



Map: Zanzibar

pass responsibility for a wide variety of animals, including cows, goats, chickens, and in one rather odd case, some sea crabs that had been transported overland and were apparently used by children engaged in daily "crab races." In both the case of "inland farmers" and farmers by the sea, the amount of time available for engaging in these "second occupations" is determined by the season. During times of clove harvest (January and July), and towards the finale of the Vuli and Masika rains, more time must be spent focusing on the shamba.

Surprisingly, given the centrality of the shamba in terms of its owner's identity, many shamba owners are not from the area where they currently reside and cultivate shamba land. This is the case more generally on Pemba than it is on Unguja. On Pemba, about 60 % of all the farmers interviewed reported that they are not cultivating in the same area where they were born, while this figure is around 35 % for Unguja. There are actually a very few noticeable clusters of these transient farmers. The dislocated individuals tend to cultivate in two distinct kinds of areas. First, there is a prevalence of transients in areas where the soil is of a semifertile, coral rag type. This is not surprising, as these areas have traditionally been much less densely

populated by farmers. As the population of Zanzibar continues to expand at a rapid rate, however, individuals in search of any fallow, semiarable land have naturally moved into predominately, or semicoral rag areas where land is available. In this scenario, the farmer has typically constructed a mud dwelling near the newly acquired land and is, consequently, both living and cultivating in an area different from that where he was born.

Second, many of these dislocated farmers are currently cultivating land in areas around Zanzibar Town. Many shamba owners in the village of Kianga, for example, are originally from Zanzibar Town. Many of these individuals are relatively wealthy as a result of government, and/or what was reported as "town incomes." Typically, these individuals reported that when they were looking for an area in which to purchase a shamba, and consequently supplement their family incomes, they were naturally drawn to a region which is easily accessible from Town. Thus, in these instances, the shamba farmer retains a residence in Zanzibar Town and comes to work on his shamba on the weekends, or after work during the weekday. Additionally, or alternatively in some instances, a farmer's wife and/or children may spend time working on the shamba (See also Donkerlo and