

**THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACT OF THE INTRODUCTION OF SISAL
PRODUCTION IN SAME DISTRICT, KILIMANJARO REGION: 1890 – 1967**

KARIGO S. KIHOKO

**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
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2025

CERTIFICATION

The undersigned certify that they have read and hereby recommend for acceptance by The Open University of Tanzania a dissertation entitled; **“The Socio-Economic Impact of the Introduction of Sisal Production in Same District, Tanzania: 1890 – 1967”**, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in History of The Open University of Tanzania.



.....

Dr. Neville Z. Reuben

(1st Supervisor)

4th July 2024

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Date

.....

Dr. Jacob Lisakafu

(2nd Supervisor)

.....

Date

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I, **Karigo S. Kihoko**, declare that the work presented in this dissertation is original. It has never been presented to any other University or Institution. Where other people's works have been used, references have been provided. It is in this regard that I declare this work as original mine. It is hereby presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in History of The Open University of Tanzania.

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Signature

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Date

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my late father, Stephano Kihoko, my mother, Ruth Kihoko, and my daughter, Ruth Karigo, whose sacrifices and unwavering support have been instrumental in my educational journey. The academic achievements I have attained thus far, and the progress in my career, are the direct result of the strong foundation they have provided.

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ABSTRACT

This study has examined the Socio-Economic Impact of the Introduction of Sisal Production in Same District, Kilimanjaro Region, between 1890 and 1967. First of all, the study sought to underpin the socio-economic impact of pre-colonial economy in Same District. Thereafter, it analysed the methods used to introduce colonial economy in general and sisal production in particular in Same District from 1890. Finally, the study explored the socio-economic impact of the introduction of colonial economy and sisal production in Same District between 1890 and 1967. Relevant information and data were collected from archival research, oral interviews as well as secondary sources. Using the principles of qualitative research, collected information and data were analyzed thematically in accordance with the research objectives. Findings show that before the establishment of the colonial economy and introduction of sisal plantations in Same District, the local people were engaged in a subsistence economy based on equal exchange. The establishment of the colonial economy through land alienation without compensation; taxation without representation; and use of forced and migrant labour in cash crop production without value addition, significantly undermined the Socio-Economic Status (SES) of the pre-colonial society in Same District and the entire country. In the case of sisal, the government has made deliberate efforts after independence to transform the sisal industry by adding value to the crop. During the colonial period, sisal was exploited mostly for its fibre (white gold). However, sisal fibre, constitutes only a minute fraction (about 2%) of the total value of the “green gold”. Besides other valuable products, biogas, electricity and animal feeds are presently generated from sisal waste.

Keywords: *Socio - Economic, Socio-Economic Impact, Sisal Production.*

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DAS	District Administrative Secretary
DOAG	Deutsch - Ostafrikanischer Gesellschaft
MeTL	Mohamed Enterprises Tanzania Limited
OUT	Open University of Tanzania
RAS	Regional Administrative Secretary
SECAP	Soil Erosion Control and A forestation Project
SES	Socio - Economic Status
SILABU	Sisal Labour Bureau
TSGA	Tanganyika Sisal Growers' Association
TPA	Tanga Planters' Association
TAZARA	Tanzania and Zambia Railway Authority
TNA	Tanzania National Archives
TNR	Tanganyika Notes and Records
TSA	Tanzania Sisal Authority
TSB	Tanzania Sisal Board
UDSM	University of Dares salaam
WWI	World War One
WWII	World War Two

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses introduction to the problem, the statement of the problem, the general and specific objectives of the study, the research questions, the significance and scope of the study. This study aims at examining the socio – economic impact of the introduction of sisal production in Same District, Kilimanjaro Region. The study covers the period between 1890 and 1967. This chapter discusses the background to the problem, the statement of the problem, the general and specific objectives of the study, the research questions, the significance, scope of the study and organization of the dissertation.

1.2 Background to the Problem

Same District is one of the seven Districts constituting Kilimanjaro Region. Others are Siha, Hai, Moshi Rural, Moshi Urban, Rombo and Mwanga (Figure 3.1).

Long before German conquest in 1885, the pre-colonial societies in German East Africa (Appendix 1) were engaged in different economic activities including fishing, pastoral activities, subsistence agriculture and trade. In other words, most of these societies had already been transformed from primitive communal into peasantry/feudal societies. Besides producing food crops for both subsistence needs and the market, they were also involved in the collection of forest products particularly rubber, honey and beeswax for example, wild rubber and beeswax were mainly collected in areas

like Tabora, Mwanza, Kilimanjaro, Ruvuma, Mtwara and Lindi (Iliffe, 1979: 98 – 102).

The process of integrating African peasants into the colonial economy in German East Africa took place in three main stages. First, the stage of trading activities from 1885 to 1895. Secondly, the stage of establishing plantation and settler agriculture from 1895 to 1905. Thirdly, the stage of establishing agricultural commodity production by smallholder indigenous African producers/peasants from 1905 to 1918 (Mpangala, 2000:12). The Germans introduced large sisal plantations in Same District after realizing that the soils along its lowlands were most suitable for sisal production. Traditionally, these were the areas where seasonal crops particularly cereals were produced. Furthermore, these were also the grazing areas for cattle, sheep, goats and other stocks. Consequently, local farming and livelihoods in general started to deteriorate, because the traditional way of subsistence farming was abandoned resulting in deforestation, overgrazing, the degradation of hilltops and steep slopes. People started to rely more and more on limited income as labourers in cash crop production. They cleared natural forests to increase production of sisal and food crops like maize and Irish potatoes which were required in the plantations (Conte: 2004:108).

Plantations were established in various places in Same (Giblin, 2005:100). By the 1890s sisal plantations had been established by the colonialists in various parts of Same District and Kilimanjaro Region (Iliffe, 1979:126). Furthermore, in 1892 many sisal plantations were established in other areas in Tanganyika, including Tanga and Morogoro. In Same District in particular, about 5 plantations were established (Giblin,

2005:100). In 1899, many areas within different villages were assigned to start sisal plantations and recruit labour (Ibid). Exports of plantation products like sisal, coffee and cotton increased because of the presence of many colonial plantations. In 1936, cotton exports comprised 11,600 tons. Records show that in 1939, sisal exports comprised 93,000 tons and coffee exports 16,500 tons. In 1928, more sisal plantations were encouraged in various areas in Tanganyika like Kilimanjaro and Morogoro (Ibid: 76). Many hectares of valuable land were alienated from the local people without compensation and appropriated for free to the white planters by the colonial state. Chiefs were forced by the district office to make an agreement with village elders over the number of labourers they had to deliver to the plantations. Colonialism led to the imposition of taxes such as a hut tax, head tax and poll tax in African colonies (Bermsn & Lonsdale, 1992:102). These taxes which were imposed without representation were aimed at ensuring a constant supply of labour to the plantations.

However, as the products from the plantations were marketed on the basis of unequal exchange as agricultural raw - materials without value addition, there was no way the local people could continue to reap significant value from their land and labour as was the case during the pre – colonial period (Shio, 1977:2). This disturbed the local system of production because people were integrated into the new capitalist economy for super – exploitation of their resources including labour power (Ibid).

The African perspective that the colonial economy in general and sisal production in this case, had a negative socio – economic impact on local societies, is challenged by a colonial perspective. According to the latter, sisal was produced during the German

administration and the British administration and was the colony's largest export highly prized for use in cordage and carpets worldwide. At the time of Independence in 1961, Tanzania was the largest exporter of Sisal (green gold) in the World and the industry employed over 1 million farmers and factory workers. Sisal production began to decline after Independence due to the drop in World prices as synthetic nylon substitutes became more popular. The nationalization of the estates during Ujamaa and the mismanagement of the estates further dropped sisal fibre production in the country (Sisal production in Tanzania in www.google.co/tz visited on 8th June 2021).

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Different studies have been conducted on the economic, political and social impact of colonialism for local people in Africa (Conte, 2004: 60; Feierman, 1990; Koponen, 1994:12, 29; Giblin: 2005:20). However, they have not underpinned the socio – economic impact of the introduction of sisal production to the surrounding communities. Besides concentrating on political and environmental issues within the colonial perspective of German and British policies and policy makers, they tend to neglect the African perspective. For example, it is argued; “production of sisal fibre began to decline after Independence partly due to nationalization of the estates during Ujamaa and the mismanagement of the estates” (Sisal production in Tanzania in www.google.co/tz visited on 8th June 2021). To resolve development challenges in post – colonial Africa, the need for the resurgence of colonialism has been mooted; “. . . the notion that colonialism is always and everywhere a bad thing needs to be rethought in light of the grave human toll of a century of anti – colonial regimes and policies” (Gilley, 2017).

“Every people have shown a capacity for independently increasing their ability to live a more satisfactory life through exploiting the resources of nature” (Rodney, 1972:11). Within this African perspective, the challenges of development in Africa are traced from unfair trade relations (unequal exchange) which ensured the transfer of wealth from Africa to Europe from the late 15th Century (Ibid: 84 – 85). Certainly, such relations of unequal exchange did not come to an end with the rise of Independence. Within this African perspective, this study attempts to resolve the problem within the context of a comprehensive study of the socio – economic impact of the introduction of sisal production in Same District, Kilimanjaro Region, between 1890 and 1967.

1.4 Research Objectives

1.4.1 General Research Objective

This study aims at finding out the nature of the socio – economic impact of the introduction of sisal production in Same District, Kilimanjaro Region, between 1890 and 1967.

1.4.2 Specific Research Objectives

This study has the following specific objectives:

- i) To show the socio – economic impact of pre-colonial economic activities in Same District.
- ii) To explain the process of the introduction of sisal production and colonial plantation economy in Same District.
- iii) To demonstrate the nature of the socio – economic impact of the introduction of

sisal production and colonial plantation economy in Same District, between 1890 and 1967.

1.5 Research Questions

The following questions guided the study:

- i) What was the socio-economic impact of the pre-colonial economy in the Same District?
- ii) Which socio-economic changes were engendered by introducing sisal production and colonial plantation economy in the Same District?
- iii) What were the socio-economic consequences of introducing sisal production and colonial plantation economy in the Same District?

1.6 Significance of the Study

In recent times, we have experienced a resurgence of colonial/imperialist historiographical works. As already noted, an author who subscribes to this decadent school of African History has remarked “. . . the notion that colonialism is always and everywhere a bad thing needs to be rethought in light of the grave human toll of a century of anti-colonial regimes and policies”. In a way, ahistorical claims like “production of sisal fibre began to decline after Independence partly due to nationalization of the estates during Ujamaa and the mismanagement of the estates”, tend to validate and reinforce the erroneous foundations of the resurgence of colonial/imperialist historiographical works.

It is hoped that this study will constitute a modest but significant contribution in enlightening the masses in general and scholars in particular on the challenges and

achievements of the post-colonial state in Tanzania in putting the country on a correct path of socio-economic transformation.

1.7 Scope of the Study

The study focused on the socio-economic impact of the introduction of sisal production and the colonial plantation economy in the Same District from 1890 to 1967. This timeframe was chosen because it covered the period when colonialism was introduced. Meanwhile, the year 1967 was quite historic. It marks the date of the promulgation of the Arusha Declaration and the policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance. The same District was selected because it was among the first areas where sisal plantations and a plantation colonial economy were established in Tanzania in general and Kilimanjaro Region in particular. As is apparent from Table 1.1 below, in terms of land area, Same and Mwanga Districts constitute about 60% of the total land area of Kilimanjaro Region.

Table 1.1: Land area and administrative units in Kilimanjaro Region: 1998

District	Land Area (Sq. Kms)	Administrative Units		
		Divisions	Wards	Villages
Hai	2,112	4	11	65
Rombo	1,442	5	20	57
Mwanga	2,698	5	16	58
Same	5,186	6	24	72
Moshi Urban	58	2	16	-
Moshi Rural	1,713	4	27	150
Total	13,209	26	114	402

Source: URT (1998). *Kilimanjaro Region Socio – Economic Profile*. Planning Commission and Regional Commissioner’s Office; page 2.

1.8 Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation is divided into six chapters. Chapter 1 is discussing the background to the study, the statement of the problem, the general and specific objectives of the study, the research questions, the significance and scope of the study. Chapter 2 has focused on a review of existing literature related to the study. It consists of the following sections; conceptual definitions, theoretical review; empirical review of specific objectives; synthesis, research gap and conceptual framework. Chapter 3 presents research design and approach, research paradigm, study area, sample and sample size, and sampling procedures. Moreover, this chapter highlights data collection methods, data analysis plan and ethical considerations. Chapter 4 presents findings of the study. Chapter 5 discusses the findings of the study. Finally, Chapter 6 conclusions and recommendations related to the study.

1.9 Summary

The chapter has discussed introduction to the problem, the statement of the problem, the general and specific objectives of the study, the research questions, the significance and scope of the study. Furthermore, it has discussed the organization of the dissertation. The following chapter will deal with literature review related to this study on the socio – economic impact of the introduction of sisal production in Same District, Kilimanjaro Region, between 1890 and 1967.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents literature review related to the study. It has the following sections: conceptual definitions, theoretical review; empirical review of specific objectives; synthesis, research gap and conceptual framework.

2.2 Definition of Key Terms

It is worthwhile to discuss briefly the key terms/words that will be used in this study. They include socio-economic impact, sisal production and Same District. Similarly, it is essential to justify the study period; 1890 – 1967.

Socio- Economic: This focuses on the relationship between social behaviour and economics. Furthermore, the concept also refers as an interplay between social processes and different economic activities within society (Adler and Snibbe, 2003).

Socio-Economic Impact: The influence of socio – economic factors like vocation/occupation/work, education, income and shelter in one’s life. These are crucial factors as they determine the level of one’s Socio-Economic Status (SES) or level of standard of living. It is argued that SES has significant influence on morbidity and mortality. Those with high levels of SES have greater access to health knowledge, better housing and nutrition, better health care, social and political security (Ibid). Within the context of a historical perspective, the study attempted to demonstrate how the introduction of sisal production and colonial plantation economy in Same District

facilitated/obstructed local people's access to better vocation/occupation/work, education, income and shelter, hence, to health knowledge, better housing and nutrition, better health care, social and political security.

Sisal production: Sisal (*Agave sisalana*) is a plant species of *Agave* that is indigenous to the Southern Region of Mexico, Yucatan. Originally, the Aztec and Mayan Red Indians used sisal for the production of crude fabrics and paper. By the 19th Century, sisal cultivation and production of sisal fibre had spread to the Caribbean Islands, USA (Florida), Asia, Brazil and Africa (mostly Tanzania and Kenya). The sisal fibre is strong and durable, resistant to deterioration in salt water and environmentally friendly. For these reasons, it is traditionally used for the production of twine for use in agriculture, livestock keeping and as cordage for ships. Its recent uses include production of low – cost paper, mattresses, buffing cloth, carpets and handicrafts. Waste products from sisal are used for the production of stock feed, biogas, fertilizers and extraction of pharmaceutical products (www.worldatlas.com visited on 12th August 2021).

2.3 Theoretical Review

The coming of colonialism and the establishment of plantations in Tanganyika in general and Same District in particular, affected the pre – colonial era economic activities of the local people. The period of 1890s was when colonialism was introduced, and local people experienced a lot of economic consequences following the establishment of colonial plantations. Various cash crops were introduced, such as sisal, coffee, tea and cotton, which slowly replaced indigenous crops like rice, cassava,

potatoes, bananas and maize. The introduction of colonial plantations went hand-in-hand with the establishment of infrastructure, land alienation, forced labour, the introduction of formal education, low wages and taxation. Colonialism introduced money economy so as to separate indigenous producers from their means of production and make them dependent on capital (Amin, 1974:139). Therefore, local people in Same District were forced to sell their labour to the colonial plantations.

Marxist theory propagates the unequal exchange theory (Emmanuel, 1972). The theory suggests that the integration of Africa into the capitalist economic system through international trade and then colonialism led to the underdevelopment of Africa (Kuznets, 1965:176 – 193; Amin, op.cit:139). Proponents of the theory, such as Samir Amin, Kuznets and Rodney (1972) regard colonialism as hurting the development of ‘Third World’ countries. The Marxist economic development theory is based on historians’ materialist analyses of the development of the capitalist mode of production and its relationship with developing countries. Contemporary scholars of the underdevelopment theory include W. Rodney, J. Rweyemamu, M. Mamdani, A.G. Frank and S. Amin. All of them suggest that the capitalist integration of non-capitalist countries by capitalist countries led to the underdevelopment of third-world countries.

Amin has, therefore, argued that the contemporary economic crisis in Third World countries has been accelerated by economic integration with capitalist countries (Amin, 1976:99). Through the unequal exchange, capitalist countries developed while non-capitalist countries did not. This is why these countries have been seriously affected by capitalist development.

In Same District, colonialism led to the introduction of colonial plantations and the disruption of the traditional economic activities which existed before colonialism. In the analysis done by Rodney, there is a direct relationship between the development of the capitalist powers and the underdevelopment of third-world countries. In his book *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, he shows that the origins of the underdevelopment process in Africa was the exploitation of African natural and human resources by the capitalist powers (Rodney, 1972:11). This study adopted the unequal exchange theory in analyzing how the introduction of sisal production and colonial plantations in Same District resulted in adverse economic impact to the local people because of the appropriation of indigenous natural and human resources on unequal exchange terms.

2.4 Empirical Review

2.4.1 Pre-Colonial Economic Activities in Same District

During the colonial period, Same District was called Pare District and it was part of Tanga Province (Iliffe, 1969: 184). After Independence in 1961, it was transferred to Kilimanjaro Region and renamed Same District. In the 1980s, it was split to create Mwanga District. Unless otherwise stated, in this study we shall use Same District to refer to the former Pare District. Same District is mostly inhabited by the Pare (Asu) a Bantu ethnic group. Although the Pare are mainly sedentary farmers, a limited amount of herding is practiced especially on the lowlands. The Pare country consists of a range of mountains divided into three sections. The South Pare range borders the Usambaras while the North Pare range slopes into the lowlands of the Chagga country. In the

middle, there is a small range usually referred to as Middle Pare (Kimambo and Omari, 1972: 111).

Traditions indicate that the Pare consists of some sixty – five patrilineal clans with segments (lineages) scattered all over the country. The sedentary nature of Pare kin groupings has been dictated by the hilly nature of their country. The physical features of the country with separate ridges, slopes and plateaux have posed a barrier to the unity of groups of people settling in different areas. On the other hand, this shows that people were able to live in self – sufficiency wherever they settled in Pare/Asu country. Furthermore, traditions indicate that the various clan heroes came into the country in small groups and from various directions. The largest numbers are those who came from the Taita Hills in the east and the Nguru Mountains in the south. However, there are several other groups who claim connections with the Maasai steppe in the west, Kilimanjaro in the north and Usambara in the south. Generally, these “pioneers” admit that the country was already inhabited by other people known as Vimbiji or Sivira and by the Vasi who were hunting – gathering people (Ibid: 113). In fact, they admit further that their main task as newcomers was to clear the country of a more settled people known as “Wagalla” using their iron implements as well as “rain making skills”. It has been noted that the whole region between Kwale, Kilimanjaro and Pare may have been inhabited by Bantu speaking people as early as the third century AD (Kimambo and Omari, 1972:121).

On the other hand, recorded traditions indicate that by the fifteenth century, there already existed a state structure in North Pare (Ugweno) controlled by ironsmiths

(Kimambo, 1968:202). About the beginning of the sixteenth century the loosely organized state controlled by the iron smelting clan called Shana underwent a drastic transformation. The Shana ruler had traditionally appointed his chief minister from the Suyu who were among the four major clans forming the Gweno society by the end of the fifteenth century. By then, the population was expanding over the North Pare Plateau while the existing institutions were becoming inadequate to cater for the needs of the expanding community. Eventually, the Suyu who were also ironsmiths decided to take over the political machinery through a bloody coup which killed a large number of the Shana.

However, the main transformation was brought about by a Suyu ruler known as Mranga who initiated a process of centralization based on control of all institutions connected with initiation. In this way, it was possible for the Suyu to control the whole of the North Pare Plateau and establish a Gweno Kingdom which survived well into the nineteenth century (Ibid: 203). According to Kimambo, “the Gweno example is of great historical significance since it challenges the idea that stimulus for change has to come from outside” (Ibid). In South Pare, political centralization centered on rainmaking shrines controlled by clans like Mjema, Mkeni, Mhero and Mbagu. As the rain making shrines could not be duplicated and did not control the initiation rites (mshitu), in many cases, the political entities established by the rain making clans in South Pare, remained small chiefdoms (Kimambo and Omari, 1972: 119 – 120). Nevertheless, the Mbagu clan was able to extend its political system to Kizungu in Middle Pare and Usangi in North Pare in the latter half of the eighteenth century (Ibid).

It has already been noted that long before German conquest in 1885, the pre-colonial societies in German East Africa (Tanzania Mainland) (Appendix 1) were engaged in different economic activities including fishing, pastoral activities, subsistence agriculture and trade. Besides producing food crops for both subsistence needs and the market, they were also involved in the collection of forest products particularly rubber, honey and bees' wax. For example, wild rubber and beeswax were mainly collected in areas like Tabora, Mwanza, Kilimanjaro, Ruvuma, Mtwara and Lindi. The southern areas were particularly prominent in involving people in the collection of forest products to the extent of threatening the position of subsistence food production. Iliffe has attested:

The 1890s – the red rubber decade in King Leopold's Congo – saw a great hunt for wild rubber throughout the World. German East Africa's rubber production grew from an average annual value of £ 34,842 in 1892 – 4 to £ 90,682 in 1902 – 4. Roughly a third was smuggled from Zaire, but the main sources were the Southern hinterland, the densely wooded highlands on either side of the Lukuledi and Kilombero Rivers. Where much rubber is collected, it was reported, cultivation leaves a good deal to be desired. Another forest product, whose collection had ill effects on agriculture, was beeswax, whose annual exports averaged between £ 13, 457 between 1902 and 1904. In the past, it was observed, Mwera had collected honey and thrown away the wax, now they collected the wax and discarded honey (Iliffe, 1979: 98 – 102).

In the 1890s, different societies in Africa faced European imperialist aggression, diplomatic pressure, military invasion, and eventual conquest and colonization (Cooper, 1993:84). Tanzania in general and Same in particular also suffered from these incursions. Africa experienced direct intrusion of an alien colonial economy. Such a situation came into being by a slow process after African colonization and the eventual establishment of the colonial economies. As Mc Fadden argues, during the epoch of imperialism and, with the export of capital to the then colonies, migratory labour – a

proletariat which was always on the move, employed only for certain periods of time and under conditions of extreme exploitation and oppression, had served the interests of the capitalist economy exceedingly well within Africa (Fadden, 1978: 3).

The German conquest destroyed the pre-colonial economic order through the introduction of colonial plantations. Following their victory over the Swahili towns of Mrima in the Abushiri War of 1888-1889, the Germans gradually extended their control over the Pare people (Alemazung, 2010:63). In a series of bloody and destructive pacification campaigns, German military forces compelled the submission of the Pare chieftains because of the need to establish plantations. This led to a reduction in food reserves, as the Germans destroyed food crops and especially stock belonging to Pare communities. As a result, most of the Pare -speaking people were left economically powerless (Giblin, 2005:97). The people of Pare were integrated into the capitalist system, which resulted in the economic exploitation of local natural resources through various colonial plantations established in their area (Kaniki (Ed), 1980:117). This study attempted to show how the pre-colonial economic activities were adversely affected by the introduction of sisal production and plantation colonial economy in Same District.

2.4.2 Introduction of Sisal Production and Colonial Plantation Economy in Same District

It has been already noted that the process of integrating African peasants into the colonial economy in German East Africa took place in three main stages. First, the stage of trading activities from 1885 to 1895. Secondly, the stage of establishing

plantation and settler agriculture from 1895 to 1905. Thirdly, the stage of establishing agricultural commodity production by smallholder indigenous African producers/peasants from 1905 to 1918. During the first stage, the predominant form of colonial economy was based on trading activities mainly carried out by German trading companies. The transactions of the German companies were facilitated by middlemen and retail traders who were mostly Indians. Bismarck believed that “trade colonies” were most profitable. Investing in economic production involved very high risk. On the contrary, trade was the area having the lowest risk.

There were nearly thirty trading companies conducting trade in German East Africa. Among these, the largest and strongest was Carl Peters’ German East African Company (Deutsch – OstafrikaGesellschaft – DOAG) followed by Hansing and O’Swald (Koponen, 1994:150). Between 1885 and 1890, the DOAG was also responsible for the process of pacification, establishment and administration of the Colony. Financing of the trading activities was partly facilitated by German commercial banks. One of these was the Disconto – Gesellschaft, one of the leading commercial banks in Germany. The other was the Berliner Handels – Gesellschaft which mostly financed a steamship company – German East African Line. The third was the Deutsche Bank which had business ties mainly with O’Swald. The German trading companies made great use of Indian middlemen and retail traders in their trade transactions. Indian traders came to East Africa during the late 18th Century. By 1819, there were 214 of them in Zanzibar. By the 1870s, they had spread along the whole coastal region of East Africa and their number was estimated to be between 700 and 800. By 1887, the number had risen to 1200, the majority of who were engaged in

trade (Honey, 1982: 51 – 52). Due to the encouragement of the German Colonial State, more Indians immigrated into German East Africa both from Zanzibar and directly from India. Annual immigration reached 392 by the year 1901/02 and rose to 1187 by 1911/12 (Ibid: 151).

The Germans introduced large sisal plantations in Same after realizing that the soils were good enough for sisal production. Furthermore, local farming started to deteriorate, because the traditional way of subsistence farming was abandoned, resulting in deforestation, overgrazing, the degradation of hilltops and steep slopes. People started to rely on cash crops more and more, and burned natural forests to increase production in the monoculture of maize and round potatoes. This caused an enormous loss of fertile topsoil (Conte, 2004:108). By the 1890s sisal plantations had been established by the colonialists in various parts of Same and Tanga (Iliffe, 1979:126). Sisal production is among of the oldest commercially organised agricultural undertaking and one of the longest surviving agricultural industries in Tanzania. Dr. Richard Hindorf, an Agronomist with the GEAC introduced sisal in German East Africa in 1893. He contacted plant dealers in Florida, USA, who sent him 1000 plants (bulbils) to Hamburg, Germany. Only 200 plants reached Hamburg alive. These were dispatched to Tanga but only 62 plants survived. The plants were then planted at Kikongwe Division of Mwera Estate at Pangani. By 1898 they had multiplied to 63,000 plants. In 1900, Bushiri Estate at Pangani was established solely as a sisal nursery (Hindorf, 1925:25). Sisal cultivation spread gradually along the Central Railway Line to Kigoma and along Tanga Line reaching Same and Moshi in 1914 (Ibid). The first major shipment of sisal fibre amounted to 7.5 metric tons which

was shipped to Hamburg. As sisal is extremely drought resistant, in a hundred years of its commercial growing in Tanzania, there has not been a single year when it could not be harvested (Ibid). For example, in 1898, 600 kgs of sisal fibre were exported. In 1905, 1,140 tons were shipped to Hamburg. In 1912, 61,877 acres were planted with sisal. Sisal fibre was mostly used by the German Navy (Ibid). In 1904 some 2, 000 hectares of sisal were planted in Tanga and Lindi (Ibid). The sisal industry grew to become the most extensive commercial agriculture and primary processing industry in East and Central Africa, spreading to Kenya, Mozambique, Madagascar and Angola (www.worldatlas.com visited on 12th August 2021).

In Tanga Province, the first sisal plantations were established at Kikongwe, Mwera, Muheza and Same. Furthermore, in 1892 many coffee plantations were established in various places of Tanganyika, like Tanga Kilimanjaro and Morogoro. In Same in particular, different plantations were established in different areas like Ndungu, Makanya and Hedaru (Giblin, 2005:100). In 1901, various sisal plantations were opened up in various parts of Tanga, Kilimanjaro and Same in particular (Bowles, 1976:73). In 1899, many areas within different villages were assigned to start sisal plantations and recruit labour (Ibid). By 1909, sisal had become an important colonial cash crop (Iliffe, 1972:210). Exports of plantation products like, sisal, coffee and cotton increased because of the presence of many colonial plantations. In 1936, cotton exports comprised 11,600 tons. This shows that there was a growth in the production of cash crops because of the presence of colonial plantations. Records show that in 1939, sisal exports comprised 93,000 tons and coffee exports 16,500 tons. In 1928, more sisal plantations were encouraged in various areas in Tanganyika like

Kilimanjaro, Tanga and Same (Ibid:76). Many hectares of valuable land were taken by the settlers. Chiefs (*Wafumwa*) were forced by the district office to make an agreement with village elders over the number of labourers they had to deliver. In addition, colonial plantation managers compelled people to pay tax. Colonialism led to the imposition of taxes such as a hut tax, head tax and poll tax in African colonies and Same in particular (Berman & Lonsdale 1992: 102). These taxes aimed at ensuring a constant supply of labour to the sisal and coffee plantations. We have already noted that as the products from the plantations were marketed on the basis of unequal exchange as agricultural raw - materials without value addition, there was no way the local people could continue to reap significant value from their land and labour as was the case during the pre-colonial period (Shio, 1977:2).

Besides the foregoing measures, another measure taken to destroy and integrate the pre-colonial economy in Same District into the capitalist economy, was the construction of the Tanga – Moshi/Arusha railway line. It was constructed specifically to carry agricultural raw – materials from the interior to Tanga Port. It passed along the lowland/plain areas of Same District. This explains why sisal plantations were established in these areas. Initially, the plantations were owned by Germans. After World War 1, they were entrusted to the Custodians of Enemy Property who sold them to other investors. Most of the beneficiaries were British, Boer, Greek and Indian investors. For example, the largest Sisal Estate in Same District, Kisangara Estate, was sold to Abdalla Mohamedali Karimjee (1899 – 1978) representing Karimjee Jivanjee Estates Company (www.worldatlas.com visited on 12th August 2021).

In other countries, sisal first became a commercial crop in late 1930 in Brazil. Its first export was made in 1948; the acceleration of sisal cultivation and production was in the 1960s. For example, as the World's leading sisal producer, Tanzania produced 250,000 metric tons in 1964. Thereafter, production started to decline. In 1985, Tanzania produced 32,000 metric tons which was less than 15% of the country's peak. In 1997, Tanzania passed the Sisal Industry Act which provided for the privatization of the Government owned sisal plantations and factories. The Act also established the Tanzania Sisal Board (TSB). As is apparent from Table 2 below, in 2013, Tanzania ranked 2nd among the seven leading producers of sisal in the World. However, even the leading producer, Brazil, produced approximately a third of what was produced by Tanzania in 1964. This is the context within which the decline of sisal production should be regarded as a worldwide phenomenon and not as a trend unique and peculiar to Tanzania only.

Table 2.1: Top sisal producing countries in 2013

Rank	Country	Production (Metric Tons)	% age
1.	Brazil	150,600	55.6
2.	Tanzania	34,900	12.9
3.	Kenya	28,000	10.4
4.	Madagascar	18,900	7.0
5.	China	16,500	6.1
6.	Mexico	12,000	4.4
7.	Haiti	9,000	3.6
Grand Total		269,900	100

Source: Extracted from www.worldatlas.com visited on 12th August 2021.

Within the context of our case study, we still need to find out the following: How were sisal plantations established in Same District? Who owned them? How did they recruit labour for the plantations? Were the Pare recruited? Sisal Labour Bureau (SILABU) was established by the British to recruit migrant labourers. Were migrant labourers

brought to Same District? Did they go back to their areas of origin after completing their contracts? How did they interact with the local people? What was the social, cultural, economic and political impact of the interaction among the local people?

2.4.3 Socio-Economic Impact of the Introduction of Sisal Production and Colonial Plantation Economy in Same District, 1890 – 1967

The introduction of sisal production in Same District led to the negative transformation of traditional economy to a considerable extent. For example, in 1895, local banana gardens and irrigation systems started to decline. The labour which used to attend to the local gardens was now attending to the colonial plantations. Furthermore, plantations led to massive land alienation, leaving local people landless. The government authority was totally behind land alienation in different areas of Same where plantations were opened up (Iliffe, 1974: 298). Hence, the amount of native land decreased because the increasing demand for labour connected with the settlement of plantations nearby ensured that native land became settlers' land (Feierman, 1990: 160).

In some areas in Same, labourers started to produce maize, sweet potatoes, and cassava in the nearby European plantations. Furthermore, the pressure for roads and railways came from European plantation owners who had settled in the first years of the nineteenth century in Same, which was linked by rail in 1911, while the Central Line from Dar es Salaam to Kigoma was opened in 1914. Indeed, the establishment of colonial plantations led to the need for infrastructure which later would facilitate land alienation and colonial production to take place. The building of roads and bridges in

Pare areas by the colonialists, along with the construction of railways, also contributed to the alienation of land belonging to indigenous people (Rodney: 1972:128). This infrastructure was established to facilitate production in those colonial plantations. Generally, the introduction of cash – crop production economy had an adverse impact to the local people. However, in the specific case of sisal production it has been noted that:

Sisal production in Tanzania began in the late 19th century by the German East Africa Company. Sisal was continually produced during the German administration and the British administration and was the colony's largest export highly prized for use in cordage and carpets worldwide. At the time of Independence in 1961, Tanzania was the largest exporter of Sisal (green gold) in the World and the industry employed over 1 million farmers and factory workers. Sisal production began to decline after Independence due to the drop in World prices as synthetic nylon substitutes became more popular. The nationalization of the estates during Ujamaa and the mismanagement of the estates further dropped the production in the country. However, in recent years, the Government has injected funds to help revive the industry's glory (Sisal production in Tanzania in <https://en.m.wikipedia.org/> visited on 8th June 2021).

The foregoing remarks have been informed by a Colonial historical perspective. It is, therefore, essential to interpret them within a correct historical perspective. For example, the period from 1945 to 1961 constituted the third and last stage in the development of peasant agriculture under British Rule (Mpangala, op.cit: 55). Policies adopted including “improvement”, “focal – point” and “transformation” were mainly a response to crises within the capitalist system and the way colonies were used by the imperialist powers to resolve the crises in the metropolitan countries (Ibid). It is a historical fact that the War left Britain and France greatly indebted to the USA. Besides the Marshal Plan, Britain and France exploited intensively their respective colonies in order to ensure fast recovery of their economies. This was the context within which

Britain put special emphasis on greater expansion of export crop production by African small-holder producers/peasants.

In its 1951 Annual Report, the Department of Agriculture stressed that agriculture was to be the main occupation of the population of Tanganyika. Besides the traditional export crops like sisal, cotton and coffee, new ones were added including oil seed crops like groundnuts, sesame, cashew – nuts and sunflower seeds. Food crops like rice, maize and cassava were emphasized for both internal consumption and market and also for supplementing exports. Furthermore, there was greater integration of peasants into the system of production of agricultural raw materials than ever before. Consequently, between 1945 and 1960, the area under peasant production of export crops increased by not less than 900,000 acres. While in 1945 five of the export crops were being produced entirely by planters and settlers, by 1960 only tea was being produced entirely by foreigners. Even sisal which for many decades had been a monopoly of plantations was now being produced by small-holder producers. By 1960, smallholder producers contributed 12,000 tons of sisal fibre and by 1962 peasant – produced sisal constituted 6% of total sisal exported (Ibid:58).

It is then quite apparent that measures to “nationalize/localize” sisal production were initiated after the Second World War and not after Independence. By the time of Independence, the level of “nationalization/localization” achieved was about 6%. It is, therefore, a paradox to attribute the decline of the industry not to those who were controlling its “lion’s share” but to the “nationalists/locals” whose share was no more than a “baboon’s share”. On the other hand, it is more plausible to attribute the decline

“to the drop in World prices as synthetic nylon substitutes became more popular”. However, the two factors were not caused by “the nationalization and mismanagement of the estates during Ujamaa. . .”. It is true that at the time of Independence in 1961, Tanzania was the largest exporter of Sisal (green gold) in the World and the industry employed over 1 million farmers and factory workers. What is not clear is why fibre was the only product which was extracted from the sisal plant and then exported? This is an important question to raise as the extracted fibre constitutes only 2% of the sisal plant while the remaining 98% was considered as waste. The fibres were then used to produce twine, cordage for hay, packaging, bailing, building and many other uses including carpets, wall covering, doormats, car mats, buffing cloth used for polishing of metal and furniture, fine yarn, bag cloth, padding, mattresses and handicrafts. Further, there are also roofing tiles made from sisal fibre mixed with cement and sand (Sisal production in Tanzania in <https://en.m.wikipedia.org/> visited on 8th June 2021). Apparently, it is not clear from available literature if all these products were extracted from the sisal plant during the colonial period. Similarly, available literature is silent on how these products benefited both the planters and the local people. Within this context, the assertion that “in recent years, the Government has injected funds to help revive the industry’s glory”, needs to be qualified.

On the other hand, unlike synthetics, all the products which are produced from the sisal fibre, have one thing in common. They are environmentally friendly, safe and clean as they are biodegradable, natural and safe. Meanwhile, recent studies have indicated that sisal waste is more valuable than the fibre. Products obtained from sisal waste include biogas used in engine generator sets to produce electricity. For example, on 16th July

2008, former President Kikwete inaugurated the first Sisal Biogas Plant in the World, at Hale Sisal Estate. Among other objectives, it was expected that the plant will increase the utilization of the sisal plant from 2% to at least 50% by 2015 (Tanzania Sisal Board (TSB), *Mkonge Newsletter* (April 2009). Furthermore, the by - product from the biogas plant is used to produce organic fertilizer. Sisal waste can also be used directly as animal feed. Flume tows, short fibres reclaimed from the flume channels and dumps, are the main raw – materials in sisal bag manufacture, padding for furniture and car seats. Within this broad context of value addition, the study needs to show why sisal production and processing in Same District did not benefit from knowledge revealed by “recent studies”.

2.5 Data Synthesis and Research Gap

It is quite apparent from this review that existing literature are still silent on how pre – colonial Same District was integrated into the colonial economy and rule. Consequently, we are still in darkness regarding how pre – colonial economic activities were adversely affected by the introduction of sisal production and plantation colonial economy in Same District. It has been noted that Tanga – Moshi/Arusha railway line was constructed to carry agricultural raw – materials from the interior to Tanga Port. It passed along the lowland/plain areas of Same District. This explains why sisal plantations were established in these areas. However, we still need to find out how sisal plantations were established in Same District? Who owned them? How did they recruit labour for the plantations? Were the Pare recruited? We are aware of the fact that Sisal Labour Bureau (SILABU) was established during the period of British rule to recruit migrant labourers. Were migrant labourers brought to Same District? Did

they go back to their areas of origin after completing their contracts? How did they interact with the local people? What was the social, cultural, economic and political impact of the interaction among the local people? These are some of the issues which constitute the research gap that this study will attempt to fill.

2.6 Conceptual Framework

The Conceptual Framework is an illustration of the research aspects that the study has investigated using the research questions. It consisted of three types of aspects; independent variables (condition), dependent variables (process) and outcome (results of the study). Existing theoretical and empirical literature provide clues on the Independent Variables; German and British Colonial Economic Policies, Colonial Economy Dichotomy and Nationalist Struggle for Independence. The study employed available clues to dig deeper into the Dependent Variables (Post – Colonial State Policies, Socialism and Self-Reliance, Comparative and Competitive Advantages of Sisal Production and Need for Value Addition in Sisal Production) to underpin the socio-economic impact of the identified Outcomes (Pre – Colonial Economy in Same District, Socio-Economic Impact of the Sisal Plantation Economy in Same District) (Figure 2.1).

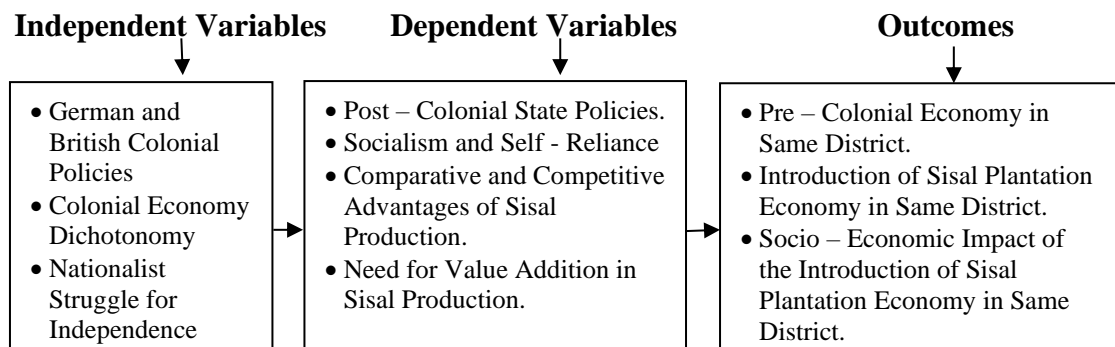


Figure 2.1: Conceptual framework

Source: Author 2022

The Independent Variables have a bearing on the Dependent Variables as well as on the Outcomes/ Expected Results of the Study. Colonial economic policies and the resulting colonial economy dichotomy (division of the colony into cash – crop producing areas, food-crop-producing areas and labour reserve areas) destroyed pre-colonial economies. The success of the Nationalist Struggle for Independence created a suitable political environment for redressing the excesses of the colonial economic structure. Policy measures adopted (socialism and self-reliance, assessment of comparative and competitive advantages of export-crop production, need for value addition) were essential to tackle the adverse socio-economic impact of the colonial export crops production economy. Unlike the pre-colonial economy which was self-sufficient and symmetrical, the latter was an appendage of the international capitalist economic system, a dependent and asymmetrical economy.

2.7 Summary

This chapter has presented literature review related to the study. It has discussed conceptual definitions; theoretical review; empirical review of specific objectives; data synthesis and research gap, and conceptual framework. The following chapter will deal with the research methodology employed in carrying out research for the study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the methods and procedures that were used in the whole process of doing the research for this study; “The Socio–Economic Impact of the Introduction of Sisal Production in Same District, Tanzania: 1890 -1967”. The chapter has discussed research philosophy, approach and design, study area, sample and sample size, and sampling procedures. Moreover, the chapter has highlighted data collection methods, data analysis plan and ethical considerations.

3.2 Research Philosophy

Research Philosophy refers to the set of beliefs, assumptions and principles that guide the approach to a study. Basically, there are “big three” research approaches namely positivism/quantitative, interpretivism/qualitative and pragmatism/mixed. Furthermore, research philosophy sets fundamental and basic methods which guide the design and execution of research study, and different research philosophies offer different ways of understanding scientific research Kothari, (2004:5).

3.3 Research Approach

Any research which is scientifically conducted must explain the approach and design it has adopted. This research employed a qualitative approach. Kothari, (2004:5) stresses that qualitative approach is concerned with subjective assessment of attitudes, opinions and behaviour. The study used mainly the qualitative research design that

sought to examine the Socio – Economic Impact of the Introduction of Sisal Production in Same District, Tanzania: 1890 – 1967 for the people in Same district. Specifically, it investigated the positive and negative economic impact that occurred because of the introduction of sisal production in Same district. The qualitative approach was preferred because having a combination interviews and documentary analysis is the best way of obtaining the qualitative information needed. Because of the impact which occurred in as a result Same district of the introduction of sisal production, the qualitative method is superior to the quantitative approach, because interviews made it possible to gain a deeper understanding of the experiences of the participants in a way that was not possible with the empirical analytical paradigm. The basic assumptions underlying this study required a specific approach to selecting participants

This approach is most suitable to a historical study where it mostly deals with the attitudes, opinions and behaviour of respondents to specific issues. Under such circumstances, the role of the researcher was to understand the opinions of the respondents. On top of that, (Ary et al.2010) are of the opinion that usually the qualitative researchers argue that human behaviour is always bound to the context in which it occurs by focusing on their opinions and views. In this specific case, attitudes, opinions, and peoples' responses on the socio – economic impact of the introduction of sisal production and colonial plantations in Same District 1890 – 1967 were quite decisive for a correct historical perspective of this phenomenon. As will be explained, they were collected through archival and documentary researches, oral interviews and personal observation of the researcher. Where the approach generated results in

quantitative form, they were subjected to simple quantitative analysis and presented in statistical forms, for example tables and charts (Kothari, 2004:04).

3.4 Research Design

Research design is the blue print or road map showing how the research was conducted. According to Kothari (2004:31), research design is the conceptual structure within which research is conducted. Furthermore, a research design consists of sampling design, observational design, statistical design and operational design (Kothari, 2004). In a research design, the researcher should take into consideration about data collection methods and data analysis plan. This study has adopted a case study approach to enable the researcher to explore in-depth information about a programme, an event, an activity or a process (Creswell, 2003). In addition, the research design was chosen because it allows collecting wide range of intra-subjective data from the specific population. Furthermore, data in the survey are often obtained by using standardized tools, particularly the interviews (Adam, 2008). In this case, the design was employed to identify the socio – economic impact of the introduction of sisal production in Same District, within the period from 1890 to 1967.

3.5 Study Area

This study was conducted in Same District, Kilimanjaro Region. Same District is one of the seven Districts constituting Kilimanjaro Region. Others are Siha, Hai, Moshi Rural, Moshi Urban, Rombo and Mwanga (Figure 3.1).

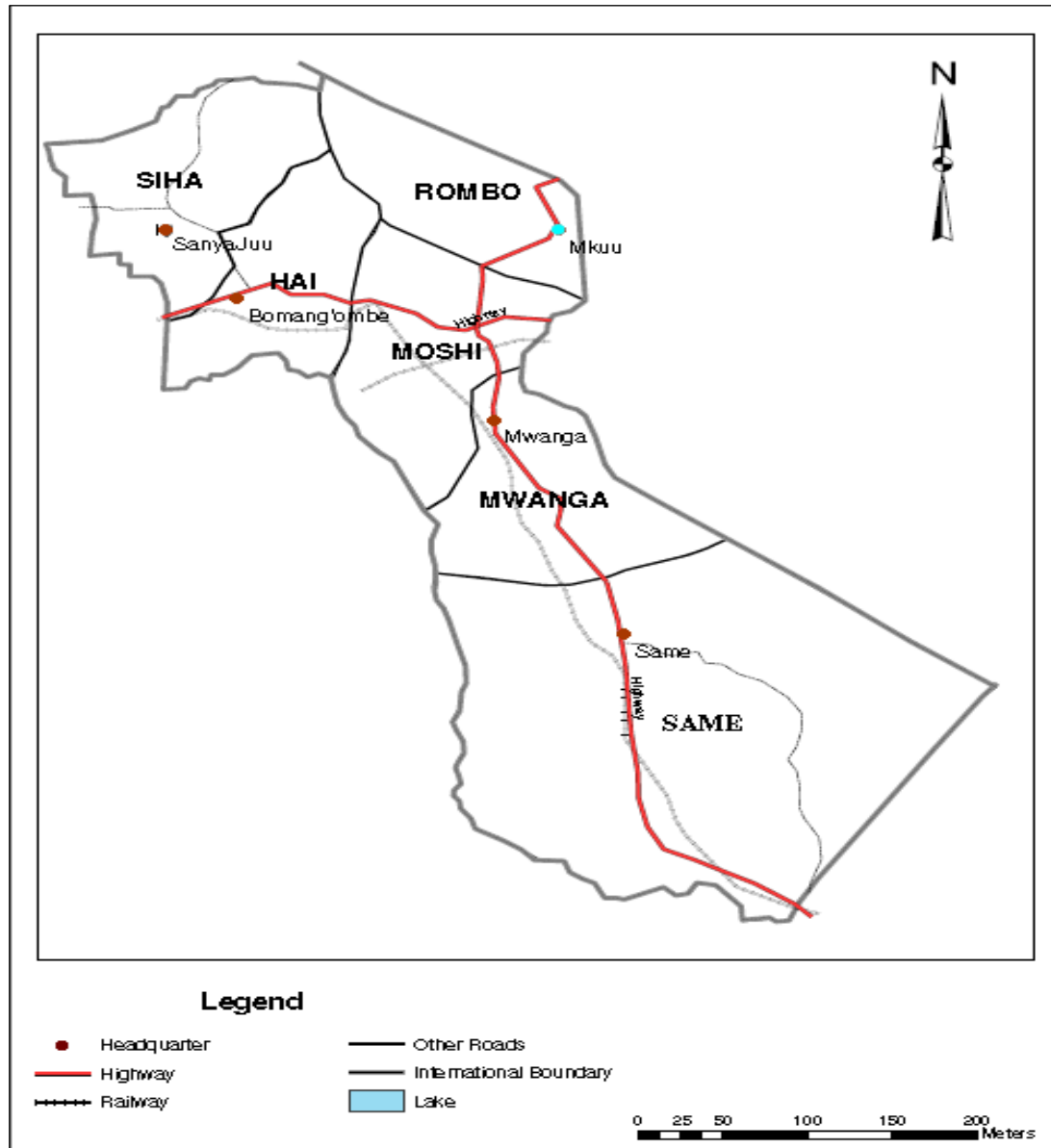


Figure 3.1: Administrative map of the Kilimanjaro Region

Source: www.google.co/tzvisited on 15th June 2021.

As detailed in Figure 3.2, Same District has a total of six Divisions. These are Ndugu, Gonja, Mamba Mvuta, Mwembe Mbaga, Chome Suji, and Same. As is apparent from Appendix 2, the researcher was able to visit and conduct interviews at the District Headquarters and in the three Divisions which were and are still the base of the sisal economy; Chome Suji, Ndungu and Same.

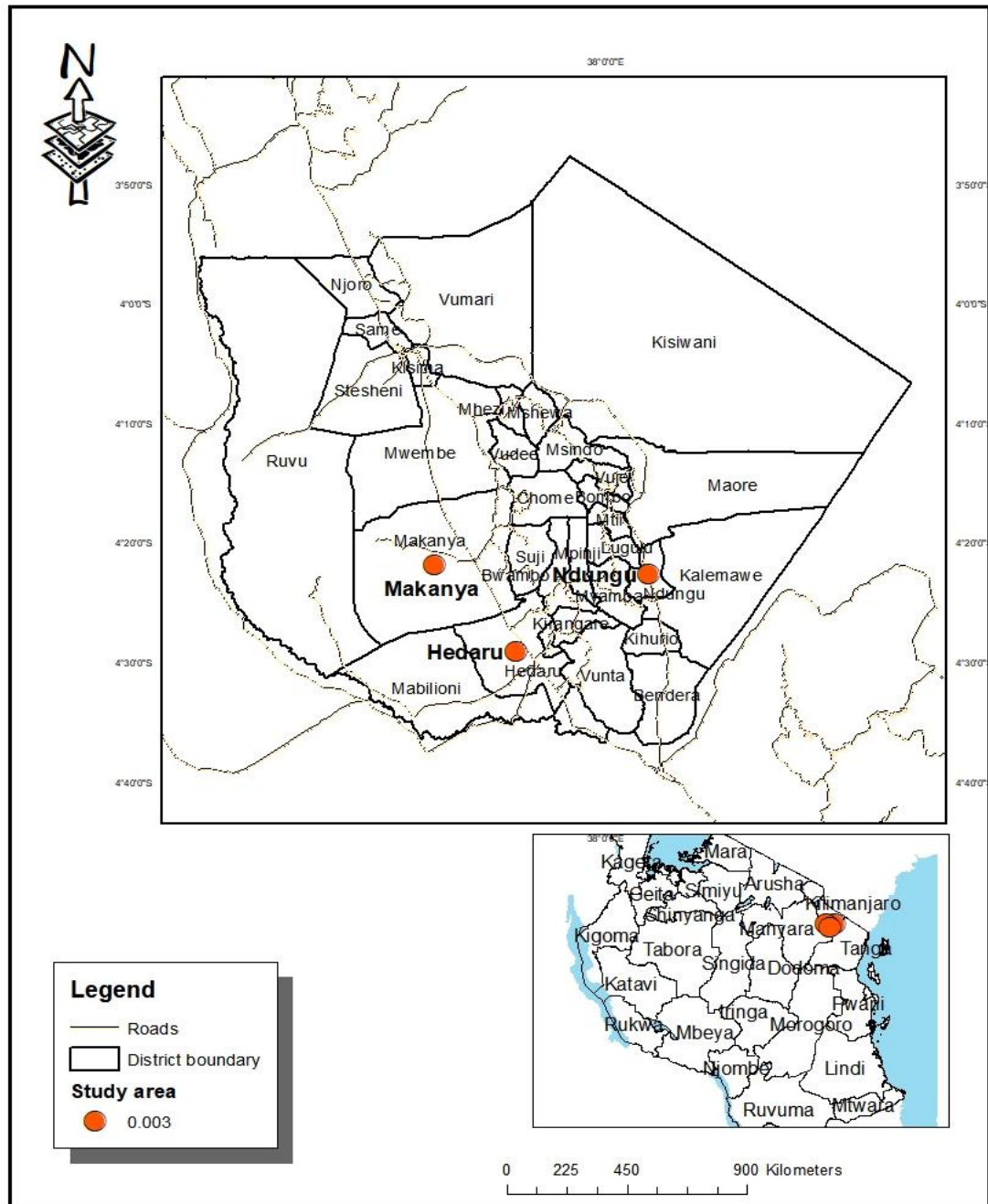


Figure 3.2: Location map of the study area

Source: Cartographic Unit, University of Dar es Salaam (2023).

3.6 Sample and Sample Size

Kothari (2004:14) defines sample as selection of few items on universe for study purpose. Olive and Abel (2003:10) also defined sample as a smaller group obtained

from the accessible population. This study involved current and former Officials and workers of Tanzania Sisal Authority (TSA) and the current Tanzania Sisal Board (TSB) resident in Same, Mwanga and other Districts of Kilimanjaro Region. It also involved people or close relatives of people who worked in Sisal Plantations established in Same District before they were nationalized by the Government of Tanzania in 1967 and handed over to the TSA.

3.7 Sampling Procedure

Mugenda and Mugenda (2003:44) attested that after deciding on the sample size, the researcher formulates a procedure of selecting the subjects, or cases to be included in the sample. To select a representative sample, the researcher must first have a sampling frame. In this study, purposive sampling technique was employed to select relevant respondents with potential information and who were incorporated into the sample of the study from Same District.

3.8 Data Collection Methods

Kombo and Tromp (2006:99) described data collection in research as gathering specific information aimed at providing, or refuting some facts. Kothari (2004: 95) gives two categories of data which were collected; primary and secondary data. Primary data were those which were collected directly from the field for the first time. In the specific case of History, methods for primary data collection include archival research, oral interviews, structured and unstructured questionnaires, participant observation and focus group discussions. Secondary data collection involves mostly documentary review of existing documents and the use of already published

information in books, journal articles, internet publications as well as public reports. This study employed both primary and secondary data collection methods mentioned here to collect information and data on issues raised in the interview checklist (Appendix 3). Archival research was done at the Tanzania National Archives (TNA), Dar es Salaam, National Museum Library, University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) Main Library (East Africana Section) and at the Agricultural Department Office, Same District. Documentary research was conducted at the UDSM Main Library and the Regional Library at Moshi. Use of unstructured questionnaires is essential in History in order to enable respondents in different settings including focus group discussions to express their views and opinions sincerely and freely. Data were collected in writing, audio and video tapes. Snowball technique was employed to attain data saturation.

3.9 Data Analysis

Data analysis refers to examining what was collected from field research and making decisions and inferences (Kombo and Tromp, 2006:117). The main purpose of data analysis is to summarize and organize the collected data in order to answer research questions (Kothari, 2004:80). The information and data collected were analyzed by using content analysis with special focus on the themes raised by the specific objectives of the research. As already noted, where the data were generated in quantitative form, they were subjected to simple quantitative analysis and presented in statistical forms, for example tables and charts. The researcher did not simply take all the information and data collected from different sources for granted. Thorough review and evaluation of all information and data collected in order to ensure reliability,

validity and consistency about the themes that were explored. As is the standard practice in History, using the triangulation method, subjective information and data, ambiguities, fallacies, rumours and contradicting information and data were discarded. In this way, the validity and credibility of the information and data collected were upheld.

3.10 Ethical Considerations

Before going to the field to collect data from the respondents, the researcher sought for a research permit from the Open University of Tanzania (OUT) (Appendix 4). The permit introduced the researcher to other authorities for permission and cooperation. The researcher complied with the existing regulations of all the places visited including Regional, District, Ward Offices in Same District; Archives and Libraries. Similarly, the researcher required permission to speak and discuss with the respondents after obtaining permission from the respective authorities at Regional and District levels (Appendix 4).

Other ethics considered were anonymity and confidentiality. The researcher ensured that all respondents who participated in the research were not easily identified by the third party. For this reason, neither their names nor other identities were made public. All sources of information that the researcher sought for the study were acknowledged to avoid academic dishonest/plagiarism. Furthermore, respondents' consent was observed carefully. Nobody was audio or videotaped without his/her consent. Any respondent who wished to withdraw from participating in the research was allowed as the study allowed one to participate willingly. Last but not least, respondents were

informed about the study's purpose before the study was conducted to help them understand the reasons for conducting the research.

3.11 Summary

This chapter has discussed the methods and procedures that were used in the whole process of doing the research for this study; “The Socio–Economic Impact of the Introduction of Sisal Production in Same District, Tanzania: 1890 -1967”. The chapter has discussed research philosophy, approach and design, study area, sample and sample size, and sampling procedures. Moreover, the chapter has highlighted data collection methods, data analysis plan and ethical considerations. In the following chapter, findings of the study will be presented.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will present findings on the socio - economic impact of the introduction of the sisal production on local people in Same District. This will be done within the context of the specific objectives of the study and the archival/documentary/interview checklist (Appendix 3). As noted in chapter 2, the specific objectives of the study were to show the socio – economic impact of pre-colonial economic activities in Same District; to explain the process of the introduction of sisal production and colonial plantation economy in Same District, and to demonstrate the nature of the socio – economic impact of the introduction of sisal production and colonial plantation economy in Same District, between 1890 and 1967.

4.2 Findings

4.2.1 The Socio-Economic Impact of Pre-Colonial Economic Activities in Same District

The people of Pare were integrated into the capitalist system, which resulted in the economic exploitation of local natural resources through various colonial plantations established in their area (Kaniki (Ed), 1980:117). Under this specific objective, the study attempted to show how the pre-colonial economic activities were adversely affected by the introduction of sisal production and plantation colonial economy in Same District. During the pre-colonial period, the Pare people primarily relied on

mixed farming; cultivation of crops and cattle keeping, mining and trade (Interview with Zaina Hamisi at Makanya on 11th November 2022).

Although they drank milk in most parts of the country, cattle were kept as wealthy and seldom killed for food or hides, except in places settled by Europeans (Interview with Kigono Shafii at Makanya on 11th November 2022).

According to Widgren and Sutton, most of Pare people depend on agriculture as their main economic activity, although some depend on pastoral and trading activities. These people are found in North and Southern Pare, in present-day north-eastern Tanzania. It belongs to pre-colonial Eastern Africa's so-called "Islands of intensive agriculture" (Mtango, 1974:17, Widgren and Sutton, 2004).

The name ‘‘Pare’’ is now applied to the range of mountains found in the northern highlands of Tanzania between the Usambara Mountains and Kilimanjaro. It is also the name of both the land occupied by these ranges and the people inhabiting it. The Pare themselves give two sources of the name. Some, especially the northerners, believe that the name originated from Chagga wars. The word was used by the Chagga in issuing a command to strike, i.e., ‘‘Mpare!’’ (Beat him). However, this explanation is more likely to be a rationalization of the latter situation in Pare-Chagga relationship; the ‘‘utani’’ relationship (Interviews with (Interview with Kigono Shafii at Makanya on 11th November 2022). More commonly held is the opinion that ‘‘Pare’’ originated from the name of the southern peaks of the Pare range collectively known as ‘‘Mpare’’. These peaks are so conspicuous from Usambara that foreigners coming from the South were apt to acquaint themselves with the name. Thus, by associating the mountains

with the inhabitants, the people living on these mountains were soon to be known in Usambara and the coastal area as “Wampare” (Kimambo, 1969).

It is possible to go beyond this popular opinion in seeking the origin of the name. For example, we find on the “Mpare” mountain group of people called “Wampare”. We also know from their traditions that the Wampare were the first group of the modern population to settle in this mountain. Therefore, the mountain may have received its name from the group, and the whole country came to inherit the name. Most of the Pare believe that the name “Pare” was actually given to the country and the people by the Europeans who first saw the “Mpare” Mountains. This belief would seem to be consistent with the idea of foreign origin of the name. Yet, by reading J.L.Krapf one discovers that the name was already well known on the coast when Krapf visited Usambara 1848 (Ranger and Kimambo (Eds), 1972; 112). It is more likely, therefore, that the Pare were known by this name to their Southern neighbors much earlier in their history.

Before the name “Pare” was used, the country and the people were known as “Asu” (Ranger and Kimambo (Eds), 1972:113). It has been suggested that the name may have originated from the clan names, the Wasuya or the Wasi. In the case of wasuya, a connection with the “wazuri” order of the Taita society has been claimed. But since this order has supplied most of political leadership in Taita, this claimed connection may be viewed as an attempt by the ruling clan of Ugweno; the Wasuya, to justify its power by identifying itself with the most influential group in the country of its origin. No connection with the Wasi group, i.e., the hunting and gathering population of

Upare, can be proved. In fact, if the name came from this group the connection would no longer be remembered since their descendants living on the Pare Mountains today form one of the most despised clans of the country (Interview with Juma Mbwapo at Ndungu on 20th October 2022).

Whatever may be its origin, the word “Vasu” or “Vuas” is now used by the Pare when referring to their highland country. Thus, a Mpare living on the plains; for example., Same, Kisiwani, Gonja, Ndungu, Kalemawe, Kihurio, Bendera, Hedaru and Makanya, etc.; may proudly say, “I am going to Vuas,” meaning that he is going to his upland home. This idea is consistent with Pare thought which values their hilltops more than the plains. In fact, the Pare reserved the plains only for misfits in their society (Interview with Ruth Juma at Ndungu on 20th October 2022). Ironically, sisal plantations, communication and transport infrastructure, the backbone of the colonial economy, were established in this area reserved for the “misfits”.

Besides agriculture, the pre – colonial Pare engaged themselves in other economic activities including pastoralism, mining and trade. In agriculture, they used to cultivate in December and in August for cultivation by irrigation (*kilimo cha mazi*). During these seasons, Pare people used to cultivate crops such as rice, cassava, potatoes, beans, banana and maize. Owing to the steepness of the hillsides, irrigation is comparatively easy and water is led on to the crops by furrows from rivers or puddle mud dams, where spring water is not sufficient to ensure a permanent flow. In such land, 3500 ft above sea level, banana trees survive for many years even when there is drought. Generally, life in the mountains has always been easier than in the plains. Thus, the

tribal name which describes where the people live also characterized their agriculture and also alludes to their culture (Kimambo, 1969).

As already noted, most of the Pare people lived in the mountains for economic and cultural reasons. By the end of the 18th century, large numbers of immigrants had settled in the mountains (Mbilinyi, 1979). These immigrants were from different places in East Africa and Tanzania in particular, with different economic, cultural and language origins. The majority adopted the agricultural production systems used by the existing Pare inhabitants and the new inhabitants like Shambaa people were absorbed into the language and culture of the Pare, which were in turn enriched by the process (Ibid). Before the establishment of colonial plantations, land in Pare areas was owned by the whole community. In most cases, the rainfall of the low - land area can support only scanty vegetation; consequently, it has desert or semi-desert conditions. The average annual rainfall is between ten and twenty inches. While this area could be suitable for grazing, it suffers from shortage of water since only the Yongoma, Ruvu and the Mkomazi Rivers can supply water. This will partly supply why the Pare traditionally avoided the plains. Also, because of its swampy conditions, the region is infested with mosquitoes making malaria one of its most serious problems. Now this shortage of water is being reduced by providing water from bore-holes. Meanwhile, the “Nyumba ya Mungu” dam project will make the Ruvu water benefit larger areas than it has done in the past. The swamp areas of this region are proving to be good rice-producing areas of the district.

Cultivation was scattered in Pare land because of the availability of water and the

possibility of irrigation. One of the important factors determining the location of people was the suitability of the soil and climate, which resulted from the geological structure of the mountains, the Indian Ocean rainfall regime and safety. This is why the Pare people settled and cultivated the wetter or less wet woodlands and forest areas near *Nyika*, while the relatively dry central parts of the mountains were not used by agriculturalists but by scattered Wambugu pastoralists (Feerman, 1974). For the agriculturalist's maize, beans, potatoes, cassava banana, rice were the primary source of calories. The mountainside below important political centres, mostly located on the edge of the escarpment, around the 1,400-metre contour, was covered by "forests of banana trees" and lower situated villages were hidden under a roof of banana and maize leaves (Ibid). Maize porridge was eaten with vegetables and beans. Other essential supplements to the diet next to crops like sweet potatoes, taro, pumpkin, rice, millet and yam were vitamin-rich plants and honey, while proteins and fats came from meat, ghee, eggs, shellfish and (dried) fish. These were obtained by gathering, fishing, hunting, livestock keeping and trade (Maddox et al (Eds), 1996).

Agriculture in *Nyika* was concentrated in *vitivo* (*kitivo*, sing.), places with fertile, mostly alluvial soils, deposited from the Pare Mountain streams as they flowed into the plains. These areas were suitable for agriculture with the use of irrigation. Because of the availability of water for irrigation, fertile soil and the hot climate, the *vitivo* were very attractive for subsistence farming and trade in various cash crops such as maize, rice, sorghum, millet, sugarcane and some cotton. Most of those *vitivo* developed from the commercial opportunities offered by the caravan trade in the second half of the nineteenth century, which involved Swahili people from the coastal areas.

Furthermore, the land in which labour was invested for forest clearing, cultivation and the construction of irrigation works was seen as belonging to the lineage, which was under the *head of the family* “*Vava*” or guardian of the door. Pastures in the area were communally owned and used to feed the cattle of the people concerned. Wasteland and the forest were in principle free for everybody's use. However, when someone wanted to settle somewhere, particularly a foreigner, and cultivate a part of the wasteland, that person needed first to inform the authority of the *Mlao as* the local leader. Every *paterfamilias* was responsible for the organization of production and had full ownership of the cattle, of his kin (Ibid).

The composition of the labour force was organized by the neighborhood to expand and diversify its economic activities and to utilize various agricultural zones, mainly by farming separate food farms. Each zone was cultivated by different people with their grown-up sons. These people also engaged in collecting honey, hunting wild game for meat and skins, raiding their neighbours' livestock and obtaining slaves. Beer made from millet as well as livestock provided the basis for the accumulation of surplus labour in the form of wives and slaves and the potential labour of offspring.

Various lineages entered into livestock partnerships, whereby goats, sheep and cattle were pooled to enrich the herds in different geographical locations. By so doing rich people cooperated with each other to increase the means of production at their disposal. This led to the further differentiation of lineages and hence the establishment of some complex community modes of production. Surplus was not only vital for exchange for grain, but it also represented a food reserve in itself (Feierman, 1974). Therefore, the

Pare people used to subsidize their economic production where necessary through bartering subsistence commodities and exchanging them for other goods in the form of tobacco, bananas, maize and livestock (Interview with Mhando Mbwana at Makanya, 10th November 2022).

That is to say, before the coming of the Europeans and the establishment of colonial sisal plantations, Pare people used to make the journey to the coast at Tangata just south of Tanga and barter their bananas and maize for the salt of the Wadigo. Today the manufacture of salt at Tangata continues, but the Pare do not go so far afield. In the plains to the north and west of the Pare escarpment are deposits of salt and these are worked by the local inhabitants and other natives who come from varying distances to dwell near the site for periods ranging from one to three months. The method of working is always the same. What is described here was observed at Makayo village, approximately one mile south of Lake Karamba through which the Mkomazi River runs on its way to join the Pangani, about half-way between the Pare and Usambara escarpments. Other deposits are at Mkomazi, Mazinde and Mombo near the east bank of the Mkomazi River, but in lower reaches than Makayo (TNA National Museums Book 1938/39, No.5-8; “Pare-Salt Production Among the Pare”, in TNR 8/102-1939). This latter village is a collection of wattle and daub huts thatched with grass or banana leaves and scattered over an area of half a square mile. Deciduous scrub and thorns clothe the surrounding steppe which is waterless except for the Mkomazi River and a few intermittent wet season torrents from the Pare escarpment. The soil is reddish, very friable in the dry season, with a heavy deposit of salt that is clearly visible as a white rind during the rains. The dry season, May to November, when the call to cultivate is

less insistent, is the main period for working the salt (Interview with Bakari Kadio, at Ndungu, on 20th October 2022). The village is then crowded with Wapare and Wasambaa, sometimes totalling two hundred men, women and children, for whole families migrate. Indeed, the whole process of manufacture, including the collection of the earth, is the women's task, although occasionally men may be found at work (Ibid).

Earthenware pots have their bottoms removed and replaced by a lattice-work of sticks covered over with banana or coconut fiber acting as a filter. A framework of sticks holds six to eight of these pots in a row, about three feet from the ground. Underneath these pots was a runnel sloping down to a receptacle on the ground, either kerosene tin or another pot. The pots were then filled with salt-laden earth. Water was then added that dripped on to the runnel and into the receptacle on the ground. Its first fruits were tinged with red earth, which, therefore, were returned to the upper pots and the process was repeated until the contents of the lower pot were completely clear. These were then taken into a hut and the water boiled away until only pure white salt remained at the bottom of the pot. There would appear to be no restriction on the use of these salt beds. The land, though normally in Same district, is no-man's land, and was rarely visited by district or tribal authorities (Ibid). The migrant manufacturers then take their salt home either to sell it or barter what was in excess of their own requirements at their *gulios* - local uncontrolled weekly markets. At Makayo itself there were two *gulios* (*market sessions*), where indigenous people from Eastern Pare Northern Usambara or barter, the former maize, potatoes and bananas, the latter maize, rice, coconuts and fish, for salt. This activity continued until the rains in December. The

village was then left with its inhabitants, perhaps ten families, and the white rind spreads untouched over the red earth (TNA 1936/37, No.1-4 TNA, Pare-history pt 2, 2/80, pt 3/87-1936 Tanganyika Notes and Records 10/p, 80).

It is obvious from the foregoing account that the pre-colonial economic activities in Same District, were designed to satisfy first and foremost the social and economic needs of the people. This was not the priority of the colonial economy. The system was designed to make the colonies sources of cheap raw – materials, agricultural and minerals; markets for manufactured goods from metropolitan industries, and areas to invest excess capital for super profits, including white plantation owners and settlers. It is, therefore, not surprising that in German East Africa, the first Commissioner, Carl Peters, alleged; “the negro is created by God for manual labour; the sole task of the administration in a colony is to discipline natives for white enterprises” (Iliffe, 1969:55). It has thus been noted that not only were traditional subsistence farmers pulled with great reluctance into the colonial economy but the process itself resulted in food insecurity:

“...Hut and poll tax had pulled traditional subsistence farmers, usually with great reluctance into the colonial economy as cash crop farmers, miners, plantation laborers and service workers in the rapidly expanding colonial cities. The increasing number of wage laborers resulted in the farmers becoming more dependent on foreign market for their produce in return for imported commodities often including essential food stuffs” (Ibid).

4.2.2 Introduction of Sisal Production and Colonial Plantation Economy in Same District: 1890 - 1961

The colonial economy took over certain nineteenth century structures notably the lines of communication but was otherwise sharply discontinuous with pre-colonial

economic patterns. Nineteenth century structures were not easily broken, however. It was not until railway building accelerated in the early 1900s that a recognizably colonial economy emerged (Iliffe, 1979). In 1891, the German East Africa Company started to build a line inland from Tanga through a projected plantation area around Same to Kilimanjaro and finally to Lake Victoria. The Tanga line was slowly and inefficiently built with forced labour (Ibid). In 1899 the government took over and the line was completed in 1905 (Iliffe, 1979; Koponen, 1995). The construction of the central line from Dar es Salaam to Kigoma started in 1905, and was completed shortly before 1914. With improved transport facilities, more sisal estates were established along the Tanga-Moshi line and the central Dar es Salaam-Kigoma line (Ibid). The completion of the Same line was soon followed by the demand for a central line (Dar es Salaam to Tabora) to connect plantations in Same to the main areas of labour supply and inland plantations to the ports, as well as to aid European settlers by extending the northern route from Mombo to Moshi, which it reached in 1912.

Thereafter, this line was extended by the British to Usa River and Tengeru in 1929 and finally to Arusha in 1930. Moreover, planters in the southern parts of the territory also called for a Dar es Salaam to Lindi line. With backing from the Colonial Department, the Central Line reached Tabora by 1912. The existence of such infrastructure not only facilitated the working of plantations, but also contributed to the opening up of new areas for plantation agriculture and eased the movement of labour and commodities to and from plantation areas. It also dramatically closed the social space between the coast and the interior, allowing migrant workers to construct a dense social network marked by mobility around plantations and between them and their home areas in the

interior (Interviews with Idd Mkota, at Ndungu 20/ 10/2022).

In fact, railway construction and opening up of new plantations and settler farms entailed a gradual shift to the production of food crops like potatoes, maize and bananas for cash crops like sisal, tea, and coffee by local communities in Kilimanjaro Region in general and Same district in particular (Ibid). In addition to railways, Kilimanjaro Region as the plantation area par excellence witnessed further infrastructure installations that transformed its landscape. Prime among these was the upgrading and building of a network of roads as well as the upgrading of Tanga harbour to a port with various facilities to support international shipping lines and additional storage to cater for the increased volume of exported commodities, primarily sisal fiber from Tanga and Same district (Interview with Jaspa Mbagu, at Hedaru, 20/10/2022). However, visible infrastructure marked sisal plantations as idiosyncratic and distinctive units in the midst of prevailing peasant fields and villages. This infrastructure ranged from fences around the plantations, to bridges, railway lines and roads crisscrossing plantation land. The orderly spacing of plantation fields, along with centrally located factories, sheds and storage areas connected to water pumping stations, decorticators, drying grounds, brushing and baling machines, were an indispensable part of the production process, but also provided the unequivocal visible signs of power and difference associated with plantations. Despite this orderly and distinctive landscape, the boundaries between the village and plantation collapsed around the labour camps, due to the constant movement of men, women and children between village and plantation, as well as the dense economic and social networks that linked the two (Ibid).

Land use practices surrounding plantations in Same district took shape in the context of land policies in GEA. As time went by the number of colonial plantations kept on increasing in Tanganyika more generally and in Same district in particular. Ndungu, Hedaru and Makanya sisal plantations were among many of the plantations established in Same district and Kilimanjaro region in general which were associated with massive land alienation (Ibid). Land alienation created more space for the influx of European population in the region, which increased quite substantially. According to Iliffe, between 1904 and 1913, European population grew from 1,390 to 4,998 and that of the latter figure, 882 were male adults engaged in agriculture and who acquired land through alienating it from the Pare (Iliffe, 1979:141). Iliffe further noted that the speed with which the German planters were grabbing land created alarm and anxieties among the German colonial authorities as they created hatred among the Pare (Ibid). In Same District, the status of land alienation, sisal estates' distribution and ownership by non – natives (settlers and companies) by 1938, is as detailed in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1: List of non – native sisal estate owners in Same District by 1938

S/N	Name	Nationality	Locality	Approx. Area	Freehold or Leasehold
1.	A. S. Monnas.	Greek	Kifarur, Ugweni	807 Hactres 125 Acres	Freehold Leasehold
2.	Usagara Co. Ltd.	German	Kisangara, Usangi	2140 Acres	Leasehold
3.	E. N. Mantheakis	Greek	Lembeni, Usangi	1327 Acres	Leasehold
4.	E. N. Mantheakis	Greek	Kisiwani, Mbaga	720 Hactres	Freehold
5.	E. N. Mantheakis	Greek	Mwembe, Mbaga	150 Hactres	Freehold
6.	Otto Heinemann	German	Kisiwani, Mbaga	124 Hactres	Freehold
7.	L. F. Bradstock	English	Gonja, S.Pare	374 Hactres	Freehold
8.	G. Dettman	German	Ndungu, Gonja	360 Hactres	Freehold
9.	A. S. Monnas	Greek	Ndungu, Gonja	440 Hactres	Freehold
10.	Karimjee Jivanjee & Co.	Indians	Makanya, Chome	576.5 Hactres 1611 Hactres	Freehold Leasehold

Source: TNA 19, Pare (Same) District Book.

Pare people were able to remain on their land in return for the provision of their labour to the sisal plantations. However, on the question of labour most of Pare people particularly those who lived in mountains did not fully engage on colonial sisal production. Among of the reasons which made Pare people not to engage fully in provision of labour was that the missionaries wanted the Pare people to remain in the areas so as they could be taught the word of God. For those reasons therefore, the missionaries had to force the Pare people to plant coffee for commercial purpose. In 1912, however, the shortage of land and labour persuaded the government to close Southern Pare to settlement (Interview with Hatibu Karigo, at Ndungu, 18/10/2022). More than half the cultivable land then remaining for Africans was said to be cultivated at any time, and so fallow periods were falling to destructive levels and food production was declining. However, European farming did not prosper much in Southern Pare. Some of coffee plantations failed in some parts of Same District. Dairying and European vegetables were tried, but the market was small and communications appalling. Most settlers grew African cereals to feed plantations in the valley below the mountains. As generally in Tanganyika, European mixed farming proved less viable than plantations or ranching (Interview with Hatibu Karigo, at Ndungu, 18/10/2022).

Europeans applied various laws and regulations to take land from indigenous people in Same. For example, Article I of the 1895 Imperial Land Decree divested Africans of their land rights: all land was declared ownerless (*herrenlos*), and ownership was vested in the Empire (crown land), except when proof of ownership could be shown (Interview with John Mchome at Ndungu 20/10/2022). The question of “showing”

ownership crystallized in the 1896 Imperial Circular that distinguished between ownership and rights of occupation. While the former had proof of documented titles, those without title were constituted first as a collective entity (the tribe) whose presence was recognized by virtue of labouring on the land (cultivation and use), and who were absorbed into the colonial state that acted as their guardian (power of representation, preserving rights, requisition and retention of land) (Ibid). Preserving “native” land rights was legally defined as “present rights,” which were recognized on the basis of physical occupation, while future rights were four times the present area under occupation. In the same way the 1895 Decree sanctioned land alienation in favour of European plantations and settlers, and ensured the dispossession of many communities in Same district, thus pushing them into wage labour on possibly the same land they used to hold. Furthermore, the law endorsed individualized contractual private property as the main denominator of value, treating so-called communal native land holdings and their cosmological underpinnings as icons of backwardness (Ibid). The decree also entitled the colonial state to expand its sphere of control over land matters: the government surveyed different lands which were owned by Pare communities, counted landholders, sanctioned boundaries, granted access to alienated land, set the length and terms of leases, mediated any land transactions between natives and Europeans and regulated land prices (Interview with Lydia Baraka, Agricultural Extension Officer, Makanya Ward, 22/10/2022).

By the time the decree came into effect, DOAG was already in control of large tracts of land along the coast, which it parceled out to prospecting planters, especially big plantation companies. (DOAG conditions of sale were biased to big plantations. Land

had to be 1,000 ha at the price of four marks per ha. For those purchasing more than 1,000 ha the condition for cultivation of 5–10 percent of land within two years was removed. Most of this land, especially in densely populated Kilimanjaro and Same in particular became the hub of sisal and coffee plantations. DOAG and plantation companies used different means to gain access to land, ranging from force and intimidation, to agreements with Arabs or Indians, to capitalizing on political rivalry among African chiefs and negotiating with a hierarchy of chiefs and patrons. Land was moved from local communities to planters through sale, mortgage, lease, exchange or simply through appropriation (Sheridan, 2000). The frenzy of land speculation, the massive concessions granted to some big companies, and the influx of migrant workers intensified conflicts over land in tea, coffee and sisal areas.

In response to local resentment and the pressure of left-wing politicians in Berlin, under Governors Wissmann and Götzen the demand for more land by plantations and settlers was cut and land speculation was brought under state control (Koponen, 1994: 191– 192). In practice, however, these regulations did not result in less land moving into the hands of plantation companies and settlers. Land alienation was indeed land dispossession, which increased the vulnerability of local communities in Same District economically, socially and morally (Interview with Fatuma Juma, at Makanya, 16/10/2022). Those who lost their land also lost the dignity of being able to refuse to work on colonial plantations. Amina Mshana recollection on this matter was quite revealing. She noted that “They lost their independence and became sucked into plantation work,” She was proud that neither her father nor late husband was forced to work for an Indian or European plantation. They would never hire themselves out

because they possessed their own plots of farms. She stated with pride: “We had our *shamba*, our house and we only went to farm our own land. We remained free and secure on the land” (Interview with Amina Mshana at Hedaru, 20/10/2022). However, Amina became a sisal worker after the death of her husband, and since she had no children the land, they farmed reverted to his kin group. That planters and settlers very soon recognized this safeguarding mechanism of land is evidenced in their systematic challenging of local communities’ access and right to land in order to ensure the flow of labouring bodies. Equally important was their recognition of the value of food production for the growing plantation labour force. During the embryonic stage, coffee and sisal plantations had already experienced tension between their need for land and labour on the one hand, and the need for the supply of food to plantations from neighbouring villages on the other. For planters and the state, keeping the two domains apart was a strategy for ensuring their control over each separately. For villagers and workers, merging village and plantation, food, cash and work was the tactic for maintaining their control over the land, food and labour. This conflict became more acute with the establishment of more plantations, which meant an escalating demand for labourers.



Figure 4.1: Sisal plantation established during colonial time, at Ndungu by A.S Monnas

Source: Field observation 23rd October, 2022

Most of people who used to work in colonial plantations were migrant labourers from distant regions. The economic and environmental conditions which made plantations possible in the north-east also enabled Africans of the region to commercialize their agriculture. The result was differentiation between labour-importing and exporting regions. In the importing regions African societies tended to develop peasant production (Iliffe, 1979). Peasant exporting regions were underdeveloped as labour – reserve areas. Plantations found it more difficult than other enterprises to attract labourers, because of the harsh discipline. Planters used the “task” system. Eventually migrant labour became a lasting solution. The expansion of migrant labour started in 1908 and continued until the WW1. Forced and slave labour prevailed on GEA plantations since their beginning. To ensure a constant supply of labour in colonial sisal plantations district, colonial governors ordered Pare local Chief to provide labour to the colonial plantations, and to meet the demand for labour.

Various coercive methods were to be used directly, such as the use of guns and flogging, and indirectly, usually in unison with local state agents, land alienation and taxation. In Tanga, for instance, the district officer divided the district into 8–15 huts; each was supposed to provide one worker at prescribed intervals to work on the plantations. When this failed, in sisal plantations area the district officer in Southern Pare issued “each Pare with a card compelling him to work for a European for thirty days every four months at a fixed wage” (Interview with Glory Kavuta, at Ndungu, 19/10/2022). Collaboration with headmen or *local chief* to send workers to plantation areas earned local authorities the disgraceful reputation of having “sold their people for a rupee a head,” or in the language of a coffe or sisal worker, “Arab brokers sold

people to plantations like cows” (Sabea, 2010, Vol. 23 No. 1). Furthermore, district officers collaborated with planters and settlers in setting the terms for labour engagement. Again, in such a situation, there was no an open labour market, where wages were adjusted according to the law of supply and demand. The wages paid were fixed by the official concerned with labour administration (Interview with Juma Karia, at Ndungu, 25/10/2022). Planters and settlers also hired slaves from Arab and Swahili planters, rented them from labour brokers, or ransomed slaves and obliged them to work on their plantations until full payment of the purchase price. DOAG resorted to importing Asian indentured labour, although this practice did not last long, while the use of convict labour reached 10–20 percent of all workers by the turn of the century. However, none of these options solved what planters perceived as a “labour calamity” (Ibid)

Local labour in Same area was physically available, but despite all their coercive measures planters and administrators failed to secure enough people to meet their labour demands. The alternative was tapping the labour power of people from the interior, i.e., relying on migrant labour (constructed by the colonialist as fundamentally male migrant workers), a practice that became an inseparable, though highly contentious facet of sisal plantations. To recruit workers, plantations relied on Arab and Indian contractors and merchants, on *local chief*, and on workers returning home to mobilize others to follow suit. In addition to recruited migrants, many walked to plantations on their own (no contractual migrants) to retain a degree of autonomy over their working and living conditions. Bad working conditions in the colonial plantations

were another deterrent. There were many examples of abuse, such as brutality, flogging, bad housing and overwork, as well as hunger, disease and death (Iiffe, 1979).

Communities that held historical attachment to portering and social disadvantage, such as the Nyamwezi and Sukuma from the western parts of the territory, formed the genesis of migrant labour on sisal plantations in Tanga region and sisal plantations district in particular. (Ibid, Interview with Shemweta Singano, at Ndungu, 26/10/2022). Labourers worked on plantations while awaiting the departure of their caravans, and soon planters started calling upon contractors to tap this resource mainly for seasonal work on plantations and settler farms. Further, the government set up porters' depots in coastal and caravan towns to channel labour to plantations in the vicinity of sisal plantations. While some porters became plantation workers, others retained both forms of wage labour, thus providing a temporary source of labour to plantations. In addition to porters, by the early 1900s people from the south of the territory (especially the Ngoni) also moved into plantations in Tanga region and Same district in particular to work to pay the heavy taxes. Makonde migrants from neighbouring Mozambique, escaping the turmoil of armed resistance to Portuguese colonial penetration, also found their way to northern plantations. In 1908, the effects of the Maji Maji rebellion, famine, ecological disasters, land alienation, the ease of transport and movement afforded by roads and railways, intensive recruiting, and the tax burden expanded the numbers involved in plantation labour (Iiffe, 1979). Despite conflicts among employers of labour, the discourse on labour shortage and workers' resistance to being turned into a stable, disciplined workforce, the number of people moving into plantation work actually increased. While at the turn of the century the

numbers were in the range of 10,000, by 1908 they had reached 36,423 and had tripled to 91,892 by 1912–13 (Plantagenstatistik, 1902–1903, G8/22, TNA; Plantagenstatistik, 1908–1909, G8/24, TNA. (Translated by Fr. Dr M. Mbano). As Iliffe argued, “So wide was the migration network by 1914 that the illuminating question is which peoples were not involved” (Iliffe, 1979).

The issue of working in colonial plantations needed a high discipline and control (Interview with a manager of a SISAL estate, Ndungu, 23/12/ 2021). This idiom was inscribed on the landscape, the social organization of production, and the corresponding classification of labour at the inception of plantations. Visually, the orderly landscape of the colonial plantations was reinforced by the rhythmic organization of production that was all year round, timed and sequenced. This organization was also seen in the classification of workers. On the one hand, labourers were divided by their location in the field or the factory. Field workers were involved in clearing the land, cutting leaves, cleaning the matured and immature sisal fields, nursery planting and cleaning, and replanting fields, whereas factory workers were involved in decorticating, drying, brushing, pressing and baling. Auxiliary tasks were performed by mechanics, drivers, rail layers, and a host of clerks for bookkeeping, while *askaris* and reporters toured the fields, factories and camps to keep workers under strict surveillance. Layers of supervisors from the level of gangs (groups of 10–15 workers) to the top level of management controlled the whole operation.

Ethnicity, gender, age and skill were key parameters when distributing labourers among the various categories. Thus, while contracted migrant Nyamwezi men were

mainly engaged as cutters, men from indigenous communities in plantation districts predominated in the cleaning of mature tea, coffee and sisal fields. Women were concentrated in the cleaning of immature fields (symbolized by the hoe as opposed to the cleaning of mature fields with the *panga*, which was reserved for men), while children worked in the nursery fields. The gender, age and ethnicity nexus that governed the distribution of workers was ultimately shaped by the overall division of plantation labour into local labour and migrant (particularly recruited) labour. (Labour was divided into day (or casual) labour and contract (or recruited) labour. The day labourers were not bound by any master, and worked on plantations near their homes. They were usually given piecework and paid for it the same day. Contract labourers were recruited up-country, and were signed on for 180 or 240 working days” (cited in the 1926 Annual Labor Department Report). This all-encompassing classification reflected the central concern of the administration in managing the native and labour problems of recruiting, the potentially unregulated movement of natives around the territory, and the effects of labour migration on both home and employment areas (in terms of the payment of taxes in home areas, the lack of men available for local food and cash crop production, the mixing of tribes and the imagined immorality associated with it.

Those concerns were precisely articulated in the 1909 regulations, whereby the absence of migrant men from their home villages was limited to nine months, recruiting was brought under the supervision of the state, and the unregulated movement of men was addressed. Further, the classification reflected planters’ concerns about the provision of housing and food for workers, as well as the competing

demands between local labourers farming their own fields and labouring on plantations. It was not uncommon for men and women to leave plantation work to attend to the planting and harvesting of their *shambas*, a practice that was perceived as disruptive to the flow of plantation work, and for which regulations were later passed preventing the production of cash crops in the vicinity of plantations.

Food production was usually perceived as being undertaken by women and was tolerated and encouraged, especially since no fields for food production were carved out of the plantations. Rather, relying on food being provided by neighbouring villages was becoming the norm, bringing in its wake, as Conte, Huijendveld and Kimambo noted a shift in regional economies towards the production of food for cash. (Huijendveld, “Changes in Political Economy;” Isaria Kimambo, “Environmental Control and Hunger in the Mountains and Plains of Northeastern Tanzania,” in Gregory Maddox et al., eds., *Custodians of the Land: Ecology and Culture in the History of Tanzania* (London: James Currey, 1996), 71–95; C. Conte, *Highland Sanctuary: Environmental History in Tanzania’s Usambara Mountains* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2004) Equally important was the prevailing belief that men (particularly recruited migrant men) comprised the majority of sisal labour. The figure of the single male migrant worker stood out (and continues to the present) as a “fact” of sisal labour, despite all evidence to the contrary.

With the outbreak of WWI the general contours of coffee and sisal plantations were laid down which led to the large-scale land appropriation with investment in infrastructure, dispossession of local communities and devaluation of so-called

communal holdings in favour of private property and documented holdings, the use of land and taxes to force the local population to become plantation wage labourers, the shift to the production of food crops as cash crops for sale to plantations, and a gradual but massive influx of so-called “alien” migrant workers to plantation areas. By 1914 sisal had mastered the landscape of what became Tanga Region, turning it into sisal land par excellence, marked by plantations, migrant alien labour, and local communities servicing the food and labour needs of plantations (Ibid).

In spite of the foregoing, it is asserted that “the last fifteen years of colonial rule saw a very rapid penetration of capitalist values and relations into many areas of Tanganyikan life as a result of a general increase in prosperity, a substantial growth in production for the market, and deliberate government policy to prepare the territory to govern itself along lines acceptable to the British” (Kaniki (Ed) (1980):294). Furthermore, after 1947, Tanganyika experienced several years of unprecedented prosperity. This is attributed to an enormous increase in the world prices of primary products owing to economic recovery in the industrial nations and political crises such as the Korean War. One result was the rapid expansion of export production. Between 1945 and 1961 sisal output doubled, the production of coffee in Kilimanjaro multiplied three times, and the Sukuma cotton crop increased five – fold. This expansion helped to increase government expenditure between 1949 and 1956 from £ 8, 700,000 to £ 22,600,000 a year. Much of the money was spent on better roads, which in turn extended commercial agriculture still further (Ibid). This shows that in spite of the low value of the export crops which lacked value addition, the revenue generated was sufficient to run the colonial administration without foreign aid.

It is said that “for a decade after the end of the war, the sisal estates were able to expand production rapidly without significantly altering their structure. As producing a ton of fibre required the labour of one man for one year, an increase in exports between 1946 and 1960 from 111,521 to 207,225 tons, indicates the scale of expansion in the sisal labour force (Ibid: 295; TNA Tanganyika Territory Blue Book, 1946, page 206; TNA Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture, 1960, page 38). In the specific case of Same District, ownership, management and output of sisal estates by 1949, was as detailed in Table 4.2 below.

Table 4.2: Ownership, management and output of sisal estates in Pare District by 1949

Estate	Owner/User	Manager	African Workers	Annual Output (Tons)
Hassani	Karimjee Estates	J. F. Lund	1200	1500
Kisangara	Karimjee Estates	H.Schneemann	1050	1600
Kisiwani	Noorani	G. Stratondakis	600	250
Ndungu	A. S. Monnas	G. Wilson	650	500
Kifaru	A. S. Monnas	C. Caragion	950	1000
Mwembe	Mantheakis (Father)	Mantheakis (Son)	100	NI

Source: TNA 19, Pare (Same) District Book.

When labour conscription ended in 1944, an effective recruiting agency, Sisal Labour Bureau (SILABU) was formed. For the next ten years, it generally satisfied the demand for labour and acquired almost a territorial monopoly of recruiting (Ibid). During the war, certain traditional sources of migrant labour were lost to the expanding industries of Southern Africa. The Nyakyusa in particular, abandoned the sisal estates for the higher wages of the Rand in South Africa and the Copperbelt in present day Zambia. As miners, they were paid shs. 110 – 133 a month in 1954 compared with the shs. 39 plus food earned by sisal cutters (Ibid: 296). The sisal estates, in their turn, relied

increasingly on migrants from remote regions. In Tanganyika, the most numerous groups consisted of the Waha. In 1954, a sisal planter instructed SILABU; “Bring Waha Bachelors, they can live four or five in a house” (Ibid: 296). It is said that two years earlier, the government had promised employers not to “press” inhabitants of labour reservoirs to grow cash crops, and the PC had declared that Buha’s function in the territorial economy was to supply labour (Ibid).

4.2.3 The Socio-Economic Impact of the Introduction of Sisal Production and Colonial Plantation Economy in Same District, 1890 - 1967

Findings indicate that the introduction of Sisal Production and Colonial Plantation Economy in different areas of Same District led to both positive and negative socio-economic impact. However, negative socio-economic impact outweighs the positive impact. We start by exploring the positive impact. Education is vital in any type of human society for the conservation of the lives of its members and the upholding of the social structure. Under certain situations, education also promotes collective change. The introduction of colonial education was a new experience for the people of Same District. It came with the colonial instruction during the last quarter of 19th century. But prior to formal education, informal education had always been part and parcel of the Pare people’s lives as had always been the case with other societies in Tanzania. Before the colonial era and the establishment of colonial plantations, informal education was targeted at molding behavior of the people within the society and creating a “good citizen” of the clan or tribe by creating a picture in the minds of those taught depicting the virtues and manners they were to acquire and the future life they were to lead. Formal education and the acquisition of literacy were introduced in

Tanzania in the 1860s and 1870s by foreign voluntary agencies mostly connected with the arrival of missionaries from Europe (TENMET, 1996).

After that, informal education slowly started to decline in favour of formal education. Despite the emphasis put on the importance of literacy, the pace at which individual Africans recognized the value of western education for their lives differed. As regards the Pare, education introduced by the missionaries had already begun in the 1860s, when some bush schools were opened in different areas of Same like Hedaru, Makanya, Ndungu, Kisiwani and Gonja. However, few people appreciated the importance of schooling (Interview with Mshana Mchome and Edson Lubua, Hedaru and Makanya wards, 18/10/2022). As a result, most of them were reluctant to send their children to missionary schools. Most Pare people who came to realize the importance of literacy were those subjected to environments that necessitated them to be literate, which is why they developed an interest in learning how to read and write (Ibid).

The vitality, essence and value of Western education in the colonial plantations among the Pare were also influenced because of introduction of sisal plantations in Same District. Life in areas of employment encouraged many forms of learning among Africans. Apart from acquiring skills and experience as a result of working and interacting, some labourers were interested in learning how to read and write. “Parangavanu, expressed his desire to study because of the difficult moments he experienced while working as a labourer in sisal plantations” (Giblin, 2005). He

wanted to be able to sign the payment form as others did rather than putting a thumbprint which denoted illiteracy. Kilima expressed his discomfort saying:

I got to Tanga. When I got my wages, I had to sign. Ahaa! So, I put a thumbprint while I saw others writing. This is what got me into studying, seeing how others knew how to write, as well as to read, while you didn't even know how to read yet (Said Kilima as quoted by J. Giblin, *The History of Excluded: Making Family a Refuge from State in the Twentieth Century Tanzania* (James Currey, Oxford, 2005))

The aspirations that Kilima had could also be seen in many other labourers in the colonial plantations in Same. Mchome Mshana had similar encounters at work. While young he worked as a 'store boy' for the Greeks in Dabaga, Tanga, between 1952 and 1956. He pointed out that despite the fact his employers liked him very much; not knowing how to read and write was a great obstacle to his working as a store boy. Such a job required some literacy skills which Mshana did not have. This made him feel uncomfortable. He wanted to free himself from such a shameful condition. He wanted to know how to read and write. Expressing this, Mshana once said:

There were many workers in the tea plantations. Some of the workers wanted to do this while other wanted to do that; on my side I had to keep records, but it was difficult because I didn't know how to read and write. At the beginning there were few workers, I could manage them..... I could just mark them and remember that they took, ooh! Later it became difficult, some of the things got lost without my knowledge. I said on myself! I should learn how to read and write. That became my desire (Interview with Mchome Mshana, Makanya, 10/10/ 2022.)

Mshana was lucky to have a co-operative employer who bothered about his illiteracy. The employer determined to help this young illiterate but very committed worker. Although he did not send him to school, he helped him by buying books and giving his employee time off for self-study with some assistance. Eventually, Mshana became literate. He eventually knew how to read and write.

It was realized that educated migrant labourers were much sought after as clerks, supervisors and general office workers. This observation made many of the Pare people around colonial plantations aspire to be educated, even if it be elementary education. Mchome Mshana explained his experience while working on sisal estates in Tanga saying;

We soon found out at our workplace that educated colleagues who knew how to read and write in the Dutch's language were paid more money but did less manual labour than some of us who were uneducated but did hard work. Those who knew how to use pencils worked in offices of the Bwana mkubwa with their hands always clean. (Interview with Mchome Mshana, Hedaru, 13/12/2021)

The truth that people like Mshana and Kilima had the desire to learn how to read and write from working as migrant labourers in European enterprises is just one part of the story. Scrutinizing the way in which such literacy had a transformative role in their home communities is imperative to get a fuller picture of the situation.

Mshana returned to his home in Makanya in 1956. While there, everyone was surprised at how he had changed. His parents were shocked to see that their young boy could read and write although they had not sent him to school. The news of his being literate spread throughout the village. Apart from being literate, Mshana had also learnt about masonry and carpentry while working for settlers in the colonial plantations.

As Masson points out, to obtain an education and techniques that are useful in the modern economy often requires people moving away from rural areas. That being the case migrant labourers from Same got a chance to acquire and use their various skills at work. The fruits of working in colonial plantations in Same did not just benefit the

individual migrant. After migrants returned home, many parents recognized the value of their children being taught how to read and write. In his own words Mshana recalled:

I could not believe my eyes. My father's house had been turned into a school, and many parents came asking me to teach their children how to read and write and so I did. My father was very proud of me; he could even joke with his friends about their children's illiteracy as if he had once sent me to school." (P.R. Masson, Migrating Human Capital and Poverty in Dual-Economy in a Developing Country, IMF Working paper, (WP/01/121, Sept.2001)

The truth that parents began to send their children to be educated by individuals like Mshana implies that people recognized the value of western education. It also denoted the efforts of individuals to educate themselves outside the formal sphere of bush schools established by missions and the colonial Government. Few parents could afford the school fees and other expenses relating to their children's schooling. Therefore, one of the better alternatives was to send their children to individuals who had been educated by people who had received formal education in schools established near colonial plantations, because this was much cheaper. This system was negotiable as they could agree on how much to pay and so this was affordable by most Pare people in need of such education.

Among the people who received colonial education was Richard Mgya who became famous for his good performance in masonry. This enabled him to be employed during the construction of the TAZARA railway. When he was asked where he got such training, he simply said from Mchome Mshana of Makanya" (Interview with Richard Mgya, Hedaru, 10/10/2022). This was the same to Juma Mbwambo who had undergone training in masonry and acquired other skills from people in his village as

well as people from neighbouring villages. Some people chose to send their children to different bush schools established by colonialists near colonial plantations. For example, Edson Lubua, while working in Makanya Sisal plantation, made sure that he learnt how to read and write. On 1/1/1950 he bought his first book entitled “Habari za Kazi na Watu” (Information on Work and People). To impress other readers, on the first plain page of the book he wrote in Kiswahili: “*Kitabu hiki ...Ukisoma ndani utapenda uzuri wake*”; “when you read this book, you will find out how useful it is”. This was a book printed by Lutheran Missions in Tanganyika Territory, found in Usambara Agentur, Mission Lwandai. Using his money earned from working in a sisal plantation, Lubua bought a few other books, which his family and other people at home came to use (Interview with Mchome Mshana at Makanya, 14/10/2022).

Apart from the Pare people going to school, learning how to write letters became an important skill in their lives as it enabled husbands who were migratory labourers to communicate with their wives at home, and letter writing became a new mode of communication by the Pare people, which further encouraged some people to work in colonial plantations far away from their families at home because they could communicate with them by writing letters. The issue of working in colonial plantations separated men from their families for long periods. Writing letters remained the only form of communication. It was therefore important for the labourers to know how to read and write. It was also equally important for children or some relatives to know how to read and write so that they could read and reply to letters sent to the migrant husband’s illiterate wife. This assured them of the confidentiality of the content of his letter to his family and of the letter written to him by his family, because if no-one

could read and write letters, it would be necessary for someone outside the family to do this. It would be regarded as a shame to ask someone from outside the family to read and write letters for another family.

People who did not know how to read and write went to a teacher to read their letters for them or reply to letters by dictating the words to the teacher. In most cases this was free, but it was not a good thing to do.

Several people in Upare wanted to know how to read and write different letters. Some people even charged a small fee for the service. Payment in most cases was in kind. As pointed out earlier, when migrant labourers returned home, they began sending their children to school. They now realized that education could pay. In subsequent years, some educated children joined labour migration and saw how rewarding education was. They, in turn, made sure that their own children, including daughters, went to school and had a better education. Indeed, this was an important contribution of labour migration to the educational development of the Pare people. Since employment was associated with labour migration, which was basically only for men, it was assumed that Western education was only for boys who would eventually end up being migrant labourers bringing money home to Same. For this reason, girls who were not considered for labour migration were deprived of the chance of going to school. 'Our fathers were not willing to send us girls to school', narrated Sara Mbwana, who expressed dissatisfaction with the situation (Interview with Sara Mbwana Makanya, 1 5/10/2022). However, this situation did not remain unaltered. With experience in urban areas, the different migrant labourers slowly overturned this view.

They found that with a good education girl could be teacher or nurses, and so gradually they began sending their daughters to school. However, the privileging of boys over girls in education still prevailed among the majority of Pare families.

Related to education was the participation of the Pare in local and national politics. There was also a direct relationship between the level of education acquired and the level of participation in local and national politics by the Pare. Pare people with education were in the political front line. Those with a low level of or no western education at all were not active in local politics. Therefore, this indicates that although leadership by inheritance continued to persist among the Pare, increasingly a certain level of education became an important qualification for one to take part in politics, especially from the 1950s (Interview with Kakore Mrindoko, Makanya, 15/10/2022). In this connection, people who were eligible for leadership through inheritance began thinking about acquiring western education. After becoming literate while working for colonial plantations in Same and after his return home Mchome Mshana of Makanya managed to hold different posts in local politics, such as being the chairperson of the village and thereafter chairperson of the ward. In his own words, Mchome Mshana said;

“Oooo! I did not even think that knowing how to read and write would make my people entrust me with leadership especially in the council. I did not dream of that I think my command of Swahili and general confidence helped me a great deal. I am thankful for working in a colonial sisal plantation.” (Ibid).

Hence, this shows that the establishment of colonial plantations in Same provided opportunities for Pare people to learn and participate in different political and social

and economic positions. Iliffe points out that many unions that became important later in politics originated at distant workplaces (J. Iliffe: 1979). While working in various colonial sectors the Pare labourers participated in trade unions. The first trade unions in the plantation sector were established in 1957 (C. Lwoga: 1985). The Pare's participation in these unions and various strikes gave them experience in negotiating and bargaining. 'We joined with other workers to demand better pay and working conditions', commented Said Mbwambo of Hedaru, (Interview with Said Mbwambo 15/10/2022), who emphasized that at the beginning they thought it was impossible to demand better wages while working in different colonial sectors. But colonial education gave people the courage to join the struggle for better wages and later this experience enabled them to participate in different positions in local politics.

Labour Migration and cultural impact, through working as migrant labourers, in Same managed to obtain experience and skills. For instance, before the introduction of SILABU, migrant labourers travelled to the sisal estates entirely on foot. Such a journey took them at least thirty days and, could last even much longer if the travelling labourers paused on route to do farm labour in return for provisions. This was an adventurous walking journey between home and plantation regions. On the roads, workers enjoyed independence and extraordinary opportunity to learn about geography, economy, cultures and languages.

On plantations, the labourers gained self-confidence and physical strength. They also encountered some indignities. With transformation from novices to veterans, workers were recognized by their fellows as knowledgeable persons who could transmit their

acquired knowledge to others. J. Lave and E. Wenger argue that workers like these become full members within the “community of practice on plantations.” (J. Lave, and E. Wenger, 1991, p. 29). These practices were premised on mobility: the ability to constantly move around between home areas, plantation areas, and villages. It was such movements that constituted an ever-expanding social network through which knowledge circulated among workers. A collection of all that experience and skills, earned labour migrants a special social position in their home society after their return.

The Ocean was the most remembered threatening thing told by former migrant labour from Kigoma. On reaching Tanga, new migrants were first shocked by the wonders of the ocean. Experienced migrants gave first timers ritual dousing to impress upon the novices that they were stumbling blindly into a profoundly dangerous and unhealthy world. Victory Mbwiliza noted that such an act aimed at making sure that these novices would be wise to pay attention to their companions and *wanyapara*.

If you have not been in Tanga before, you would be blindfolded, and then taken into the ocean. There were older men who had been to Tanga already. They would say that the *mnyapara* should blindfold the newcomer so that he couldn't see the ocean, then they'd throw him into the water, and after that they'd untie the blindfold (Interview with Victory Mbwiliza at Makanya, 20/11/2022.)

Such an act, Mlacha Sekibojo insisted, was a customary initiation ritual performed by their veteran labour migrants. Recalling on how threatening it was, he said: “When we opened our eyes and saw how much water there was, we were frightened and ran out of it.” (interview with Mlacha Sekibojo at Makanya, 16/11/2022). Plantation life encouraged many forms of learning as well. A total of such knowledge and skills became a mark of distinction for returning labourers.

To prove that they were different from the non-migrant fellow Bena, after their return home, sisal veterans enjoyed discussing their adventurous journeys and experiences in their work places. These people appeared to have changed in terms of their skills, clothing and other possessions they brought. John Mgaya revealed that people could gather in the houses of returning migrants to hear news from the distant world. They came with various things such as chicken and local brew to share with the returned fellows who, in return, had to share knowledge, skills and experiences of the places of employment. Returning migrants (especially successful ones) were taken as heroes by their home fellows. This development was aptly captured by John Mgaya, who recalled:

Many people would come with chicken. Others came with *dengerua* (local brew) to share with us. We narrated to them the stories of our journey to and from Tanga and the work place. Those who had their relatives still in Njombe would want to hear news from them; some of them sent letters through us. In fact, we looked at ourselves as heroes (Interview with John Mgaya at Makanya, 15/11/2022)

Something worth noting is that, not all stories and experiences accumulated by labour migrants were to be told when they came back. Mgaya pointed out that there were some restrictions made as to what kind of stories were free to be told at home. Other stories, therefore, were not allowed to be shared. These included among others, stories of the practices involved in the initiation of novice migrants and other stories which had to do with various forms of humiliation which the migrants were subjected to on plantations. They also withheld essential knowledge on the practice of sisal cutting and processing. “Go and see by yourself” was a common answer given by returned migrant labourers to those non-migrants enquiring on matters not preferred to be revealed by migrants. There were penalties that a migrant labourer could incur if he told stories

that were restricted by veteran labour migrants or *nyapara* (Interview with Mlacha Sekibojo at Ndungu, 16/11/2022). Such withholding of certain categories of knowledge by migrant labourers was for the purpose of maintaining their status as bearers of knowledge that others did not possess. Wages which were obtained by migrant labourers were used to buy Apart from things like clothes, knives and other alien things. Since they were few, these things were only distributed to relatives of the inner circle of the extended family. These included among others, parents, in-laws and grandparents. It was important to give such things to these relatives, for without such gifts a migrant labourer would receive no blessing for their activities. The giving of such gifts earned the returned migrants a special recognition in the family. This eventually became another factor in the explanation as to why increasingly more Ha and Bena youths Kigoma and Njombe respectively migrated for work in distant places – search for recognition. This was aided by the fact that marrying among the Bena youths was to be preceded by *kupagala* for which labour migration offered such an opportunity. Some of migrant labourers had to marry the indigenous people which resulted to the intermingling of names among the local people of Same district. Examples of the names which are shared by Pare, Bena and Ha are Mgaya, Kadeghe, Kabwe. Finally, it was pointed out that after raising enormous wealth from among other economic activities, sisal production, the Karimjee Jivanjee Family invested part of it in philanthropy/charity sectors (Ibid). For example, they built the historic and famous Karimjee Hall which served as the seat of the Legislative Council (LegCo) and later the National Assembly until the latter was transferred to Dodoma in the late 1990s. Presently, Karimjee Hall is serving as the Mayor's Parlour for the City Council of Dar es Salaam. Notable Secondary Schools built by the Family as Indian Schools

include present day Jangwani Girls and Azania Secondary Schools in Dar es Salaam, Usagara Secondary School in Tanga and Mawenzi Secondary School in Moshi. In fact, even the construction of different buildings at the University of Dar es Salaam (Mwalimu Nyerere Campus), was realised through the generous financial contribution of the Karimjee Jivanjee Family. The same is true of some health facilities in the country (Ibid).

4.3 Summary

This chapter has presented findings on the socio-economic impact of the establishment of sisal plantations on local people in Same District. The presentation has been done in accordance with the specific objectives of the study and the archival/documentary/interview checklist (Appendix 3). As noted in Chapter 2, the specific objectives of the study were to show the socio-economic impact of pre-colonial economic activities in Same District; to explain the process of the introduction of sisal production and colonial plantation economy in Same District, and to demonstrate the nature of the socio-economic impact of the introduction of sisal production and colonial plantation economy in Same District, between 1890 and 1967. In the following chapter, a discussion of the findings will be presented.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, will discuss findings of the study. As noted in chapter 2, the specific objectives of the study were to show the socio – economic impact of pre – colonial economic activities in Same District; to explain the process of the introduction of sisal plantation and colonial economy in Same District, and to demonstrate the nature of the socio – economic impact of the introduction of sisal production and colonial plantation economy in Same District, between 1890 and 1967.

5.2 Discussion of the Findings

5.2.1 The Socio-Economic Impact of Pre- Colonial Economic Activities in Same District

The account under findings indicates that the pre – colonial economic activities in Same District, were designed to satisfy first and foremost the social and economic needs of the people. This was not the priority of the colonial economy. The system was designed to make the colonies sources of cheap raw – materials, agricultural and minerals; markets for manufactured goods from metropolitan industries, and areas to invest excess capital for super profits, including white plantation owners and settlers. Consequently, the pattern of European settlement that emerged in Africa during the colonial period, enabled the settlers to occupy much of the better agricultural land, through which railways were built to enable their produce reach the world market (Fage, 1988). The much more numerous indigenous inhabitants had been penned back

into less favorable or less accessible lands where, finding increasing difficulty in supporting a growing population they served as a reservoir of cheap labor for European economy (Ibid).

As an appendage of the metropolitan economy, the colonial economy is beset with contradictions similar to those of its “creator” i.e., the capitalist economic system. For instance, to generate profits in the colonies, capital does not penetrate the production process so as to set in motion the development of the productive forces to a higher level. To do so would be tantamount to creating a full – fledged capitalist economy which would compete with rather than complement the metropolitan economy.

It has thus been pointed out by Walter Rodney that in Africa, capitalism discouraged technological evolution while blocking the Continent’s access to its own technology (Rodney, 1972:84). Rodney has further argued that capitalism introduced into Africa only such limited aspects of its material culture as were essential to more efficient exploitation and that the general tendency was for capitalism to under develop Africa (Ibid). In this way, by stifling traditional industries mainly through the importation of metropolitan manufactured goods, capitalism destroyed the industrial base of the pre – capitalist society. It thus created a dependent and asymmetrical economy out of what was hitherto an integrated and symmetrical economy. Such an economy, could not facilitate local people’s access to better vocation/occupation/work, education, income and shelter, hence, to health knowledge, better housing and nutrition, better health care, social and political security.

Before 1860, the Pare had joined the caravan trade by supplying food to the caravans. However, aided by Sambaa and Zigua middlemen, Arabs and Swahili traders took also ivory and slaves from the Pare. As the link between the coast and the interior, the middlemen operated from Kisiwani, Gonja, Ndungu, Kihurio, Hedaru, Makanya and Mwembe. The slave trade in particular, strained the social, political and economic cohesion which was gaining momentum in pre – colonial Same District. The ensuing divisions, chaos and civil unrest, facilitated colonial penetration and conquest (Roberts, 1966: 26). This is the historical context within which colonial rule has been credited with ending “civil wars, creating nations and substituting illegitimate with legitimate trade” in Africa. With the introduction of sisal in Upare, the whole economic structure changed. The pre – existing economy, especially ironworking was destroyed. The Shanas could no longer survive on their specialization as the products they used to forge were now being imported. The traditional hoe was replaced with a hand hoe, similarly with cutlasses/machetes, knives, household utensils, etc; The only major source of money income was either to become a sisal labourer or to grow and sell food crops to the sisal estates. Since the local people were not very much in favour of wage employment in the sisal estates, they resorted to producing and selling food crops to the sisal estates. However, this further undermined the local economy as it tied it to fluctuations in the international market (Mtango, 1974:17). The consumer goods which the Pare had to buy, were sold in shops owned mostly by Indian retailers. This is how Indian traders found their way to different areas of Same District. However, the fact of the matter remains; “...Hut and poll tax had pulled traditional subsistence farmers, usually with great reluctance into the colonial economy as cash crop farmers,

miners, plantation laborers and service workers in the rapidly expanding colonial cities” (Iliffe, 1969: 55).

5.2.2 Introduction of Sisal Production and Colonial Plantation Economy in Same District: 1890 – 1961

The introduction of colonial plantations went hand-in-hand with the establishment of infrastructure, land alienation, forced labour, the introduction of formal education, low wages and taxation. Colonialism introduced money economy so as to separate indigenous producers from their means of production and make them dependent on capital (Amin, 1974:139). This theoretical perspective is a clear reflection of the pattern of establishing the colonial economy in Tanganyika. The establishment of colonial plantations precipitated first the setting up of infrastructure in different parts of Tanganyika and Same in particular. Sisal plantations were introduced into Tanganyika (now Tanzania) in 1893 by the German East Africa Company which was at that time largely entrusted with the development of the country. The earliest sisal estates were situated near the sea on tidal estuaries for easy shipment of the sisal fibres and other products. In the early stages of sisal expansion, it was realized that transport facilities were the major bottleneck. Building transport facilities, especially railroads, was a very important task for colonial government, not only to develop net-works for political control in the rural area but to meet the demand of German entrepreneurs to exploit new markets for their products and tropical products (Munro, 1976). This led the German regime in Tanzania to build the first railway line which started in 1893 from Tanga Port. The construction of the central line from Dar es Salaam to Kigoma started in 1905, and was completed shortly before 1914. With improved transport

facilities, more sisal estates were established along the Tanga - Moshi line and the central Dar es Salaam - Kigoma line.

Other estates were established along the southern Lindi line, connecting Lindi and Mtwara. Sisal was introduced as an alternative crop suitable for drier and hotter conditions, especially along the coastal areas of Tanzania. Other crops, such as coffee and tea, were considered more suited for the wet mountainous area, such as Kilimanjaro and Usambara. The construction of colonial infrastructure opened the Same district to more intensive European domination, enabling the international economy to absorb indigenous economies and restructure them to meet its needs. In 1890, the *Eisenbahn Gesellschaft für Deutsch Ostafrika (EGDO)*, a subsidiary of DOAG, was given the right to construct the northern railway, which connected the foot of the mountains to the needs of north-eastern plantations, particularly sisal and coffee plantations. On the strength of a memorandum by the Deutsch Ost Afrikanische Gesellschaft (DOAG), dated 25th June 1891, which deals with the project of Same and with its future extension via Tabora to Lake Tanganyika with a branch to Lake Victoria (TNA 1942, No. 13 TNA, Miss E. Lewis Comparative Land Tenure of the Wapare, Tanganyika Tribes, Courtesy of the African Administration 8/102-1940 Tanganyika Notes and Records 10/p.1). Though the line was financed by a loan from the government, DOAG was still granted land concessions along the railway and was guaranteed a regular supply of labour that came mostly in the form of forced labour (Interview with Samweli Mchome, at Hedaru, 20/10/2022). In 1891, the German East Africa Company started to build a line inland from Tanga through a projected plantation area around Same to Kilimanjaro and finally to Lake Victoria. The Tanga

line was slowly and inefficiently built with forced labour (Iliffe, 1979). “The railway company has made a loss”, an African teacher complained in 1897; “. . . they are forcing everyone to work without pay, neither wages nor food. Poor us! The people have no way of escape, they fear to be beaten . . . Truly this is not justice (Ibid). Between 1895 and 1899 only 40 km were completed, although DOAG had already amassed over 3 km of so-called “ownerless” land on either side of the line. In addition to 4,000 ha elsewhere for every kilometre that was built. In 1899 the government took over and the line was completed in 1905 (Iliffe, 1979; Koponen, 1995).

The construction of the line was not only about land dispossession, it was also about labour supply within Same district and connecting different parts of the colony. Porters, mainly Nyamwezi and Sukuma men of the caravan trade, joined the rail construction crews and eventually also made their way to become plantation labourers. In Tanga, recourse to forced labour to build the Same line was not very much uncommon, nor was the use of labour in lieu of tax payment. Given the limited availability of local labour (since many tried to escape forced labour and working conditions by moving further into the mountains or hiding during labour round-ups) rail workers were also drawn from other provinces, some joining to obtain cash to pay their taxes, or desiring the prospects of new commodities floating around the territories, or seeking possibilities of wealth outside local orbits. Many of the latter, like porters, eventually became wage workers on the plantations. The completion of the Same line was soon followed by the demand for a central line (Dar es Salaam to Tabora) to connect plantations in Same to the main areas of labour supply and inland

plantations to the ports, as well as to aid European settlers by extending the northern route from Mombo to Moshi, which it reached in 1912.

The Tanga – Moshi/Arusha railway line was constructed to carry agricultural raw – materials from the interior to Tanga Port. It passed along the lowland/plain areas of Same District. This explains why sisal plantations were established in these areas. Initially, the plantations were owned by Germans. After World War 1, they were entrusted to the Custodians of Enemy Property who sold them to other investors. Most of the beneficiaries were British, Boer, Greek and Indian investors. For example, the largest Sisal Estate in Same District, Kisangara Estate, was sold to Abdalla Mohamedali Karimjee (1899 – 1978) representing Karimjee Jivanjee Estates Company (TNA Tanganyika Territory Blue Book, 1946, page 206; TNA Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture, 1960, page 38).

5.2.3 The Socio – Economic Impact of the Introduction of Sisal Production and Colonial Plantation Economy in Same District, 1890 - 1967

In an article titled “White Gold of Africa” published in July 1958 in the New Commonwealth Journal, E. Hitchcock, the founding Chairman of Tanganyika Sisal Growers’ Association (TSGA), outlined the positive socio – economic impact of the sisal industry as follows:

It is indeed upon such industries as sisal that development, a much abused and misused term, really depends, for economics alone dictates how much the government may spend on educational; health and welfare facilities. The industry is established in areas of intermittent rainfall, and without the expensive water supplies and other facilities for which the industry has been responsible, the scale of adjacent African cultivation and settlement which has grown over the years would not have been possible. The sisal estates have long

been the nurseries of agricultural education and discipline for wide variety of Africans who came to the estates from all over Tanganyika to be brought in touch for the first time with such conditions. How desperately this is needed is shown by the poor standard of African productivity and African labour. Field employees on the sisal estates are provided in many cases and for the first time in their lives with regular diet and with medical attention. Although despite bonus it is difficult to persuade them to work more than 3.5 to 5 hours a day, they do begin for the first time to learn the necessity for sustained and regular effort. This is of immense importance if the African is to learn to raise his own standard of agricultural productivity. The estates by any standards are good employers, they provide not only housing but welfare facilities although naturally the extent to which they can afford to do so depends upon the prosperity of the industry (as cited in Mtango, 1974: 1 – 2).

For the purpose of this study, two comments are worth making. First, even the background to the TSGA, clearly indicates that it was simply created to uphold the economic interests of the planters and hence the colonial economy at large and not those of the Africans. In December 1923, the leading sisal growers in Tanga formed the Tanganyika Planters' Association (TPA) in order to be able to influence decision making in the proposed legislation of the Master and Servants' Ordinance. Consequently, the Association was able to lobby the government to agree to provide the plantations with labour (casual, contract and migrant), standardize wages in accordance with the interests of the planters and restrict African participation in sisal growing. In 1930, the TPA was reconstituted as the TSGA (TSGA First Annual Report as cited in Mascarenhas, 1970:1). Secondly, as indicated in Table 4.3 below, the decline of the sisal industry started with a fall in prices from 1952. However, in spite of this trend, output was not falling. An important reason for this was the ability of the planters to control and even lower the wages of the labourers in order to increase production and offset losses. It was, therefore, upon the sweat of the African casual, contract and migrant labourers that "the prosperity of the industry" and hence the

colonial economy depended. Unfortunately, the worst consequences of this economic mess were experienced after Independence as over 80,000 African employees were laid off between 1961 and 1971 (Table 4.4). Sisal prices declined from £ 130 to £ 90 per ton. Meanwhile through the wage agreement of 1964, the Independent Government of Tanzania offered sisal workers a wage increase of between 20% and 25%.

It also recommended a shift to alternative uses of sisal including paper making, reinforcement of paper boards and coverings for use in road building, the use of sisal by – products as cattle feed, hecogenin (pharmaceutical) manufacture and even as a source of human protein (Lawrence, 1969). With the advantage of hindsight (historical perspective), TSGA was not created to undertake such tasks. It is, therefore, misleading not to attribute the decline of the sisal industry to TSGA and the colonial economic policies.

Table 5.1: Sisal production and prices in Tanganyika: 1949 - 1964

Year	Price Per Ton (£)	Production (Tons)
1949	100	123,300
1950	139	121,600
1951	229	145,210
1952	158	162,200
1953	93	165,700
1954	86	178,300
1955	80	176,400
1956	78	185,600
1957	71	184,900
1958	72	196,600
1959	82	205,300
1960	102	204,900
1961	90	198,000
1962	100	214,000
1963	144	214,000
1964	135	230,000

Source: Extrapolated from TSGA Annual Reports 1949 – 1964

Table 5.2: Number of employees in sisal estates: 1961 - 1971

Year	Number of Employees
1961	108,094
1962	109,641
1963	87,933
1964	83,049
1965	63,066
1966	50,772
1967	33,772
1968	27,518
1969	30,538
1970	26,632
1971	23,208

Source: Extrapolated from TSGA Annual Reports 1961 – 1971

Regarding the negative socio – economic impact, it is essential to note that at Independence in 1961, the new Government of then Tanganyika emphasized the importance of rural areas in its development efforts. Emphasis was placed on increasing production and generally the living standards in the countryside where more than 95% of the population lived. The specific programme adopted for this purpose was inherited from the colonial government. Furthermore, it was recommended by the World Bank. The programme consisted of two approaches; “improvement” and “transformation” approaches. While the former attempted to gradually raise output within existing households through extension services, the latter sought to radically transform agriculture through the resettlement in special schemes of pre – selected villagers who would engage in “modern” farming under the supervision and direction of government officials. By the end of 1965, there were 23 such schemes with some 15,000 acres of crops and about 3,400 farming families (Shivji (Ed), 1985:112 – 113). Two significant features have been identified in these approaches. First, there was an obvious bias towards export/cash crops in both approaches, hence, continuation and sustenance of the colonial economic structure in the post – colonial period. While

under the “improvement” approach, cash crops like cotton, coffee, tea, pyrethrum, etc; were emphasized, in the settlement schemes emphasis was put on those crops that needed greater technical supervision especially tobacco.

The second feature is that in both approaches, greater public control was exercised on the production process in terms of what and how to produce and of course the prices to be offered to the peasants. It is, therefore, obvious that similar to the colonial period, in the post – colonial period, the policy of de – emphasizing food crop production was promoted and upheld. As a consequence, by the 1970s and 1980s, Tanzania was a net food importing country (Table 4.5below).

Table 5.3: Import and export of major food grains in Tanzania: 1970/71 – 1980/81

('000 Tons) *			
Year	Maize	Wheat	Rice
1970/71	(53.4)	11.6	-
1971/72	92.3	49.5	(4.2)
1972/73	78.9	8.2	(10.2)
1973/74	183.6	35.8	23.0
1974/75	317.2	109.6	63.0
1975/76	42.3	31.2	20.5
1976/77	48.0	34.0	5.0
1977/78	34.0	45.0	61.0
1978/79	-	60.0	41.0
1979/80	29.0	33.0	43.0
1980/81	249.0	43.0	78.0

* Brackets denote exports.

Source: Shivji (Ed), 1985, Table 1 on page 114.

With the advantage of the hindsight (historical perspective), the scenario in the 1970s and 1980s was an echo of what we have already noted; “Hut and poll tax had pulled traditional subsistence farmers, usually with great reluctance into the colonial economy as cash crop farmers, miners, plantation laborers and service workers in the

rapidly expanding colonial cities. The increasing number of wage laborers resulted in the farmers becoming more dependent on foreign market for their produce in return for imported commodities often including essential food stuffs”. Sadly, this was taking place in a country where a former agricultural officer noted:

Virtually every crop known to agriculturalists will grow in one or more of its (ecological) areas. Wheat, coffee, tea, potatoes and pyrethrum grow in the cool mountains. On the inland plateau grow maize, rice, sorghum, varieties of millet, cotton and tobacco, as well as sisal. . . Coconuts, cashew – nuts, rubber, cocoa, cloves, and a wide variety of spices grow on the coastal strip or on Zanzibar and Pemba. Each ecological unit produces its own fruits and vegetables (Coulson, 1982:260).

Colonial economic policies reduced the country to dependence on imports for food and other essential inputs. This is the major reason that “hut and poll tax pulled traditional subsistence farmers, usually with great reluctance into the colonial economy”. The inheritance and perpetuation of the same policies in the post – colonial era, resulted in the “increasing number of wage laborers and farmers becoming more dependent on foreign market for their produce in return for imported commodities often including essential food stuffs”.

Similar to other policies, the essence of villagization was to integrate the peasantry into the world/capitalist economic system as producers of cheap agricultural raw materials and market/consumers of expensive metropolitan manufactured goods. This economic policy was accepted and indeed promoted earnestly by successive post – colonial governments because of the conviction that there were comparative advantages to be reaped from it. Consequently, export crops became predominant in the countryside to the extent of reducing the country to a net food importing country.

As indicated in Tables 4.6 & 4.7 below, Tanzania still depends heavily on the marketing of export crops for revenue generation. Similarly, despite the current drive towards an industrialized middle-income economy, the backbone of the country's economy is still agriculture. Since July 2020, the World Bank has declared Tanzania as a Low – Middle low-middle-income economy country, five years earlier than the targeted date of 2025.

Table 5.4: Major exports 2006 - 2012

Commodity	(TShs. Billion)						
	Years						
	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Coffee	92.8	143.3	124.1	150.0	162.3	225.7	292.8
Cotton	56.8	49.8	95.6	146.8	133.1	103.9	-
Sisal	9.3	7.4	18.5	-	11.1	-	-
Cashew nuts	62.7	33.8	82.0	94.4	173.2	189.6	222.0
Cloves	10.0	10.6	16.0	18.5	11.3	48.4	58.3
Diamonds	28.0	23.4	23.8	24.2	14.2	17.0	41.0
Gold	968.0	672.1	807.9	1,058.2	1,336.7	3,463.8	3,410.7
Tobacco	129.1	116.9	210.2	327.5	178.7	437.9	348.1
Tea	41.7	48.3	50.3	88.1	68.1	73.5	87.4
Total	1,398.4	1,105.6	1,428.4	1,907.7	2,088.7	4,559.8	4,460.3

Source: URT (2013). *Tanzania in Figures*. National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), Ministry of Finance, Dar es Salaam, page 44.

Table 5.5: Quantity of the major crops marketed 2006 - 2012

Crop	(000' Metric Tons)						
	Years						
	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Sisal fibre	31	33	34	26	42	25	37
Coffee	46	55	44	69	35	57	33
Tobacco	51	51	55	163	94	121	74
Cashew nuts	88	91	98	49	119	66	122
Pyrethrum	2	2	1	2	2	2	6
Green tea leaves	123	159	148	142	151	143	141
Seed cotton	131	131	201	369	268	166	226

Source: URT (2013). *Tanzania in Figures*. National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), Ministry of Finance, Dar es Salaam, page 51.

It is quite obvious from Table 4.7 that cotton is still a leading export crop. However, it is still being exported in its natural and raw state as seed cotton. This may still be an important reason for the persistence of the grievances of the peasants producing it. As already noted, without value addition, producers are bound to sell their products cheaply while buying manufactured products from the same goods dearly. With value addition, for example, cotton producers will be able to extract cooking oil from cotton seed, cotton cake for manufacturing animal feeds, textile products, etc. Manufactured products are bound to fetch higher and better prices for peasants engaged in cotton production. Moreover, by exporting and selling cotton in its natural and raw state, peasants are also exporting employment opportunities to labour markets which can neither be accessed by themselves or their relatives. This is also the case with sisal which as indicated in Table 4.5 above, is still being produced and exported as fibre.

At the time of carrying out this study, it was found that in Same District, the existing sisal plantations have been privatized to Mohammed Enterprises Tanzania Limited (MeTL) Group of Companies. Others have been converted to other uses including. (Interview with Mlacha Sekibojo at Makanya 16/11/2022). Same District is still the leading producer of sisal fibre in Kilimanjaro Region. According to the District Agricultural Officer, in 2018 total production in Same district was 904.5 tons for 2453.85 hectares, in 2019 production was 1032.25 tons for 2453.85 hectares, while in 2020 production was 1166.55 tons for 3686.85 hectares, in 2021 production was 1325.4 tons for 3446.51 hectares and in 2022 production of sisal was 1279.45 tons for 3446.51 hectares (Interview with Omary Mhina, District Agricultural Officer, at Same District Office 25/10/2022).

In a current publication, it is noted that the plant *Agave Sisalana*, commonly known as *Sisal*, produces some of the natural longest and strongest plant fibers. Up until 1961, Tanzania was the leading sisal producer. Apart from the ropes, twine and general cordage, sisal is now used to make both low – cost and specially paper, dartboards, buffing cloth, filters, geo textiles, mattresses, carpets and wall coverings, handicrafts, wire rope cores and macramé. In the construction industry, sisal reinforces plaster in ceilings and walls, and acts as a strengthening agent in place of asbestos and fiberglass (“The Plant that Binds” in www.metl.sites.co.tz accessed on 3rd February 2024). MeTL Group of Companies operates 11 sisal plantations covering a total land area of over 40,000 hectares in five Regions of Tanzania – Morogoro, Tanga, Coast, Kilimanjaro and Lindi. Its only sisal plantations in Kilimanjaro Region are Hassani Estate (2,406 hectares) and Hussein Estate (2,175 hectares), both at Makanya Ward, Same District (Ibid). In terms of value addition, MeTL has found out that annual rain – fed food crops and irrigated cash crops can be grown on a commercial scale on fallow land on sisal estates. Such crops include maize, beans, oil palm, cotton, cashew – nuts and cassava. Meanwhile, the bulk of sisal fiber produced on MeTL estates has value added either via the Group’s sisal bag manufacturing company or the sisal spinning mill. Sisal waste is a potent biogas material with a potential to produce electricity. MeTL Group’s 11 decorticators are capable of producing 6 – 12 megawatts of electricity. An approximate USD 2,000,000 investment is in the pipeline to commission each estate in the 5 Regions to produce one megawatt of electricity from freely available sisal waste material. MeTL Group produces approximately 10,000 tons of sisal fiber per annum. This is only 35% contribution to the total country’s sisal production (Ibid).

Table 5.6: Access to socio-economic facilities in Kilimanjaro Region: 1998

S/N	District	Population (1988 Census)	Socio-Economic Facilities			
			Cooperatives	Education	Health	Electricity
1.	Hai	196,901	69	156	64	24/65
2.	Mwanga	98,260	19	109	52	22/58
3.	Same	170,053	19	152	60	16/72
4.	Rombo	200,859	34	136	51	24/57
5.	Moshi Rural	342,553	77	225	94	26/150
6.	Moshi Urban	96,838	48	33	75	NI
	Grand Total					

Source: Extrapolated from URT (1998). *Kilimanjaro Region Socio – Economic Profile*. The Planning Commission and Regional Commissioner’s Office Kilimanjaro, Dar es Salaam.

Data available by the end of the 20th Century, tend to indicate that there was an unsatisfactory level even in terms of the availability of education (primary and secondary schools) and health (hospitals, health centres and dispensaries) facilities in all the districts. The small number of cooperative societies in both Mwanga and Same Districts (leading sisal producing Districts) indicate that the sisal economy had not been able to stimulate other economic activities significantly. On the other hand, villages’ access to electricity ranges from the lowest level of 17% (Moshi Rural), followed by Same (22%); Hai (37%); Mwanga (38%); and Rombo (42%).

Although the figure for Moshi Urban is not indicated, it can be assumed to be the highest for the whole Region. Certainly, these low levels of electricity access indicate heavy dependence on the National Grid and lack of alternative sources of power generation including sisal waste. A National Energy Access Situation Report published in 2016 tend to reflect similar results (URT, 2017). Among a total of 499,128 House Holds (HHs) surveyed throughout Tanzania Mainland, 42.6% had access to electricity, while 57.4% did not. Among 383,952 Rural House Holds (RHHs), 32.4% had access to electricity and 67.6% did not. Finally, among 115,176 Urban House

Holds (UHHs) surveyed, 76.7% had electricity and 23.3% did not (Ibid). As indicated in the pie diagram below (Figure 4.1), throughout the country, there was almost 75% dependence on the National Grid, followed by solar electricity as the major source of power supply. Other sources, including sisal waste accounted for 0.3%. As is apparent from Figure 4.2, rural areas have a lower dependence on the National Grid and a higher dependence on alternative sources. As sisal plantations are located in rural areas, the potential for generating and using effectively electricity generated from sisal waste is very high in such areas including Same District. As clean energy, electricity is the key to a modern economy. It deeply influences positively, people's lives. It is central to practically all aspects of human welfare, including access to water, agricultural productivity, health care, education, job creation, climate change, and environmental sustainability (URT, 2017). As it was not generated and supplied to the sisal plantations during the colonial period, the negative socio – economic impact of the colonial economy, cannot outweigh the positive socio – economic impact.

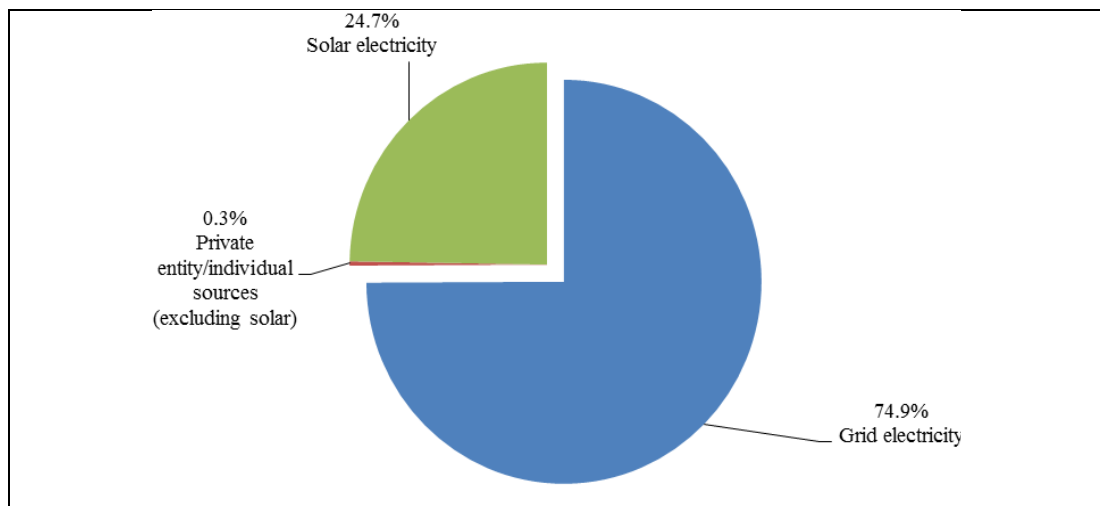


Figure 5.1: Percentage distribution of households connected to electricity by the main source of energy; Tanzania Mainland, 2016

Source: Figure 4.3 in URT (2017). *Energy Access Report, 2016 in Tanzania Mainland*. NBS and Rural Energy Agency (REA), Dar es Salaam, page 46.

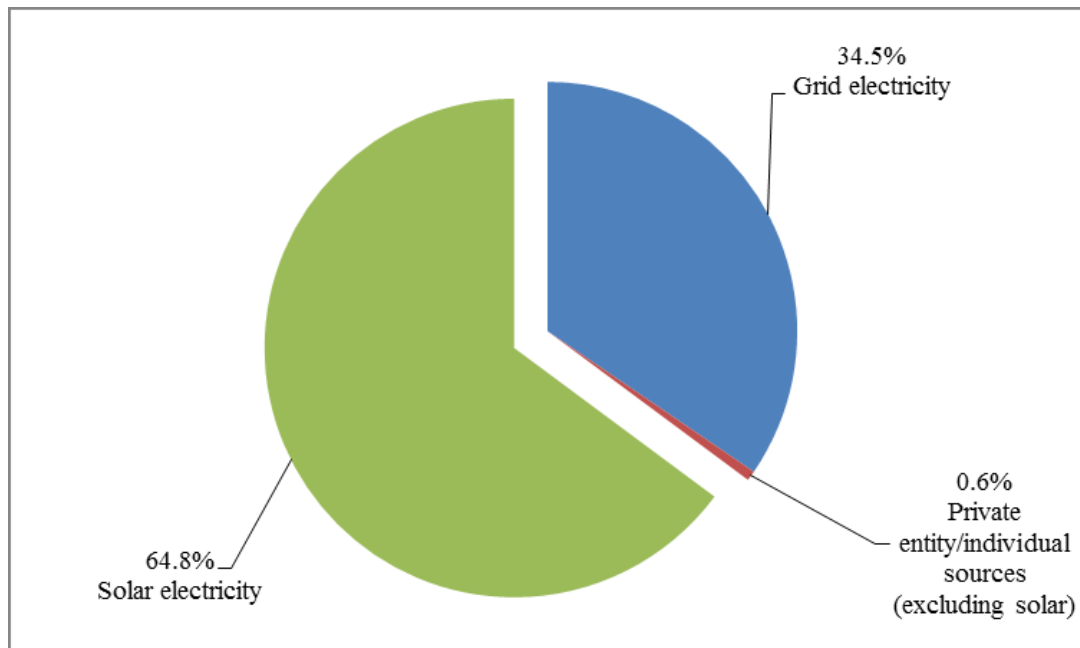


Figure 5.2: Percentage distribution of rural households connected to electricity by main source of energy; Tanzania Mainland, 2016

Source: Figure 4.4a in URT (2017). *Energy Access Report, 2016 in Tanzania Mainland*. NBS and Rural Energy Agency (REA), Dar es Salaam, page 46.

In researching on the socio – economic impact of sisal production in Same District 1890 – 1967, we explored two questions in our field research. These were; why has it taken the Post – Colonial Government so long to raise the utilization of the sisal plant from 2% in 1961 to 50% in 2015? and what would have been the socio – economic impact of the introduction of sisal production in Tanzania Mainland in general and Same District in particular in case the sisal plant had been exploited fully between 1890 and 1961? This was essential in order to establish the validity of the colonial perspective claim that “production of sisal fibre began to decline after Independence partly due to nationalization of the estates during Ujamaa and the mismanagement the estates”. It is obvious from the bar graph in Figure 4.2 that during the post – colonial period the country was able to produce more than 200,000 metric tons annually,

between 1961 and 1970. Thereafter, annual production declined steadily to less than 50,000 metric tons between 1984 and 2013.

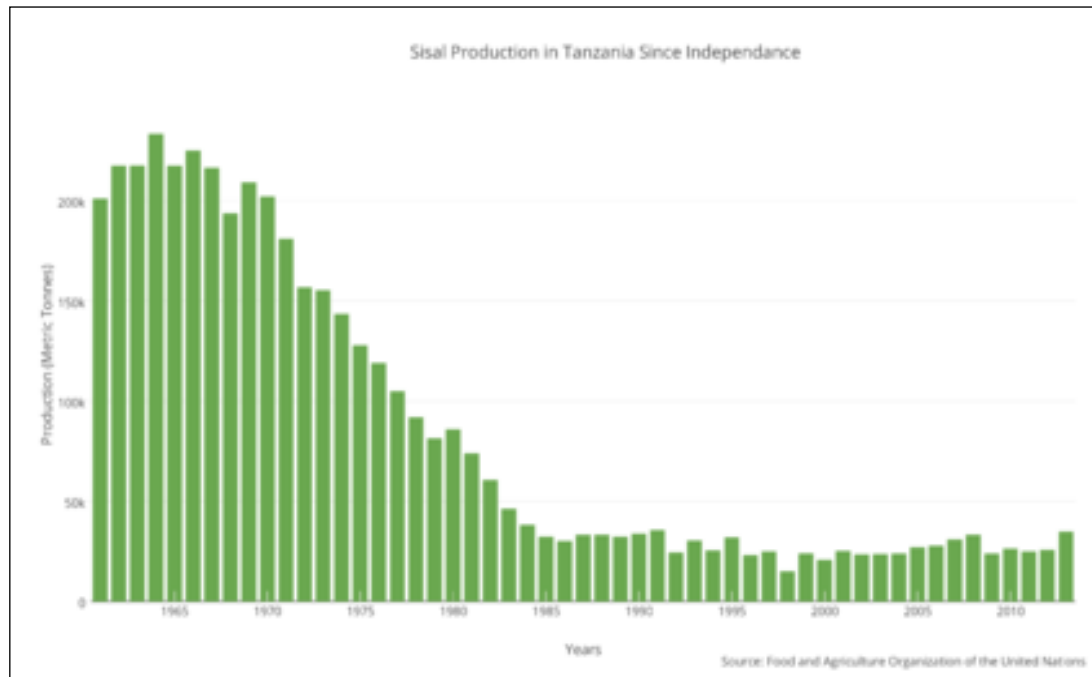


Figure 5. 3: Sisal production in Tanzania: 1961 – 2013

Source: Sisal Production in Tanzania – <https://www.Investopedia.com> accessed on 12thAugust 2021.

The claim that “production of sisal fibre began to decline after Independence partly due to nationalization of the estates during Ujamaa and the mismanagement of the estates”, is, therefore, quite misleading. We have already noted from Table 2.1 in chapter 2, that in 2013, Tanzania ranked 2nd among the seven leading producers of sisal in the World. However, even the leading producer, Brazil, produced approximately a third of what was produced by Tanzania in 1964. This is the context within which the decline of sisal production should be regarded as a worldwide phenomenon and not as a trend unique and peculiar to Tanzania only. Within the context of a historical perspective, we have noted that the period from 1945 to 1961

constituted the third and last stage in the development of peasant agriculture under British Rule (Mpangala, 2001: 55). Policies adopted including “improvement”, “focal – point” and “transformation” were mainly a response to crises within the capitalist system and the way colonies were used by the imperialist powers to resolve the crises in the metropolitan countries (Ibid). It is a historical fact that the War left Britain and France greatly indebted to the USA. Besides the Marshal Plan, Britain and France exploited intensively their respective colonies in order to ensure fast recovery of their economies. This was the context within which Britain put special emphasis on greater expansion of export crop production by African small – holder producers/peasants.

In its 1951 Annual Report, the Department of Agriculture stressed that agriculture was to be the main occupation of the population of Tanganyika. Besides the traditional export crops like sisal, cotton and coffee, new ones were added including oil seed crops like groundnuts, sesame, cashew – nuts and sunflower seeds. Food crops like rice, maize and cassava were emphasized for both internal consumption and market and also for supplementing exports. Furthermore, there was greater integration of peasants into the system of production of agricultural raw materials than ever before. Consequently, between 1945 and 1960, the area under peasant production of export crops increased by not less than 900,000 acres. While in 1945 five of the export crops were being produced entirely by planters and settlers, by 1960 only tea was being produced entirely by foreigners. Even sisal which for many decades had been a monopoly of plantations was now being produced by small – holder producers. By 1960, smallholder producers contributed 12,000 tons of sisal fibre and by 1962 peasant – produced sisal constituted 6% of total sisal exported (Ibid:58).

It can, therefore, be argued that measures to “nationalize/localize” sisal production were initiated after the Second World War and not after Independence. By the time of Independence, the level of “nationalization/localization” achieved was about 6%. It is, therefore, a paradox to attribute the decline of the industry not to those who were controlling its “lion’s share” but to the “nationalists/locals” whose share was no more than a “baboon’s share”. On the other hand, it is more plausible to attribute the decline “to the drop in World prices as synthetic nylon substitutes became more popular”. However, the two factors were not caused by “the nationalization and mismanagement of the estates during Ujamaa”.

On the other hand, it is true that at the time of Independence in 1961, Tanzania was the largest exporter of Sisal (green gold) in the World and the industry employed over 1 million farmers and factory workers. Specifically, sisal production in Same district has been varying year after because of numbers of factors like climatic change, capital investment, shortage of labourers for taking care of plantations and scale of production. For example, we have already noted that in 2018 total production in Same district was 904.5 tons for 2453.85 hectares, in 2019 production was 1032.25 tons for 2453.85 hectares, while in 2020 production was 1166.55 tons for 3686.85 hectares, in 2021 production was 1325.4 tons for 3446.51 hectares and in 2022 production of sisal was 1279.45 tons for 3446.51 hectares (Interview with Omary Mhina, at Same district office. 25/10/2022). What is not clear is why fiber was the only product which was extracted from the sisal plant and then exported? This is an important question to raise as the extracted fibre constitutes only 2% of the total value of the sisal plant while the remaining 98% was considered as waste.

The fibers were then used to produce twine, cordage for hay, packaging, bailing, building and many other uses including carpets, wall covering, doormats, car mats, buffing cloth used for polishing of metal and furniture, fine yarn, bag cloth, padding, mattresses and handicrafts. Further, there are also roofing tiles made from sisal fibre mixed with cement and sand. Apparently, it is not clear from available literature if all these products were extracted from the sisal plant during the colonial period. However, through interviews, labourers who worked on different sisal plantations earned money which was paid for their labour powers on sisal plantations. While getting money, labourers were able to earn their livings and paying colonial taxes (John Mshana Mbwanbo at Makanya 20/ 10/2022). Unlike synthetics, all the products which are produced from the sisal fibre, have one thing in common. They are environmentally friendly, safe and clean as they are biodegradable, natural and safe. It is also apparent from literature review that studies have indicated that sisal waste is more valuable than the fibre. Products obtained from sisal waste include biogas used in engine generator sets to produce electricity.

Measures taken during the post – colonial period including nationalization of the sisal industry in 1967, involvement of Ujamaa Villages and even smallholders in sisal production and introduction of sisal value addition projects in Tanzania Sisal Authority (TSA) owned sisal estates have significantly improved the socio – economic impact of community involvement in sisal production (Ibid.). For example, in TSA owned sisal estates, besides production and export of sisal fibre, roofing tiles were produced, dairy farming carried out, carpets and other products weaved from sisal fibre (Ibid). On 16th July 2008, former President Kikwete inaugurated the first Sisal Biogas Plant in the

World, at Hale Sisal Estate. Among other objectives, it was expected that the plant will increase the utilization of the sisal plant from 2% to at least 50% by 2015 (Tanzania Sisal Board (TSB), *Mkonge Newsletter* (April 2009).

Furthermore, the by - product from the biogas plant is used to produce organic fertilizer. Sisal waste can also be used directly as animal feed. Flume tows, short fibres reclaimed from the flume channels and dumps, are the main raw – materials in sisal bag manufacture, padding for furniture and car seats. Within this broad context of value addition, findings from the study do not indicate that sisal production and processing in Same District benefited from value addition between 1890 and 1961(Interviews with Juma Irigo at Makanya 20/ 10/2022). Within this period the socio – economic impact of community involvement in sisal production was, therefore, significantly negative (Ibid).

A documentary released in 2012 by the Netherlands Fellowship Programme (NFP) shows how a local sisal company, Katani Ltd, benefited from a staff development programme funded by the Dutch Government in training its staff in different skills in the Netherlands. While some were trained in business management, others received training in water management, clean production and energy management. After receiving the training, they were able to add value to sisal primary products and use all essential production inputs including water, fuel and labour, more economically. For example, they used sisal waste to produce 150 kilowatts of electricity which was sufficient for the Company's industrial and domestic needs. Similarly, they set up a

spinning and weaving factory which added value to the sisal fibre through the production of other more valuable products including bags, carpets and mats.

By remitting generated profit to its clients, smallholder farmers from whom it buys sisal leaves, the company has been able to ensure that they benefit fully from their labour in sisal production. In the words of the Production Manager, “through value addition, we have been able to raise farmers’ incomes and ensure the sustainability of the sisal industry” (“Making Knowledge Work – Tanzania (NL)” in youtu.be/tf2g3aKBTgQ accessed on 8th December 2022). This may be a model to be emulated in Same District to ensure that this success story is also replicated in Kilimanjaro Region. As regards, what would have happened in case value addition had accompanied sisal production since its inauguration in Tanzania in 1890, all the respondents were unanimous that the country would have been like any developed country today.

Besides sisal, coffee offers a good illustration of how value addition can significantly transform the economy of a producing country. While the current World total value of coffee economy is USD 460 billion, coffee producing countries earn USD 25 billion (5.4%). Africa’ share is USD 2.4 billion (0.5%), far below that of a non - coffee producing country like Germany (USD 6.4 billion) (1.4%) (Museveni, 2023). It is obvious from these statistics that even as we write this work, coffee producing countries are losing not less than 90% of the total value of the crop to the consuming countries. This is the case as without value addition, the value for primary products

from poor countries cannot be determined within the context of the socially necessary labour – time spent on their production.

In other words, they are assumed to be natural and raw. For this reason, while poor countries may have comparative advantages to produce such products, they cannot fetch high prices on the World market because they lack value addition and hence, competitive advantages. Furthermore, as African countries earn only 0.5% of the total value, it is obvious that six decades of political independence have not yet emancipated African countries from the basic features of the colonial economic system imposed on them by colonial powers almost 140 years ago. Needless to caution that implementation of a policy of value addition to cash crop production in general and sisal in particular, would have been “a miracle turned into a reality” between 1890 and 1961. However, within the post – colonial period, this is a reality within reach. In fact, the relentless pursuit of this reality is the essence and onus of the struggle for political freedom.

5.3 Summary

Discussions in this chapter, have revealed that the introduction of Sisal Production in different areas of Same District like Ndungu, Hedaru, and Makanya led to both positive and negative socio - economic impact. However, the negative socio - economic impact outweighs the positive impact. Examples of the socio – economic impact brought by the introduction of sisal production included establishment of colonial transport infrastructure, particularly a railway line and modern roads, destruction of Pare traditional economy, land alienation, labour conscription, cultural

interference and colonial education. Introduction of sisal plantations and the colonial economy in Same District, led to the large-scale land appropriation without compensation, dispossession of local communities and devaluation of communal holdings in favour of private property, the use of land and taxes to force the local population to become plantation wage labourers, the shift to the production cash crops without value addition, and a gradual but massive influx of so-called “alien” migrant workers to plantation areas. During the pre – colonial period, land and labour resources had been exploited efficiently to produce integrated and symmetrical economies. On the contrary, colonial economic activities, created dependent and asymmetrical economies. They, therefore, obstructed local people’s access to better vocation/occupation/work, education, income and shelter, hence, to health knowledge, better housing and nutrition, better health care, social and political security. Inevitably, such economies, significantly undermined the Socio – Economic Status (SES) of the pre – colonial society in Same District and the entire country. It was on this foundation that the economic order for under developing Same District, Tanzania and Africa in general for the benefit of the former colonial powers, was erected. Conclusion and recommendations arising from the study, constitute the scope of chapter six.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Conclusion

This study set out to examine the Socio-Economic Impact of the Introduction of Sisal Production in Same District, Kilimanjaro Region: 1890 – 1967, paying special attention to the aspects of land confiscation, establishment of infrastructure, forced labour, taxation, and the provision of colonial education. More specifically the study sought, first to understand the pre-colonial economic setting of Same District before the establishment of colonial plantations, and after that to examine the socio-economic impact of the introduction of sisal production.

Through reviewing the existing literature, it was observed that there existed a knowledge gap as far as the subject matter is concerned. Some scholars looked at the general positive impact of establishing colonial plantations in Africa, examining factors like population growth and the provision of social services. They did not specifically look at Socio-Economic Impact of the Introduction of Sisal Production in Same District, Kilimanjaro Region: 1890 – 1967 for local people. Other studies identified the economic impact of colonial sisal plantations to the local people, but based only on one colonial master, for example, the German colonial master, ignoring the British colonial master and post-colonial period. To address this task therefore, the researcher decided to use the historical approach placing the phenomenon of colonial plantations, introduction of Sisal Production and the social economic impact in the context of Tanzania and Same District as the case study. The study did a critical

analysis of the pre-colonial economic setting in Same District, which was there before the introduction of sisal production. Several pre-colonial economic activities were surveyed and discussed, including cultivation, pastoralism and trade and the mode of production in general. The information provided in chapter two discussed about literature review on the socio-economic impact of the introduction of sisal production in Same District. Furthermore, the chapter discussed conceptual definitions, theoretical review, empirical review, introduction of sisal plantations and colonial economy in Same District, research gap and conceptual framework.

Chapter three presented the research design and approach, research paradigm, study area, sample and sample size, and sampling procedures. Moreover, this chapter highlighted data collection methods, data analysis plan and ethical considerations.

Chapter four discussed the different findings which were obtained from the area under the study. Furthermore, chapter five revealed how the introduction of sisal production in different areas of Same District like Makanya, Hedaru, Gonja and Ndungu led to different socio-economic impact both positive and negative (however negative socio-economic impact outweighs the positive socio-economic impact) to the people of Same District. Examples of the socio-economic impact brought by the introduction of sisal production were the destruction of the pre-colonial economic system, and infrastructure, land alienation, and the introduction of colonial education. Similarly, the chapter has provided a general overview of how these economic impacts laid a foundation for under developing Same District, Tanzania and Africa in general while

developing the European countries. Finally, the research ended with conclusion and recommendations which situated on chapter six.

Furthermore, there are a lot of reasons to prove that the pre-colonial economic activities were very beneficial to the people of Same district as they ensured their satisfactory socio-economic status. The integration of the pre-colonial economic activities into the international capitalist economic system through the introduction of sisal production laid a foundation of the underdevelopment of the Pare People, Tanzania and Africa in general while developing the Capitalist countries like Germany and Britain.

Through this colonial project, the capitalist countries had to export fibres from sisal as to meet the capitalist need of securing cheap raw materials from their colonies. It was only during the post-colonial period that efforts were made to add value to the raw materials. While concentrating on sisal production without value addition, the capitalists undermined and underdeveloped the people of Same District. However, after independence, the government of Tanzania made deliberate efforts to enhance the standard of living of the people of Same District and Tanzania in general through adding value to the sisal crop. Apart from producing and exporting the fibres (white gold), the sisal industry was diversified to facilitate the making of carpets, wall covering, doormats, car mats, buffing cloth used for polishing of metal and furniture, fine yarn, bag cloth, padding, mattresses, handicrafts and roofing tiles. More significantly, the generation of electricity and production of animal feeds.

6.2 Recommendations

Sisal production in Tanzania has steadily declined, particularly from the 1970s. Despite, sisal remains very crucial cash crop as it does contribute substantially to the country's economy. Therefore, an urgent government intervention is needed, including financial support and improved marketing system to assist sisal growers so as to improve and maintain their production level. It is also recommended to use some alternative land use; further research also is needed to better define these land uses. Expiates in horticulture, agricultural economists, sisal agronomists and soil scientists to come work together to come up with sound solutions on agronomic and economic implications of cultivating the suggested crops in the existing sisal cropping system.

Moreover, it is recommended that findings of this study may be considered for further use in research as they expose how introduction of sisal production caused socio - economic impact to the pre-existing economy of Indigenous people in Same District and Africa in general. Specifically, the knowledge here contributes to gaining a theoretical understanding of the relationship between capitalist production and peripheral production and how this relationship has affected the socio-economic development of peripheral areas. Furthermore, the findings fill the gap left by the existing literature and act as a foundation for other studies conducted in future which will use this research as part of the literature review.

Furthermore, researchers in the economic history of Tanzania are encouraged to do more research, specifically from the year 1967 when this research ended in its time frame. In this specific case, the main purpose of such research should be the need to

find out the changes and continuities after the promulgation of the Arusha Declaration in 1967 on the production of sisal and its socio-economic impact on local communities in particular and the country at large.

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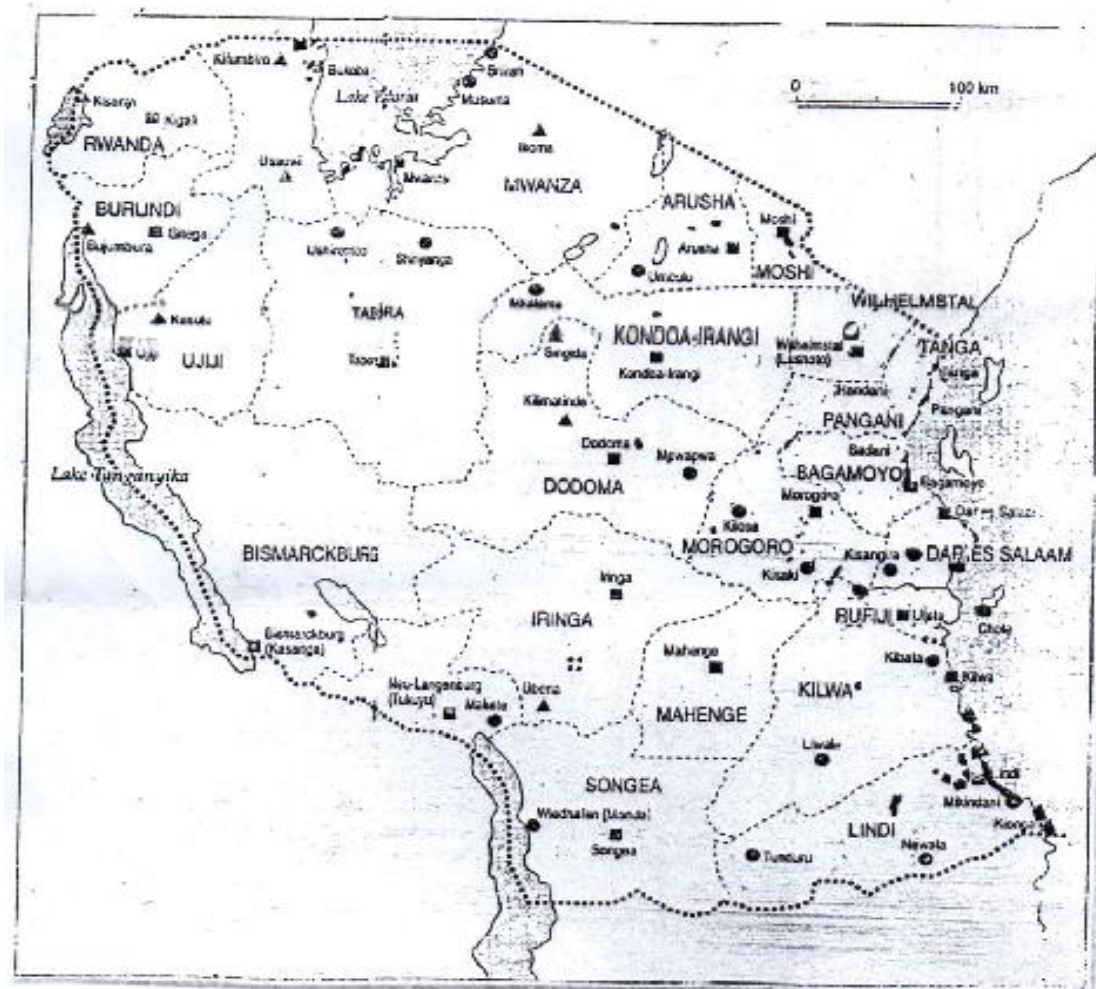
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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Political Map of German East Africa



Source: Mpangala, 2000:33.

Appendix 2: Interviewees' Matrix

SN	NAME	DESIGNATION	AGE	PLACE	DATE
1.	Mhando Mbwana	Retired Sisal Worker	65 Years	Makanya	10/11/2022
2.	Zaina Hamis	Sisal Worker	50 Years	Makanya,	10/11/2022
3.	Kigono Shafii	Farmer	70 Years	Makanya,	10/11/2022
4.	Bakari Kadio	Famer	60 Years	Ndungu	20/11/ 2022
5.	Mshana Mbwanbo	Retired Teacher	70 Years	Makanya,	13/11/2022
6.	Samweli Mchome	Sisal Woker	40 Years	Hedaru	20/10/2022
7.	Mzee Mbwanbo	Retired Sisal Worker	75 Years	Hedaru	20/10/2022
8.	Jaspa Mbaga	Worker	50	Hedaru	20/10/2022
9.	Hatibu Karigo	Farmer	80 Years	Ndungu	18/10/2022
10.	John Mgaya			Makanya	15/11/2022
11.	Lydia Baraka,	Ward Agricultural Extension Officer	35 Years	Makanya	22/10/2022
12.	Fatuma Juma	Famer	70 Years	Makanya	16/10/2022
13.	Mgaya Amina	Retired Sisal Worker	60 Years	Hedaru	20/10/2022
14.	Mlacha Sekibojo	Famer	50 Years	Makanya	16/11/2022
15.	Glory Kavuta	Agricultural Extension Officer		Ndungu	19/10/2022
16.	Juma Karia	Farmer	42 Years	Ndungu	25/10/2022
17.	Shemweta Singano	Farmer	50 Years	Ndungu	26/10/202
18.	Omary Musa	Sisal Estate Manager	60 Years	Ndungu	23/12/ 2022
19.	Mshana Mchome	Famer	60 Years	Hedaru	18/10/2022
20.	Richard Mgaya	Famer	50 Years	Hedaru	10/10/2022
21.	Yohane Togolai	Sisal Worker	60 Years	Makanya	15/10/2021
22.	Sara Mbwana	Sisal Worker	60 Years	Makanya	15/10/2022
23.	Kakore Mrindoko	Farmer	50 Years	Makanya	15/10/2022
24.	Said Mbwanbwo	Farmer	50 Years	Ndungu	17/10/2022
25.	Victory Mbwiliza	Retired Sisal Woker	80 Years	Makanya	15/10/2022
26.	Edson Lubua,	Farmer	70 Years	Makanya	18/10/2022
27.	Omary Mhina,	District Agricultural Extension officer	50 Years	Same Agricultural Extension Office	25/10/2022

Appendix 3: Archival/Documentary/Interview Checklist

1. Discuss the nature of political, social, cultural and economic life in pre – colonial Same District.
2. Explain how pre – colonial Same District was integrated into the colonial economy and rule.
3. How were pre – colonial economic activities like agriculture, fishing, trade, local industries, collection of forest products, traditional worship, etc, affected by the introduction of sisal production and plantation colonial economy in Same District?
4. When did Indian traders settle in Same District?
5. How were sisal plantations established in Same District? Name the Plantations. Who owned them? How did they recruit labour for the plantations?
6. Were the Pare recruited? Sisal Labour Bureau (SILABU) was established by the British to recruit migrant labourers. Were migrant labourers brought to Same District?
7. Did all the migrant labourers go back to their areas of origin after completing their contracts?
8. How did the migrant labourers interact with the local people? What was the social, cultural, economic and political impact of the interaction among the local people?
9. Why was fibre the only product which was extracted from the sisal plant and then exported?
10. Sisal fibres are used to produce twine, cordage for hay, packaging, bailing, building and many other uses including carpets, wall covering, doormats, car mats, buffing cloth used for polishing of metal and furniture, fine yarn, bag cloth, padding,

mattresses and handicrafts. Further, there are also roofing tiles made from sisal fibre mixed with cement and sand. In which sisal plantations were these products produced from the sisal fibres during the colonial period?

11. How did the planters and the local people benefit from products produced from sisal fibres?
12. What was the justification for producing synthetic fibres which are not environmentally friendly after the Independence of Tanzania Mainland (the leading producer of sisal in the World)?
13. On 16th July 2008, former President Kikwete inaugurated the first Sisal Biogas Plant in the World, at Hale Sisal Estate. Among other objectives, it was expected that the plant will increase the utilization of the sisal plant from 2% to at least 50% by 2015. Has this target been achieved?
14. Why has it taken the Post – Colonial Government so long to raise the utilization of the sisal plant from 2% in 1961 to 50% in 2015?
15. What would have been the socio – economic impact of the introduction of sisal production in Tanzania Mainland in general and Same District in particular in case the sisal plant had been exploited fully between 1890 and 1961?

Appendix 4: Ethical Documents



Ref. No OUT/ PG20170049

30th September, 2022

Regional Administrative Secretary,
Kilimanjaro Region,
P.O Box 3070,
KILIMANJARO.

Dear Regional Administrative Secretary,

RE: RESEARCH CLEARANCE FOR MR.KARIGO S.KIHOKO. REG NO: PG20170049

2. The Open University of Tanzania was established by an Act of Parliament No. 17 of 1992, which became operational on the 1st March 1993 by public notice No.55 in the official Gazette. The Act was however replaced by the Open University of Tanzania Charter of 2005, which became operational on 1st January 2007. In line with the Charter, the Open University of Tanzania mission is to generate and apply knowledge through research.

3. To facilitate and to simplify research process therefore, the act empowers the Vice Chancellor of the Open University of Tanzania to issue research clearance, on behalf of the Government of Tanzania and Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology, to both its staff and students who are doing research in Tanzania. With this brief background, the purpose of this letter is to introduce to you **Mr. Karigo S. Kihoko, Reg. No: PG20170049** pursuing **Master of Arts in History (MA-HISTORY)**. We here by grant this clearance to conduct a research titled **"The Socio – Economic Impact of the Introduction of Sisal Production in Same District, Kilimanjaro Region: 1890-1967"**. He will collect his data at Same District in Kilimanjaro Region from 3rd October to 3rd November, 2022.

4. In case you need any further information, kindly do not hesitate to contact the

Deputy Vice Chancellor (Academic) of the Open University of Tanzania, P.O.Box 23409, Dar es Salaam. Tel: 022-2-2668820.

We lastly thank you in advance for your assumed cooperation and facilitation of this research academic activity.

Yours sincerely,

THE OPEN UNIVERSITY OF TANZANIA

Prof. Magreth S.Bushesha

For: VICE CHANCELLOR

Kinondoni Biafra, Kawawa Road; P.O 23409; Dar es Salaam; Tel: +255 22 2668 445;
E-Mail:vc@out.ac.tz|| Website:www.out.ac.tz

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA
PRESIDENT OFFICE
REGIONAL ADMINISTRATION AND LOCAL
GOVERNMENT

SAME DISTRICT COUNCIL

All correspondence be addressed to:
Phone: +255 27 2758180 (Direct line)
+255 27 2758034 (General line)
Fax/mail: +255 27 2758235/255 27 2758015
Website: <http://www.samedc.go.tz>
dedsame@samedc.go.tz

District Executive Director
Same District Council,
118 Kibacha Road
P. O. Box 138,
25501 SAME.

On reply please quote:
Ref. No. SDC/ D.30/132 Vol/289

Tarehe : 27/10/2022


Rector,
The Mwalimu Nyerere Memorial,
P. O. Box 9193,
KIGAMBONI - DAR ES SALAAM.

REF: REQUEST FOR RESEARCH PERMIT FOR MR. KARIGO S. KIHOKO

Refer your letter of 11/10/2022 written to District Executive Director requesting permit for Mr. Karigo S Kihoko to conduct Research on *"The Socio-economic impact of the introduction of Sisal Production in Same District, Kilimanjaro Region: 180-167"* who is a bonafide Research Student from **Open University of Tanzania.**

2. Be informed that the Mentioned Student has been accepted to undertake Research at **Same District** in our Council from 3rd October, 2022 to 3rd November, 2022 for her own costs. Since the Council has no fund for field students.

Thank you for Co-operation.


Kondo, T.H

For: DISTRICT EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Copy:
DHRO - For Information.
- Mr. Karigo S Kihoko - Report to DHRO

FOR DISTRICT EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
SAME DISTRICT COUNCIL



**THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA
PRESIDENT'S OFFICE REGIONAL ADMINISTRATION AND
LOCAL GOVERNMENT**

KILIMANJARO REGIONAL COMMISSIONER'S

Telegrams REGCOM KILIMANJARO OFFICE,
Telephone 027-275436-71381-027-27521841 7 Florida Road,
E-mail ras.kilimanjaro@pmofalg.go.tz P.O. Box 3070
Fax No. 027-2753248 and 027-2751381

25107 MOSHI.

In reply please quote:

Ref.No. FA. 228/276/03'V'/77

7th October, 2022

District Executive
Director, Same District Council,
118 Kibacha Street,
S.L.P 138,
25601 SAME.

RE: RESEARCH PERMIT

Kindly refer to the above subject.

2. I would like to introduce you Mr. Karigo S. Kihoko who is a bonafide research student from Open University of Tanzania.
3. He expects to conduct research on 'The Socio — economic impact of the introduction of Sisal production in Same District, Kilimanjaro Region: 1890-1967'
4. The permission has been granted for him to collect data from 3rd October, 2022 to 3rd November, 2022.
5. Please give him the required co-operation and make sure that he abides by all Government rules and regulations.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Mchomvu D.E

For: REGIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY

Copy to: Regional Administrative Secretary - (to see in the file)

Mr. Karigo S. Kihoko.

Research Student