it be divided?

COMMUNITY QUESTIONS

- Were you raised in this village? If not, when did you come and why?
- Do you have family members living nearby? Do you interact with them frequently?
- How do the people in your village treat each other?
- What changes have you seen in your village since you were a child, or first moved here? What is the same?
- How do most of the people in your village earn a living?
- Has the Kilimanjaro National Park impacted your access to resources? Has it helped your community?
- Do you think there too many people living on the mountain now? What have people had to do? (move away, not enough land, villages increasing, find other income)
- How does out-migration affect your village? (young leaving, men going, etc.)
- What do you think your role is, as a woman, in your community?
- Is there a society for women in your village? What are the society's goals?
- Do you enjoy living in this village? Why?
- Do you think the people in your village are influenced by the culture of America and Europe? Are they changing? How?
- Please explain some traditions of your tribe.

Appendix 2: Questions for in-depth interviews with grandmothers

We are university students from America. We are studying this area to learn how people use the land, how people feel about their communities and villages, and how they feel about conserving the environment. One thing we have found very interesting here is the roles grandmothers play in raising their grandchildren. We think that the caring and nurturing the grandmothers do is very important for their families and neighborhoods. We hope you can tell us about how the things you do help your families and neighborhoods.

Please tell us a little about yourself.

How many children do you care for? What are their relations to you? How long have you cared for them?

Why are you caring for these children? (Serendipity/Happenstance or Cultural Structure?)

Talk about the things that you enjoy in caring for these children.

Talk about the things that are difficult.

How does your caring for these children help your family? Your neighborhood and community?

What kinds of connections to the family/community/land do the children you care for develop that other grandchildren might not?

Do you think that your children will care for their grandchildren like you? Why or why not?

What things will be different for the next generation in raising their children? Why?

What things do you think will be different for the neighborhoods of the next generation? Why?

always probe for Experiences with the hypothesis that attitudes and opinions are based in, or evolve from, life experiences

Appendix 3: KILIMANJARO SURVEY-Summer 2002
HOUSEHOLD DATA (Group or "Pot" section)

No. _____

Date of Interview: _____ Respondent(s): _____

Family Name(s) _____ Owner/Head of Household: FEMALE
 MALE BOTH

How much of the year is the owner/head of household absent?
 ALL OR MOST MORE THAN HALF HALF LESS THAN HALF NOT
 OFTEN ABSENT

Who manages the household day to day? FEMALE MALE BOTH

Do you have more than one wife: YES NO USED TO If yes, how many? _____

House Location(s): _____ S _____ E _____
 Elev. _____

Village: Chekereni Sembeti Samanga Mbahe Other: _____

House Structure(s): ___Mud ___Wood ___Brick ___Concrete___Other

Plot size at House(s) _____ acres/hectares (circle one)

Plot in family for _____ generations?

How did family obtain the plot?

How did you obtain the plot?

Number of people in household for most of the year, (include age):

Husband/wife	Sons/Grandsons	Daughters/Granddaughters	Househelp	Others (Specify):

Children with Mother absent from area for much of YEAR--only for those 12 and under

Age	Sex	Mother Status			Father Status		Child cared for by whom (Be specific)
		Months absent	*Location	**Activity	Location	Activity	

*Location: 1= Northern Zone (Kilimanjaro, Arusha, Tanga, Manyara), 2=Central Zone (Dodoma, Singida, Tabora), 3=East Coastal Zone (Morogoro, Dar Es Salaam, Pwani, Mtwara, Lindi, Zanzibar), 4=Southwest Mainland Zone (Mbeya, Iringa, Rukwa, Ruvuma), 5=Western Zone (Shinyanga, Kigoma, Kagera, Mwanza), 6=Out of Tanzania (specify)

**Activity: 1=Job, 2=Education, 3=Dead, 4=Other

Children with absent Mother most of DAY

Age	Sex	Part of day absent	Mother Activity	Child cared for by whom
		½ ¾ all		
		½ ¾ all		

Individual Interview (Only Household members over 18)

*Write any answer too long for space provided, with accompanying number, on back or attached sheet

SECTION I: GENERAL INFORMATION

No. _____ Date of Interview: _____

1. Respondent's name: _____

2. Sex: M F 3. Age: _____ 4. Where were you born? _____

5. Where were you raised? (First 12 years)

6. Marital Status: [single] [married-lives w/spouse] [married-spouse elsewhere] [divorced/separated]
[widowed]

7. Spouse's name(s): _____

8. What is/are your spouse's occupation(s)?

9. How many years have you lived in this village? _____

10. How much education have you completed?
[none] [adult education] [primary I-IV] [primary V-VII] [secondary I-IV]
[secondary V-VII] [other (specify)]:

11. How are you related to the head of this household (specify if owner)?

12. How do you earn most of your money?
[Agriculture] [Livestock] [Tourism job] [Own business]
[Work for wage] [Other (specify)]:

13. Where do you get most of your food?
[Buy at market] [Grow/raise yourself] [Family provides] [Other (specify)]:

14. How much of your day do you spend working to grow food/raise animals for food?
[All] [Most] [About Half] [A few hours] [Very little] [None]

15. Do you own other land? (acres/hectares) _____ 16. Where is your land? (place and distance)

17. How did you get this land? When?

18. How much land does/did your father own? Where is/was it?

19. How much land does/did your grandfather own? Where is/was it?

20. Do you expect to inherit more land? YES NO MAYBE
21. Where? _____ How much? _____ From whom?

22. Who will inherit your land from you? [Name and relation]: _____
23. Do you plan to sell your land? YES NO MAYBE 24. Why?
25. Would you allow a daughter to inherit your land? YES NO 26. Why or why not?
27. How much land do you rent? (acres/hectares) _____
28. Where is the land you rent located? _____
29. How do you get water for your land?
[rain] [irrigation] [rivers/streams] [well] [piped water]
30. Are you able to get enough water? YES NO If not, why not?
31. What do you do when you can't get enough water?
32. How many animals do you own?
Pigs_____ Cows_____ Chickens_____ Goats_____
Sheep_____ Ducks _____ Other _____
33. Do you have other sources of income (specify)?

SECTION II: COMMUNITY ATTACHMENT QUESTIONS

34. Where was your spouse born? _____

35. Raised? _____

36. Approximately how many of your adult relatives, including those of your spouse, live in this village? _____

37. How many of the adults in this village would you say that you know by name?
[All] [Most] [About half] [Less than half] [Very few]

**Now, we want to ask you some questions about how you like living in this village. We will use a scale that looks like this [show the first card]. It has five numbers. The number 1 represents the bottom end of the scale and the number 5 represents the top. For example, if 1 represented terrible and 5 represented fantastic, a response of 2 would be closer to terrible but not totally terrible and a response of 3 would be neutral.

38. On a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being bad and 5 being very good, how well do you feel that you fit into your village? [SHOW SCALE CARD]

VERY BAD	BAD	NEITHER GOOD NOR BAD	GOOD
VERY GOOD			
[01]	[02]	[03]	[04]
[05]			
NO ANSWER			

39. Imagine the perfect village where you would like to live. On a scale from 1 to 5, with 1 being farthest from your perfect village and 5 being closest, where would your village be? [SHOW SCALE CARD]

VERY FAR	FAR	A LITTLE FAR	CLOSE	VERY CLOSE
[01]	[02]	[03]	[04]	[05]
				NO ANSWER

40. Why did you rate your village the way you did? [PROBE: WHAT'S GOOD OR MISSING IN THE COMMUNITY, Note if not applicable or no answer.]

41. Over the past 5 years would you say that your village has become MORE or LESS desirable as a place to live or has it stayed about the same?

LESS DESIRABLE ABOUT THE SAME MORE DESIRABLE NO ANSWER

42. Why is your village [MORE OR LESS DESIRABLE] compared to 5 years ago? [PROBE: WHAT HAS CHANGED OR NOT CHANGED DURING THE PAST 5 YEARS.]

43. Do you plan to live in your village long-term or do you have plans to move? STAY MOVE

44. If you had the means to move, would you stay in your village or move? STAY MOVE

45. Why do you want to stay here/move?

SECTION III: CONSERVATION ATTITUDES/PROGRAM KNOWLEDGE

46. On a scale from 1 to 5, with 1 being very unimportant and 5 being very important, how important do you think it is to have formal/government protection for wildlife and nature, for example in national parks?

VERY UNIMPORTANT UNIMPORTANT NEUTRAL IMPORTANT VERY IMPORTANT
[1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [No
answer]

47. Why do you think this way about formal protection of wildlife and nature? [What specific things do they like or dislike about formal/government protection?]

48. Have you ever been in KNPFR? YES NO If yes, How many times? _____

49. With whom did you go? ___Family ___School ___Other?_____

50. Why did you go? (Mbahe: official entry?)_____

51. What do you think is the purpose of KNPFR?

52. How would you feel if KNPFR were abolished? Why?

53. Who benefits from KNPFR?

54. Have you ever heard of the Kilimanjaro National Park “Ujirani mwema” outreach program?
YES NO

[If yes, when was that (year)?]

55. Do you know its main objectives? YES NO 56. If yes, mention the program’s objectives

57. Has there ever been a “Ujirani mwema” project in your village? YESNO 58. When? What was it?

59. What is your opinion of the “Ujirani mwema” program? (PROBE if they have suggestions or experiences)

60. Have you ever been to any other Tanzania National Park? YES NO

61. If yes, which one(s)?

62. With whom did you go? ___Family ___School ___Other?

63. Why did you go?

CONCLUSION

Do you have anything else you would like to tell us?