Peasants and Transnational Companies after the Land Reform in Zimbabwe: A Case Study of Tobacco Contract Farming in Mashonaland East Province.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1-1 Overview and the objectives of the study

Zimbabwe's Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP), which drastically reconfigured the agricultural structure in the country, has received widespread criticisms both locally and internationally. The land reform seemed to isolate Zimbabwe from the global economy, while the country was also suffering from the historical hyperinflation by the latter half of the 2000s. However, it did not completely lose the economic tie from the world. The peasantization of tobacco industry, which resulted from FTLRP, rather led peasants to be linked more to the global capital, and their tobacco farming has been much more internationalized.

The objective of this study is to empirically show how the peasants' economy faced against a backdrop of market forces in rural Zimbabwe. As shown in the series of works accomplished by Sam Moyo and the African Institute of Agrarian Studies in Harare, FTLRP undertaken in the 2000s in Zimbabwe reconfigured the agrarian structure to a tri-modal, which also led the 'peasantization' of the tobacco industry with the introduction of the contract farming arrangement (Chambati 2013; Moyo 2011a, 2013; Moyo and Nyoni 2013; Moyo and Yeros 2013). The tobacco industry of the 21st century made exposed peasants more to the global capital i.e. after the introduction of the tobacco contract farming scheme in 2004. Through the scheme, peasants are now directly connected to the global capital and can negotiate with them. The study then raises research questions of whether peasants are even more marginalized by the global capital as the result of their exposure to the market force, and how they react or survive in the global economy of the 21st century. We will answer these research questions based on the result of the field study undertaken with resettled peasant farmers in the Mashonaland East province.

1-2 The outcome and the debate over the Zimbabwe's land reform

Through the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) initiated in 2000, agricultural lands were transferred from the dominant white large-scale farmers to mass African peasant farmers. Mamdani (2008) highlighted that Zimbabwean land reform made the greatest transfer of property in Southern Africa since colonisation, and it has all happened extremely rapidly. FTLRP was aimed at adjusting the racial land possession imbalance, and is characterized as the means of drastic transformation the agricultural structure[1]. At independence in 1980, the country had inherited the racially skewed dualistic land possession structure from the colonial era. In 1980, while the population of the white at the independent was less than 2%, 47 percent of the agricultural land was owned by about 5,400 farmers, who were mainly white, and a few hundreds of agro-estates (Yoshikuni 2008, Moyo 2011). There were about 700,000 African peasant households and 8000 small-scale black commercial farmers, which accounted for more than 95% of the population, congested on the remaining land (Moyo 2011). As a result of the land reform, about 13 percent of Zimbabwe's entire agricultural land is now held by a range of middle-scale farmers, while over 70 percent is held by small-scale farms, and only 8 percent is held by large-scale farms and estates. The number of remaining white farmers was around 300 by the end of 2011 (Moyo 2013).

FTLRP has redistributed lands through small-scale farmers (A1) and medium-scale to commercial farmers (A2) schemes. The size of A1 farms varies depending on the location of the farm across the five natural agro-ecological of agricultural lands zones. Moyo (2013) revealed that the average size of A1 farms is 20 hectors including access to common grazing areas and the average size of an A2 farm is 142 hectors. The reform produced about 145,800 A1 farms and 23,000 A2 farms by 2010 (Moyo 2013, p.43). The beneficiaries of the both A1 and A2 farms are being given the 99-lease of land

[1]While FTLRP was the most drastic and redistributive land reform, the country had implemented land reforms since its independent. Moyo (2013) has articulated its land reform programme which started after the independence, into three phases.

tenure on the agricultural land they hold.

This highly redistributive land reform, which was supposedly 'democratic', faced harsh criticism from around the world. The western media and some groups of academia argued that the reform caused gross violation of 'human rights' through the acquisition of 'private property' from the people (who 'owned' the land before), and the collapse of 'food sovereignty' (Hammer 2003, Richardson 2005). BBC and most of the media in the west have then portrayed the reform as 'brutal', 'undemocratic' or 'violent' since the white 'privately owned' lands were often forcefully expropriated[2]. The fact that there were brutal violations through the reform cannot be erased. However, the colonial unjust structure has provided the African's social and political motivations toward the reform. Against these media and the western countries, on the other hand, President Mugabe repeatedly showed his strong attitude appealing that 'the land is ours[3]'. The western countries, EU, US, Canada, and Australia, eventually imposed sanctions on some ZANU-PF[4] politburo members in 2001 and the World Bank and IMF have stopped all cooperation programs with the Zimbabwean government.

Table 1-1 shows the reconfigured agrarian structure from bi-modal to tri-modal through the FTLRP. Tri-modal agrarian structure is composed of peasants, middle to large sized capitalist farms, and estates (Chambati 2013; Moyo and Nyoni 2013; Moyo and Paris 2013). The new agrarian structure is unique in a sense that it is based on clear demarcation by state policy, distinct land holding size, form of land tenure, social status of landholders, and dominant forms of labour used (Moyo and Nyoni 2013; Moyo and Yeros 2013; Moyo 2011a). The peasantry or small-scale farm group is dominant in

[2]The news reported then is found from the following site.
http://www.zimbabwesituation.com/news/category/daily/ (accessed 10, August 2015).
[3]President Mugabe's speech at the ZANU-PF congress, on the 5th of December 2003.
'Zimbabwe is for Zimbabweans. Our people are overjoyed. The land is ours. We are now the rulers and owners of Zimbabwe'.
[4] ZANU-PF (Zimbabwe African National Union Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front) is led by Robert Mugabe and being the ruling party of the country since its independence.

terms of the aggregate number of farms in the country, and is comprised of communal, old resettlement, and A1 farms (shown as group 1 in Table 1-1). The farmers who belong to this category hold usufruct permits over their agricultural land, and depend on self-employment of family labour (Moyo and Nyoni 2013; Moyo and Yeros 2013). The second group, medium to large-scale capitalist farms is comprised of small-scale commercial farms (SSCF), A2 farms, and large-scale commercial farms (LSCF) (shown as group 2 in Table 1-1). The farmers found in this category hold 99-year non-tradable leases over their land, and depend more on hired labour than family labour (Moyo and Nyoni 2013; Moyo and Yeros 2013). The third group is comprised of agro-estates that include state and private owned, conservancy, and institutional estates. They hire large numbers of permanent and seasonal labour and contract out-growers (shown as group 3 in Table 1-1) (Moyo 2011a; Moyo and Nyoni 2013). While agro-estates are retained for about 5% of the entire agricultural land, actors involved in their business as out-growers, shareholders *etc.*, are diversified in terms of race, nationality, and class (Moyo and Nyoni 2013, p.203).

The FTLRP has increased the peasantry and middle-sized farms while decreasing the presence of LSCF, most of them are the white. With the addition of thousands more black A2 as middle-sized and large-sized farms, the reform has created a 'de-racialized' tri-modal agrarian structure (Moyo 2011b). While estates are retained for about 5% of the entire agricultural land, actors involved in their business as out-growers, shareholders *etc.*, are diversified in terms of race, nationality, and class (Moyo and Nyoni 2013, p.203).

Table 1-1 Agrarian structure: estimated landholdings from 1980 to 2010

	Farms/households (000's)						Area held (000 ha)						Average Farm size (ha)		
	1980		*2000*		*2010*		*1980*		*2000*		*2010*				
Farm categories	*No*	*%*	*No*	*%*	*No (000)*	*%*	*ha*	*%*	*ha*	*%*	*ha*	*%*	*1980*	*2000*	*2010*
Group 1 Peasantry	**700**	**98**	**1,125**	**98.7**	**1,321**	**98**	**16,400**	**49**	**20,067**	**61**	**25,826**	**79**	**23**	**18**	**20**
Group 2															
Mid-sized farms	8.5	1	8.5	1	30.9	2	1,400	4	1,400	4	4,400	13	165	165	142
Large farms	5.4	1	4.956	0.4	1.371	0.1	13,000	39	8,691.6	27	1,156.9	4	2,407	1,754	844
Group 2 Sub-total	**13.9**	**2**	**13.456**	**1.4**	**32.271**	**2.1**	**14,400**	**43**	**10,091.6**	**31**	**5,556.9**	**17**	**2,572**	**1,919**	**986**
Group 3 Estates	**0.296**	**0.1**	**0.296**	**0.02**	**0.247**	**0.02**	**2,567**	**8**	**2,567**	**8**	**1,494.6**	**5**	**8,672**	**8,672**	**6,051**
Total	714	100	1,139	100	1,352	100	33,367	100	32,726	100.0	32878	100	46.7	28.7	24.3

Source: Adapted from Moyo and Nyoni 2013 (Table 6.1).

1-3 Defining peasants.

Peasants are the major focus of this study and hence it is worthwhile to have a clear definition of who they are. The term 'peasants' used here is synonym for 'small-scale farmers'. As also defined by Sachikonye (1989), peasants or small-scale farmers refer to 'rural petty commodity producers who own land which they exploit mainly for subsistence but also for commercial crop production on a small scale' (p.xxxv). The definition of peasants in this study however heavily relies on Moyo and Yeros (2005)'s conceptualization of the peasantry, i.e. peasants 'reproduces itself as both capital and labour simultaneously and in internal contradiction' (p,25). Peasants in this study have agricultural land they also have access to, and occasionally hires labour as capitalist while they also exploit themselves (Moyo and Yeros 2005). They exploit themselves by mainly relying on family labour for their agriculture.

The peasants or small-scale farmers in the sense of Zimbabwe, after the FTLRP is comprised of communal farmers and A1 resettled farmers. Communal farmers are the ones who live in the communal area, which was formerly named as native reserves and tribal trust lands[5]. Series of works accomplished by Moyo express how the agricultural structure (reconfigured through the FTLRP) brought about 're-peasantization' (Moyo et al. 2013, 2014). This terminology means that peasants became the driving force of the agricultural structure both by the number of farms they account for, quantity of land owned and the volume of agricultural production.

1-4 Contract farming and global capital in Zimbabwe and Africa: Literature review.

This study analyses the economy of peasant agriculture through their contract farming arrangement for tobacco production in Zimbabwe. According to the World Investment Report (WIR) 2009, contract farming activities by transnational companies (TNCs), are spread worldwide,

[5] The communal areas account for about 42% of land in the country and 74.2% of these areas are located in the poorest rainfall zones (Moyo 1992, p.9).

covering over 110 developing and transitional economies, spanning a wide-range of commodities and, in some cases, accounting for a high share of output (UNCTAD 2009, p.xvii). The World Bank acknowledges contract farming as an institutional innovation, and that it reduces the transactional costs and the risks of smallholder farmers would face (World Bank 2007, p. 237). Watts (1994) studied the characteristics and the development of contract farming in Sub-Saharan Africa and defined contract farming as 'a form of vertical integration between agricultural producers and buyers (exporters, agro-processing companies or retailers at the end of the value chain)' (Watts 1994, p.9). Watts (1994) indicated that contract farming started in the United States and Western Europe in the inter-war period with the rise of TNCs. After the US and the Europe took the lead of contract farming business during the 1980s, Japan advanced into the business mainly in Southern Asian countries. Watts (1994) showed that the leading power of contract farming has transitioned along with the shift of global economic power, from the West to the East. In this study, with the current Chinese companies embarking into agri-business in Africa allude to this and their role as a new economic power of the world will further be examined through their tobacco contract farming arrangements in Zimbabwe.

Oya (2012) reviewed the literature on 'the rise of contract farming', especially in current Sub-Saharan Africa' and showed several discussions made over contract farming by international organizations (World Bank and UNCTAD) and academia, citing various forms of contract farming in the area. While he is critical of the international organizations encouraging peasants to be under contract, Oya (2012, p.27) concluded 'contract farming may still be important in some countries and some crops'. The relevance to my research therefore trying to understand whether contract arrangement and global markets truly benefit on peasants.

Contract farming is not new in Zimbabwe but has also been practised through tea, sugar, and cotton production since the mid-1950s (Jackson and Cheater 1994). Especially after the independence in 1980, the government

supported contract farming to reduce the 'dualistic' agricultural structure, peasants versus commercial agriculture. Jackson and Cheater (1994) mentioned 'contract farming dated back to the mid-1950s' (p.141) and it developed uniquely as elsewhere in Africa. They characterized contract farming in Zimbabwe as driven more by private market forces than the state.

Chimbwanda (2011) conducted an empirical study on the economic impact of contract tobacco farming in Mashonaland Central. The study surveyed on various sizes of tobacco growers, from the small-scale to the large-scale farmers, and it found out that contracted large-scale farmers are more successful than small farmers. It then concluded that 'contract farming is potentially a win-win strategy for farmers, agribusiness processors and exporters of high value commodities such as tobacco' (p.12). While this study has contributed to understanding of tobacco contract farming from the perspective of social sciences, my research is going to focus more on small-scale farmers, since they are the main tobacco producers in current Zimbabwe and the modes of agriculture vary among the various sizes of farmers.

Some commend contract farming as the efficient way for peasants to get involved in capitalist market (Chimbwanda 2011, UNCTAD 2009, World Bank 2007). Some studies have shown contract farming as an endorsement of monopolistic exploitation and it makes small farmers proletariats, without land dispossession (Clapp 1988; Sivramkrishna and Jyotishi 2008; Whatts 1994; De Schutter 2011). Chevalie (1983) expressed contract famers as 'propertied proletarians' cited from Lenin. Sachikonye (1989) studied contract farming from the cases of tea and sugar in Zimbabwe. And he concluded that 'contract farming is a crucial mechanism in the subsumption of growers to agri-businesss capital (Sachikonye 2016, p.89). And he explained that while the contracted growers were much controlled by contracting companies, the growers were not inferred as 'wage-labour equivalents' or 'disguised proletarians' since they still retained some

measure of autonomy (Sachikonye 1989, 2016, p.89). The impacts of contract farming are diverse and disputable elsewhere in the world. We are going to show the impact of the contract farming in the rural Zimbabwe, from a case of tobacco, and the study further discuss that how the peasants can react to the contract farming opportunities.

1-5 The structure of the thesis

The study demonstrates tobacco contract farming scheme unfolded by peasants and transnational companies in Zimbabwe. Chapter 2 illustrates the evolutions of tobacco industry, which took place two times in Zimbabwe; the first time occurred in the 20th century led by the colonial capitalism and the second time was in the 21th century after the FTLRP led by peasants. It shows how the tobacco industry reconfigured its shape from the bi-modal to the tri-modal structure, in the mid 2000s by circumventing the peasantry into the industry.

Chapter 3 provides the geographical and historical background of the field site. The research field which the study chose is also known as one of the first areas where land occupations were carried out in the late 1990s, before the government officially launched FTLRP. The land movements of the Svosve people described in this chapter demonstrate that the FTLRP originates in the democratic actions took by peasants against the unequal land possession.

Chapter 4 shows the data gathering method, the demographic characteristics of the interviewees, and the variety of transnational companies developing their businesses in the research field. The chapter also demonstrates how and the reason why the peasants connect to the global capital.

Chapter 5 highlights the economic impact of contract farming on peasants. The chapter analyses the cost of growing tobacco and the revenues they get from the tobacco farming. The chapter also studies their willingness to

continue growing tobacco after all.

While Chapter 4 and 5 concludes that the conditions of peasants being contracted are not favourable, Chapter 6 discusses peasants' agricultural finance that enables them to meet their end. The study demonstrates that peasant economy is based on both formal and informal markets. Peasants, on the other hand, resign themselves to be exploited by market force, they have agency of their own on these markets. The chapter concludes by showing the capital accumulation peasants achieved though the mixed markets.

Chapter 2: The prosperity of the tobacco industry in Zimbabwe.

This chapter discusses the prosperity of the tobacco industry of Zimbabwe, by demonstrating the two evolutions that took in tobacco production the last two centuries. The first evolution of the tobacco industry was in the 20th century, under the colonial rule. The Rhodesian government injected much capital into the tobacco industry and the development of Southern Rhodesia was inextricably linked with the social and political development of the country as a whole (Clements and Harben 1962). The type of tobacco farming in the 20th century was exercised under the dualistic agrarian structure, marked as dualistic between the whites as capitalists and the blacks as their employed labours (Rubert 1998).

The second evolution of the industry was brought as an outcome of the fast track land reform programme (FTLRP) and the introduction of the contract farming arrangement in the 21st century. Initially, the tobacco industry went into a decline just after the FTLRP, and then it recovered to the 20th century level within a decade after the reform. This chapter reviews the rise of the tobacco industry in the 20th century, the reconfiguration of the industry through the FTLRP, and the second rise of the industry in the 21st century. The chapter also highlights the mechanism of the contract farming scheme and the role played by the Zimbabwean government.

2-1 The rise of the colonial tobacco industry in the 20th century: The development of Southern Rhodesia and the first internationalization of the tobacco industry.

Since the arrival of British South African Company (BSAC) column in 1890, Zimbabwean land's high potential for farming was established, especially for

tobacco production (Rubert 1998)[6]. Although they did not find gold in Southern Rhodesia, as they did in Johannesburg in the late 19th century, they found golden leaf, tobacco. According to Clements and Harben (1962), while there are very few records of how farming exactly began in Southern Rhodesia, the Pioneer Column[7] realised that the land is suitable for tobacco. With the disappointments of not finding any prosperous gold mines as in Johannesburg, and the hardship they suffered from malaria, many of the members of the Column left the territory (Clements and Harben 1962). But some of them remained to start agriculture (*ibid*).

An old Rhodesian settler, highlighted by Clements and Harben (1962), also witnessed that the native people lived 'near River Shangani paid their tribute to the Matabele King Lobengula[8] in the form of tobacco[9]' (p.34). According to Palmer (1977), the African people produced tobacco elsewhere in the country in the pre-colonial era. There was also barter trade between the people who lived in the drought ridden area and with the people lived in more favoured areas. In bad years, the former exchanged salt, dried fish, palm wine, mats, baskets, and cloth for grain and tobacco (Palmer 1977). After the settlers saw tobacco field scattered in the territory, they became interested in the potential of producing tobacco there (Clements and Harben 1962).

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6 BASC was a commercial mineral exploring company formed in 1888 by Cecil Rhodes, Charles .D. Rudd, and Francis .R. Thompson, in London. The company obtained Royal Charter from Queen Victoria in October 1889. The charter was to allow the company to control the territories of present Zimbabwe and Zambia for 25 years, and the company named territory as Northern Rhodesia (present Zambia) for the northern side of the Zambezi River and Southern Rhodesia (present Zimbabwe) for the southern side of the river. Great Britain eventually annexed Southern Rhodesia in 1923 and controlled the area until Southern Rhodesia became independent in 1980 as the Republic of Zimbabwe (Rubert and Rasmussen 2001).

7 Pioneer Column is a collective name of BSAC that occupied Mashonaland in late 1890' (Rubert and Rasmussen 2001).

8 The king of Ndebele, King Lobengura served between 1870 and 1894 (Rubert and Rasmussen 2001). Since the white settlers believed that he is the supreme king extended his territory all over Southern Rhodesia, while he only served as a king for the Ndebele people, the Western part of the country, they negotiated with him for several concessions.

9 The tobacco made tribute for King Lobengura was Inyoka tobacco, produced by the people of Inyoka (Kosmin 1977). They live in an area of the present-day Gokwe district and produced tobacco by the 1960s (*ibid.*).

By 1892, approximately 300 Europeans already occupied farms; the majority of them were members of the Column or 'the detachment of police which had escorted it into the territory' (Clements and Harben 1962, p.48). Over decades, since BSAC started to administrate what then became to be known as Southern Rhodesia, they supported the settlers to develop tobacco production. They established agricultural experts for the Department of Agriculture, and also sent them to study tobacco in America, Turkey and Greece in 1903 (Palmer 1977, Rubert 1998). In 1907, BSAC issued a report stating that a new policy based on the promotion of European settler commercial farming was needed if the country was to survive since the revenue from gold resources was insufficient. In 1908, BSAC established the Estates Department to provide lands to prospective settlers and to assist their migration to the territory (Rubert 1998, p.23). They also availed a Land Bank in 1912 to supply agricultural loans for 'up to £2,000 at 6 percent interest' (*ibid.*). Also after Southern Rhodesia officially became a colony of Great Britain in 1923, they fully supported the tobacco farmers. They provided several financial loan schemes to especially support tobacco farmers in the 1920s. Some journals which focused on the technical information of growing tobacco started to publicized and an agricultural college was subsequently established (Rubert 1998). The suzerain Britain backed all these cost spent for tobacco and other agricultural sectors in Southern Rhodesia. With both financial and technical support from the colonial government, tobacco farming prospered by the early 1920s, and tobacco eventually surpassed gold for the Southern Rhodesia's export value by 1945 (Rubert 1998). The tobacco industry of Southern Rhodesia further developed after 1945. Between 1945 and 1960, the production of tobacco tripled in quantity and quadrupled in value (Rubert and Ramussen 2001). By 1965, tobacco accounted for nearly half of the country's total agricultural production and the country ranked as the world's second leading producer of tobacco, after the United States (*ibid.*). Tobacco started as a compromise for gold for the BSAC but became the industry that backed the economy of Southern Rhodesia. Palmer (1977) explained that during 1920s, white settler

farming was concentrated on maize, tobacco, and cattle. And they exported these products mainly to 'South Africa, the Belgian Congo, Mozambique, Britain, Germany, and Northern Rhodesia, with South Africa taking some 80 per cent of the total' (p.146). The tobacco industry reached the first evolution by 1945 in Southern Rhodesia with the injection of the settler government's capital.

While Southern Rhodesia made the first evolution of the tobacco industry in the 20th century, the composition of the tobacco industry was racially unequal. Rubert (1998) described how 'European capitalism penetrated Africa and the new capitalist relations forms that took shape in Africa' (p.ix). Soon after BSAC settled in the area, they created the Native Reserves by the end of the 19th century, where they pushed African people away and the white farmers regarded the reserves as a labour pool. The reserves were conveniently placed closer to white farms so that white capitalist could hire the proletariat black people as labour. The settler commercial agriculture was established over the expense of peasants (Rubert and Ramussen 2001). Peasants were not benefited by the development of the government policies supporting the settler commercial agriculture but they were weakened as they were relegated to subsistence production (ibid). According to Rubert and Ramussen (2001), such bi-modal agriculture extremely minimized the participants of peasants into agricultural market, especially of maize (p.15).

Picture 1 Opening of the tobacco auction floor of the year (1962).

Source: National Archive of Zimbabwe

2-2 The reconfiguration of the tobacco industry

The dualistic structure of the tobacco industry created during the colonial era persisted even after the independence in 1980. The dual agricultural structure, the white as capitalists and the black as their employed labours, had remained until the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLR), which redistributed lands to the mass peasants in the 2000s. Table 1-2 shows yield and area planted for tobacco in the three classes[10]. Small farms in the table consist of communal, old resettlement, and A1 farms. Medium farms consist of SSCF and A2 farms. Large farms consist of LSCF.[11] The table shows how the tobacco industry has changed from bi-modal to tri-modal, enlarging the presence of small-to-medium-scale farms, as can also be seen at the national level.

Table 1-2 shows that the industry is distinctly transformed after about a decade since the introduction of the FTLRP. In 1995, before the reform, the dominant large farms produced about 98% of tobacco, and about 94% of the tobacco fields were controlled by this class. After the reform, in 2012, the share of total tobacco production by the large farms had decreased to 21%, medium farms increased their share to 26%, and small farms had the largest share, growing 53%. The area under tobacco cultivation has also been transformed from bi-modal to tri-modal. In 2012, small and medium farms occupied more than 85% of the entire tobacco-growing area (62.9% and 23.4%, respectively). FTLRP created an agricultural structure for small- and medium-scale farms to engage in the industry as tobacco growers. The contribution by small farms largely increased while large farms' contribution much decreased between 2000 and 2012. Tobacco farming before FTLRP had a dualistic aspect, divided between whites, as capitalists, and blacks, as their

[10] The large-scale farm class was comprised 100% by white farmers at the independence, and the proportion slightly decreased to 83% by 2010 (Moyo 2013). The large scale farm class is still largely represented by the white commercial farms.

[11] This article does not discuss details on the tobacco grown by the estates because neither the Central Statistics Office nor the Tobacco Industry and Marketing Board (TIMB) provide such data.

employed labourers (*ibid*), and a insignificant proportion of tobacco was grown by the peasantry before land reform. FTLRP has therefore reconfigured the tobacco growing structure from bi-modal to tri-modal in its own way, though it is largely in parallel with the national-level new agrarian structure.

Table 1-2 Tobacco grower's structure by class

Year	1995				2000				2012			
	Production		Area		Production		Area		Production		Area	
	Ton	%	Ton	%	Ton	%	Ha	%	Ton	%	Ha	%
Small Scale	3598	2	3760	5.2	9258	4.8	11204	14.6	73656	53	58317	62.9
Medium Scale	326	0.2	427	0.6	1051	0.6	834	1.1	36449	26	21670	23.4
Large Scale	174728	97.8	68273	94.2	179333	94.6	64448	84.3	29074	21	12718	13.7
TOTAL	178652	100	139170	100	190242	100	76486	100	139170	100	92705	100

Source: Complied by the author from Zimstat (2012) data.

Notes: Large-Scale is comprised of the farms categorized under Large Scale Commercial Farms on the statistics, Medium Scale is comprised of Small Scale Commercial Farms and A2 farms, and Small Scale is comprised of A1 and communal farms.

2-3 The introduction of contract farming scheme

The tobacco industry was also reconfigured by the introduction of the contract farming scheme. While FTLRP opened the tobacco farming for the small and middle scale farm classes to engage, the introduction of contract farming arrangement supported the farmers to practice the tobacco farming. Until 2004, all the tobacco produced in the country was sold at only three licensed auction floors: the Boka Tobacco Auction Floor, the Tobacco Sales Floor Limited, and the Premier Tobacco Auction Floors. Since the introduction of the contract farming scheme, however, tobacco growers have been able to choose their own tobacco markets, whether they use the auction floors or go through a contract arrangement. Under a tobacco contract arrangement, farmers receive input goods in advance to produce tobacco, and the company deducts the costs incurred on behalf of the farmers from their tobacco sales.

The contract farming scheme is to provide the financial and market solutions to the tobacco farmers in light of the underperformance of the Zimbabwe economy, caused mainly by the World Bank and IMF induced structural adjustment programme in the mid of 1990s, . But more significantly, during and after the FTLRP, i.e. throughout the 2000s, the volume of agricultural finance coming from both domestic and foreign sources fell drastically (Moyo 2011a). After the FTLRP, such countries as EU members and the UK, Canada, the USA, and Australia imposed a series of sanctions which they called 'target sanctions' against selected members of the leading party, ZANU-PF. They were ostensibly imposed sanctions for either being involved in the human rights abuses or profiteering (Raftopoulos 2009). The Bretton Woods agencies also completely stopped their cooperation with the country. At the same time, the country experienced epic hyperinflation from 2000 to 2008. The financial flow toward the country from the West ceased at the beginning of the 21st century and the domestic economy was dried up with hyperinflation. it was against this background that the country, in trying to boost new African farmers, introduced tobacco contract-farming schemes in 2004.

Figure 2-1 shows the structure of the tobacco market regulated by Tobacco Industry and Marketing Board (TIMB)[12]. There are two markets for the tobacco growers, either at contract companies or at the auction floors. The market given by the contract companies is only accessible by those growing tobacco under the contract arrangements. When farmers decide to grow tobacco, they are required to register themselves as tobacco grower at TIMB every year, which enable farmers to purchase tobacco seeds. If they choose to grow tobacco under the contract agreement with one of the authorised tobacco companies, farmer needs to sign on the contracts before the

[12] TIMB is a parastatal established in 1936 through the Tobacco Marketing and Levy Act. The main role of TIMB is to control and monitor the tobacco market among other activities. TIMB avails rich reports and tobacco statistics on their website, http://www.timb.co.zw (accessed on 10, August 2015).

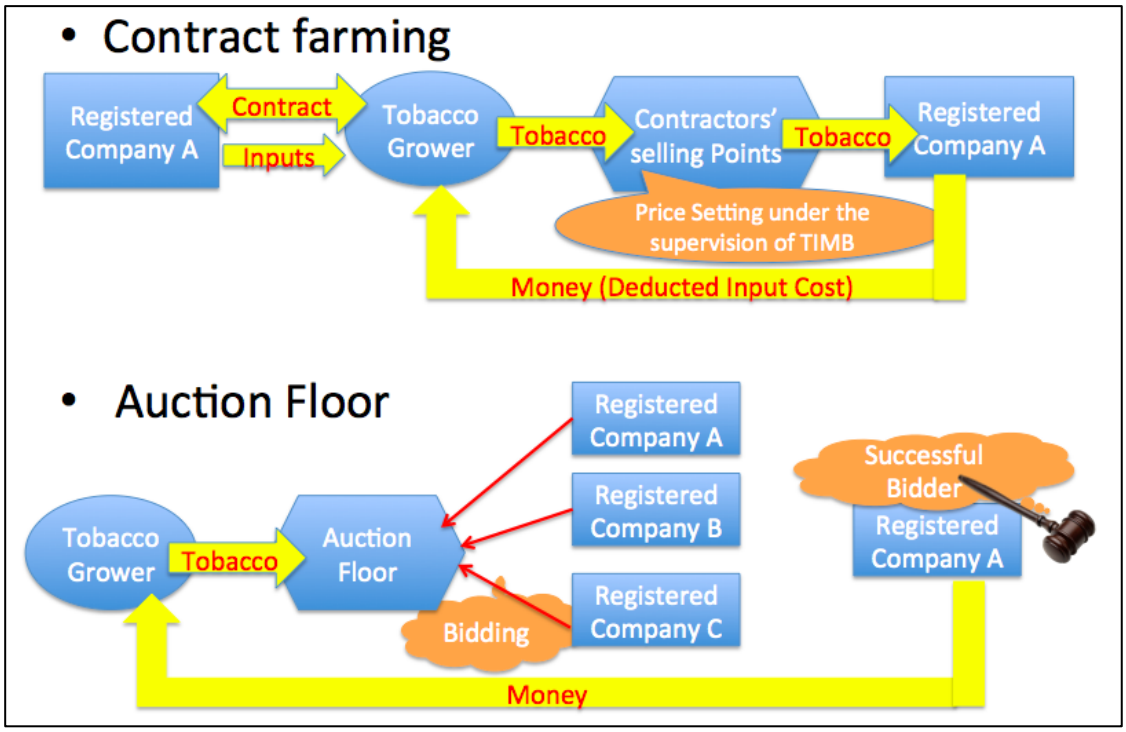
companies can register the contracted farmers' name as tobacco grower at TIMB. The farmers who grow tobacco under the contract arrangement (contract farmer) produce their tobacco with the input goods supplied by the company in advance. Farmers can only contract with one company. They are not allowed to get contract with several companies. After contract farmers produce tobacco, they deliver their tobacco to their contracted company. At the contractor's selling points, normally set up in the company premises, the company put the price for the tobacco delivered by contract farmers (Picture 2). TIMB is also in charge of supervising the pricing of tobacco to make sure the delivered tobacco to be priced fairly. After tobacco is priced, the company deduct the cost of input goods supplied in advance, from the contract farmers' sale. Thus contract farmers receive the amount of sale after the deduction of the cost of input goods. Contract farmers are not allowed to sell their tobacco at the auction floor but deliver their entire tobacco to their contracted companies.

On the other hand, farmers who chose to grow tobacco without contract arrangements (independent farmer), deliver their entire tobacco to the licensed auction floors. They prepare all the input goods by themselves to grow tobacco. At the auction floor, several tobacco buyers will bid off their tobacco (Picture 3). And independent farmers receive the amount priced on tobacco.

In the 2013 agricultural season, the average price of tobacco was $3.32 per kg at the contracted sales and $2.69 at the auction floors. Although each private company determines the tobacco price for their grower's tobacco without bidding, the contracted tobacco price has been higher than the price at the auction floors since 2009 (TIMB 2014). An interview conducted with a TIMB staff found that since the companies are trying to be attractive to farmers, i.e. keeping them under their companies for a longer time or recruiting new farmers, the companies give higher prices on their partners'

tobacco[13].

Figure 2-1 The tobacco markets.



Picture 2 The contract company price on the tobacco delivered by a contract farmer*.

Source: The photo taken by the author on 2 June 2015.
*A contract company staff (left) is pricing on tobacco brought by a farmer (right).

[13]Interviewed with a TIMB staff on 10 May 2015.

Picture 3 Companies bidding off tobacco*.

Source: The photo taken by the author on 20 May 2015.
*The company representatives (in the left line) are bidding off tobacco. The auctioneers (in the right line, the people wearing uniforms) lead the sale. The picture also shows the change of racial composition from Picture 1.

In the 2014/15 tobacco season, 15 tobacco contracting companies were registered as authorised contractors. Out of 15, 'purely' local companies were 5, while others were 'official' international companies or 'have some flavours of foreign'[14]. Out of these 10 international or 'foreign flavoured' companies, three were from China, and mainly entered into contracts with A2 or commercial farmers. Three of the companies were apparently connected to the US, two companies were working with (or for) Japan Tobacco, one

[14]Interviewed with an anonymous informant on 20 May 2015. The issue of companies' share in Zimbabwe tend to be sensitive. Foreign companies operating in Zimbabwe need to meet Indigenization and Economic Empowerment Act enacted in 2008, which requires all the companies operating in the country to transfer their 51% of their company share to the local African ones. Several tobacco companies are registered as local but still left a strong 'flavour of foreign'.

company is a part of a British group, while the other has connections with the UAE[15].

The current tobacco industry is much more internationalized than the industry led by the colonial settlers. While the contract companies are internationalized; they come from the East, the West and the Middle East, Zimbabwean produced tobacco is also exported to various countries. Table 2-2 shows the volume of tobacco exported to different companies from Zimbabwe in 2013 and 2014. In moth years, the biggest amount of tobacco was exported to China; 39% of the total amount in 2013 and 36% in 2014 was dispatched to the Asian country.

Table 2-2

Year 2014				Year 2013			
	Destination	The Volume Exported (kg)			Destination	The Volume Exported (kg)	
1	China	48,001,165	36%	1	China	60,370,350	39%
2	Belgium	29,743,266	22%	2	Belgium	27,485,566	18%
3	South Africa	13,001,194	10%	3	South Africa	17,323,391	11%
4	U.A.E	9,203,596	8%	4	Sudan	6,274,120	4%
5	Russia	4,793,344	4%	5	UAE	5,630,422	4%
6	Indonesia	4,503,090	3%	6	Indonesia	4,478,940	3%
7	Sudan	4,421,660	3%	7	Russia	3,437,560	2%
8	Germany	2,360,610	2%	8	Philippines	3,262,940	2%
9	U.K	2,002,880	2%	9	UK	2,642,600	2%
10	France	1,964,660	1%	10	Netherland	2,453,695	2%
	Other	19,990,697	15%		Other	19,990,697	13%
	Total	133,508,283				153,350,281	

Source: TIMB (2014)

[15] The companies' origins are based on the interview with an anonymous informant on 20 May 2015.

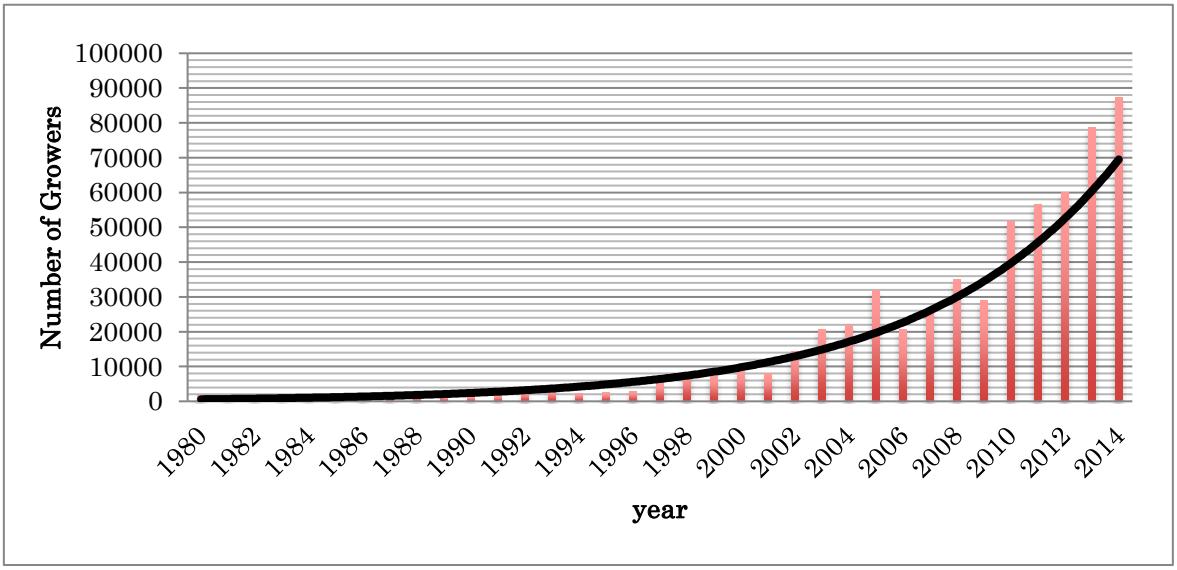
While the FTLRP was criticised internationally, especially from the West, the tobacco industry after the reform is much more internationalized than the one of before the reform. The industry before the reform was also internationalized but it was only opened to the countries in the West. There was definitely no player in the industry coming from the East before the 2000s. On the other hand, after the reform, there are contract companies coming from various places of the world, and tobacco is exported also to various countries.

2-4 The re-evolution of tobacco industry

The expansion of small to medium sized farm classes through FTLRP and the introduction of contract farming in 2004 has made tobacco farming popular and greatly improved the number of tobacco growers. While the number of tobacco growers at the time of independence in 1980 was 1,547, by 2014 there were 87,166 farmers registered as tobacco growers (Figure 2-2). Approximately 36% of these (31,487 growers) were A1 farmers[16], and about 44% (39,094 growers) were communal farmers (TIMB 2014). Thus, more than 80% of tobacco growers are small-scale farmers or the peasantry. While the industry was traditionally led by white LSCF, the peasantry has taken over the production of tobacco after the FTLRP.

[16] From the entire national beneficiaries of A1 farms, about 146,000 farms, about 20% of them are registered as tobacco growers.

Figure 2-2: The number of registered tobacco growers since 1980.

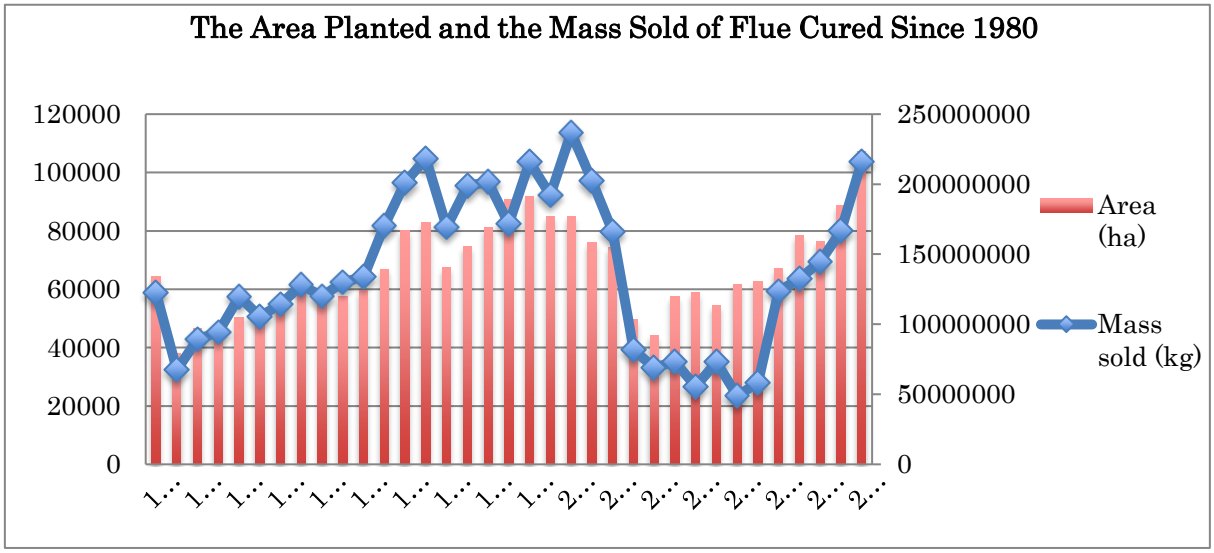


Source: TIMB (2014)

Figure 2-3 shows the area of tobacco planted and the volume of tobacco sales, which started to climb from an all-time low of about 49 million kg in 2008 to 216 million kg in the 2014 harvest. The area planted with tobacco has increased even more markedly. In the 2014 agricultural season, the tobacco-planted area reached its greatest extent since 1980. It demonstrates that after the FTLRP, both the size of tobacco fields and the amount tobacco sales decreased sharply. This reduction happened since the number of large-scale farmers, which mainly had produced tobacco in the 20th century, has drastically decreased as the result of the reform. However, the tobacco production recovered quickly such that the area planted for tobacco expanded after 2004, and the amount of tobacco sales also climbed up after 2008[17].

[17] Year 2008 was also marked as the peak of hyperinflation and it also affected to the lower production of tobacco.

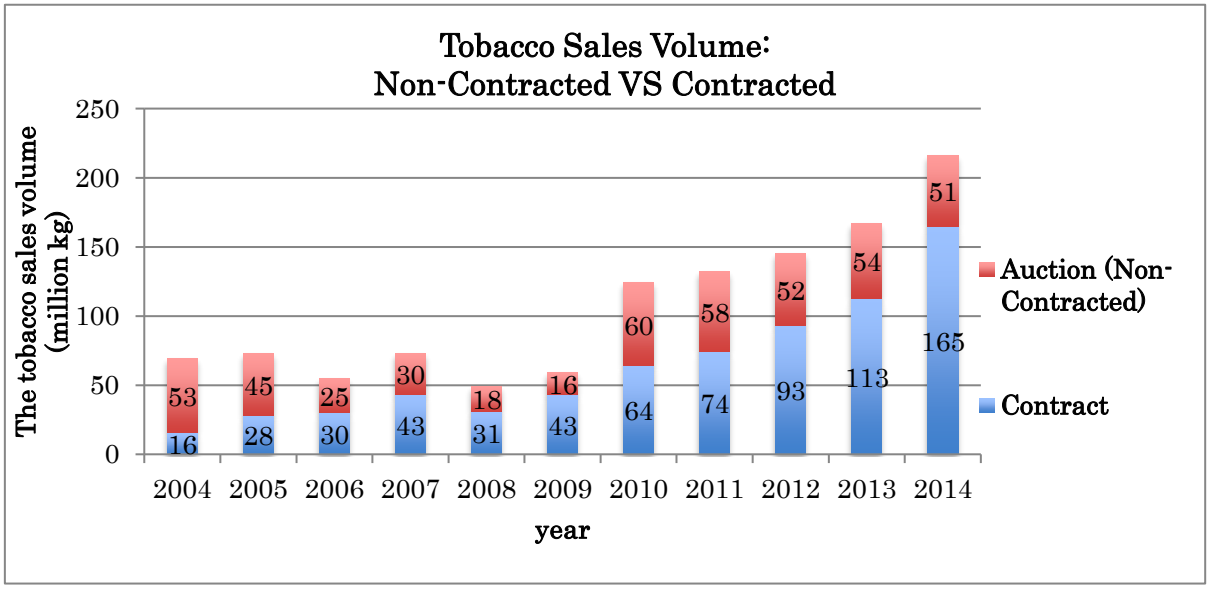
Figure 2-3 The area planted and mass sold of flue-cured tobacco since 1980.



Source: TIMB (2014)

Figure 2-4 shows the volume of tobacco sold through contract arrangements and tobacco auction floors since the introduction of tobacco contract farming in 2004. In 2008, when the volume of tobacco sales was the lowest it had been for several decades, around 49 million kg was transacted; about 36%, or 18 million kg, was sold through the auction floors and 63%, or 31 million kg, was sold through contract arrangements. In the agricultural season of 2014, the volume of tobacco sales increased to around 216 million kg; about 23%, or 51 million kg was sold through the auction floors and about 76%, or 165 million kg, was sold through contract arrangements. While the entire volume of tobacco sales grew fourfold between 2008 and 2014, tobacco sales through contract arrangements increased fivefold during the same period. Tobacco sales at auction floors also increased but did not reach a level as high as that produced through contract arrangements. The introduction of contract farming arrangements increased the volume of tobacco production at the national level.

Figure 2-4 Tobacco sales by different markets.



Source: TIMB (2014)

Contract farming arrangements are open to all tobacco growers, from large to small farmers. Although many donors and think tanks assume that land beneficiaries are inherently incapable of producing agricultural commodities commercially and promote the privatisation of land tenure, ostensibly to improve access to credit (Moyo and Nyoni 2013, p. 198), international tobacco companies have expanded their operations in resettlement and also communal areas in Zimbabwe after FTLRP. Among the 49,143 tobacco growers registered for contract farming in 2014, about 80% of them are small farmers or the peasantry: 36% of them are A1 farmers, and 44% of them are communal farmers (Table 2-3). A1 farmers produce 26% of national tobacco production and communal farmers produce 23%. While more than 80% of tobacco growers are small-scale farmers, working on A1 farms and in communal areas, they do not contribute more than half of the amount or value of national tobacco production. Moyo (2011a) noted that some contractors prefer peasants and medium producers because 'they are less able to resist lower price margins compared to larger-scale producers, who generally have higher social standing and fare better in procuring inputs using their own income, credit, and subsidies' (Moyo 2011a, p. 957). While the impact of contract farming on small farmers will be discussed in a later

part of this thesis, it is imperative to highlight that their contribution in the industry increased considerably, compared with their marginal role before FTLRP. Thus, the tobacco industry has been transformed, and has subsumed various classes and races, since the inception of FTLRP.

Table 2-3 Tobacco production by farming sector (2014).

	Number of Growers		Mass (KG)		Mass (Value)	
A1 Resettlement	17918	36.5%	42,197,031	26%	128,656,613.00	23%
Communal	21641	44.0%	38,452,893	23%	115,667,801.00	21%
Other	9584	19.5%	84,722,592	51%	852,588,217.56	56%
	49143	100%	165,372,516	100%	548,441,316.28	100%

Source: TIMB (2014)

We showed the reconfiguration and the re-evolution of the tobacco industry that was achieved by the two factors. There was the de-racialization of the land tenure structure and the subsequent re-insertion of capital into the small-scale class. The de-racialization of the land tenure was accomplished by the FTLRP and the re-insertion of capital was brought by the introduction of the contract farming arrangement. The industry managed to resurgent again in the 21st century as the contract companies incorporated increased number of peasants generated by the FTLRP.

2-5 The state and agro-business: the role of the state over the tobacco contract farming.

It is often mentioned that the tobacco contract arrangement scheme has developed since the government did not have capacity to support new farmers borne through the land reform (Chimbwanda 2011). It is still noteworthy to mention the importance of the role played by the government in igniting the tobacco-contracting boom in Zimbabwe. Mukwereza (2015) notes that 'the government of Zimbabwe adopted contract farming as one strategy for the recovery of the country's agriculture' (p.8). The government needed to boost the new mode of agriculture after the FTLRP whilst they

could not get financial support from the conventional donors such as the EU and other commonwealth member countries, and neither from the international financial institutions such the Bretton Woods institutes.

Among the 15 authorized companies authorized to undertake contract farming in the 2014/2015 season, Tian-Ze, a Chinese state-owned company, is the biggest buyer, if not the biggest contractor[18]. Tian-Ze is a Chinese state company from the Yunnan province but it has got more than just a provincial investment (Mukwereza 2015). The company is buying tobacco both from the contracted farmers and at auction floors. Mukwereza (2015) noted that Tian-Ze played a 'pivotal' role in resuscitating the tobacco industry in Zimbabwe. The company was founded just after the visit of a high level Chinese government delegation at the invitation of the government of Zimbabwe in 2004 (ibid). The visit of the Chinese delegation made realized just after the contract arrangement scheme was enacted in Zimbabwe. Since then, Tian-ze has invested heavily in the Zimbabwean tobacco sector. According to Mukwereza (2015), the company 'brought capital, competition, confidence, and improved prices' (p.10).

Zimbabwe surely was in a total mess when they allowed the tobacco contract scheme and the motivation for them to invite the international tobacco companies, especially from the east was to resuscitate its economy. While the government was taking a distance from the western communities, they encouraged investors from the East, especially from China, under the Look East Policy. The contract farming arrangement was also realized in a part of the policy, by inviting the delegates from China (Moyo and Nyoni 2013). Chinese Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) toward Zimbabwe rose 'from US $3 billion in 1991 to US$ 35 billion in 2003, and US $70 billion in 2007' (Mukwereza 2015, p.6). Not only for tobacco, but the government also invited investors to produce and process sugarcane (for ethanol), increase beef

[18]The number of contractors under the company remains small, since they exclusively contract with middle to large-scale farmers.

exports, and provided land-lease arrangements on parastatal lands by 2009 (Moyo and Nyoni 2013). While the financial support and investors toward the country from the western countries became minimum after the FTLRP, the government still relied on foreign capital inflow from the East, especially China, to resuscitate agriculture after the reform.The Chinese company, Tian-ze played an important role to the re-evolution of the tobacco industry through the contract farming arrangement. But their role was played on the scenario prepared by the government.

Another important aspect played by China in the tobacco industry of Zimbabwe was to internationalize the tobacco market. Since the government allowed the scheme in 2004, the company authorized as contractors increase to 15 companies by the 2014/2015 agricultural season. But the Chinese companies are only two among them. As also shown in Table 2-2 of this chapter, the volume purchased by China is less than 40%. The rest of the volume of tobacco is exported elsewhere the world. Since China became active in the industry, it became much internationalized than once it used to be in the 20th century. The internationalization of the industry in the current century is receiving players both from the west and east, and also from the south. While the impact of China is much discussed recently, also from the aspect of the dominance of Chinese capital in the continent, they played the role to open the door for the non-western countries to play in the country, from the case of tobacco industry in Zimbabwe.

Conclusion

This chapter studied that the evolution of the tobacco industry under the settler capitalist economy in the 20th century, and the re-evolution of the industry in the 21st century. The two evolutions were let by the foreign capital, the first one was colonial capital backed by the Britain and the second one was led by more variety of international capital, but the internationalization was ignited by China.

The second rise of the industry was brought by the de-racialization of the

land tenure structure through the FTLRP and the re-insertion of capital into the small-scale class through the introduction of the contract farming arrangement. After the FTLRP, small-scale farmers drive the new tobacco industry, while they were once marginalized under the settler colonial agriculture. The chapter lastly noted that the role of the government played for the re-evolution of the tobacco industry. The government opened the country after the FTLRP for the foreign investments toward Far East but the opportunity also contributed to the much wider internationalization than the one achieved in the 20th century.

Chapter 3: The geographical overview and the historical background of the research field: the Svosve people's movement.

Introduction

The following chapters present the outcome of the field research. The research was undertaken to analyze the interactions (agricultural activities and relationships) between contracted small-scale farmers and international companies. After describing the geographical overview of the site, the chapter reviews the history of the Svosve, from the pre-colonial time to their epic land movements. The research site fall under the Svosve chiefdom established around the early 18th century (Rubert and Ramussen 2001). Thus, the political economy of the farmers presented in the following chapters is for the Svosve people located in the Marondera district of the Mashonaland East province. As a point of departure, this chapter provides the historical background of the field site, including the dynamics of land movement carried out by the Svosve themselves in the 1990s, which would prove vital in shaping trajectory of the land reform program itself. The Svosve are known to be one of the first group of people to carry out land invasions onto white commercial farm area, before the government officially launched the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) in 2000. While the land reform of Zimbabwe has been greatly debated as the one carried out forcefully by war veterans, or exercised by the political elite desperate for political mileage (Moore 2003, Hammar et al. 2003), the modern history of the Svosve shows it actually stemmed from the local community. The detailed footsteps of the land invasions the community took will thus be demonstrated in this chapter.

The historical account of these invasions were obtained from the open-ended discussions conducted with the chief Svosve and his extended family, the war veterans and several other participants of the movement. The study also interviewed the former member of Svosve Development Committee and the former members of the Kwaedza cooperative, who were deeply involved in planning and coordination of the land invasion. Newspaper articles of the

late 1990s also helped to chronologize the oral history gathered from these interview participants.

3-1 The geographical overview of the research site

The research site is in ward 7 of the Marondera district in the Mashonaland East province. The ward is situated about 40km South of the Marondera town, the capital of the Mashonaland East province, and about 100km South East of Harare in a crow line (MAP 1). It will take about two hours by car to get to the ward from Harare, driving about one hour up to Marondera for about 80 km, and another one hour drive toward South from the Marondera town to the ward, for about 40km. The road connecting the Marondera town and the research site is called Igava road. The most part of the road is not tarred but reasonably maintained. The population of ward 7 is 5417 people and the number of households is 1346 (Zimstat 2012). It is subdivided into 32 villages and each village has its own village head. According to the Agritex extension worker[19], before 2000, there were three estates and eleven large-scale commercial farms (LSCF) in the area. With the exception of one estate, the Sheba estate, all the other farms and estates were operated by the white settler farmers. These farms have been broken up to numerous farms through the land reform movement, while the Sheba estate that owned by the black farmers, still remains unchanged as a LSCF. By 2016, the ward therefore had 1 LSCF, 109 A2 farms, and over 1236 A1 farms[20].

The Marondera town is situated on the main road which connects Harare and Mutare, the border town of Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Marondera town is the provincial capital and the regional centre of business and administrative activities of the Mashonaland East province, and it used to be

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[19] The information obtained from an Agritex extension worker of the ward, M, on 9 January 2016.

[20] The FTLRP has redistributed lands through small-scale farm (A1) and medium-scale commercial farm (A2) schemes. While the size of A1 farms varies depending on the condition and the environment of agricultural lands, Moyo (2013) showed the average size of A1 farms is 20 hectares including access to common grazing areas, and the average size of an A2 farm is 142 hectares. The reform produced about 145,800 A1 farms and 23,000 A2 farms by 2010 (Moyo 2013, p.43).

the white settler's residential area. The township of Marondera, allocated for the indigenous black people is situated on the north side of the railway runs parallel to the main road, adjacent to the industrial area, and much more crowded than the Marondera town. The agricultural area of the Marondera district radiates the town and the township. The population of the district in 2012 was 116,985 people (Zimstat 2012).

In 1961, there were 4311 white people who lived in the agricultural area of the district, and 1670 of them lived in the town, while over 4000 black people lived in the Marondera township and more than 40,000 black people lived in the white owned farms (Hodder-Williams 1985, p.5). Systematically planned as a reservoir for labour for the white owned farms, approximately 20km away from the 'white man land' were the Native Reserves (later renamed to Communal Areas) and also the Native Purchase Areas (later renamed to the African Purchase Areas) which was termed 'black man land' (Hodder-Williams 1985).

The Marondera district is not agriculturally fertile for intensive crop production (Hooder-Williams 1985). While some part of the district is mixed with 'dolerite and greenstones, which create richer, redder soils', most of the area is covered by granite or sandy soil (Hodder-Williams 1985, p.9). Sandy soil has various limitations on agriculture, such as 'nutrient deficiencies, acidity, low water storage, and poor physical attributes' (Bell and Seng 2005). Application of fertilizer is essential to start agriculture on sandy soil and the supply of organic manures will also be required to improve physicochemical properties of the soil (FAO website[21]). Therefore, anyone who is willing to embark on agriculture in the area needs to prepare ample capital (Hodder-Williams 1985, p.9).

[21]FAO website http://www.fao.org/soils-portal/soil-management/management-of-some-problem-soils/sandy-soils/en/ (accessed 4 September 2016)

The area falls into the agricultural region IIb[22] with an annual rainfall of between 750mm and 1000mm. There are two clearly demarcated seasons in the area; the dry season of winter runs between May and October, and the summer runs between November and April. People expect the first rains in October but the weather recently often disappoint them with the delayed rain and the long dry spell during the rainy season. While the temperature in summer reach up to 35℃, especially just before the onset of the first summer rain, and fall down to around 5℃ in winter. In the early morning of winter, we can sometimes see frosts, called 'snow' by the Svosve people. These weather changes have been agued to be signs of climatic changes in Marondera.

3-2 The people of Svosve and their life in the pre-colonial era.

The Svosve people became famous nationwide for their land movement and subsequent land invasions in the late 1990s. The Svosve people had settled and established chiefdom in the area in the early 18th century (Rubert and Ramussen 2001). The chiefdom covered the area between Ruzawi and Sabi rivers, the current southern part of Marondera and Wedza[23], becoming powerful in the region (Beach 1994, NAZ 1978). The Svosve people had their traditional court where the Marondera Police Station is located in present day town (Nelson 2002).

The first premier of the chiefdom was Chief Mukanganise, who led his people to become independent from the Mbire chiefdom of the Zezuru cluster[24], of

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[22]Zimbabwe is divided into five agro-ecological regions, from region I to region V, known as natural regions on the basis of the rainfall regime, soil quality, and vegetation among other factors. Region II where annual rainfall is between 750mm to 1000mm is divided to IIa and IIb according to the level of probability rainfall of more 500mm chance between October and April and the length of growing period. See (FAO 2006) for further information on natural regions.

[23] While the Svosve chieftainship had covered both southern Marondera and Wedza, because of the huge number of population, the governance has divided between two chiefly houses; Svosve of Marondera and Svosve of Wedza in the late 1970s (NAZ 1978, 1982).

[24] Zezuru is the linguistic and ethnic name for the central-most cluster of Shona speaking peoples. The Zezuru constitute about a quarter of the country's Shona peoples (Bourdillon 1987)

Shona (NAZ 1982, Rubert and Rasmussen 2001). He named his kingdom as Svosve, meaning insect or ant, since the people of Svosve were relatively small bodied (Takawira 2015). Loyalty, tribute and respect toward chief were paid due to his sovereignty over the land (Bourdillon 1987). 'The land is intimately associated with the history of a chiefdom, the former chiefs and ancestral spirits who lived on it' (Bourdillon 1987, p.67). The chief has been in charge of taking care of the land in his chiefdom and had several rights over the land (Bourdillon 1987). When the chief allowed immigrants to stay in his territory, he would exercise his right and distribute land to them. After accessing the land, the immigrants formally integrated and became part of the people under the chief. When chief distributed the land, he also gave them the right to cultivate the land. This is also how the chief expanded the population of his chiefdom[25]. Once the land is allocated:

> '*The grantee has indisputable right to the produce of their land, to their herds and their offspring and he has the right to keep away trespassers*' (Bourdillon 1987, p.69).

Chiefs have rights to allocate lands to people but he does not own the land. The rights toward the lands do not accompany the sense of 'ownership' or 'proprietorship' in the Shona chiefdoms, so as many other African societies. According to Bourdillon (1987), people often say that 'the real owners' of the land are the spirit guardians of the chiefdom; they are the spirits of founders or early rulers of the chiefdom, and their immediate kin, a lineage named *Jena* (p.69). The people of Svosve, accordingly, appreciate *Jena* for the land they use. By praising *Jena*, they also appreciate the current chief and their own ancestral spirits of the Svosve as a whole.

The life of the Svosve has been constructed around agriculture. Chief allocates land to till, neighbor get together for farming, and people also

[25] Since chief accept immigrants in his land, the clan names of the residents in chiefdom is not uniform. Meanwhile, the direct descendants of chief's families share the same clan names.

connect with ancestors through the ritual to pray for good harvest. The Svosve people have grown variety of crops including maize, sorghum (*mapfunde*), finger millet (*zviyo*), bulrush millet (*mhunga*), pumpkins (*manhanga*), groundnuts, and several other green vegetables (Takawira 2015, interview with Chief Svosve[26]). People prioritized growing of drought resistant crops such as small grains and green vegetable called *covo*[27]. The role of the chief and other elders in their agricultural activities is to carry out a ritual ceremony to call for good rains, known as *mukwerera wekutanga* (first rain making ceremony) (Takawira 2015). This ceremony has normally been conducted in the month of September to connect people and ancestral spirits to pray for the good rains and good harvest. The ceremony is normally conducted just before the first rain.

People start planting with the fall of the first rain. When a household's demand for labour is high, especially during planting, weeding and harvesting of maize, the households get for help from other households through 'reciprocal labour arrangements' (Takawira 2015; SMAIAS, 2015). The family inviting people is responsible of preparing food and beer for the visitors. These cooperative exercises are called *maricho*. Another cooperative exercise undertaking among the Svosve is *nhimbe*[28]. *Nhimbe* 'usually took place with the knowledge of the chief for it involves a lot of people' than *maricho* (Takawira 2015, p.57). *Nhimbe* was a village project that the villagers make turns to visit the fields of the village members (Takawira 2015, p.57). Again, the host family is in charge of preparing food and brewed beer in *nhimbe*. *Majangano* was also practiced as a community farming activity. But the number of households participates were smaller than *nhimbe* but bigger than *maricho*. While *nhimbe* lasts for several days for a family, *majangano* was finished within a day (Takawira 2015).

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[26] The interview with chief Svosve conducted on 2 June 2016.

[27] *Covo* is a type of kale of the cabbage family. The leaves are thick and tough. Chopped and fried, people eat *covo* in daily basis aside their staple food *sadza*, a cooked cornmeal.

[28] *Maricho* for the current chief Svosve to harvest maize was conducted for two weeks in the mid of June 2016. About 40 Svosve villagers gathered to the chief's field. Breakfast and lunch were served there. Chief also slaughtered a goat every day for the people participated.

The pre-colonial Svosve society was also active in iron-makings, especially in the Wedza area. The only people who got permissions from Chief Svosve were allowed to make iron products (NAZ 1978). Once they make iron products, they traded them with the Portuguese merchants for cloth, salt, and sugar (Takawira 2015).

In the absence of attacks from the Ndebele *impis*[29], the Svosve enjoyed their relatively stable prosperity for more than a century since the formation of their chiefdom (Hodder-Williams 1985). Their society appreciated cooperative agricultural activities. While they depended on agriculture for their livings, hunting and gathering also enriched their life. The iron-makings in Wedza also brought prosperity to the Svosve. However, their life was drastically disturbed when they met the intrusion of the white immigrants/settlers in their area at the end of the 19th century.

3-3 The Svosve meeting the white, the first Chimurenga.

In 1890, after Royal Charter was granted, British South African Company (BSAC, herein referred to as The Company) led by Cecil Rhodes formally started administrating the country. He also organized the Pioneer Column[30] to exercise its charter rights over the Mashonaland[31]. Rhodes, in the same year, made an offer of 20 acres of land on the road from Salisbury (now Harare) to Umtali (now Mutare) to anyone willing to establish a coach stop and provide shelter and refreshments for travellers and stabling for their horses, while he was constructing the road to connect the two cities

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[29] *Impi* is a body of Ndebele warriors. The Ndebele people are the largest group of non-Shona speaking people in the country. They originate the Zulu kingdom of South Africa and reached to present Zimbabwe during the 1820s and 1830s, when the Zulu kingdom was under warfare (Rubert and Rasmussen 2001).

[30] Pioneer Column is a 'collective name for the British forces that occupied Mashonaland in late 1890' (Rubert and Rasmussen 2001, p.254).

[31] Mashonaland is the area covered by the Shona people and Matabeleland is the one covered by the Ndebele. The name both Shona and Mashonaland were given by the Europeans in the 19th century. According to Matsuhira (2014), the word '*mashonaland*' originates the word '*Muchona langa*' meaning 'the direction of the sun' in Ndebele (p.27). The Shona people have lived toward the East of the Ndebele.

(Hodder-Williams 1985). This offer was made after Rhodes had found that the quickest route from the Cape to Southern Rhodesia was not from South Africa, but by sea to the Pungwe River[32] and then inland across Portuguese territory to Umtali (Hodder-Williams 1985). By the end of September 1891, even before anyone came forward to accept his offer, three policemen of the column obtained their discharges and started to build an inn in Marandellas. The inn was up and operational by the latter half of 1892, and the Salibury-Umtali road was completed the following year. Three Rhodesian policemen, Lance-Corporal David Bottomley, Trooper Edwin Head, and John Moore, were the first European permanent residents in Marandellas (renamed to Marondera in 1982) (Hodder-Williams 1985). By the end of 1892, a permanent police station was created, aside the main road and about a quarter of a mile away from the inns. The police force 'symbolised the formal white annexation of the country' (Hodder-Williams 1985, p.17). The British government, on the other hand, had made it clear in the letter sent to the Company that despite the new magistracies granted by Queen Victoria, 'the natives and native chief should be left to follow their own laws and customs without interference from the officers of the administration' (Ranger 1979, p.59). The British position, however, that the black should live without the interference of the white immigrants or the Company was impracticable. In 1892, 'with the appointment of Field Cornets', involvement into Shona affairs by the white was taken into the official system (Hodder-Williams 1985).

The Company, in fact, regarded that the Mashonaland had been under King Lobengula of Matabeleland. They thoughtlessly occupied the Mashonaland, including Marandellas area, regarding that the Ndebele king possessed suzerainty over the area (Hodder-Williams 1985, Ranger 1967). After they bought the Lippert Concession[33] in November 1891, the Company assumed

[32] The Pungwe rises in Mount Nyanga, which boarders Zimbabwe and Mozambique, and flows eastward through Mozambique to the Indian Ocean.

[33] King Lobengura gave mineral concessions toward several stakeholders, such as the Transvaal agent, the BSAC agent, and the German agent. Lippert Concession legitimized its occupant of Mashonaland in 1981 and given to the German speculator, Lippert. The Lippert

that the legal right over the Mashonaland had been overcome and they would be able to occupy lands nationwide. This was their fatal ignorance. The settlers claimed land without chiefly permission, tried to collect hut tax from the Africans, which they failed to collect, creating so much tensions between the immigrants/settlers and the Africans (Hodder-Williams 1985). The natural disasters hit nationwide in 1895 fueled the tension leading to an uprising of the blacks against the whites. These disasters were harsh also in the Marandellas area as:

> '*a terrible drought, an epidemic of smallpox, unprecedented swarms of destructive locusts, and an appalling attack of rinderpest which swept through the Shona cattle and to which the white authorities responded by destroying even the healthy animals and burning the dead.*' (Hodder-Williams 1985, p.31)

In 1896, the African led *chimurenga*[34] was expanded across the country. Between late March 1896 and October 1897, a large part of the country's population rose in violent rebellion against white settlers (Rubert and Rasmussen 2001). Rubert and Rasmussen (2001) noted that 'no other tropical African colony experienced an early rebellion of comparable scale or impact' (p.268). In Marandellas, in June 1986, several white immigrants, such as missionaries, storekeepers, and a black evangelist who came together with the white from Transvaal, were murdered by the Africans (Hodder-Williams 1985). In response to the tragedy, the Company proceeded into the radical operation such as dislodging the Africans from their kopje where they housed, with dynamites (Hodder-Williams 1985). For eight months from the beginning of the rainy season in 1896, cruel dynamite discharge of the locals were exerted in the Marandellas district

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Concession covered the BSAC-claimed area with the Rudd Concession signed in 1980. While the Company called Lippert Concession as 'humbug', they nevertheless bought the concession from Lippert.

34 *Chimurenga* means 'resistance' or 'rebellion' in Shona. It refers especially to the revolts of 1896-97 unfolded nation wide. While the revolt unfold in the late 19th century is called *First Chimurenga*, the liberation struggle undertaken in the 1970s is called *Second Chimurenga*.

(Hodder-Williams 1985).

While some of the Svosve people, such as the Chief Svosve and his sons were confronting the Company, the locals were forced to move to the rocky and less fertile mountainous area between 1896-1897[35] (PICTURE 1). The Company also drove the locals away from their original domiciles along the Salisbury-Umtali main road into the neighbouring hills (Palmer 1977). The place where the Svosve moved into is the current Svosve communal lands[36]. In February 1897, the Company established a fort where Chief Svosve's kraal had once been situated. He resisted against the white settler's force but was eventually captured in April that year, and died soon afterward (Hodder-Williams 1985, Rubert and Rasmussen 2001).

The most prominent result of the revolt of 1896-7 for the Company was the creation of Native Reserves throughout the country (Palmer 1977). The Company's rationale for creating the reserves was that 'African needs had to be met before land could be alienated to Europeans' (Rubert and Rasmussen 2001, p.66). A British order-in-council, in 1898, officially made the Company responsible for administrating the allocation of lands to the Africans. A Native Commissioner subsequently came to Marondellas to assign reserves for the Africans but he found they were already cleared from the prime lands and stayed in the neighboring hills (Palmer 1977). He anyway assigned the reserves nevertheless (MAP 1). Among the reserves, the Svosve's area was situated the closer to the white settler's land. Phimister (1977) reviews the size of the each of the reserves in 1914-15 as follows: Svosve (28,488 acres), Shiota (159,185 acres), and Wedza (207,458 acres) (p.261). The white settlers on the other hand, had set aside about the 850,000 acres of land for their own settlement in the district by 1930 (Hodder-Williams 1985, p.5). The land

[35]Interviewed with the village head of Mali village in Ward 7, on 13 July 2015, Mr. Mugaza, on 13 July 2015, and Mr. Mushangwe, on 2 August 2015. See also Sadomba (2008) for the initial stage of land occupations in the late 1990s.

[36] It was called Svosve Native Reserves before 1970, changed the title to Svosve Tribal Trust Lands in 1970, then after the independence in 1980, it has been called Svosve Communal lands.

where the white settlers settled into was flat and surrounded by the rocky less-fertile hills and mountains where they pushed the black people into. Considering the very wide population gap between the minority white settlers and the majority black people, the allocation of the area between the two races was extremely unbalanced. The revolt resulted in the consolidation of racial land inequalities in the country.

Throughout the 20th century before the independence, Marandellas local economy was dependent on agriculture. The white settlers chose tobacco for their cash crop to grow in the prime land they occupied. The economy of Marandellas had been intimately bound up with the fluctuation of the national tobacco industry (Hodder-Williams 1985).

The way of agriculture of the Svosve was also altered after they were moved to the reserves. Since the reserve was not spacious enough, they could not exercise crop rotation anymore amid the poor quality of the soils. The white farmers also became dependent on them for their labour supply (Palmer 1977). But the Svosve also became dependent on the white farmers for their cash income to pay hut tax. Even after independence in 1980, since the land tenure structure had not changed, the Africans remained in the communal lands and supplied labour for the commercial farming sector. At the independence, Zimbabwe agreed with Great Britain to apply willing buyer-willing seller based land redistribution as the condition during the Lancaster House negotiation. Since the willing buyer willing seller land reform is basically driven by voluntarily supply base, the lands offered by the white commercial farmers were limited and scattered elsewhere. With the land offered, the African people could not undertake collective agriculturel development.

Even after decades of the independence, and with little done to correct this land ownership and access imbalance, the Africans took actions to get back to their original land, which initially undertaken by the Svosve people.

3-4 The first invasion[37]

In the later 1990s, the Svosve people finally stood up trying to acquire the 'flat land down the mountain'[38]. The motivation of the movement was high population density, poor soils and poor infrastructure of the Svosve communal land. While the Svosve people had widely grown maize in the pre-colonial period (PICTURE1), the productivity has not been satisfactory in the reserves (communal lands) because of the poor quality of soil[39]. The late Chief Svosve[40] in 1982 highlighted that:

> '*Life became different and disrupted due to the existence of the white farms. (Our area is) surrounded by the (white) farms… We are waiting for the government to solve the problems, that is, if they can purchase some farms for us… The area is overcrowded*' (NAZ 1982).

People of the Svosve had always complained about over-populated communal land since they had been forced to move away to the mountainous reserve by the white immigrants. A Svosve original war veteran highlighted that:

> *Our fore fathers also told us that the land where the white people live was ours. The war veterans participated the liberation in the 1970s, had believed that when the country became independent, we can use more land. The government conducted the willing-seller willing-buyer land reform after the independence but the life of the Svosve did not change. We became to wonder ourselves that why did we participate in the war?* (Interview with Mr. Chaminuka on 18 May 2016*).*

The tension among the Svosve became high when they heard the news to construct a new dam in Goromonzi, a neighbor district of Marondera, in 1997.

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37 All the informants' names used in this section were changed to protect their privacy.

38 Discussion with a former Svosve war veteran Mr. Mutasa on 10 June 2016.

39 Discussion with Chief Svosve on 2 June 2016.

40 Chief Svosve, Timothy Tapfuma Chapendama, born in 1928 governed the area of the Marondera side of Svosve until 1993 when he passed away.

The following discussion of a war veteran Mr. Mutasa (MTS) and Mr. Muchetu (MCT) indicates how the Svosve started to form a community to deal with the unsettled land issue[41]:

> MTS: *In 1994, President Mugabe came up here (the Svosve communal land), and what he said to us was that this place was not good for agriculture, since it was mountainous. He promised to the people of Svosve to eventually settle in the flat land… Then in 1997, there was a talk that a dam called Kunzvi*[42] *would be constructed in Goromonzi. And a number of people there were going to be displaced to our Svosve area… The dam was going to be constructed in the black people's land. That is why it would displace a lot of people.*
> MCT: *They (the government) did not know the place where they move the people to but our Svosve area.*
> MTS: *That is right. So people started to concern a lot about these people's relocation. President once promised us to have more land but how were we going to have more people here? So this is the direct reason why people of Svosve stood up. We then formed the Svosve Development Committee* (Discussion with MTS and MCT on 10 June 2016).

According to the above veterans, the youth in the Svosve communal land had also complained about the overpopulation. There was not enough space for the youth to use the field by themselves. So the youth were also keen to have space and have own farms in the flat land. In 1997, the Svosve Development Committee was formed. The committee was made up of mainly men aged between 18 and 40, and the Svosve origin war veterans. Since the committee was formed, the people started to discuss more about the land issue. People wanted land[43].

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[41] The discussion was taken place on 10 June 2016 at the MCT's homestead.

[42] The plan of Kunzvi dam construction has been on the drawing board since the 1990s. The plan is to build a dam at the confluence of the Nyaguwe and Nora rivers in the Goromonzi district. According to the media, the government of Zimbabwe is seeking for assistance from China for its materialization (*The Herald*, 8 June 2016).

[43] An interview with the former member of the committee and the current resettled farmer,

"The committee, as well as the war veterans agreed that the land question was yet to be solved since the liberation struggle. So eventually we came up with the conclusion in the committee; why don't we show the government that we are very serious about land? We tried to go and share the farm with (commercial) farmers since we knew that there are plenty of areas not used by them' (Discussion with MTS on 10 June 2016).

The initial idea of their movement was not about invading the farm but appeal to the government that there was a need for more land among the Svosve villagers. The idea was, if there were unused land in the white commercial area, they wanted the permission from the government to use the space. A member of the committee mentioned to the media that villagers had no intention of taking revenge on white settlers, but only wanted to share the land' (*The Herald*, 20 June 1998).

MCT, then the chairperson of the war veteran association of the district, highlighted that:

'I went to see the resident governor's office. And I asked him, "are you going to arrest us if we, the people of Svosve, are going to demonstrate by going into the farms?" Then he said "no…., the Lancaster House[44] *does not allow you to do that. But let me go and talk to the President". I would say that we have got a very good support from the President and the resident governor, Karimanzira. He went and discussed, and then asked to us, "which farm do you want to go first, and when are you going there?" I explained him the date and the farm we would like to go. And I also*

C on 31 May 2016.

[44] In this context, it means the constitution agreed to enforce at the Lancaster House Conference in 1979, just before the independence of Zimbabwe. This constitution was effective until 2012. The constitution secured the white's land tenure and also set the terms for all land reform policy in the first ten yeas of the independence. This constitution worked to consolidate the dual economy even after the independence.

said "we will come and take you" (to go to the demonstrating farm together)' (Discussion with MTS on 10 June 2016).

The Svosve Development Committee demonstrated at the Daskop farm on 16 June 1998 (*The Herald*, 26 June 1998), and occupied there for about one week. The Daskop farm was chosen, according to MTS, as the first farm to demonstrate, since during the years of war (during the first *chimurenga*), a lot of Africans were killed there[45]. MTS said, 'we left all the farms but went straight to Daskop to demonstrate, and we also let the governor know about it'[46]. After the Svosve people reached to the farm, MCT went to Marondera again to pick the governor up. MCT recall that the police wanted to arrest the people in the farm but the governor stopped them from doing so[47]. After they occupied Daskop, they moved to Igava farm and then Homepark farm[48].

After they occupied the Daskop farm, the number of the Svosve participants increased. About 5,000 villagers, from over 20 villages of the Svosve communal land, eventually, joined the demonstration-cum-invasions (*The Herald*, 20 June 1998, 28 June 1998). The media reported that 'families are moving into the areas which they claim were previously occupied by their ancestors before being forced out by white settlers' (*The Herald* 24 June 1998). *The Herald* also reported that 'this is the first time since independence that such an influx of people has moved onto a commercial farming area' (*The Herald,* 20 June 1998). Answering to the interview of the media, the villagers expressed:

'The government's land resettlement programme was progressing at a

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45 Discussion with ALB and MCT on 10 June 2016.

46 *Ibid.*

47 *Ibid.*

48 The Daskop farm situates in the current ward 6, the Igava farm in the current ward 7 of the Marondera district, and Homepark farm is in the Murehwa district. After 2000, these three farms are closed and distributed to numerous black farmers but still these farm names are used locally to refer to the areas.

snail's pace' (*The Herald* 20 June 1998). And also, 'the commercial farms were established on our ancestors' land, and we were the rightful owners of the land' (*The Herald*, 30 June 1998).

The demonstration, however, took place in a moderately non-violent manner. MTS said:

> *'We first of all, told the owner of the farm (Daskop) that we were going to occupy the part of your farm. And we also explained to him that we would not chase you or harass you but we want you to consider sharing a part of your farm. The only weapon we carried was our drum to connect with our ancestors during the night' (Discussion with MTS on 10 June 2016).*

A committee member, Mareverwa told the media 'we did not move onto the farms without informing the owners. We always advise them of our coming' (*The Herald*, 26 June 1998). The committee leaders also advised the fellow villagers not to cut down trees nor to destroy any property on the farms, but the villagers should dig wells and pit latrines in their occupied farms (*The Herald*, 20 June 1998). A member of the Mashonaland East war veterans' association, Chitekuteku called on the villagers not to steal or tamper with property on the farms (*The Herald*, 27 June 1998).

As shown above, the first set of farm invasions were conducted relatively in a moderate manner, led by the Svosve Development Committee. There have not been any incidents of violence nor theft reported on the affected farms (*The Herald*, 26 June 1998). Sadomba (2008) discussed that the early stage of the mobilizations were successful, among others, the war veterans managed to unite different groups of participants (p.108). The Svosve movements mobilized thousands of people but they surely had different economic and social status. The war veterans took an initiative in the committee, and all the Svosve participants managed to share the consensus that they demonstrate peacefully over the lands that belong to their

ancestors.

About one week after the Svosve people occupied the Daskop farm, chief Svosve physically went to Igava and Daskop farms and assured the occupying villagers that the government was going to resettle some of the families before the start of the next rainy season. But the the government was not forthcoming (*The Herald*, 23 June 1998). According to *the Herald*, 'Chief Svosve was at pains to explain to the villagers that the government had agreed to resettle them' (*ibid.*). However, the villagers insisted that they did not want to go back to their barren land, until the government finalised the resettlement programme while they were on the farms (*ibid.*). The same media also reported that 'some of the villagers at Daskop Farm asked the chief whether they should, this (that particular) year plant their crops at their rural homes or on the (to be allocated) farms. When Chief Svosve told them to make land preparation at their rural homes, the villagers voiced their discontent' (*The Herald*, 23 June 1998). The Svosve Development Committee also wrote to the Minister of Lands and Agriculture to sign a formal agreement promising that the Svosve would be given new lands (*The Herald* 24 June 1998). The participants had another consensus that they would not leave the farm until Minister of Lands and Agriculture come to the farm and sign an agreement indicating the names of the farms on which they would be resettled (*ibid.*).

However, on the 27th of June 1998, after 11 days they invaded the Daskop farm, they agreed that they would only return to their homes only after government's assurance that they will be resettled in August, before the beginning of the rainy season, so that the villagers can plant in their new resettled farms. Vice President Muzenda traveled to Homepark farm on June 27 and pleaded with the villagers to return to their homes in order for the government to work out a strategy on how the villagers are to be resettled (*The Herald*, 28 June 1998). He said that this was the plea from President Mugabe and appealed to the villagers arguing that the government was going to work until they were satisfied that every Svosve

villager would be resettled (*ibid.*). Singing revolutionary songs and chanting slogans, though the villagers said they would inform the government when they would leave the farms, they agreed to vacate the farms on the same day after the vice present's plea (*ibid.*). The Svosve villagers also stated that if the resettlement that the government had assured for them would be not realized by August 31, they will return to commercial farms to occupy on September 1.

After they agreed to the vice president, on 28 June, the villagers made another exodus back to their communal area. Some villagers also 'cleaned up abandoned campsite and covered pits they had dug to dump refuse before they vacate the farms' (*The Herald*, 30 June 1998). The following day, June 29, the leaderships of the villagers went around the occupied commercial farms they had occupied and informed the owners that the villagers had returned their homes in the communal area. The Svosve people, who had vowed not to withdraw from the farms despite appeals from their own chief and several other government officials and, only resolved to go back home after President Mugabe intervened through Vice-President Muzenda.

In May 1998, just one month before the Svosve's movements, there was a similar kind of occupation carried out in the Nyamandlovu area of the Matabeleland North province, where villagers invaded to some neighbouring commercial farms. But the villagers followed the tentative agreement made between the local authorities, such as chiefs, headmen and provincial administrators, and the government, which was to assure the villagers the formal takeover of the land (*The Herald* 28 June 1998, Yoshikuni 2008). The Svosve's occupation in the Marondera district, then happened in the subsequent month, however, was unprecedented in the way that the villagers had resisted appeals from local authority like chiefs. The villagers demanded a written undertaking from the president himself before they vacated the farms (*The Herald*, 26 June 1998).

3-5 The second invasion

The land had not been redistributed to the Svosve villagers by the end of August 1998, as promised to them by the Vice President. Instead, the government appealed the support from the international community to implement land reform programme at a faster rate. At the donor conference held in September, about two months after the Svosve's land invasion, the government came up the Land Reform and Resettlement Programme, Phase II[49] and conducted a village tour of the rocky Svosve communal land for the donor stakeholders. About 40 delegates including World Bank officials and German Ambassador to Zimbabwe participated into this field tour on September 10. After the first sets of invasion, receiving the government officials and donors, chief Svosve was also in support of the committee.

After the delegates visited the Svosve communal land, they visited the neighbour commercial farm, Toplands owned by Mrs. Jackson (*The Herald*, 11 September 1998, 19 September 1998). The farm situated in ward 23 of the Marondera district, and the owner was an old widow[50]. The farm was apparently underutilised because of lack of water, and the farm was shown to the delegates as an example of commercial farm (*The Herald*, 19 September 1998). It was 'diplomatic maneuvering' of the government that they showed to the international community such unutilised commercial farms (Scoones etc. 2010, p.21). When the delegates visited the farm, the owner complained that 'all her sheep developed measles from human waste and had died as a result' (*The Herald*, 19 September 1998, Discussion with MTS and MCT[51]). She made the comments at her farm answering to the governor for Mashonaland East province, Karimanzira, who visited her farm with the delegates after the Svosve communal land (The Herald, 19 September 1998).

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[49] The objective of the programme was to acquire 5 million hectare of land to redistribute to 91,000 families.

[50] Discussion with MTS and MCT on 10 June 2016.

[51] The discussion conducted on 10 June 2016.

Hearing her comments, about 70 Svosve villagers stormed nearby her farm on September 16, and protested against the racial utterance made by the owner. Although Jackson eventually submitted a letter of apology to the governor on September 18, the villagers remained at her homestead for three days, beating drums and singing revolutionary songs centred on the theme of unity and reconciliation (*The Herald*, 19 September 1998, Discussion with MTS and MCT[52]). MTS described the protest at the widow's farm as:

> *'So her statement was on the newspaper. She said that we Africans living in the mountain do not have proper toilets and just use bushes. So her sheep got measles out of it (MCT laughed). And we went back to the white farmer's area again to protest at her farm. We stayed there for almost three days. We drummed, sung, and danced. And we told her to come and join us so that we leave her farm. Then she came and danced together (MTS, ABM and their family laughed)[53]. Her son also came from Karoi and slaughtered us some beasts. He gave us some meat (everybody laughed again). They did not know what to do to us[54].*

The protest at Toplands sounded as an 'easy' one. The Svosve villagers did not claim her farm to share with them as they did earlier. They just protested against of her racial statement by singing and dancing reconciliation songs. By this time, they had also become more vocal and confident protesting about the racial issues and land issues in public, after they experienced the three farm occupations earlier. But this seemingly 'easy' Toplands farm protest led to another serious invasion onto the farm owned by the chairperson of the Commercial Farmers' Union (CFU)[55] in the Wedza district close to Toplands farm. MTS and MCT explained how the next

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52 *Ibid.*

53 *Ibid.*

54 *Ibid.*

55 CFU is comprised of large-scale commercial farmers (LSCFs). Since almost all LSCFs were under the white owners, the union almost represents white farmers. It was 'well-resourced and well-organized', and also had strong channels to the government since the colonial period (Scoones etc. 2010, p.15).

invasion after the farm was taking place:

> MTS: *The chairman of CFU of this district heard that the Svosve people surrounded the widow's farm. Then he came! He came to the farm and showed her his sympathies.*
> MCT: *He was an anti-Zimbabwean!*
> MTS: *He talked a lot of nonsense to us. In fact, he had promised. He had promised to us. He said 'let me just organize some farms for you'.*
> MCT: *Yes, he had said that when the delegates came to the Svosve, he was actually leading the delegation.*
> MTS: *He led the delegation. And he promised the people of Svosve.*
> MCT: *He promised, saying 'I can actually talk with the members of CFU to arrange some pieces of lands for the people of Svosve, since I am the chairman of CFU in the area'. But now, we saw him that at the widow's farm that he was sympathizing the woman and was also talking nonsense. Then we said, 'okay, now we are going to your farm'.*
> MTS: *His farm was just across the river from here (the MCT's homestead).*
> MCT: *After we moved to his place, we stayed there for almost a month*[56].
> MTS: *Or more than a month!*

As discussed above, on 19 September 1998, the Svosve villagers who had protested at Toplands farm moved to the neighbor commercial farm owned by Harry Fernendes, the regional chairman of the CFU in Mashonaland East district (*The Herald*, 3 October 1998). The name of the farm was Nurenzi, and about 100 Svosve villagers joined the invasion (*ibid.*). Fernendes, on the other hand, denied that he had ever promised the villagers land, and said to *the Herald* that 'I am in no position to give them (the Svosve villagers) land (*ibid.*). And they stayed at Nurenzi farm for more than a month and also planted maize seeds. MTS said that it was our first time to sow maize in the

[56] The discussion conducted on 10 June 2016.

flat land after the Svosve had pushed back to the communal area[57].

After one month of their occupation, the police took them to the court in Wedza by a truck, alleged for intrusion of the private property. The court dismissed the Svosve people and brought them back home to the Svosve communal land[58]. Meanwhile, the Svosve people were given three areas to resettle in the former commercial land in the Marondera district by the end of 1998 (Interview data, *The Herald* 18 November 1998, *The Herald* 6 January 1999). The government also subsidized the villagers with maize seeds and fertilizers (Interview data). But the Svosve Development Committee was not satisfied with the government treatment for the villagers. MTS said:

> *We fought for lands. From our movements, people got three farms and some inputs. But what could we do with these small sizes of farms scattered here and there?*[59]

3-6 The third invasion and the third Chimurenga

While the first *Chimurenga* refers to the first African's revolt which unfolded in the late 19th century, the second *Chimurenga* the liberation struggle undertaken in the 1970s, the third *Chimurenga* thus referred to the land invasion struggles and/or *jambanja*[60] by the war veterans and other people. By 2000, aggressive land invasions were rampant nationwide. According to *Independent*, 922 white commercial farms were invaded between February

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57 The discussion conducted on 10 June 2016.

58 *Ibid.*

59 *Ibid.* Also according to the interview conducted with a former member of the Svosve Development Committee, the land movements in the 1990s eventually got support from several chiefs near the Svosve communal area. When the government assigned the land for the people to resettle in the 1990s, quite a number of non-Svosve people also settled in the area and the committee was not happy about it (the interview conducted on 31 May 2016 with C).

60 *Jambanja* means upheaval in Shona. The land invasions taken place nationwide is commonly called as *jambanja*.

and April 2000 (*Independent* 6 April 2000)[61]. Also in Marondera, according to MTS and MCT, 'a real war started' in April 2000[62].

The last invasion occurred on Chipesa farm in ward 7. The owner of the farm was Iian Kay, a former Marondera Central legislator. The relationship between the Svosve and Kay had been sore, since the early 1970s[63]. The last set of the movements was undertaken together with the people of the Kwaedza cooperative farm[64]. As the situation got tense, the committee did not get as many participants from the Svosve villagers as before. Instead, the farmers of the cooperative, also searching for land, joined in the movement. At the end, about 2000 farmers came together to invade into the commercial farms.

The situation in 2000 became much more wild and aggressive than the ones carried on in the 1990s. The Svosve and war veterans built a base camp in the Chipesa farm and 'commanded' the people of the Svosve Development Committee and the Kwaedza people. They invaded the white owned farms one after another. The Kwaedza people commuted to the white farms' area, every day from their homestead about 7km away. They sometimes slept in bush and were active during the night. In 2000, the white farmers' side also showed resistance, especially Kay[65]. He had never agreed to share the farm with the Africans nor vacate the farm. The white farmers, for the first time since the Svosve started the land movements in the 1990s, vandalized the

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61 Moyo noted that ZANU-PF radicals also demanded these massive compulsory land acquisitions, while they intermittently had negotiations and dialogue with the government, the Commercial Farmers Union, and donors (Moyo 2006).

62 *Ibid.*

63 Interview with M on 31 May 2016. According to M, while Kay and the Svosve villagers maintained the sound relationship, as the villagers working for Kay as farm labours, and the Svosve was using Kay's dip tank. But in 1973 or in 1974, Kay apparently killed all beasts of the Svosve surrounding his farm, claiming that his cattle were getting sick from the villagers cattle. Since then, the relationship between the Svosve and Kay was sored.

64 Zanu-PF led the country at the independence to achieve a socialist country. Thus they introduced cooperative farms elsewhere in the country, modeled the collective farmers of Russia.

65 Discussion with MTS and MCT on 10 June 2016, and interview with M on 31 May 2016.

buildings on the Chipesa farm. The owner of the farm, Kay was also beaten up sorely on 3 April 2000, and a police constable shot dead at skirmishes in the farm the following day on 4 April[66]. The movements were radicalised and rationalized as '*third chimurenga*'.

On 15 July 2000, the government announced that the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) was to start immediately and the government to seize 804 gazetted farms. This announcement, *de fact*, formalized the land invasions carried out elsewhere in the country. Since the Svosve Development Committee and the Kwaedza villagers invaded farms in 2000, they never returned to their homes. After the 'third *chimurenga*', ward 7, formerly owned by just 14 estates and farms, is demarcated to 5417 small to large sized farms in 2016.

Conclusion

One of the earliest cases of land occupations were carried out in the field site where this study focuses. There are several reasons to explain the cause and the development of land movements in Zimbabwe. But one such cause of the movements, from the case of the Svosve, is that the land movements were organized as a response to the unresolved land issues in Zimbabwe. The initial objective of the movements was more about going back to their ancestral land than to eject the white from their farms. In the case of Svosve, thepeople who mainly participated in the movement were the ordinary local villagers, but the war veterans of the area took the initiative. While the last set of invasions turned out to be brutal, the land movements were developed, relatively, in 'a democratic way' (Moyo and Yeros 2005). The war veterans could attract a group of people to participate in the land movements since there was a unanimous belief that the land, used by the white farmers, belonged to their ancestors. Thus, the pre-colonial to colonial history is very important in order to understand the land issues in Zimbabwe (Moyo 2013,

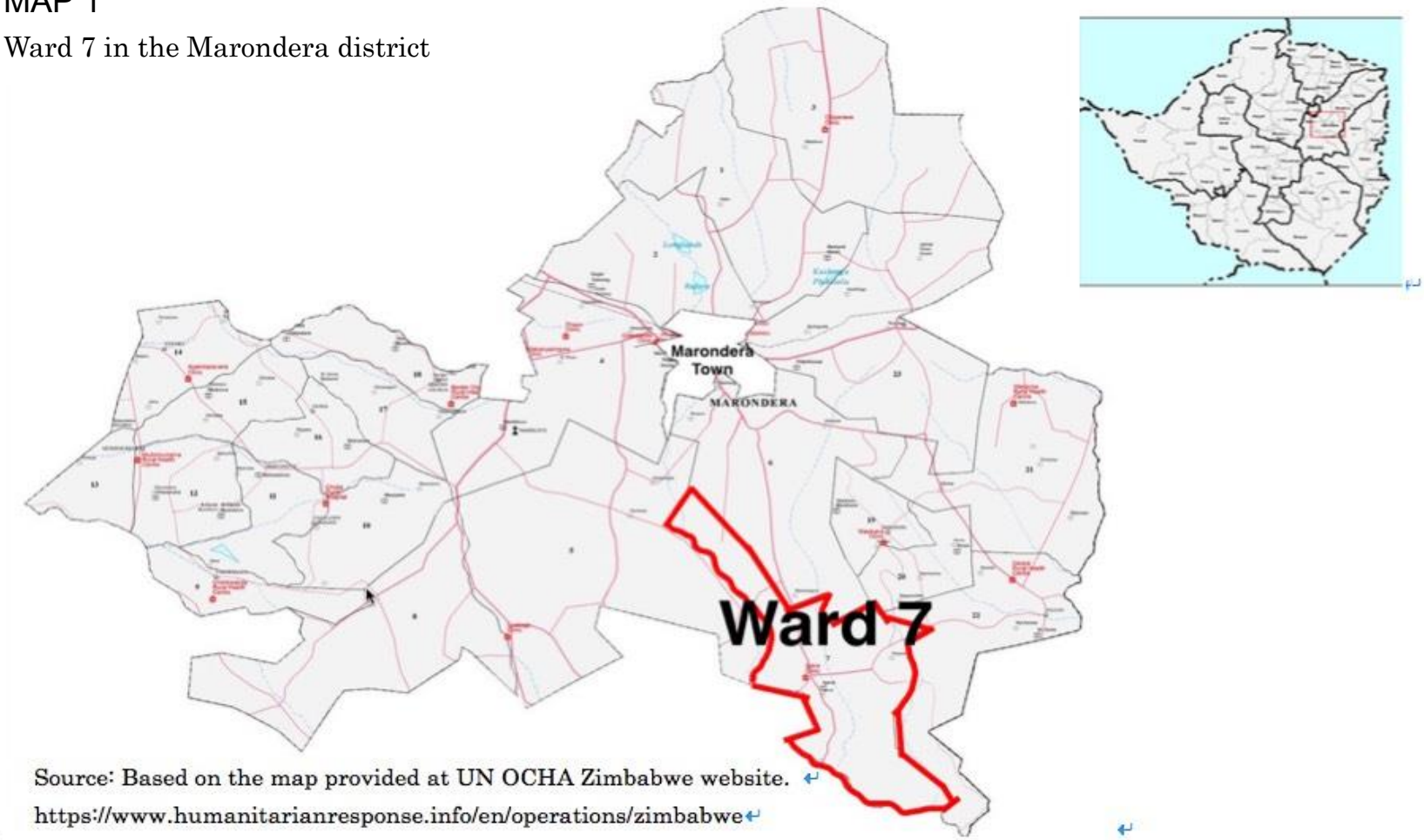
[66] The Zimbabwean Situation archive. http://www.zimbabwesituation.com/old/jun16.html#link7 (accessed on 28 September 2016).

Sadomba 2008). The participants of the movement clearly targeted the farms where they have strong historical connections to and negotiated with the 'owner' if they could share the space.

After the radical land invasions, a number of people managed to settled on their ancestral lands. They now have their own farms in the flat, fertile and agriculturally viable lands. In proceeding chapter, the study will show how these farmers conduct agriculture in their resettled lands.

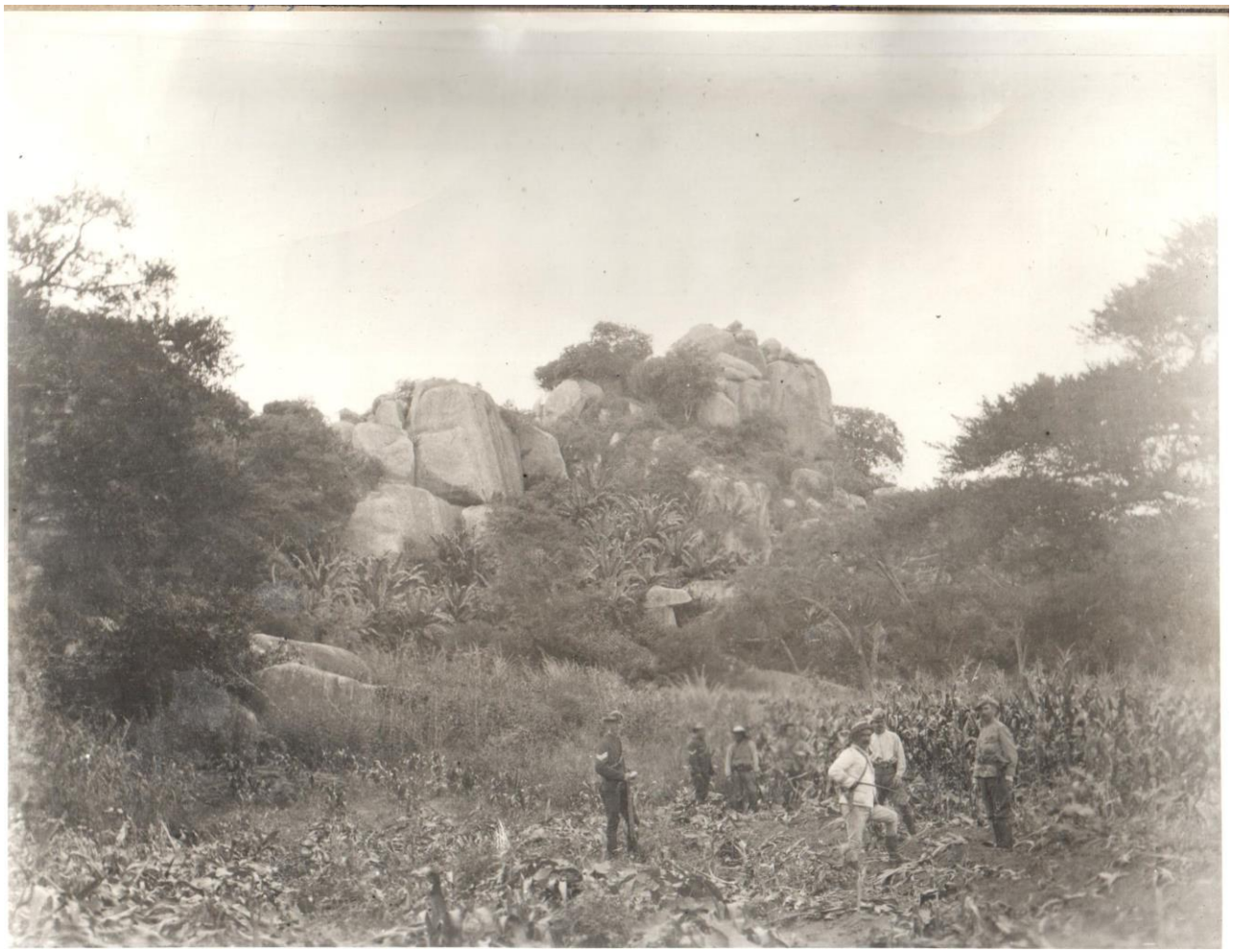
MAP 1

Ward 7 in the Marondera district



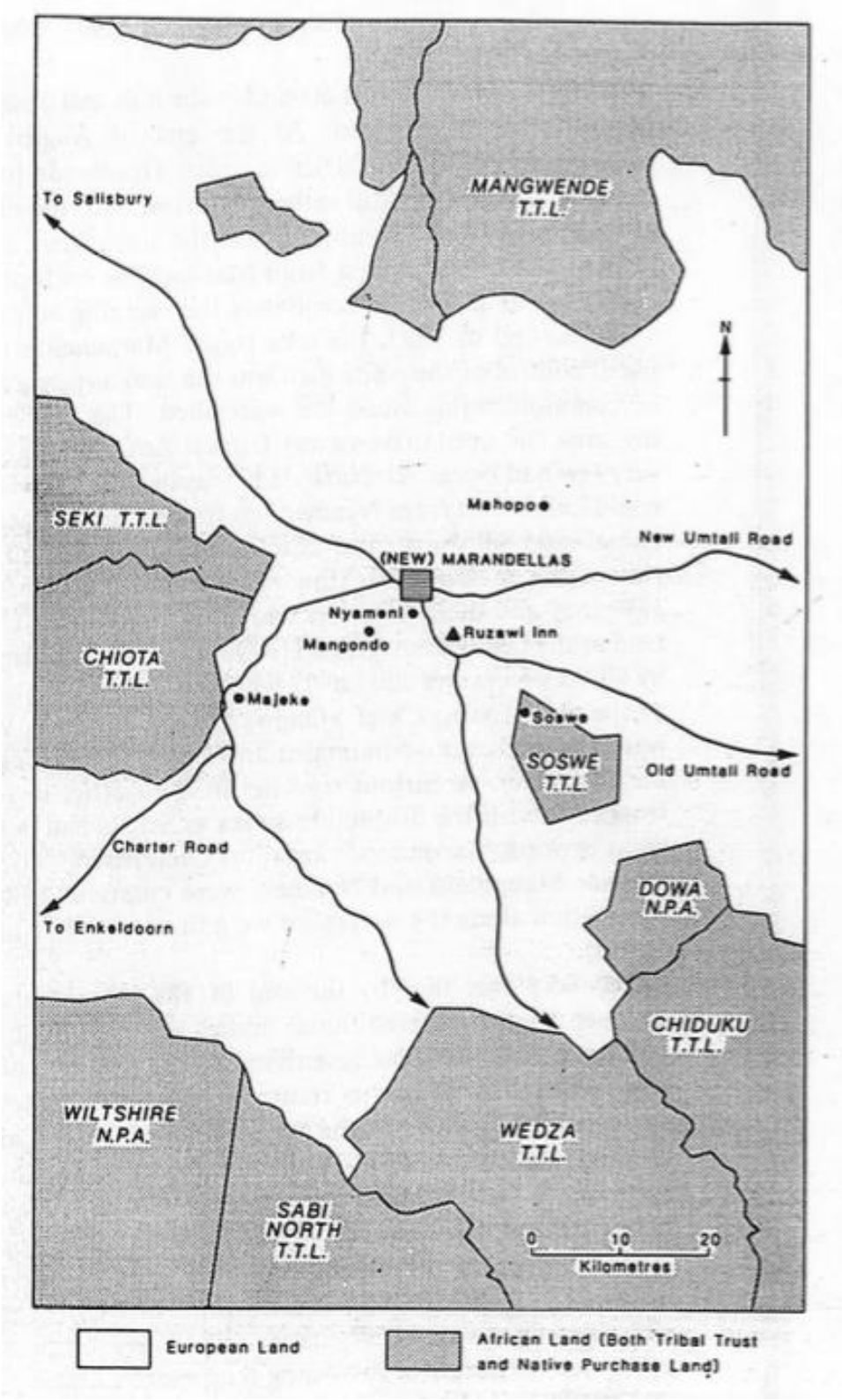
Source: Based on the map provided at UN OCHA Zimbabwe website.
https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/en/operations/zimbabwe

PICTURE 1



Source: National Archive of Zimbabwe. '*Svosve's stronghold, 1897*. The photo was taken in 1897.
The white police was destroying the Svosve's field during the first chimurenga. The rocky mountain behind them became the Svosve communal lands. The photo also shows that the Svosve people were already growing maize by this time.

MAP 2 European land and African lands in Marandellas district (1931)



Source: Hodder-Williams (1983), p. 36

Chapter 4: Living Under Contract: Tobacco farmers getting connected to the global capital.

Introduction

The following chapters discuss in detail, the tobacco farming and other agricultural activities undertaken by the A1 farmers. The FTLRP (Fast-Track Land Reform Programme) officially initiated in 2000 transferred the land from the white commercial farmers to mass peasants. The peasants now occupy about 80% of the agricultural land, while the large-scale commercial farms occupy about 4% of it. While the land reform appeared to isolate the country from the international economy, global market force has been able to steadily permeate into the rural Zimbabwe after the reform. On the surface, newly resettled peasant farmers practice agriculture in isolation from international capital. However, this study (using A1 tobacco farmers) reveals that peasants are strongly connected to the global economy. This chapter firstly presents the small-scale farmers tobacco farming schedules and their tobacco growing methods. The study then demonstrates the actual tobacco farming practices of the targeted farmers in ward 7 of the district. This chapter also describes the data gathering methods, demographic characteristics of the interviewees, the structure of global capital developing their business in the field, and lastly demonstrate how and the reason that forces peasants to connect to the global capital.

4-1 The peasants' agricultural schedule (tobacco and maize)

Tobacco produced in Zimbabwe is predominantly flue-cured Virginia tobacco[67]. Tobacco farming is 'labour-demanding and skills-intensive, in addition to requiring higher inputs per hectare than most crops' (TRB 2011,

[67] According to Phillip Morris International, the three most common tobacco types are Virginia, Burley, and Oriental. Virginia tobacco is flue-cured, while Burley tobacco is light air-cured and Oriental is sun-cured. Virginia tobacco is characterized as it turns to be colour golden-yellow after they are cured (Phillim Morris International Website http://www.pmi.com/en_cz/our_products/pages/about_tobacco.aspx, accessed on 2 November 2016).

p.2). Figure 4-1 shows the average monthly temperature and rainfall in Marondera, and Figure 4-2 presents the annual agricultural schedule focuses on tobacco and maize, particularly exercised by small-scale farmers. The agricultural season of Zimbabwe gets busy with the beginning of rainy seasons in October, and they start harvesting maize the following year February until the beginning of winter, around April. The agricultural season of Zimbabwe thus carries over to the following year.

Compared to maize, which was produced by all the interviewed small-scale farmers, growing tobacco entails more complex processes. While most of the agricultural activities of maize are concentrated in the rain seasons, farmers are occupied by tobacco production activities also during the dry seasons; tobacco requires attention all year round. There are eight major differentiated processes to grow tobacco: seedling (1) production , (2) land preparation , (3) planting , (4) field management , (5) reaping , (6) curing, (7) grading , and (8) bailing . And both independent and contracted farmers have to go through the same eight processes when producing tobacco. Among the eight processes, planting, curing, and grading processes require more labour withthe grading process standing out as the most labour intensive and technical of them all. In this section, the eight steps of tobacco farming are explained based also on the participatory observation the study undertook in the Goromonzi district[68] in 2014. Furthermore, the study also referred to the tobacco production field guide/manual that is usually issued to small-scale farmers by the parastatal; Tobacco Research Board (TRB)[69] (2011) in order to fully understand the tobacco production process.

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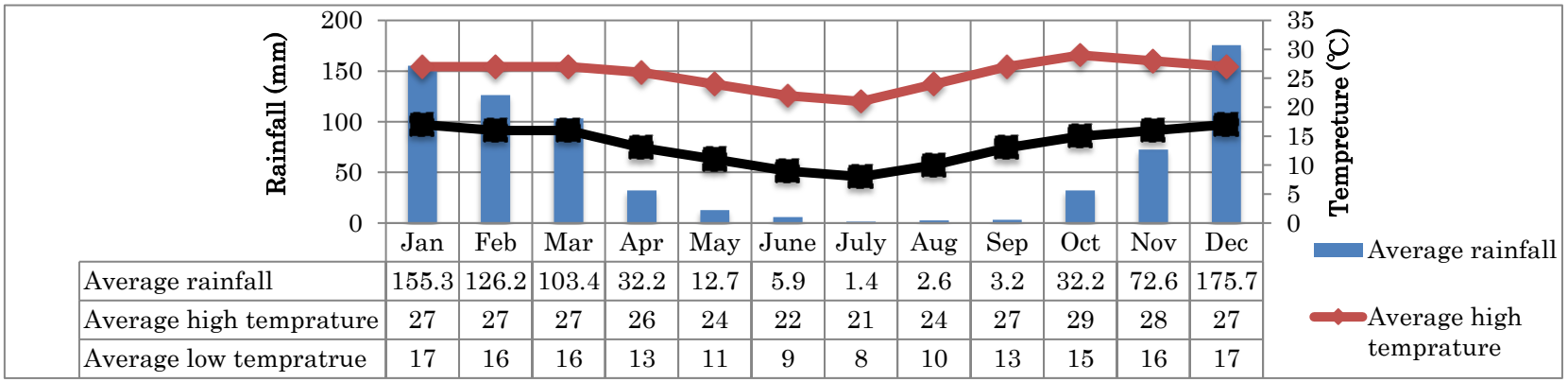
[68] The Goromonzi district situates about 40km East of Harare, the capital. The district also falls into the Mashonaland East province, same as the Marondera district, where the study mainly focused on for its field research in 2015 and 2016.

[69] The Tobacco Research Board (TRB) was established in 1950 under the Tobacco Research Act (Chapter 28:21). The TRB has exclusive rights to research on flue-cured tobacco in Zimbabwe. TRB has a right to sell all varieties of tobacco seeds sold in the country. 'Furthermore, all agrochemicals used on tobacco must be countenanced by the TRB before use, in terms of the Tobacco Marketing and Levy Act' (TRB website http://kutsaga.co.zw/about%20us.html, accessed on 1 November).

Figure 4-1 Average high/low temperature and rainfall in Marondera



	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
Average rainfall	155.3	126.2	103.4	32.2	12.7	5.9	1.4	2.6	3.2	32.2	72.6	175.7
Average high temprature	27	27	27	26	24	22	21	24	27	29	28	27
Average low tempratrue	17	16	16	13	11	9	8	10	13	15	16	17

Source: World weather online, https://www.worldweatheronline.com/v2/weather-averages.aspx?locid=2777148&root_id=2776447&wc=local_weather&map=~/marondera-weather-averages/mashonaland-east/zw.aspx (accessed on 31 October 2016). The data for the figure is taken from year 2000 to 2012.

Figure 4-2 Agricultural schedule (Tobacco and Maize)*

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
Season	**Rain seasons**				**Dry seasons**					**Rain seasons**		
Tobacco	Field management (4) Prepare barns to cure.	Reaping (5)			Grading (7) Bailing (8)			Seedling production (1) Land-preparation (2)		Planting (3)	Field management (4)	
		Curing (6)			Marketing							
Maize		Harvesting						Seedling production Land preparation		Planting	Field management	

Source: TRB (2011) and the information collected from the field.
*The numbers in the brackets corresponds with the eight different processes explained in the following section.

1 Seeding production

Tobacco farming starts from the seedling production process. The process itself takes at least two months, but farmers normally spend up to three months for this process. To produce 1 hectare of tobacco, farmers make three seedbeds with 5 grams of seeds. The seedbeds, measuring 30m by 1m each, should be situated at a site close to a water source (Picture 1). Before they sow, they apply fumigation with chemical such as sodium on the seedbeds, and evenly spread fertilizer using a hoe or a rake, and incorporate it to 5 cm depth. After they sow seed, then they cover the beds with grass mulch and water three times daily until seedlings emerge. And after they emerge, watering should be reduced to twice daily. When seedlings are 7-8 weeks old, clipping should be done to ensure uniform growth and assure seedlings are at the same size at planting. Two weeks before the expected transplanting date, which is usually two weeks from the expected first rains, seedlings must be hardened, by not watering them unless they show signs of wilting before mid-morning. The ideal seedlings are 12-15 cm long, pencil-thick, with 7-8 leaves.

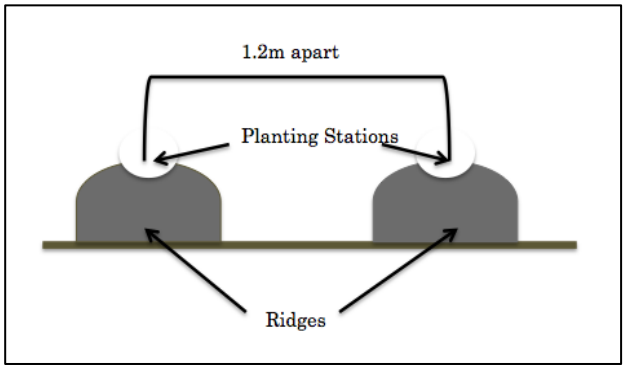
Picture 1 The seedbeds.

Source: Author, 13 October 2014 in Goromonzi.

2 Land Preparation

While seedlings are still on seedbeds, farmers prepare land to transplant them from the beds to fields. TRM (2011) recommends spacing 1.2m between ridges and 0.56 m between plants (Picture 1). The A1 farmers interviewed in this study used their own oxen to plough land or hired tractor from middle scaled A2 farmers. Land is ploughed to make ridges. According to an Agritex extension worker of ward 7 in Marondera district, using animal drown power, it takes about two days to plough 1 hectare of farmland, and with a medium seized tractor with disks, they can plough three hectares in a day[70].

Picture 2 How to make ridges.



Source: Made by the author based on TRM (2011), p.42.

3 Planting

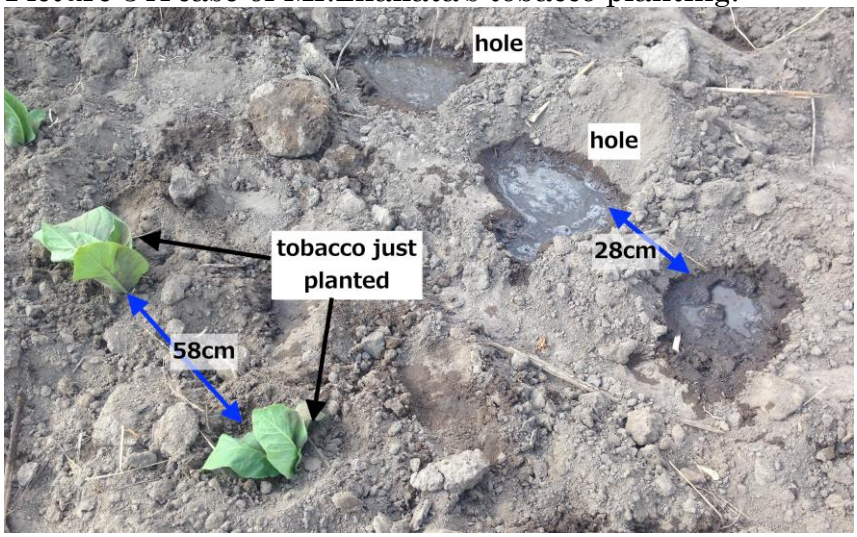
TRB (2011) highlights that 'tobacco planted early, generally before 20 November, yields better than late-planted tobacco' (see p.42). Therefore, it recommends planting 'as soon as possible, up to 2-3 weeks before the start of the main rains'. Farmers usually plant their tobacco immediately after they receive first rain. And they transplant 15,000 seedlings for one-hectare field.

[70] Interviewed to an extension worker of ward 7, Mr. M, on 31 October 2016. 'Agritex is a department within the Ministry of Agriculture, Mechanization and Irrigation Development. Its main mission is to provide administrative, technical and advisory support to farmers' (Zamchiya 2011, p.1095). In ward 7 of the Marondera district, there are 4 extension field workers to provide agricultural knowledge to farmers and also to collect agricultural data from farmers.

The study observed the tobacco planting activity of an A1 farmer, Mr.Zhakata, based in the Goromonzi district[71] during the 2014/2015 season. He stays on the farm by himself. His wife is working at a school about 10km away from the farm as part of the administration staff. They have three young children, aged 6, 3, 1, and they stay together with the wife. The wife visits Mr. Zhakata occasionally in his farm together with their children and provides labour during the peak times such as at planting and weeding activities.

Mr. Zhakata started planting tobacco on his farm on 18 October 2014. He firstly dug a hole on a ridge to plant a seedling, and then applied pesticide and water with a 3L watering can. As there is no irrigation system at Mr. Zhakata's farm[72], he carried water from a nearby canal by hand. While the soil was wet, he placed the seedling in an upright position and covered roots with soil. The space between holes was 28 cm and between plants was 58 cm (Picture 3). He followed the instruction of TRM (2011), which recommends farmers to make space between plants to be 58 cm.

Picture 3 A case of Mr.Zhakata's tobacco planting.



Source: Author, 18 October 2014 at the Mr.Zhakata's farm.

[71] Mr.Zhakata's farm is about 40 km East from the Harare city centre fall under the Goromonzi district.

[72] All the A1 farmers the study interviewed for this study did not have water irrigation system. They carried water from nearby river or canal by foot for watering their field.

A day after they received the first rain of the agricultural season, on 17 October 2014, Mr.Zhakata started planting with his wife and also hired one man as casual labour. He found a middle-aged man who worked in the early morning of the first planting day at the cost of $3 per day. They started planting at 10:30 AM and finished at 16:10 PM on the first planting day. They managed to plant 26 lined ridges, or 0.07 ha of his land. On the second day, Mr.Zhakata, his wife and the hired man started working at 9:00 AM and finished at 16:00PM. They managed to plant 0.05 ha on the second day. On the third day, he hired 4 people such that 6 people including him and his wife worked on the fields. They started working at 7:00AM and finished at 16:00 PM and managed to cover 0.2 ha on the third day. On the fourth day and the fifth day, he again hired the same four people and worked the same time schedule as the third day. And on the sixth day, 24 Oct, he planted with his wife without hired labour and finished planting their one-hectare tobacco field. He spent 6 days to plant one-hectare field, which also costs him 54 dollars for labour in total for the tobacco planting activity. While TRB (2011) recommends that planting should be done within a day, as the case of Mr.Zhakata with limited finance for labour, A1 farmers normally do not finish planting within a day but take way more than that, and if they manage to hired labour, they are only able to hire casual labour.

Picture 4 Mr.Zhakata and his wife planting tobacco.

Source: Author, 19 October 2014 at Mr.Zhakata's farm.

4 Field management

It takes about three months before farmers reap tobacco leaves from planting dates. The field management process involves application of fertilizers and chemicals at various stages of tobacco growth. Farmers and Agritex extension workers both in the Goromonzi and Marondera districts are convinced that tobacco requires more fertilizers and agricultural chemicals than other crops. It is necessary to apply adequate amount of fertilizer to grow better quality of tobacco leaves and get higher tobacco prices[73]. According to TRB (2011), as soon as they plant tobacco, fertilizer (Compound C) should be applied at each planting stations. And 4 weeks after planting, top dressing fertilizer (e.g. Ammonium Nitrate (AN)) should be applied. AN is to be applied again when the crops show sign of yellowing, and the application of AN should be continued to keep enough nitrogen in the plants and avoid yellowing (TRB 2011).

The field should also be weed-free. Tobacco cannot tolerate weeds. From two weeks after planting, weeding may be necessary. It is also required to apply enough chemicals for aphid control. This must be done regularly in hot dry weather when aphid numbers increase.

5 Reaping

Once a crop reaches the right stage, reaping should be commenced from the tip of the plants or soon after. 'By putting a few leaves in a closed cupboard for 2-3 days', farmers can do a test for leaf ripeness (TRB 2011, p.79). Ripe leaves will turn to colour lemon yellow, while unripe leaves will not change its colour well if left in a cupboard for a few days (*ibid.*). Reaped leaves are arranged on *clips* to hang in tobacco barns. And these should be carried to a barn as soon as possible after reaping. Some farmers also hire casual labours in these reaping processes because it is labour intensive.

[73] Interview with a person working in a tobacco company N on 14 November 2015.

Picture 5 Just before the farmer reaps tobacco.

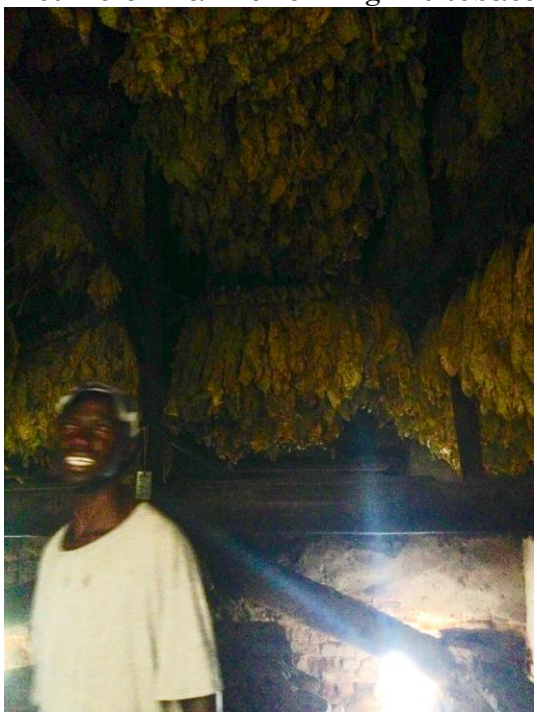
Source: Author, 12 February 2014, in Ward 22, Goromonzi.

6 Curing

The curing process starts soon after a barn is loaded with leaves. And this process lasts for 7 to 8 days in normal weather; in wet and humid condition, the process could extend by 1 to 2 more days. The process involves two stages: colouring and drying. The colouring process take first 2 to 3 days, the drying leaves process take another 2 to 3 days, hence curing of tobacco leaves is done by the 6th day, then drying of the leaf midrib then takes the last 2-3 days. The process needs to be monitored 24 hours/day to control the temperature in the barn from day 1 until the last day. Mr. J uses firewood or coal, or both of them sometimes, and the barns have vents equipped at the top and the bottom of barns to help to cure tobacco and control temperature. This is one of the most sensitive processes among others since the quality of tobacco is also strongly connected to whether farmers successfully cure tobacco or not. Some farmers also hire casual labour, and they help monitor a barn in turns.

In ward 22 of the Goromonzi district, more than half of farmers use communal/shared tobacco barns, and in ward 7 of Marondera, also about half of farmers use communal/shared tobacco barns, while others have manged to invest in their own barns built with bricks. The communal barns used to be owned by former white commercial farmers. After they left 'their farms', the resettled farmers started to use the remaining barns communally. When they use communal barns, which are much bigger than the private barns, they have to share the space with other farmers. This makes it a bit more difficult to sensitively adjust temperature to their desired as usually there is pressure to use the barns by other farmers.

Picture 6 A farmer curing his tobacco in a communal barn.



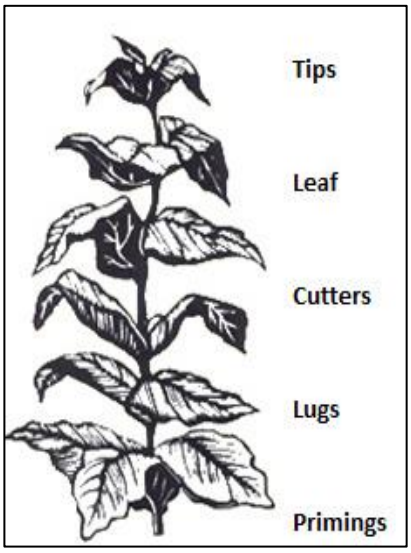
Source: Author, 6 February 2016 in ward 7, Marondera.

7 Grading

The grading process is the most skilled labour intensive one and requires higher technical expertise in the tobacco farming processes. The grading process is to classify cured tobacco into different types/grades. Farmers classify leaves by looking at the parts of tobacco plant, quality/texture, and some other special technical factors explained below. The parts of tobacco

plant are categorized into tips, leaf, cutters, primings, and lugs (Picture 6). Then the leaves are classified into 5 different qualities, scaling among 1 (fine), 2 (good), 3 (fair), 4 (low), or 5(poor). They should also classify leaves by whether it has sponge pattern on leaves, spotted parts, or greenish parts. If a leaf is found to have these factors, it is be packed differently. They also separate crumbled tobacco leaves, called scrapes. The farmers should not mix different kinds or grades of tobacco, which may lead to lose value of their whole tobacco as 'mixed' tobacco grades are not desired at the auction floors or by the contractors. The process should be handled in a place/location where there can be minimum tobacco breakages from dried air. After they classified into different classes of tobacco, then farmers tie 15-20 leaves together, which called 'doek' (Picture 9).

Picture 7
The parts of tobacco plant.



Source: 'My Tobacco World' http://www.brothersofbriar.com/t27729-my-tobacco-world-flue-cured-virginia-fcv (accessed on 31 October 2016).

Picture 8 Farmers grading tobacco

Source : The photo taken by the author on 21 May 2015 in Marondera district.

Picture 9 Farmers holding 'doeks' at their homestead.

Source: Author, 18 May 2016, in ward 7, Marondera.

8 Baling

Before they dispatch their tobacco to the market, they bale doeks into sacks, called 'Propacks'. The minimum bale size is 12kg, and the maximum is 120 kg (TRB 2011). The contents of each bale should be comprised of the same category of tobacco. The farmers in the research areas used 'bailers' shown on Picture 10, which was also left by the former white commercial farmers. The tobacco production processes ends by bailing the tobacco. The whole processes shown here takes about one whole year, and requires labour, technical advice, and capital.

Picture 10 Farmers bailing tobacco.

Source: Author, 22 May 2015, Marondera.

4-2 The data gathering method

The following sections of this chapter demonstrate the actual tobacco farming practiced by the A1 farmers in ward 7 of the Marondera district. The research outcome shown here is based on the data gathered between June 2015 and June 2016. Ward 7 is demarcated into 19 different villages[74]. The villages are divided and also named based on the former commercial farms. Among the 19 villages, Sheba was founded before the land reform and remained intact as a large-scale farm even after[75]. Other farms were broken up and allocated to numerous small to medium scale farmers and they transformed from farms to villages. Out of 19 villages, aside Sheba, 6 villages are allocated for medium scale A2 farmers, and the rest 12 farms are allocated for small-scale A1 farmers.

The interviews were conducted at 6 different villages chosen randomly, out of the 12 villages resettled by A1 farmers; these are Hungwe, Mali, Gresham, Igava, Pres Menan, and Munemo. The study selected the A1 interviewees randomly among the farmers gathered at the public places, such as at communal tobacco barns, at village assembly points, or at shops in Igava. The study interviewed the tobacco farmers privately at these public spaces but some interviews were undertaken at their homestead upon their requests.

The study took a comparative approach in order to assess the difference between the contracted and independent farmers. The study was undertaken

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[74] These are Igava, Mali, Mtemwa, Hungwe, Chipikiri, Gorejena, Irene, Makarara, Dindingwe, Munemo, Bonchance, Sheba, Monte Crist, Chipesa, Gresham, Press Menan, Rushinga, Idapi, and Taomba. Although Sheba is an estate owned by an African, it is still called as one of the 'villages' constitute the ward.

[75] Sheba farm is owned and run by a black farmer. In 1977, three years before the country became independent, Land Tenure Act, which prohibited the blacks to own land reserved for the white (European land), was amended. With the amendment, the blacks had access to the former European land (Moyo 2006, Yoshikuni 2008). In the following two years, 23 Africans purchased land (Yoshikuni 2008, p.50). And by 1996, there were about 400 black commercial farmers owned land (Moyo 2006, p.146). Sheba farm has been also acquired by the black family by the mid of 1990s.

largely at two broad levels. The first level was contracted tobacco farmers and the second level was independent (non-contract) tobacco farmers. The study further divided the contracted farmers into differentiated groups according to the company they were contracted to.

4-3 The demographical characteristics of the interviewees

The study interviewed 67 A1 farmers[76]. All the interviewees possess individual usufruct rights over their 6ha arable land and 1ha homestead land, and have access to communal grazing area. Figure 4-3 shows the typical structure of a village of A1 farmers from a case of Hungwe village in ward 7. The villagers all have 1 ha for their homestead shown as dotted lined squares in the picture, and have 6 ha as arable land a couple of hundred meters away from their homestead. An interviewed A1 farmer Mr. Mukumba[77] has his 1 ha sized homestead by the unpaved pathway, shown as A on the picture, and his 6 ha farm shown as A' is situated about 500m away from his homestead. The villagers use the communal grazing area to graze their livestock.

Table 4-1 shows the demographic characteristics of all the 67 interviewees. Among the 67 interviewees, 20 of them are independent farmers and 47 are contracted farmers. All the interviewees were the household heads on their farms and they were predominantly male. Out of 20 independent farms, female owned farm was represented by only one farm, and out of 47 contracted farms, females owned farm was represented 4 farms. All the farmers interviewed finished their primary education, and as more than 70% of the interviewees reached ordinary level (O level)[78]. 1 independent and 4 contracted farmers among them further proceeded to tertiary level, such as

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[76] The questionnaire the study used is attached as Appendix 1.

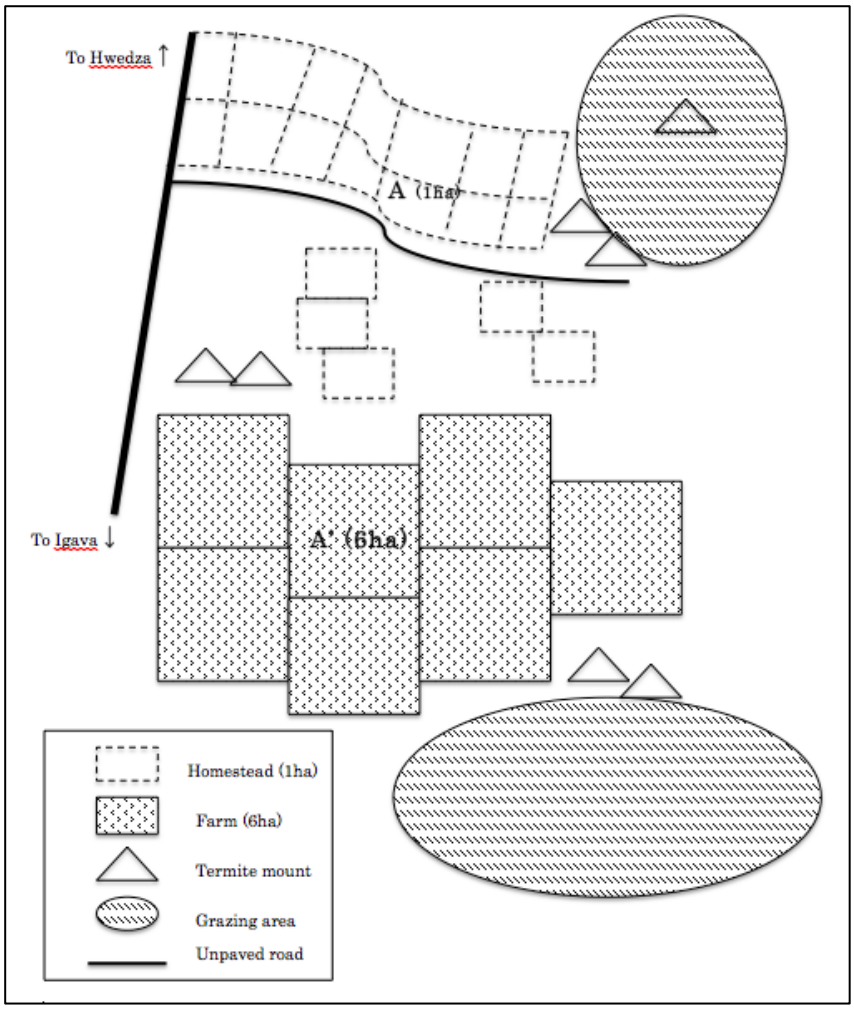
[77] Interviewed with Mr. Mukumba (32) on 14 July 2015 and 9 January 2016. Mr. Mukumba (32) took the researcher to his homestead and his farm at the both occasions.

[78] In Zimbabwe, the education system encompasses 7 years of primary level and 6 years of secondary level. The secondary level is consists of three levels: ZJC (Zimbabwe Junior Certificate) which includes Form 1 and 2; O level, which includes Form 3 and 4, and A level (advanced level), which includes Form 5 and 6.

agricultural college.

Regarding the size of the households, out of 67 farmers, more than half the farmers (37 farmers) have 5 to 7 family members (including the interviewees). And about 80% of the farmers (17 independent farmers and 36 contracted farmers) have between 2 and 4 family members providing family labour (including the interviewees). About 20% of the farmers receive between 5 and 7 family labours from their families (3 independent farmers and 11 contracted farmers). Table 4-1 shows that all the interviewees have between 2 and 7 family labours but none of them have more than 8 family labours.

Figure 4-3 The sketch of Hungwe village.



Source: Survey data.

Table 4-1

Characteristic	Total=67	Independent (n=20)		Contracted (n=47)		Total (n=67)	
		No	%	No	%	No	%
Gender	Male	19	95%	43	91%	62	93%
	Female	1	5%	4	9%	5	7%
Total		20	100%	47	100%	67	100%
Age of farm owner	<20	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	20-39	12	60%	19	40%	31	46%
	40-59	6	30%	21	45%	27	40%
	>=60	1	5%	7	15%	8	12%
	Unanswered	1	5%	0	0	1	2%
Total		20	100%	47	100%	67	100%
Educational Level	No schooling	0	0	0	0	0	0%
	Primary	3	15%	6	13%	9	13%
	Ordinary level	15	75%	34	72%	49	73%
	Advanced Level	1	5%	3	6%	4	6%
	Tertiary Level	1	5%	4	9%	5	8%
	Unanswered	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Total		20	100%	47	100%	67	100%
Number of family Members	<2	0	0	0	0%	0	0%
	2-4	6	30%	16	34%	22	33%
	5-7	10	50%	26	55%	37	54%
	>=8	4	20%	4	9%	8	12%
	Unanswered	0	0%	1	2%	1	1%
Total		20	100%	47	100%	67	100%
Number of Family Labour	<2	0	0	0	0%	0	0%
	2-4	17	85%	36	77%	53	79%
	5-7	3	15%	11	23%	14	21%
	>=8	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Unanswered	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total		20	100%	47	100%	67	100%

Source: Survey data

The study asked the number and kinds of crops they grow 'on their farms'[79]. Table 4-2 shows the number of crops grown and Table 4-2 shows the kinds of crops grown. Table 4-2 indicates that 30% of the independent farmers and 34% of the contracted farmers grow only two crops on their farms. And it also shows that 70% of the independent farmers and 57% of the contracted farmers grow three or less crops.

Table 4-2 The number of crops the interviewees grow (including tobacco).

	Independent		Contracted		Total	
Number of crops	Number of Farmers (n=20)	Percentage (%)	Number of farmers (n=47)	Percentage (%)	Number of farmers (n=67)	Percentage (%)
1 crops	0	0	0	0%	0	0
2 crops	6	30%	16	34%	22	33%
3 crops	8	40%	11	23%	19	28%
4 crops	1	5%	12	26%	13	19%
5 crops	1	5%	2	4%	3	4%
6 crops	2	10%	2	4%	4	6%
More than 6 crops	2	10%	2	4%	4	6%
Not answered	0	0%	2	4%	2	3%
Total	20	100%	47	100%	67	100%

Source: Survey data

The main two crops grown on the farms were tobacco and maize; Table 4-3 shows that all the interviewees answered have two of these crops on their farm. One of the interviewees highlighted that he was currently capable of managing only three crops on his farm: tobacco, maize, and groundnuts. If he

[79] The wife of Mali village head showed 'her garden' where she grows *kovo*, rape, pumpkins, groundnuts, and round nuts (*nyimo*). She expressed that 'this is my garden I have 100% control. Tobacco is grown and supervised by men on their farms, and these 'small crops' are supervised by us, women' (Interviewed on 13 July, 2015). The study asked to the head of the farms the kinds of crops they grow on their 'farms' only. Normally at their interviewees homestead, their wives grows variety of vegetables they consume daily, which are not counted in this table 4-2 and 4-3.

were going to have an additional crop, he would not be able to maintain the farm both financially and physically[80]. After tobacco and maize, the next mostly grown crop was groundnuts. Maize and groundnuts are also grown to resuscitate the soil after they grow tobacco in crop rotation. According to the questionnaire interviews, all the interviewees, 20 independent and 47 contracted farmers, practiced crop rotations; they annually rotate the area between tobacco, maize and sometimes groundnuts. The parastatal Tobacco Research Board (TRB) also agreed in their tobacco production guide/manual, that tobacco is 'probably one of the most soil damaging crops' among all crops grown in the country (TRB 2011, p.16). To resuscitate soil, they recommend crop rotations with the combination of tobacco and maize, tobacco and groundnut, tobacco and finger millet, or tobacco and pearl millet (*ibid*). On Table 4-3, the crops with a star sign indicate the ones mostly grown for sales (cash crops) and the ones without sign are mostly for family consumption (subsistence crops)[81]. Out of the 20 different kinds of crops raised, 11 are categorized as cash crops in the area.

[80] Interview with C (57) on 14 September 2015.

[81] The demarcation between cash crops and subsistence crops is created according to the interview with an extension officer in the field. And the demarcation is not clear-cut. Some of the subsistence crops, such as maize, are sold locally or to the parastatal Grain Marketing Board. AIAS (2015) shows that A1 farmers they studied ship sorghum and finger millet to GMB. Although there are various exceptions and flexibilities, the crops categorized as cash crops here are 'mainly' grown for sales and the ones categorized as subsistence are 'mainly' for their family consumption.

Table 4-3 Kinds of crops the interviewees grow.

	Independent		Contracted		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
*Tobacco	20	100%	47	100%	67	100%
Maize	20	100%	47	100%	67	100%
Groundnuts	6	30%	21	45%	27	40%
*Sugar beans	5	25%	11	23%	16	24%
Round-nuts (nyimo)	4	20%	6	13%	10	15%
Sweet potatoes	1	5%	5	11%	6	9%
*Potatoes	2	10%	4	9%	6	9%
*Tomatoes	2	10%	3	6%	5	7%
*Onions	2	10%	3	6%	5	7%
Cowpeas (nyemba)	1	5%	2	4%	3	4%
*Chinese cabbages	N/A	N/A	2	4%	2	3%
Sorghum (mapfunde)	N/A	N/A	1	2%	1	1%
*Sunflower	1	5%	1	2%	2	3%
Finger millet (rapoko)	N/A	N/A	1	2%	1	1%
*Chickpeas	N/A	N/A	1	2%	1	1%
*Lettuce	N/A	N/A	1	2%	1	1%
*Cucumbers	2	10%	N/A	N/A	2	3%
Butternuts	2	10%	N/A	N/A	2	3%
Pumpkins	1	5%	N/A	N/A	1	1%
*Carrots	1	5%	N/A	N/A	1	1%

*The crops with star sign indicate cash crops. The crops without sign a re subsistence crops.

Source: Survey data

Table 4-4 shows the number and the percentage of the interviewees who grow cash crop/s other than tobacco. The study found that among the independent farmers, 50% of them, or 10 farmers grow extra cash crop/s other than tobacco, while among the contracted farmers, some 26% of them, or 12 farmers grow extra cash crop/s. The results show that more percentage of the independent farmers grows multiple cash crops than the contracted farmers. In other words, contracted farmers tend to rely more on tobacco for their cash income than independent farmers.

Table 4-4 The number of farmers grow extra cash crop/s.

	Independent (n=20)		Contracted (n=47)	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Extra cash crop/s	10	50%	12	25.53%
Subsistence crops only	10	50%	34	72.34%
Not answered	0	0	1	2.13%
	20	100%	47	100.00%

Source: Survey data

Most of the interviewed farmers do not fully cultivate all the 6 ha farms. They only cultivate the size they can only take care of in that particular season[82]. Figure 4-4 and 4-5 show the size of tobacco fields cultivated out of 6ha farms, each year. Figure 4-4 shows the ones among the independent farmers and Figure 4-5 does the ones among the contracted farmers. The dots on the figures indicate the each farmer's size of the fields. During the five agricultural seasons shown on the figures, the size of the tobacco fields varied between 0 and 3 hectares among the independent farmers and it varied between 0 and 4 hectares among the contracted farmers. There is not much difference on the size of tobacco fields between the independent and the contracted farmers. The median of the fields under both categories is 1 hectare throughout the five successive agricultural seasons. The size of fields fluctuates each season for each farmer depending on seasonal access to input finance and the figures in the figures show that the sizes became more varied after 5 years. Some farmers decreased the tobacco fields while some increased them.

Figure 4-6 shows the maize field among the independent farmers and Figure 4-7 does the ones among the contracted farmers. The median of the size of

[82] Among the contracted farmers, Mr. A (19) grows maize more than 10 hectare while he grows tobacco only one hectare. Since his maize field is exceptionally larger than other interviewees, his data was not included in Figure 4-5 and Table 4-7. He rents out some space from his neighbour farmer to expand his maize field. He sells his maize locally, and to GMB, and also uses maize to pay his labour for his tobacco field.

the fields among the farmers was 1 hectare, most of the years, while the one of independent farmers in the 2014/2015 agricultural season increased to 1.35 hectares. The size of the maize fields also fluctuated depending on seasons. Among the independent farmers, the size of maize fields varied between 0.5 and 3 hectares, and among the contracted farmers, the size of the field varied between 0.1 and 5 hectares. The sizes of maize fields among the contracted farmers were more varied in this analysis. The average size of the maize fields was higher among the contracted farmers than the independent farmers. From the tables and figures shown in this section, we understand that although contracted farmers rely more on tobacco for their cash income than the independent farmers, they maintain relatively larger size of maize field on their farms as well.

Figure 4-4 The size of tobacco fields among the independent farmers (n=20).

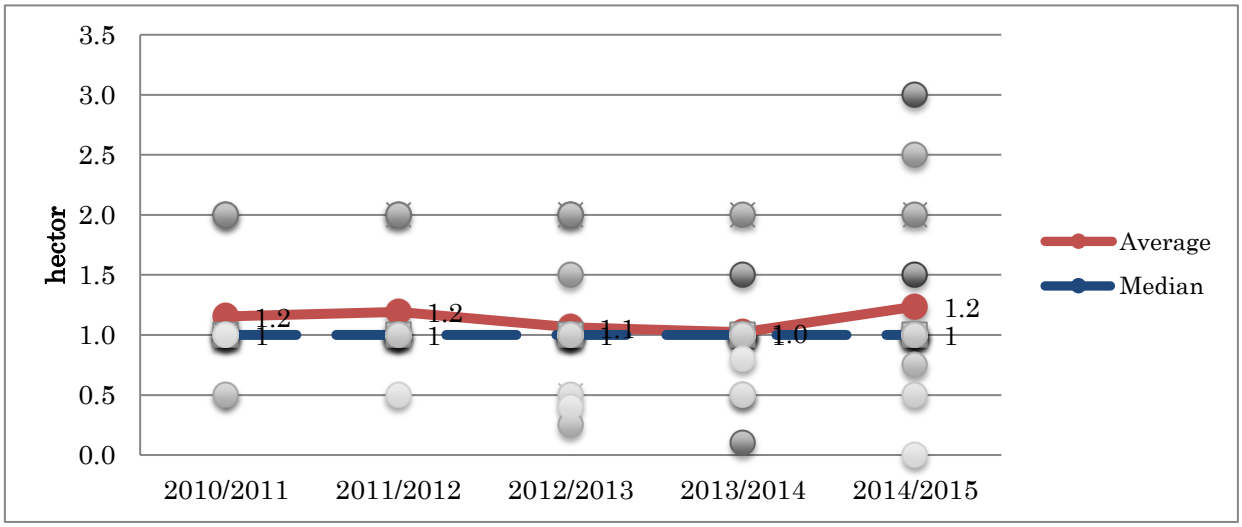


Table 4-5 The size of tobacco fields among the independent farmers (median and average).

	2010/2011	2011/2012	2012/2013	2013/2014	2014/2015
Median	1	1	1	1	1
Average	1.2	1.2	1.1	1.0	1.2

Source: Survey data

Figure 4-5 The size of tobacco fields among the contracted farmers (n=47).

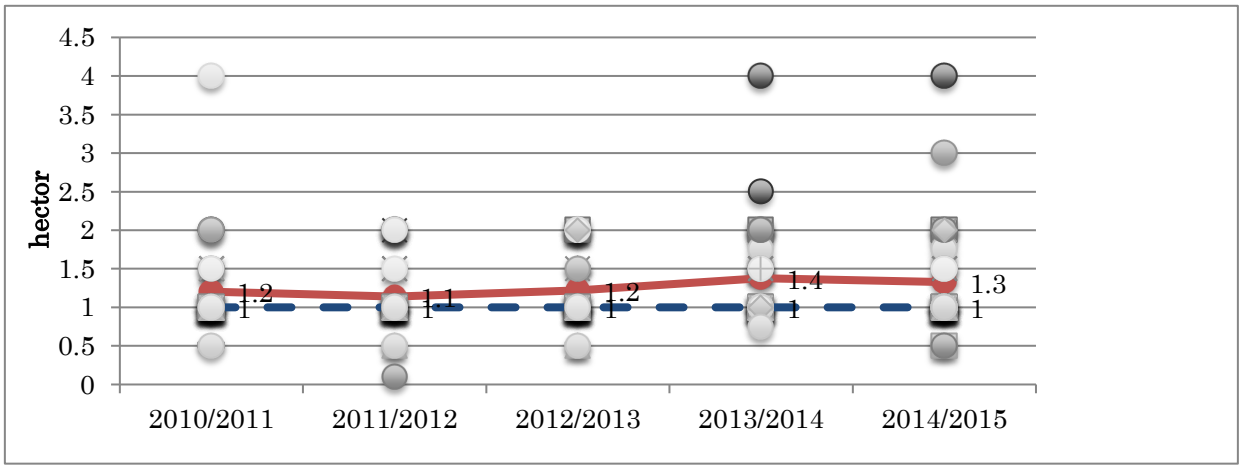


Table 4-6 The size of tobacco fields among the contracted farmers (median and average).

	2010/2011	2011/2012	2012/2013	2013/2014	2014/2015
Median	1	1	1	1	1
Average	1.2	1.1	1.2	1.4	1.3

Source: Survey data

Figure 4-6 The size of maize fields among the independent farmers (n=20).

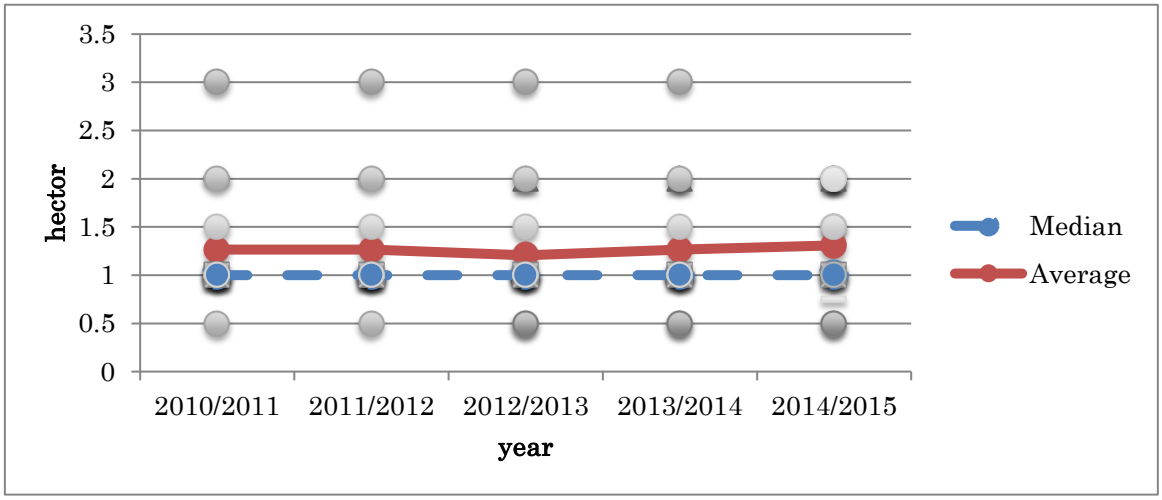


Table 4-7 The size of maize fields among the independent farmers (median and average).

	2010/2011	2011/2012	2012/2013	2013/2014	2014/2015
Median	1	1	1	1	1
Average	1.27	1.27	1.21	1.26	1.31

Source: Survey data.

Figure 4-7 The size of maize fields among the contracted farmers (n=46).

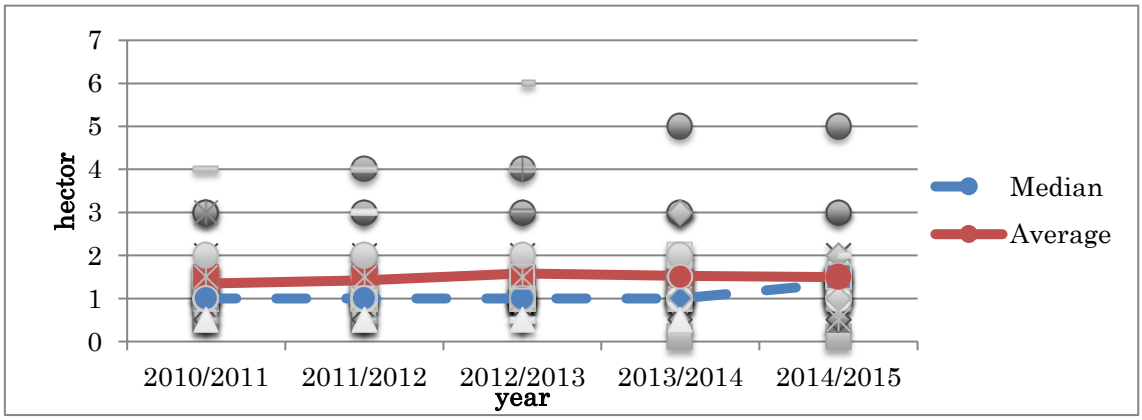


Table 4-8 The size of maize fields among the contracted farmers (median and average).

	2010/2011	2011/2012	2012/2013	2013/2014	2014/2015
Median	1	1	1	1	1.35
Average	1.3	1.4	1.6	1.5	1.5

Source: Survey data

4-4 Connecting to global capital, the legalities and the practices.

The following sections show the interaction between the contracted farmers and transnational companies (TNCs). This section firstly shows how they actually meet with TNCs, and then explains the legalities and the practice of contracts signing between the farmers and TNCs.

In the research field, the survey found 4 different companies operating in the area (Table 4-9). All the four companies do not disclose their company profiles on websites. But according to an interview with paraststal Tobacco Industry and Marketing Board (TIMB)[83], among the four, two are foreign companies and the other two are local companies. The two international companies are financed by the US, and one of the local companies is apparently producing tobacco for a Japanese tobacco company[84]. The study collected feedbacks from 14 farmers contracted under company A, 11 farmers under company B, 13 farmers under company C, 9 farmers under company D, and 20 independent (non-contracted) farmers (Table 4-9).

Table 4-9 Tobacco companies and farmers in the area.

Company		Number (n=67)
A	International (US)	14
B	International (US)	11
C	Local	13
D	Local (Japan related)	9
Independent (non-contracted)		20
Total		67

Source: Survey data.

We inquired how the farmers had made their contract arrangements with

[83]Interviewed on 10 May 2015.

[84] Interview with a TIMB official on 10 May 2015. There are two Japanese tobacco companies operating in Zimbabwe, JT and Tribac. JT acquired Triback, and also signed on a long-term agreement with the company 'for the supply of leaf tobacco from Zimbabwe' on 12 June 2009 (JT press release, issued on 12 June 2009, downloaded from www.jti.com/download_file/395/410/, accessed on 30 October 2016).

the companies. Among the 47 contracted farmers surveyed, 80%, or 38 farmers, responded that the contractors came to their areas to recruit them. Next, 15% of them, or 7 farmers, responded that they themselves visited the companies in Harare seeking contract arrangements, while 2%, or one farmer, answered that he had been referred to the contracting companies by other farmers in the area. The interview results show that the tobacco companies take an active interest in recruiting small-scale farmers with visits to the agricultural area. As also shown, 15% of the contracted interviewees travelled to the capital city, Harare, seeking contracts by themselves; farmers are not hesitant to work together with global capital.

Every company has representatives working on the sites where they operate. The representatives use company cars and visit their contracted farmers. Each representative is allocated a quite large area to supervise, such as the whole Marondera district, covering about 100–150 farmers. A representative from Company D said in an interview that the company assesses whether it is feasible to contract with a farmer before they actually negotiate contracts. Their assessment criteria include the applicants' assets, whether they have tobacco barns and scotch carts, their financial situations, whether they have debts or loans to financial institutions and other persons, and the applicants' farm soil quality and tobacco productivity. According to the same representative, they make contracts only with farmers who can produce more than 1000 kg per hectare and do not have any outstanding debt to the bank.

The contracts signed for the 2014/2015 season with company B state that as of the date the contract is signed with the company, the tobacco grower should have no outstanding debts or liabilities other than to the company (cl. 8). Furthermore, the contracts state that the grower 'shall not, without the company's prior written approval, incur any debts or liabilities after the date of execution' and, in connection with the production of the tobacco on the farm, he should not sell, pledge, or dispose of assets (cl. 8) In clause 18, the grower is reminded not to dispose or encumber any assets while any part

of the debt to the company remains unpaid. In the contract, composed of a total of 21 clauses, the company ensures that the growers should keep their assets in reserve until they pay their debt back to the company. In this way, the company is sure to collect the debt from the grower's assets, even if the grower cannot make payments from tobacco sales.

The debt in this context means the input cost the grower owes to the company (cl.2). In the same fine prints, it provides that the company deliver 'such inputs as the company considers appropriate from time to time to meet the requirements' for the grower to produce tobacco (cl.1). And Clause 2 provides that 'upon the supply of any inputs the company and the grower shall sign a delivery slip, … reflecting the receipt by the grower of such inputs and the agreed purchase price for such inputs payable by the grower to the company'. Clause 1 and 2 show that it is within the company's discretion to decide the kinds and the amounts of inputs to be delivered to contracted farmers.

According to the text, the company asks the farmers if they agree to receive the input goods on their delivery. If they agree, they sign the slips to receive the input goods that the company considers appropriate for tobacco production. The company provides that interest will also accrue on the grower's debt 'at the rate of 3% per annum calculated from the date of each delivery slip on the total US dollar figure reflected thereon' (cl. 2). Additionally, 'any payment due by the company to the grower in respect of flue-cured tobacco purchased by the company shall be made within two business days of the date of delivery', with deduction to the growers' debt (cl. 4).

The company's representatives are responsible for explaining the details of the contract arrangements when they sign contracts with farmers. All 47 contracted farmers who were interviewed agreed that the company representatives had explained the contract arrangement details, both in

Shona[85] and in English. In the interviews, 100% of the contracted farmers acknowledged that they fully understood their deal with the companies. None of them, however, had read the fine print they received. One of the four companies did not even give a copy of the fine print, or terms and conditions, to their contracted farmers. The farmers, still, did understand that they received input goods, such as fertiliser and agricultural chemicals among others, at the time when they made contracts with the companies, and the companies deducted the input costs when they sold their tobacco.

Table 4-10 shows the frequency of the 47 contracted farmers meeting with company representatives. While the numbers answered are scattered, about 30% of the contracted farmers meet with the company representatives once a week. Then followed by 21% of the farmers who meet with the representatives once a month, and 15% of them meet only when they receive inputs. While 1 person answered that they meet company representatives once in two month and 4 people meet them once in three month, more than half of the interviewees communicate with the company more than once a month.

Table 4-10 The frequency of the contracted farmers meeting with company representatives (n=47).

Frequency	Once a week	Once a month	Twice a month	Once in two month	Once in three month
Number	14	10	4	1	4
Percentage	30%	21%	9%	2%	9%
Frequency	When receiving inputs		As many during the season		No answer
Number	7		4		1
Percentage	15%		9%		2%

Source: Survey data

The contracted farmers were asked whether they paid for any service costs through their contractual arrangement with the companies. As shown in

[85] Shona is the local language spoken at the research site and widely in Zimbabwe generally.

Table 4-11, 24 of the contracted farmers, about half, answered that they were charged a service fee (shown under the 'yes' column), while 20 farmers answered that they were not charged such a fee (shown under the 'no' column). The remaining three farmers did not know whether they were charged or not. The 24 contracted farmers who were aware of such charges were also asked whether they knew what they were paying such charges for; 10 of them answered that they paid penalties for shipping delays, and 8 answered they paid interest for arrears from the previous season's debt. Only answered that his input costs were subject to interest charges. The remaining farmer did not answer the question.

Table 4-11 Whether the company charge interest rate or not?

Company	yes	no	Unknown	Total
A	5 (36%)	9 (64%)	0	14 (100%)
B	9 (69%)	2 (15%)	2 (15%)	13 (100%)
C	5 (56%)	3 (33%)	1 (11%)	9 (100%)
D	5 (45%)	6 (55%)	0	11 (100%)
Total	24	20	3	47

Source: Survey data.

It was found that the contract between the growers and the companies is made on the condition that the latter will collect their money back, regardless of external circumstances. Under the contractual agreement, the company and the farmers are not collaborating with each other for tobacco farming projects but simply signing a loan agreement, drafted by the company, which is also subject to interest charges. According to the fine print (terms and conditions), the deal is favourable to the companies. Contracted farmers cannot choose what is to be supplied, and the companies also charge interest on the cost of the input goods. Most farmers had only a rough understanding of the details of their contract, if any. Although about half of the interviewed farmers understood that they needed to pay some extra costs through their contracts, they were not fully aware of whether it was interest,

a service fee, or a penalty, but they were still willing to sign the contracts with these companies.

4-5 Finance of peasants: their motivation for being contracted.

Table 4-12 shows the motivations of the farmers for contracting with the companies. About 90% of the farmers said that they entered into contracts with companies seeking the advantage of access to financing to cover input costs. The farmers received some input goods in advance from the company without spending money themselves, but it was as a debt or loan. Field data showed that tobacco farmers lacking finances themselves were more motivated/willing to get into contracts with companies, even if they had to pay interest charges and other fees charged by the companies. Thus, for these farmers, the absence of the tobacco companies would simply mean that the farmer would be unable to access agricultural finance or loans.

Table 4-12 The motivation of being contracted.

	Advantage of input cost	Advantage of securing market	Other	Unknown	Total
Number of farmers	42	3	1	1	47
Percentage	89.4%	6.4%	2.1%	2.1%	100.0%

Source: Survey data

According to Moyo and Nyoni (2013), the volume of agricultural finance, such as loans and aid, sourced domestically or internationally, fell sharply throughout the 2000s. The volume of government agricultural credit declined to below $3 million in 2007, whereas it had averaged around $25 million per annum between 2000 and 2007, with $104 million in 2004 being the highest in this period (*ibid*, p. 235). The volume of private agricultural credit also 'declined from over $315 million in 1998 to about $6 million in 2008' (*ibid.*). Hyperinflation made agricultural credit much less feasible as the value of money declined daily, or even hourly. While hyperinflation ended with the introduction of a multi-currency system in 2009, it was still very

difficult for farmers, especially small-scale farmers, to secure agricultural finance.

The farmers interviewed had no access to agricultural loans from financial institutions such as banks, apart from loans from the tobacco companies. Table 4-13, showing the availability of family support for farming, demonstrates that 26% of the contracted and 15% of the independent farmers had family support. Most of them borrowed money from their family members, while among those who said they received family support, two farmers received remittances from their sons working in South Africa. Table 4-13 shows that income from family and relatives was not a significant source of income for the study sample. Given the scarcity of agricultural credit for farmers, the tobacco contract farming arrangement worked as an agricultural finance solution.

Table 4-13 Whether the farmers have family financial support or not.

	With family support	Without family support	Total
Contracted farmers	12 (26%)	35 (74%)	47 (100%)
Independent farmers	3 (15%)	17 (75%)	20 (100%)

Source: Survey data

Another motivation for the farmers to become contracted to tobacco companies for their tobacco farming was simply the need to grow tobacco to earn cash. While they needed to look for markets for other agricultural products they grew, the market for tobacco was always secure, whether at the auction floors or with the contracting companies. Maize, which all the interviewed farmers grew, used to be sold (or is still sent) to the parastatal Grain Marketing Board (GMB). AIAS (2015) found that a substantial number of farmers they interviewed still chose to sell some of their maize to GMB, ostensibly to gain the benefit of their input schemes, which require a record of sales for access to them (p. 117). While GMB offers higher prices for

maize, they are largely unable to pay for grain deliveries on time (AIAS 2015, p. 117). An interview with a contracted farmer, Mr Masango,[86] also highlighted a motive for small-scale farmers to grow tobacco, especially in the current situation.

> *I grow a lot of maize but there sometimes is not a reliable market, since GMB does not pay on time. They (GMB) still owe me a lot of money for the maize I dispatched last year. I also sell my maize through the local market. I sell maize to the people who visit my farm. I actually do not want to grow tobacco but want to concentrate on growing maize, since tobacco takes a lot of money and labour. It also damages a lot of the soil on my farm. But I still need to grow tobacco because of the secured market and reliable cash return.*
>
> (Interview with Mr Masango on November 7, 2015)

Mr. Masango said that, in addition to finances, the availability of a reliable market is another reason for growing tobacco. In the fine print of the contracts with the companies, it is stated the sales of tobacco will be paid for in two business days. There is no reliable agricultural market for maize or any other crop, so farmers are likely to engage in tobacco farming.

Conclusion

This chapter described the agricultural calendar followed by small-scale tobacco farmers, the characteristics of the tobacco farmers, and the tobacco contract legalities and practice on the field. As TRB (2011) noted, tobacco requires much labour, skills, and higher cost of inputs per hectare than most other crops. Once farmers start growing tobacco, they tend to be occupied by the tobacco farming all year round, and the study demonstrated that about half of the interviewed independent farmers and about 25% of the contracted farmers rely t mainly on tobacco as a cash/farm income crop. One of the reasons why they rely more on tobacco for their cash income is that farmer is able to access finance only through this crop. While all the interviewed

[86] The informant's name has been changed.

farmers grew maize, they were motivated to grow tobacco to secure cash income. The fine prints of a tobacco company on tobacco contract papers showed that although the terms and conditions are more favourable to the company, the farmers still willing to engage in contracts with them. Both of them, the companies and the farmers acknowledge that the contract is a loan arrangement for growing tobacco. The farmers take part in this financial solution offered by the companies in their very businesslike manners. Tobacco contract farming arrangement is working as one of their most feasible options to start farming and earn cash, in light of absence of alternative financial credit available to small-scale farmers.

Chapter 5: The economic impact of tobacco contract farming on peasants: cost and income.

The previous chapter showed that farmers grow tobacco as a cash crop and also rely more on tobacco for its reliable market. The farmers also have contract farming arrangement as their sole agricultural finance opportunity at the time when almost all the agricultural financial institution stopped working since the mid 2000s. While the agreement is more favorable to the companies, the study found that farmers still see the advantage of being contracted to the companies. Both parties, the farmers and the companies, acknowledge that the contract is the loan arrangement for growing tobacco. The contract farming arrangement is working as one of the farmers' most feasible options to start farming and earn cash.

This chapter then picks up from that and shows the economic impact of the tobacco contract farming arrangement on small-scale farmers. The survey firstly analyzes the quality and quantity of the input packages received from the contracted companies, and the costs of input bundle, and their revenue. And the chapter lastly studies their willingness, if they still want to be under contract or not going forward.

5-1 The input supply from the company

Table 5-1 shows the kinds of input goods required for tobacco farming and the ones supplied by the four companies (A to D) operating in the research field. All the tobacco farmers need to prepare the items listed under the inputs column to grow tobacco, whether independent or contracted farmers. Regarding to contracted farmers, the inputs marked by dots on the table are provided in advance as 'debts' or loan and they will be deducted at the end of the season during tobacco sales. The independent farmers, on the other hand, prepare these items by themselves without making a 'debts' to companies. The kinds of inputs the companies supply are similar to each other. All four companies supplied fertiliser, chemicals such as pesticides and fungicides, and tobacco baling materials. Company B organises transport for the

farmers, at a cost of $10 per bale. Companies C and D supply labour costs, in cash, at $100 per hectare. Company D supplies firewood as well.

Table 5-1 The kinds of input goods required for tobacco farming, and the ones supplied by the companies.

	Inputs						Operating Cost	
	Seeds	Fertilizer	Chemicals	Firewood	Coal	Bale Materials	Labour	Transport
A		●	●		●	●		
B	●	●	●	●		●		●
C		●	●		●	●	●	
D		●	●	●		●	●	

Source: Survey data

Although a variety of input goods were supplied by the company, the majority of farmers were not satisfied with the input goods they receive from the companies. Table 5-2 shows the farmers' satisfaction derived from receiving the inputs. Out of 47 contracted farmers, however, 34 farmers expressed the concern in terms of the amount of inputs provided by the company as they felt that they were insufficient. The farmers explained that while the amount of chemical they receive is adequate, or more than enough, the amount of fertilizer provided is almost half of what they were recommended to use for tobacco farming per hectare. One of the interviewed farmers also expressed that he sometimes sells their chemicals to neighbour farmers since the amount is more than enough. And he tries to buy some more fertilizer to supplement that provided by the company on his farm. He also complained that farmers could not choose the kinds and the amount of input goods they receive as it all comes as a set.

Table 5-2 Input satisfaction.

Are the inputs provided by the company enough? (n=47)	
Enough	12 (26%)
Not enough	34 (72%)
No answer	1 (2%)
Total	47 (100%)

Source: Survey data

The study also interviewed a company representative about the amount of input goods they supply to farmers. The representative explained that the company does not cover all the input goods required for tobacco farming. The company only supplies a part of the input goods required for the tobacco farming. He also highlighted that:

> *"When the company hands over the input goods, the farmers sign on a sheet to agree on the kinds of input goods provided. I also hear complaints from farmers about the amount and the kinds of input goods we supply to them. But if they are not happy with the goods, they do not need to agree and sign with us"*.
> (Interview with the company representative on December 11, 2015)

While contracted farmers expressed about the inadequate amount of input goods supplied by the companies, the company representative explained that they were not responsible of supplying all the input goods required for the tobacco farming. Thus, even farmers that are under contract, they need to spend some amount of money in advance. Out of four, three companies do not supply seeds to the farmers (Table 5-1). Most of the tobacco farmers first of all, need to purchase seeds, even though they are contracted to companies, and also often need to buy additional fertilizer.

5-2 The cost of growing Tobacco.

5-2-1 Input commodities.

Tobacco is a high input demanding crop. An officer in the tobacco department of the Agritex research office in Marondera district explained that the average input cost of growing tobacco (excluding operation cost, such as labour and transport costs) is about $600 per hectare. Table 5-3 shows the average input cost on a one hectare sized tobacco field, being currently faced by both contracted and independent farmers. The cost is $619 among the independent farmers and $1034 among the contracted farmers, being the cost of fertilizer the most expensive among other input goods. The table shows that the input goods supplied by the contracted companies are remarkably higher than the one of independent farmers. Also, comparing to the cost of growing maize per hectare (Table 5-4), the cost of growing tobacco is prominently high.

Table 5-3 Average cost of growing tobacco per hectare (US Dollar)

	Seeds	Fertilizer	Chemical	Baling material	Total
Independent (n=5)	25	462	92	40	619
Contracted (n=36)	25			1009	1034

Source: Survey data.

Table 5-4 Average cost of growing maize per hectare (US Dollar, n=35)

Seed	Fertilizer	Chemical	Total
67	288	18	373

Source: Survey data

Table 5-5 shows the average input costs of the contracted farmers per hectare, provided by each of the four companies (A to D). Some companies did not break down the cost of each input items on the invoices given to their contracting farmers, instead, they just provided the input cost as a whole package. The price shown in their invoices received from the companies is the total cost of fertilizer, chemical, baling material, and other goods,

depending on the companies. Thereby in Table 5-5, the costs of input goods provided by the companies are summed up. The prices given by each company also vary but they are still much higher than the cost expended by the independent farmers.

Table 5-5 Average cost of growing tobacco by each company (US Dollar)

Company	Seeds	Other cost	Total
A	25	1400	1425
B	25	738	763
C	25	1066	1091
D	25	955	980

Source: Survey data

5-2-2 Labour.

Table 5-6 and Table 5-7 show the labour cost among the independent farmers (Table 5-6) and the contracted farmers (Table 5-7) per hectare. While the labour cost spent by the contracted farmers is still higher than the independent farmers, the gap between them is not as wide as the cost of input bundle shown in section 5.1 above. Both independent and contracted farmers spend more labour on reaping and grading exercises. These exercises should be done in a limited short time, not to spoil the quality of tobacco. So, the farmers hire more labour to achieve better quality of tobacco. During the curing process, farmers need to control the temperature for 24 hours for up to a week. But farmers tried not to hire labour as much as they can and be responsible at tobacco barns for long hours, by themselves. They normally hired labour from the neighbouring Svosve communal area where people do not have access to as much land as A1 farmers.

Table 5-6 Labour cost among the independent farmers per hectare.

Independent farmer (Average, US dollar, N=5)						
Land Preparation	Planting	Reaping	Curing	Grading	Bailing	Average TOTAL
21.3	48.8	94	14	93.6	7.2	278.9

Source: Survey data

Table 5-7 Labour cost among the contracted farmers per hectare.

Contracted (Average, US dollar, N=36)						
Land Preparation	Planting	Reaping	Curing	Grading	Bailing	Average TOTAL
14.8	54	169.7	23.5	116	7.4	385.6

Source: Survey data

5-2-3 Other costs.

Other than the input costs showed above, the farmers are obliged to pay the afforestation levy and the growers levy. These two levies cost $10 per year, and is to be paid to TIMB. The contracted farmers pay these levies through the contracting companies. The contracted farmers also pay another fee, administration fee, for the company, which cost $28 per year for Company D, for example. But there are a lot of farmers who are ignorant about the levies and fees. A contracted farmer to company D asked the researcher about the levies and fee as:

> *I do not know anything about these fees. Can you explain me why do I need to pay these to the company? (A discussion with Mr. Maponde on 13 July 2015)*

Whether the farmers agree on the extra charges or not, these were automatically collected from their contracted companies. The contracted farmers, moreover, are required to pay for the insurance. The insurance is to secure tobacco field from hailstone and the accident when they carry tobacco

from their field to the company in Harare. According to the survey, Company A did not ask farmers to be under insurance but other companies conditioned the farmers to be covered by the insurance programme, for farmers to get contracted. According to the interviews made with 10 contracted farmers, who already paid the insurance fee to their contracted companies, the average cost of insurance was $262 per year.

Table 5-8 shows the overall average cost of growing tobacco per hectare, for both independent and contracted farmers. The figures are the average cost for input goods and labour shown above sections. The other cost includes the costs of several levies and the insurance coverage. Table 5-8 demonstrates that the overall tobacco growing cost is $917.9 among the independent farmers and $1729.6 among the contracted farmers. It also shows that tobacco is a very expensive crop to grow, and the price is way much higher among the contracted farmers.

Table 5-8 The overall cost of growing tobacco per hectare.

	Input goods	Labour	Other	Total
Independent	619	278.9	20	917.9
Contracted	1034	385.6	310	1729.6

Source: Survey data

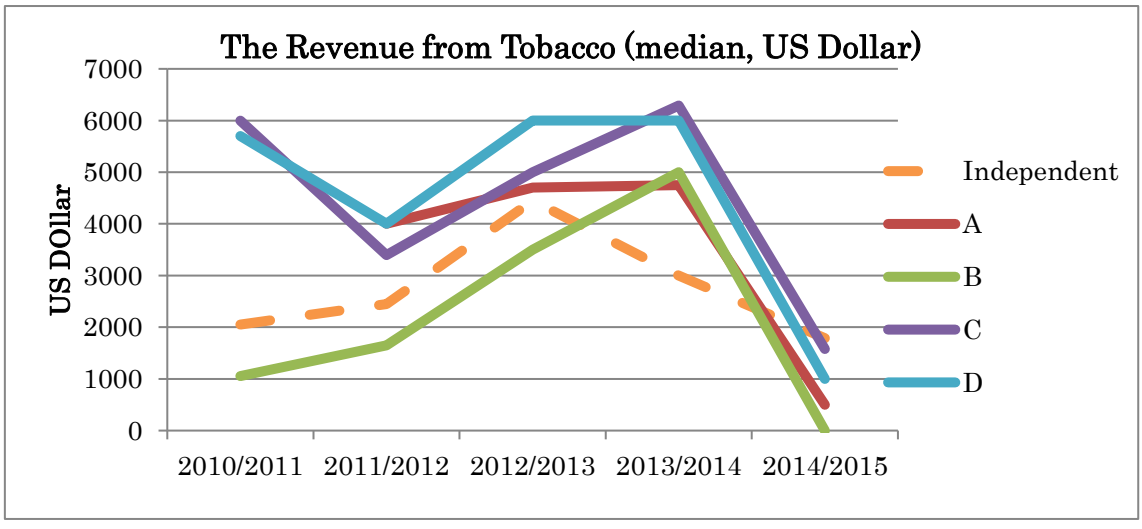
5-3 Income.

This section gives an overview of how much the farmers actually earn from tobacco, after they spend all those expensive costs. Independent farmers earn their income when they sell their tobacco at the authorized auction floors, and the contracted farmers earn theirs when they ship their tobacco to the companies. The farmers get the slips showing their sales either from the auction floors or from the companies, and receive cash as their income at banks.

Figure 5-2 and Table 5-9 show the household level median income for tobacco

farmers under the different categories of the production: the contracted farmers under each of the four companies, and the independent farmers. On Figure 5-2, the solid lines show the income of the contracted farmers under each of the four companies (A to D), and the dotted line shows the income of the independent farmers. The numbers are based on their incomes, after the deduction of input costs and other operational costs, such as levies and insurance. However, the figures do not include labour costs, because all the interviewed farmers paid for their labour after they were paid for their tobacco. Figure 5-2 indicates that even though contracted farmers have realized more income than independent farmers in the indicated seasons, their average income per household has fluctuated widely every season. The percentage change in revenue per season of the contracted farmers ranged between -100% and 112%, while that of independent farmers deviated in a narrower range between -40% and 20% (Table 5-10). The revenue of independent farmers has been relatively lower than contracted farmers in several years except in the 2014/2015 season, in which their median revenue was the highest. In other words, the contracted farmers can also earn much income from tobacco despite facing high input cost shown above, in the favourable seasons, while their income sharply drops when it is not suitable for them, such as the season 2014/2015.

Figure 5-2 Revenue from Tobacco (Median).



Source: Survey data

Table 5-9 Revenue from tobacco and the percentage change.

	2010/2011	2011/2012	2012/2013	2013/2014	2014/2015
Independent (% change)	2050	2450 (20%)	4450 (82%)	3000 (−33%)	1788 (−40%)
A	N/A	4000	4700 (18%)	4750 (1%)	500 (−89%)
B	1057	1650 (56%)	3500 (112%)	5000 (43%)	0 (−100%)
C	6000	3395 (−43%)	5000 (47%)	6290 (26%)	1579 (−75%)
D	5700	4000 (−30%)	6000 (50%)	6000 (0%)	1000 (−83%)

Source: Survey data

The 2014/2015 season was a difficult time, especially for small-scale tobacco farmers with no access to irrigation facilities. We found that the revenue of all the interviewed farmers decreased in the 2014/2015 season. This was partly a result of the delayed rain and long dry spell during this season. Some farmers planted at the beginning of the rainy season in November 2014 and then suffered damage to their plants because there was no substantial rainfall between mid-November 2014 and the beginning of January 2015. The unfavourable weather resulted in decreased tobacco production volumes. Erratic rainfall also resulted in severe leaching of nutrients from the tobacco soil (TRB 2014). To address this problem, the elevated fertiliser use is required, and there was premature ripening of the leaf, which further required substantially higher labour and thus increased production costs (TRB 2014, p. 7). The Tobacco Research Board (TRB) further noted that this reduced the quality of most of the crop, particularly in the case of small-scale tobacco growers, and inevitably affected prices (*ibid.*). The severe climatic conditions resulted in harsh effects on the farmers in the research field, especially contracted farmers.

It was also found that a substantial number of farmers failed to pay the companies for their inputs, which resulted in the termination of contract arrangements during the season 2014/2015. Some had the assets taken away

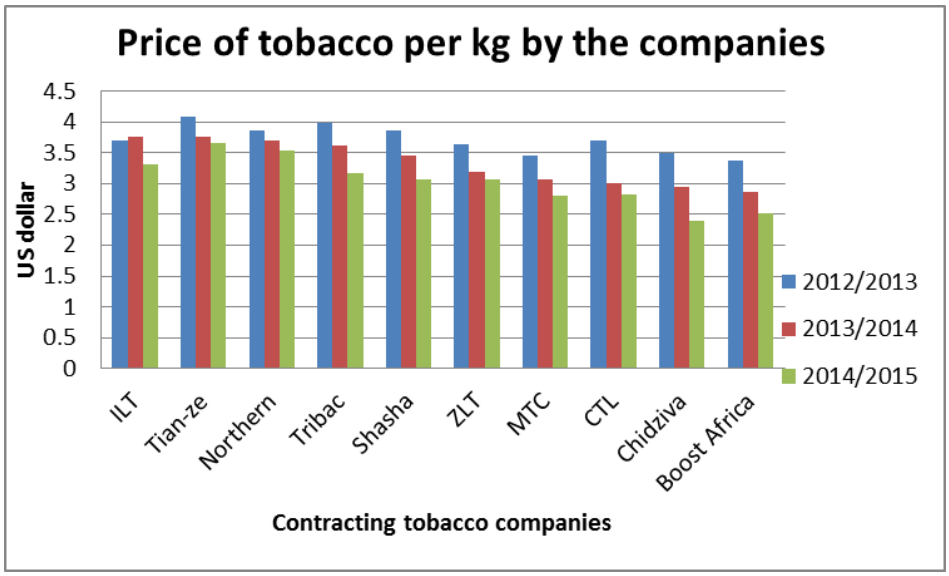
that they had used as collateral at the time of signing the contracts, such as cattle, scotch carts, and ploughs. Because the interviewed farmers tended to pay for their labour after they were paid, a substantial number of interviewed farmers said that they sold assets, such as cattle or goats, to meet their labour costs after failing to secure enough revenue from tobacco sales.

The study also showed that small-scale farmers under contract arrangements could earn as much as independent (non-contracted) farmers, or more than them, when the weather was favourable. However, the contract arrangement does not guarantee a stable income. The income of the contracted farmers is, rather, more unstable, with greater dependence on the environment. Because the input costs faced by contracted farmers are markedly higher than those of independent farmers, when there were poor rainfall patterns and poor tobacco prices in the market, farmers tended to lose more through being engaged in contract farming.

5-4 We still live under the contract.

The unfavorable weather of the 2014/2015 season resulted in the poor tobacco price. The average tobacco price of the 2014/2015 season as a country decreased from $3.17/kg in the 2013/2014 season to $2.95/kg in the following season (TIMB 2015). The average price of tobacco sold to the contracting companies also decreased in the 2014/2015 season. Figure 5-3 shows the price of tobacco of the past three seasons given by the 10 different contracting companies. All the 10 companies priced lowest in the 2014/2015 season in the past three years. The average prices of tobacco announced by parastatal TIMB (national and the company prices) included the tobacco shipped by the farmers with irrigation system at their farms. The interviewed A1 farmers in this study grow tobacco without irrigation system. Thus the tobacco price they get the 2014/2015 season was much lower than the publicly announced average tobacco price. Substantial number of farmers got less than $1 per kg in the research field during the season.

Figure 5-3 The average price of tobacco per kg of the contracting companies.



Source: TIMB (2015)

The study asked the farmers in the field if they negotiated for better price when they offered lower prices by the company. Thirty one farmers, or 66% of the contracted farmers answered that they would negotiated with the company if they did not agree with them (Table 5-11). The study also asked wanted to understand who the farmers negotiated with. Out of the 31 farmers, 55% of them or 17 farmers said that they negotiate with the company agent/s or company field officers, 8 farmers or 26% of them raise their concerns with the TIMB, and 6 farmers or 19% of them claim to negotiate with both the company agent/s and TIMB (Table 5-11).

The study further asked to the farmers, if the companies improve the price when they negotiate. And what do they do if the price was not changed after their negotiations (see Table 5-12). While 10 farmers out of 31 contracted farmers, or 32% of them answered that the companies would improve the price upon their probing, the majority, 20 farmers or 65% of them answered that the companies would not change the price. When the companies did not increase the price, 77% of them answered that they just accept the undesirable price, while 13% of them would try to negotiate until the price would be increased, and 6% of them answered that they would withdraw

their tobacco from shipping to the companies giving rise to side marketing (discussed later in chapter 6).

Table 5-11

Will you probe the company if you did not agree with the price? (n=47)		Whom will you claim to? (n=31)		
Yes	31 (66%)	The company agent/s	17	55%
No	16 (34%)	TIMB	8	26%
Total	47 (100%)	The above two	6	19%
		Total	31	100%

Source: Survey data

Table 5-12

Does the company improve the price? (n=31)			If the price did not improve, what will you do? (n=31)		
Yes	10	32%	Just accept	24	77%
No	20	65%	Try to negotiate more	4	13%
No answer	1	3%	Cancel tobacco bales	2	6%
Total	31	100%	No answer	1	3%

Source: Survey data

Regarding to the selling price, about half of the farmers think the price given by the company is fair, and the same number of farmers answered that it is unfair (Table 5-13).

Table 5-13

Do you think the price given by the company is fair? (n=47)	
Fair	23 (49%)
Sometimes fair	1 (2%)
Unfair	23 (49%)
Total	47 (100%)

Peasants' perceptions were also examined toward the companies they worked with (Table 5-14). Of the 47 contracted farmers, 62% of them, or 29 farmers, said that the agreement was fair, and 38% of them, or 18 farmers, considered that it was unfair. We also asked whether the farmers think their contracted companies strictly followed their agreements. Of the 47 farmers, 57% of them, or 27 answered, that the companies followed the agreements but 40% of them, or 19 farmers, answered they did not. Of the 47, 53%, or 25 farmers, complained to their companies and 47%, or 22 farmers, just kept quiet. The interviews showed that more than half of the farmers thought that the agreements were unfair, while almost the same number of farmers said that the companies follow the signed deals. About half of the interviewed farmers had complained to the company.

Among the farmers who argued that the companies were not fair, some claimed that the companies were unfair because they did not give the farmers a fair price. They also complained that the costs of the inputs provided by the company were too high or that the companies did not give them enough input goods.

Table 5-14 The peasants' perception toward companies.

Do you think the agreement is fair? (n=47)		Do you think the company strictly follows the agreement? (n=47)	
Fair	29 (62%)	Yes	27 (57.4%)
Unfair	18 (38%)	No	19 (40.4%)
Total	47 (100%)	No answer	1 (2.1%)
		Total	47 (100%)
Have you made any claims to the company? (n=47)			
Yes	25 (53%)		
No	22 (47%)		
Total	47 (100%)		Source: Survey data

In this study, the same 47 contracted farmers were also interviewed

regarding whether they wanted to continue growing tobacco under contract arrangements in the future. Of the 47 farmers, 66% of them, or 31 farmers, answered that they wanted to continue growing tobacco and 34% of them, or 16 farmers, answered that they did not (Table 5-15). Having seen the high costs and unstable revenue from tobacco, more farmers still expressed their willingness to continue under contracts. Regarding reasons for continuing under contracts, the farmers expressed that because of a lack of capital to pay the input costs themselves, they needed to rely on pre-supplied input materials (13 farmers) and that they had no alternative (4 farmers), among others.

Table 5-15 The farmers' willingness to continue growing tobacco.

Would you like to continue contract arrangement?	
Yes	31 (66%)
No	16 (34%)
Total	47 (100%)

Source: Survey data.

Conclusion

The chapter showed that small-scale farmers under contract arrangements could earn as much as independent (non-contracted) farmers. The survey has also revealed that the input goods provided by the contracting companies cost much more than the ones faced by the independent farmers. The farmers also need to pay some other costs, such as insurance coverage for them to get contracted. While the cost of growing tobacco is very high, the one increases much higher when farmers grow tobacco under the contract arrangement. With all the high input costs, the contract arrangement still does not guarantee stable income for the farmers all the time. The income of the contracted farmers is, rather usually, unstable depending on the environment. Since the input costs faced by contracted farmers are higher than those faced by independent farmers, and in light of poor rainfall

patterns, and poor tobacco output prices in the market, farmers tend to lose more by being engaged in contract farming.

The study also surveyed the farmer's overall perception toward the contract arrangement. About 60% of them answered the arrangement is fair, and about half of them answered that the price given by the companies is fair. The farmers also claim to be able to negotiate the price of the output with the companies if they encounter some difficulties. The survey found more than half of the interviewed farmers have raised differentiated concerns to their contracted companies. Although there exists overwhelming negative sides of the contract arrangements, highlighted by the extremely high costs charged by the companies, more than 60% of the farmers still wanted to be under the contracts mainly so as to secure a stable pre-supply of input goods. The contracted farmers tend to compromise on the high input costs for them to continue growing tobacco.

Chapter 6 Peasantization of Agricultural Finance: the peasants' reaction toward trans-national companies.

This chapter discusses peasants' agricultural finance that enables them to continue earning cash through tobacco farming. The study showed in Chapter 4 that the contract agreements signed between transnational companies (TNCs) and small-scale farmers are agricultural loan deals based on businesslike manners. The deals are more favourable to the company but the farmers were still willing to get into contracts with them. Getting contract of the companies is the most feasible option to start farming and earn cash, as they cannot secure enough financial support neither from their family nor public financial institutions. While chapter 4 showed how farmers seek contract arrangements for their financial solutions, Chapter 5 demonstrated that the income they get from tobacco under the arrangement is unstable because of the high input cost and the expensive operation cost. This unfavorable business environment affects the contracted farmers even more severe when they have erratic weather. The farmers sometimes have almost zero revenue from the companies, when the situation gets so tough to them, such as the agricultural season 2014/2015 were they had to mortgage some of their assets. The study, however, found that the farmers were still willing to be under the contract arrangement.

The research question which is then raised in this chapter is how do farmers then survive against the backdrop of the severe weather changes and high input cost for tobacco farming? The study in Chapter 4 showed that more than 70% of the interviewed contracted farmers and 50% of the independent farmers rely solely on tobacco for their cash income. This chapter firstly shows their different cash expenditure schedules. It shows that whatever the weather is, they still need to raise cash from tobacco. Secondly the chapter analyzes that their solutions to the financial crisis, including taking advantage of contract farming arrangements, to earn cash as much as they can. This part shows the other side of agricultural finance, which make the enable farmers to keep earning cash with tobacco farming. The chapter

then lastly shows their capital accumulation through tobacco farming.

6-1 Expenditure

Table 6-1 shows that the farmers' expenditure schedule. A substantial number of people responded that they use cash for their children's school fees and for food/ groceries; i.e. 57 or 85% of the interviewed farmers answered that they needed cash for school fees, and 62,or 93% of the interviewed farmers answered that they spend cash for food/ groceries.

Table 6-1 The expenditure schedules. (n=67, multiple answers)

	School fee	Food/ groceries	Farm input	Savings
Number of farmers	57	62	43	16
	85%	93%	64%	24%

Source: Survey data.

Regarding to the school fees, the interviewed farmers took their children's education seriously. They only let the children work on the farm, taking care of cattle during schools holidays, but they made sure that the children went back to school when schools open. There are two public schools in the research area, Igava primary school and Igava secondary school, where most of the A1 farmers send their children. The two public schools charges $20 per term. As there are three school terms in Zimbabwe, the annual school fee will be $60 per student. If students failed to pay the fees, they will not be allowed to attend classes[87]. Students are also required to prepare school uniforms, shoes, stationary, and other required school accessories. When farmers have several school children, (most of them do) the cost of school fee gets substantially expense for a household. Regarding to the expenditure for

[87] The two schools in the area thoroughly check the payment of school fees by the students. One day, when the researcher was visiting Mr. MRM's family, their daughter (strictly speaking, she is Mrs. MRM's sister's daughter, but raised as MRM's own daughter in their family) failed to pay the second term of the school fee for her Igava secondary school and she came back home early in the morning since she was not allowed to be in the class. Her parents phoned her blood mother (the mother who gave birth of her) right after she came back home, to send money for her school fee to make sure that their daughter could definitely be at the school (17 May 2016).

food/groceries, they spend to buy mostly sugar, cooking oil, salt, tea, and some other necessary goods, which they cannot grow on their gardens. All the interviewed farmers grow a variety of vegetables and maize, in their gardens, aside their farm, in their homestead.

From Table 6-1, about 64% of them answered that they need cash for their farm inputs, and 24% of them answered that they want to save. The farmers who answered that they 'spend money for their savings' kept cattle as their savings. When they earn cash, they would buy cattle as their savings and take care of the livestock at home. The farmers rely more on saving their cash by purchasing livestock asset or mainly cattle than keeping hard cash or deposits at banks. One of the farmers expressed that:

> It is safer to save money with cattle than keeping money by cash or at banks. I do not want to have a bank account since it is expensive[88]. And if I save money with cattle, I can grow more money through them as long as I take care of them nicely' (Interviewed with Mr. Made on 9 June 2015).

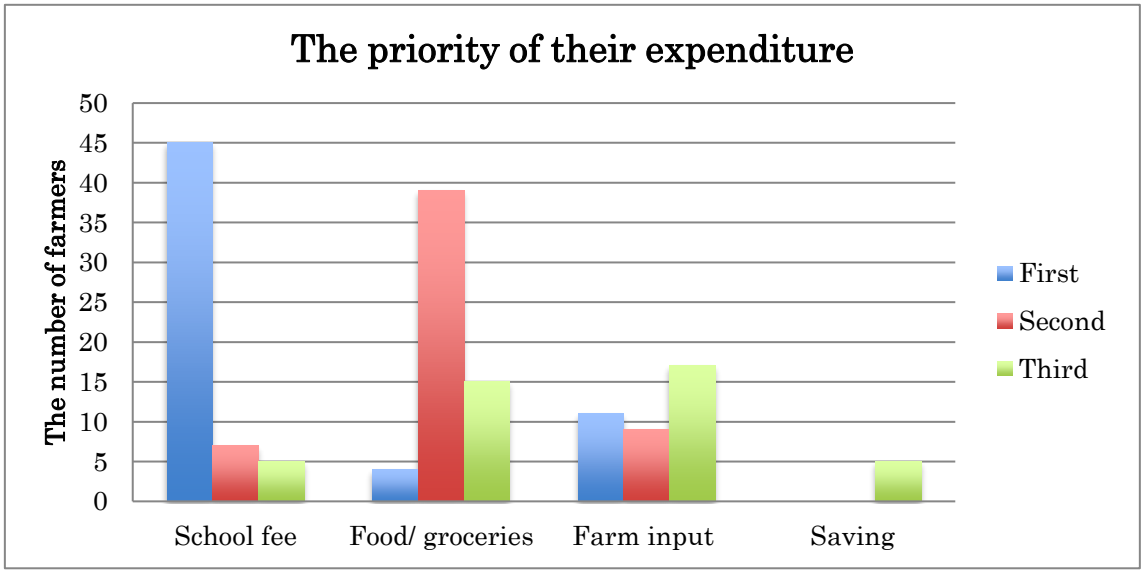
The farmers also sell their cattle when they need large sums of money, such as when they do not have enough cash to pay for their labour, hired for the tobacco grading process or for their medical expenses.

The study further asked them the priority of their expenditure. Figure 6-2 shows the first, the second, and the third priority of their cash expenditure amongst the listed items. A larger section of people see school fees as their first priority for their cash expenditure, and the second preference is food/ groceries (see Figure 6-2). While some answered that the food budget or farm input as their first priority, majority of people tend to prioritize their cash

[88] The private banks in Zimbabwe charge not a small amount of service charge. And there is no bank in the ward. They need to travel all the way to Marondera town to get to the bank, take about an hour for one way. That is why he mentioned that it is expensive to keep money in the bank.

income for their children's school fees. This is also explained by the fact that farmers will try to produce food for own consumption on their own, such that the only use of income is to buy things like cooking oil and sugar, otherwise all earned income is usually reinvested into education.

Figure 6-2 The priority of expenditure. (n=67, multiple answers)



Source: Survey data.

The expenditure survey in this section found that the interviewed farmers needed to earn cash for basic requirement, such as education and food/ grocery consumption. The chapter will then continue that how do they earn cash against the backdrop of the harsh environment for them (discussed earlier).

6-2 Makoronyera[89]

In an interview with Mr Makoni, an Agritex extension worker in ward 7,[90]

[89] The interview data shown in this section are collected in private spaces with each interviewer who only agreed to provide sensitive information to the researcher. All the informants' names used in this section were changed to protect their privacy.

[90] 'Agritex is a department within the Ministry of Agriculture, Mechanization and Irrigation Development. Its main mission is to provide administrative, technical and advisory support to farmers' (Zamchiya 2011, p. 1095). In ward 7 of the Marondera district, there are four extension field workers that provide agricultural knowledge to farmers and collect agricultural data from farmers.

on farmer survival tactics when not enough cash is earned from tobacco, he said that A1 farmers deal with *makoronyera* also.[91] The standard Shona dictionary, Hannan (1984), defines *makoronyera* as a 'place out-of-bounds for ploughing or building'. Thus, the original meaning of the word indicates an area where the public does not have access for any activities of daily life, such as ploughing or building. In practice, the word is currently used to mean an arena where business is undertaken informally, or people that run prohibited businesses, or crooks. The word means both informal activities and people who run such things. The interviewees, in practice, mostly used the word to mean people who run such informal activities, such as side marketing.

Mr Makoni said:

> *Farmers undertake side marketing by selling their tobacco to* makoronyera. Makoronyera *buy tobacco directly from farmers outside the formal markets, such as the auction floors or selling to their contracted companies. The side marketing transactions started just a few years ago, approximately two years ago. There was no such opportunity before. Side marketing was rampant, especially last year [the agricultural season 2014/2015] since tobacco prices, both at the auction floor and the ones given by the contractors, were very low. It is important to note, however, that any kind of side marketing activities is illegal.* Makoronyera *do business with farmers in this area [ward 7] at night to hide their illegal activities from us. I just saw a truck passing by my house last night, but I do not know where it came from. They were trying to buy tobacco from farmers in our area [ward 7]. I wanted to meet them but failed to do so. It is not allowed to sell or purchase tobacco outside the auction floors or contractor's market. But the farmers, sometimes, feel better doing business with* makoronyera*, since that*

[91] Interview with Mr Makoni on May 17, 2016.

> *way the farmer can earn cash apart from the sales they make at the auction floors or to their contracted companies.* Makoronyera *travel all over the country, wherever people grow tobacco. Since they travel all the way to our farm area, farmers can also save transport costs. It looks like a win–win situation for* makoronyera *and farmers, but side marketing is still illegal*.
> (Interview with Mr Makoni, on May 17, 2016)

Mr Makoni mentioned that *makoronyera* conduct side marketing, which refers to tobacco sales outside the formal tobacco market made up of the auction floors and the registered contractor's floors. He also noted that tobacco sales outside the formal markets are prohibited.

TIMB (2016) provides that tobacco growers are required to be 'properly registered' (on the TIMB growers' system) and that they submit statutory returns statements indicating the grower's choice of selling system between contract arrangement and auction floors. Farmers who intend to grow tobacco are required to register their names at TIMB, to be renewed every year. The registration also enables farmers to purchase seeds. When farmers register themselves as tobacco growers, they choose their preferred market, whether it is at contractors' selling points or at auction floors, and they are required to keep to their choice of market.

Also on the fine print given by an authorised company to a farmer[92], they provide that the entire tobacco grown by the contracted farmer should be delivered to the company. Clause 4 of the fine print provides that:

> *The grower shall be obliged as soon as possible after the curing of any tobacco grown by him (the contracted farmer) on the farm in the tobacco growing season to bale such tobacco and deliver the entire crop to the company for purchase* .

[92] The fine print was shown by an interviewee to the researcher on 13 July 2015.

The fine print provides that entire tobacco produced by the contracted farmers to be delivered to the contracting company, while the TIMB notice provides that independent farmers should deliver entire tobacco to the auction floors. Thus, once they choose their preferred market, either the contracted companies or the auction floors, they need to stick to the market they chose. These regulations demonstrate that the side marketing of the farmers, selling outside their registered markets is not allowed.

TIMB (2016) also notes that all the tobacco sales should be supervised by TIMB at the auction floors or at the company's selling point. The spot transactions run by *makoronyera* are conducted without the supervision of TIMB, outside the registered markets. As mentioned by Mr. MZR, the tobacco transaction run by *makoronyera* can be a good deal for the farmers, but the transaction is prohibited under the regulations since they trade tobacco outside the registered markets without the supervision of TIMB.

Regarding the business conducted by *makoronyera*, Mr Makoni said:

> Makoronyera *know where tobacco is grown, where to sell tobacco, and whom to talk to at the auction floors. They can travel as far as Karoi to get tobacco. They cover all locations where tobacco is grown in the country and even come to our area! It seems they somehow have their own tobacco registration IDs, even though they do not grow tobacco by themselves. They do not spend a lot of money growing tobacco. They may not have their own fields to grow it in. But they just buy it from farmers. So they save money and labour in growing tobacco. Since they can buy low-quality tobacco from farmers and sell it at higher prices at the auction floors, they are disturbing the tobacco marketing system. Since they are connected with the insiders, they can get better prices for poor tobacco. The transactions run by* makoronyera *also discourage farmers to work hard to make better quality tobacco.*

(Interview with Mr Makoni, on May 17, 2016).

According to Mr Makoni, the *makoronyera* are a group of people who run tobacco side marketing. They travel across a large area to procure tobacco directly from farmers and have access to auction floors. They earn a profit by buying tobacco at low prices and selling it at higher prices on the auction floors, through making deals with buyers themselves.

The Agritex extension worker interviewed, as a person who works at the government, while he agreed that the side marketing presented a win-win for the farmers and *makoronyera*, he was also concerned that the overall quality of tobacco at national level might deteriorate. A representative from a tobacco contracting company working on the field also expressed that *makoronyera* should be eradicated from the market since the company cannot receive the amount of tobacco they expect. He highlighted that:

> *For tobacco farming to be sustainable in this country,* makoronyeara *should be removed from the tobacco market. We sign on contracts by expecting certain amount of tobacco to be delivered from farmers. That is why we assess the agricultural performance and their financial situation of farmers before we make contract agreements with them. Since farmers sell tobacco to* makoronyera*, the amount we receive from the farmers is getting less, and the company is making a lot of loss.*
>
> *(Interview with a representative on 14 July 2015)*

Farmers, however, take advantage of *makoronyera* as a financial opportunity. An A1 farmer, Mr Chikukwa, said that while he delivers tobacco to his contracted companies, he also sells tobacco scraps to *makoronyera*,[93] because he does not expect a favourable price for them from his contracted company. Another farmer, Mr Mazodze, who still owed debts to his former

[93] Interview with Mr Chikukwa on May 18, 2016.

contracted company, sold some of his tobacco to *makoronyera*.[94] Because he still owed the company, he would not get a cash return if he brought all his tobacco to the company; the company would collect all his tobacco revenue to clear his debt. He still sold some of his tobacco to his contracted company, to reduce the amount of his debt, but he also sold some of his tobacco to *makoronyera* to make some cash on the side.

In addition to making spot transactions on farms, according to the interviews,[95] some *makoronyera* also wait for farmers whose bales are declined at the auction floor.[96] A staff member of the Farmers Union commented:

> Makoronyera *wait at a certain point off the auction floors where farmers receive their declined tobacco bales. The bales carried to the tobacco auction floors get declined if they contain several grades of tobacco. Small-scale farmers definitely do not want to take such declined bales back to the farm, since they would need to pay the transport costs again. Farmers sometimes do not have any money left with them at the auction floors, because they have used all their money for their transport cost to come to the auction floors. If their tobacco is declined, farmers are willing to sell their tobacco to* makoronyera *even if they get very low price for their declined tobacco*. (Interview with the Farmers Union staff member on August 3, 2015).

While we did not find any farmer who said he had actually sold declined tobacco to *makoronyera* at the auction floors, an interview with a representative of the union found that several kinds of side marketing run by *makoronyera* were rampant in the tobacco market. The deals with

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[94] Interview with Mr Mazodze on May 17, 2016.
[95] Interview with a staff member of the Zimbabwe Farmers Union on August 3, 2015, and interview with Mr Masango in ward 7 on May 17, 2016.
[96] Auctioneers can decline tobacco at the auction floors because of its low quality or the absence of a buyer.

makoronyera seemed to be good deals for farmers (and for the *makoronyera* too), but tobacco companies obviously do not find such side marketing acceptable. The companies suffer losses because they do not receive the expected amount of tobacco back from their contracted farmers.

The deals among farmers

Other than selling tobacco directly to *makoronyera*, the study found another kind of side marketing: transactions among farmers. Some contracted farmers, for example, asked independent farmers to sell their tobacco at the auction floor when they found the auction price was higher than their contract price. Moreover, independent farmers, if they found the contract price to be higher, would ask contracted farmers to sell their tobacco. A contracted farmer, Mr Makuvaza, said that:

> *We always communicate with neighbouring farmers to check tobacco prices at several markets. We update the tobacco prices of several markets every day. For example, Company C is now buying tobacco between $1.20 and $1.30 per kg. I have not sold tobacco to Company C but I know their price. I am contracted under another company but deliver my tobacco to them only to cover the provided input cost. I can make more money sometimes at the auction floor or through other companies. I also communicated with* makoronyera *this year. I am expecting them to come tomorrow or the day after tomorrow to negotiate tobacco prices.*
>
> (Interview with Mr Makuvaza on May 17, 2016)

Mr Makuvaza said that he researches the tobacco price and sells tobacco to find the market(s) where he can get the most profit. He still wants to be under contract for the sake of the input goods provided in advance. However, he does not sell all his tobacco to the company. He only sells enough tobacco to cover the debt he owes them. The rest of the tobacco he produces is sold at another contracted company, at the auction floor through an independent farmer, or via *makoronyera*. Thus, he uses several tobacco markets, such as

the formal market, his contracted company, and informal markets, such as the auction floor, another company, and *makoronyera*. While TIMB regulations require farmers to sell their tobacco either at the auction floors or to a company, Mr Makuvaza explores several markets in search of a better profit. The farmer is not a marginal peasant exploited by global capital but actually takes advantage of the contract arrangement by securing his input costs. The farmer participates in a diversified tobacco market to make a maximum profit. Another contracted farmer, Mr Mutenda, said:

> *I ask my neighbour to sell some of my tobacco at the auction floor, since I do not want to give all my tobacco to the company. If I sold all my tobacco to the company, they just take all my profit, and I am left with nothing. I still need cash. So what I do is to keep some of my tobacco aside to get cash from selling it at the auction floor, which I ask my neighbour to do. I know what I am doing is not allowed under TIMB rules, but I still need to send my kids to school.*
> (Interview with Mr Mutenda, January 9, 2016).

Mr Mutenda diversified his marketing to make extra cash, because he knows that the costs to be deducted by the company are high and that he would not receive sufficient return from the contracting company. However, he was also aware that such diversification of tobacco marketing is not allowed. An independent farmer said:

> *I am an independent farmer. I sell most of my tobacco to the auction floor, but sometimes I ask contracted farmers to sell my tobacco. Contracted farmers also ask me to sell tobacco at the auction floors. We talk daily about tobacco prices and know the daily price changes.*
> (Interview with Mr Chirinda on May 17, 2016)

The farmers, contracted and independent, communicate daily with each other to find the best market.

> *Farmers daily get information from their neighbours on the tobacco prices. Farmers always talk with each other to find out the prices, or they can also call TIMB to find the average tobacco price of the day at the auction floors.*
> (Interview with Mr Makoni on May 17, 2016)

The farmers use their networks of neighbours to learn about several other markets. When they deal with neighbouring farmers, cash transactions are also involved. Mr Chirinda, who is independent, and a contracted farmer, Mr Manwa, stated that farmers who wanted to sell their tobacco through another farmer's market should pay $25 per bale per transaction.[97] This transaction refers to deals between farmers to sell their tobacco outside their formal market, such as the deal when an independent farmer asks his contracted neighbour to sell his tobacco to the contracting company, or *vice versa*. Mr Chirinda said that the breakdown of the cost of the transaction, $25, was $10 for administrative costs, $10 for transport costs, and another $5 for food. When a farmer asks another farmer to sell his tobacco, $25 is paid to the counterpart in advance.

> *This is a win–win transaction between us farmers since we can raise money by helping others. The farmers who want to sell their tobacco through another channel can also raise some more cash.*
> (Interview with Mr Chirinda on May 17, 2016)

While the interviewed farmer knows that the deal among the farmers is prohibited, he saw more economic benefit from the deals. The study, meanwhile, asked some farmers if they might cause some conflicts between farmers or not, since some farmers might get more sales than others. And the farmer who was asked to sell tobacco for others can see how much others can receive money from their tobacco. If the farmers asked to sell other

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[97] Interview with Mr Chirinda and Mr Manwa, which took place at the former's homestead, on May 17, 2016.

tobacco receive less profit, he might be not pleasant. Regarding to this issue, Mr. Mutenda highlighted that:

> *There is neither conflict nor jealousy among the transactions done by farmers. We are paying to others to do some jobs. How can they be jealous after they were paid? We receive the slip for the tobacco sold at the auction floors or at another company by our neighbour. So they cannot cheat.*
>
> (Interviewed with Mr. Mutenda on 9 January 2016).

When the interviewee, a contracted farmer, asks his tobacco to be sold at the auction floor, he asks the independent farmer who lives behind his homestead. The neighbour independent farmer was working as a white commercial labourer before he obtained the current farm. Mr. Mutenda, on the other hand, came from the cooperative farm and his place of origin is Rusape, about 50 km East from Marondera town. Both of them obtained the land in the current resettlement area in the early 2000s and they do not have any kin or family ties to each other. The interview suggests that the farmer trust their neighbour even without such family ties. While they pay for the transaction, and still there is a business-like deal agreed between each other which involved money, the society in the resettlement area has therefore created another informal market they can rely on. Based on their business like formal market, they created another rational informal market participated by the farmers who just settled in the area less than two decades ago.

Living in between informal and formal markets.

As shown above, tobacco farmers do business both at the formal and the informal markets. The informal market created by the farmers will not be functional without the channel of their formal markets. The informal market on the ground works only because farmers in the area grow tobacco under the various agreements, irrespective of whether they are independent or contracted, or whether they are under Company A or B.

While they take advantage of both formal and informal markets, farmers will not rely on the informal market alone. Mr Makoni, mentioned that farmers do not try to sell all their tobacco to *makoronyera*.[98] If they did, the TIMB system would notice that they did not supply any tobacco although they bought tobacco seeds, which may lead to the withdrawal of the tobacco growers' license issued to them. Farmers buy tobacco seeds with their tobacco growers' registration ID, and the TIMB keeps records.

> *I still sell several of my bales at the auction floor just to survive as a tobacco farmer, and I sell some to* makoronyera *or sometimes I ask my neighbour to sell my tobacco at a company. I want to continue growing tobacco and earn cash. To do that, I need to continue to have my tobacco registration ID.*
> (Interview with Mr Chikukwa on May 18, 2016)

Another reason why farmers do not sell all their tobacco to *makoronyera*, according to Mr Makoni, is that farmers know that side marketing is not allowed by TIMB.

> *Farmers know selling tobacco to* makoronyera *is prohibited. Selling tobacco to* makoronyera *seems to be a better deal than shipping their tobacco to the auction floors or to the companies. But farmers are afraid of doing too much that is illegal*.
> (Interview with Mr Makoni on May 17, 2016).

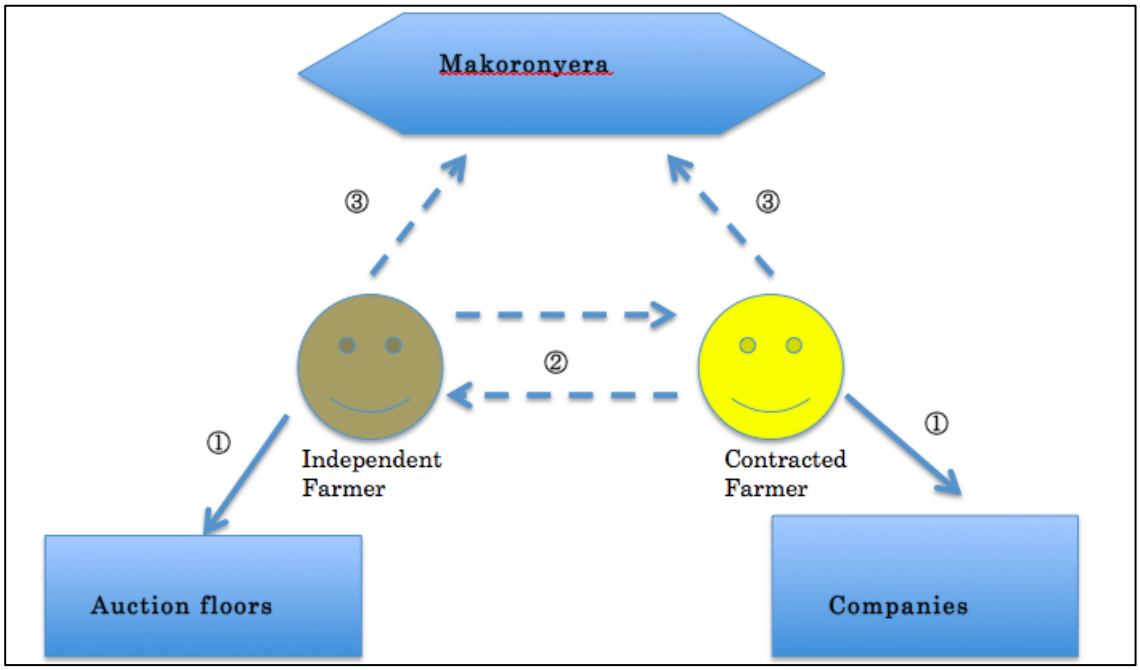
As expressed in these interviews, farmers strike a balance between the formal tobacco markets, such as the contracted companies and the auction floors, and the informal tobacco market, selling tobacco to *makoronyera* to secure some cash on the side. Farmers do not rely on only one side of the market but reach a balance between the two to make maximum profit, trying

[98] Interview with Mr Makoni on 17 May 2016.

not to do too many illegal things.

Figure 6-3 shows the tobacco market channel including both formal and informal markets. The solid arrows indicate the formal market both independent and contracted farmers maintain, and dotted arrows indicate the informal market they also utilize. Figure 6-3 shows there are at least three different kinds of tobacco markets the farmers have access to. The first market is the formal channel: the auction floors for the independent farmers and the contracting companies for the contracted farmers. The second market is the informal channel transacted between the farmers: the independent and contracted farmers utilize their own formal market for side marketing. Independent farmers would ask contracted farmers to sell their tobacco at their contracted companies, or contracted farmers would ask independent farmers to sell their tobacco at the auction floors. The third market is the informal channel with *makoronyera*. With them, farmers would make spot transactions on farm. Figure 6-3 shows that tobacco market on the ground is informalized but diversified, while they still maintain the formal market channels.

Figure 6-3 The formal and informal market



This situation also resembles the situation when hyperinflation in Zimbabwe was at its peak in 2008. During this time, several informal monetary platforms were available on market but people still did not reject the formal economy, even if the formal one looked unreasonable (Hayakawa, 2015). Hayakawa (2015) also showed that the formalization of currency as the dollarization of the economy made the economy rigid. During the time of hyperinflation, the informalized economy created some spaces and a variety of monetary transactional options in the tobacco markets (*ibid*). The situation in the current research area at ward 7, on the other hand, shows that the presents of informalized tobacco market diversified the market channels for farmers. There are only two kinds of formal market for tobacco; the auction floors and the tobacco company, and these limited options gave chance for farmers to informalize the market for them to make their livings. Ogawa (2011) showed the economy of small-scale merchants in the urban area of Tanzania, and demonstrated that the informal economy they engage with is not their tentative survival strategy on but it is their basis of their livelihoods. In the informal economy, Ogawa (2011) depicted that the merchants did not rely on any particular stakeholders involved but they took

balance to make their living. The informal economy of ward 7 in this study is also working as farmers' basis of living than just a mere tentative survival strategy. Farmers try to take balance amongst the several opportunities to make sustainable profit and benefit from their tobacco farming.

6-3 Capital Accumulation through tobacco farming.

This section shows that the capital accumulation the farmers managed to make through the tobacco farming. As shown in Chapter 5, the income that farmers can receive through tobacco farming is unstable, mainly because of erratic weather changes and high input cost. However, farmers make maximum profit by also utilizing the informal markets shown in sections in this chapter. This section tries to answer the question that if farmers manage to make capital accumulation through tobacco farming, utilizing both formal and informal tobacco markets. The study asked a farmer, Mr. Mutenda, who also agreed to disclose his transaction with *makoronyera* and the side marketing with his neighbour, if he managed to accumulate some asset. He answered that he did not have anything when he came to where his farm is in 2003[99]. Mr. Mutenda told as:

> *When I arrived here, I started from scratch. I did not have anything. I did not even have this house (the round shape hut made by clay). I started growing maize, and then tobacco. I am still poor, but better than before. I can at least have my own farm to take care of. And I can take care of my family with this farm. We sometimes struggle to get cash from tobacco, but I got a lot from it* (Interview with Mr. Mutenda on 14 July 2015).

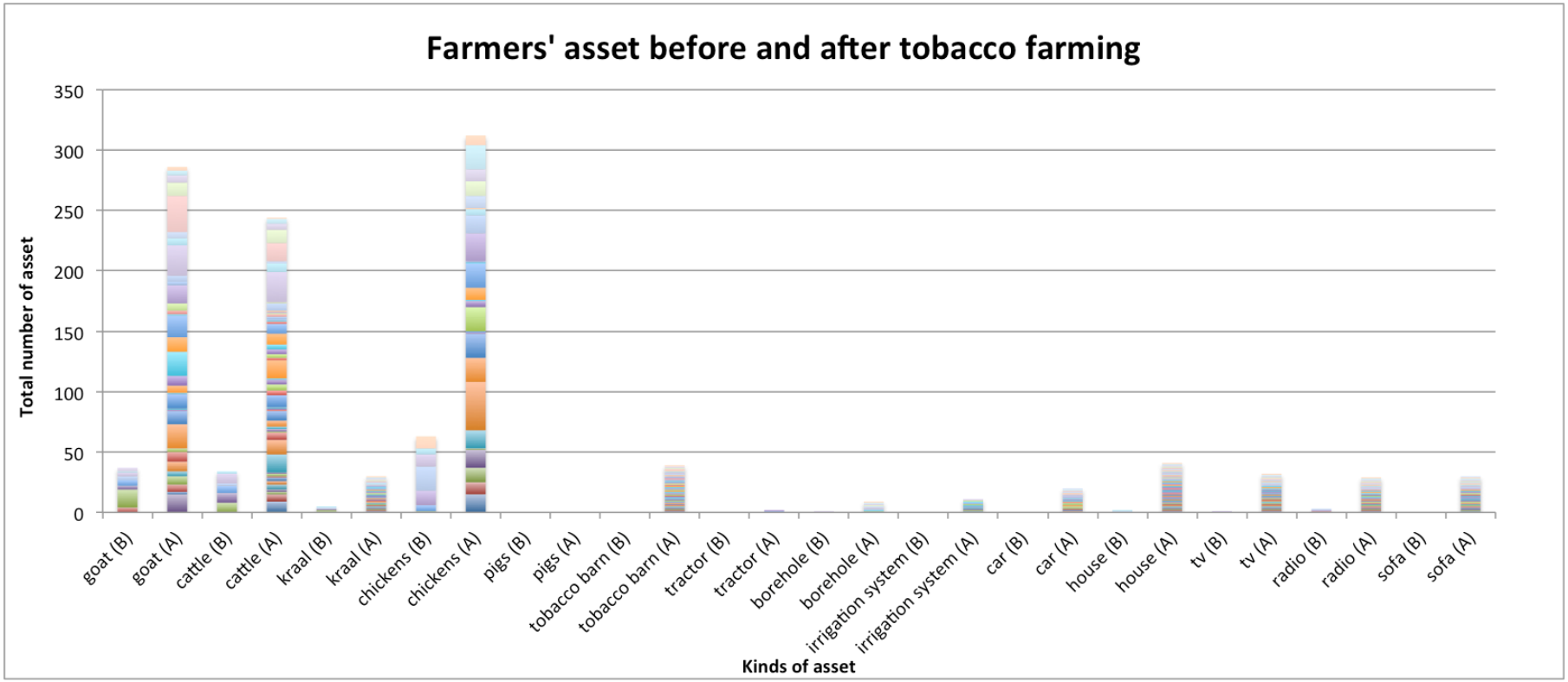
The study interviewed 67 farmers on the assets they had before and after they started tobacco farming. Figure 6-4 shows how farmers accumulated assets through tobacco farming. The letter (B) shows the asset farmers had before tobacco farming. And the letter (A) shows the asset farmers

[99] Interview with Mr. MSV on 14 July 2015.

accumulated through tobacco farming. The vertical axes show the total number of each asset owned by farmers; it shows the sum of the assets that the 67 interviewed farmers had. Figure 6-4 indicates that farmers have more assets after they started growing tobacco. They have especially accumulated livestock, such as goats, cattle, and chickens. As also shown in the section 6-1 of this chapter, farmers preferred to save their wealth into their livestock than to keep their savings by cash or by bank deposit. Figure 6-4 demonstrates that farmers managed to accumulate their capital mainly as the form of livestock through tobacco farming. Other than their capital accumulation by livestock, 39 farmers out of 67 built their own tobacco barns. With their own tobacco barn, they do not need to use the communal barns, and have more control during tobacco curing, which will make the quality of their tobacco better. This is a form of agricultural investment for them to earn more from tobacco. Regarding to housing infrastructure, while all the interviewed farmers had their own house built by themselves from clay soil, some did not count it as their asset. About half of interviewees obtained radios, TV, and sofas through tobacco farming. And about 20 farmers even bought a car from their income.

The survey showed that farmers surely made capital accumulation through tobacco farming, through the variety forms of livestock, tobacco barn, furniture, cars investments. The farmers do business both with formal and informal market, and these two markets are the basis of their income. As also discussed in Ogawa (2013), while informal markets tend to be discussed in the discourse of short-lived survival platform, or something fragile, the study in ward 7 found that informal markets was used as one of their basis of income source.

Figure 6-4 Farmers' asset before and after tobacco farming (n=67, multiple answers)



Source: Survey data

Conclusion

The chapter firstly showed that tobacco farmers are required cash for basic service and commodities, such as school fees for their children and food/grocery cost, even if they do not have enough income from the auction floors or from the contracted company. For them to make cash, farmers utilized informal market. The market created here works based on the formal markets. While the tobacco formal markets limit the channels of selling points to either at the auction floors or at the contracted companies, informal markets diversified the marketing channels. Farmers try to balance between formal and informal markets seeking for maximum profit they can earn from tobacco.

Hyden in his masterpieces highlighted that peasants live in the society based on their kinships from a case of Tanzania (Hyden 1980; 1983). Hyden argued that because of the informalized economy based on Africa's unique society still survive in the capitalist economy, highlighted as 'economy of affection', peasants in Africa are not be able to accumulate capital (ibid.). We argued in this chapter, however, that tobacco markets are informalized in the rural Zimbabwe for peasants to accumulate their wealth. For peasants to make their end meets, they need to utilize the informal market.

As shown in Chapter 2, the agricultural structure and the tobacco industry of Zimbabwe has been 'peasantized'. In this chapter, the study showed that farmers also 'peasantized' the rural market for them to have diversified tobacco-marketing options. Much of the literature has described the current inflow of foreign capital into Africa as a 'new scramble' (Carmody 2011; Melber and Southall 2010; Moyo *et al.*, 2012). The continent has received more global investment in past five decades than any time in the early years of the 21st century (Melber and Southall 2010). These literatures warn of how market forces have tried to further exploit the marginalized, such as the peasants in ward 7. It is correct that a variety of global capital is flowing into Africa, as far as rural Zimbabwe to make direct contract with peasants, and peasants are more exposed to global capital. However, the study revealed that while peasants are oppressed by global capital through unfavourable contract deals, they also have agency as they create their own market within the neoliberal market.

Conclusions

This thesis studied the reconfiguration of the tobacco industry in Zimbabwe and the economic impact of contract farming on small-scale farmers. It showed that de-racialization (through FTLRP) and the re-insertion of capital into the tobacco industry (through contract farming) led small scale farmers to become dominant tobacco growers in the country. The re-insertion of capital was ignited by the Chinese company, Tian-ze, with the support and arrangement of the Zimbabwean government. The Asian company did not monopolize but rather internationalized the industry. After the Chinese company started their business, the tobacco industry was much more internationalized, receiving the players elsewhere from the world, from the west, the east, and also from the south. While Africa has been regarded as 'an undisputed sphere of Western influence' (Melber and Southall 2010, p.xix), especially for a former settlement colony such as Zimbabwe, the study showed that the new participation of Asia and other 'non-western' private countries re-internationalized the industry.

However, the contract deals signed between peasants and global capital are not very favourable for peasants. The agreements are made in a business-like manner and it does not guarantee farmers to make stable output. Some of the interviewed contracted farmers could not make any profit because of high input cost of inputs provided by the companies and also because of erratic rainfall. However, peasants do not just suffer under global capital. They also take advantage of global capital and are involved in side marketing. The informal market developed in the rural Zimbabwe is based on the formal tobacco market and peasants take balance in between the formal and informal markets. After the FTLRP, not only the agricultural finance was peasantized, the tobacco industry, and the tobacco markets they take part were also peasantized. With this unique development which is against the TNCs, the peasants are also making capital accumulation.

The case of the tobacco contract farming in Zimbabwe demonstrated that peasants would not just be exploited by the inflow of global capital into rural area, but peasants also react back to them and survive through this neoliberal economy of the 21st century.

Appendix

The questionnaire used for the interviews conducted in ward 7 of Marondera district.

Please answer in the following questions.

(Please remain blank if it is not applicable)

Section A: Administrative Data

No.	Question	Answer
A1	Date	
A2	Name of the respondent	
A3	Name of the farm owner	
A4	Location	

Section B: Demographic Characteristics

No.	Question	Answer
B1	Sex	1)=Male 2)=Female
B2	Age	1)=<20 2)=20-39 3)=40-59 4)=>60
B3	The home area where you were born	
B4	Education level	1)=no schooling 2)=primary 3)=O level 4)=A level 5)=tertiary level
B5	Number of family member	_____People
B6	The area where you were before you came to the farm	
B7	Your former occupation/s	

Section C: Farm Characteristics

No.	Question	Answer
C1	Size of Farm	_____ Hector
C2	How long have you been farming on this farm?	_____ Years
C3	Number of Labour	Family labour _____ People Hired Permanent

		worker_____People
C4	If you have casual labour, when do you hire them?	Please select appropriate choice/s 1)=All year round 2)= Planting season 3)=Reaping season 4)=Curing season 5)=Grading season 6)=Other ( )

Section D: Tobacco Farming

No.	Question	Answer
D1	When did you start growing tobacco?	Year _____
D2	What motivated you to grow tobacco?	Please select appropriate choice/s 1)=Better cash income 2)= Easy to find selling markets. 3)=Availability of contractors to cater for expenses. 4)=Other ( )

Section E: Contract Farming/ Independent Farming

No.	Question	Answer
E1	Are you currently growing tobacco under the contract arrangement with a private company?	Please tick Yes☐ or No☐.
If your answer to the question 1 is Yes, please continue to Section F, if your answer is No, please continue to Section G.		

Section F: Contract Farming (Please answer the questions in this section if you are glowing tobacco under contract with a private company)

<table>
<tr><th>No.</th><th>Question</th><th>Answer</th></tr>
<tr><td>F1</td><td>Name the company you are contracting with.</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>F2</td><td>How many companies have you ever contracted with?</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>F3</td><td>How did you start the contract arrangement with the company?</td><td>Please tick the number below.
1) The contractor came to your area.
2) You visited the company and asked them to contract you.
3) Somebody you know introduced the contracting company.
4) Other ( )</td></tr>
<tr><td>F4</td><td>Why did you start the contract arrangement?</td><td>Please tick the number below.
1) Advantage of input cost
2) Advantage of securing the market.
3) Other ( )</td></tr>
<tr><td>F5</td><td>How often do you meet with the company/ agent?</td><td>1) Once a week.
2) Once a month.
3) Once in three months.
4) Once in six months.
Other (please specify_____)</td></tr>
<tr><td>F6</td><td colspan="2">What are the basic terms of the contract? Please answer the questions below.
<table>
<tr><td>F6-1</td><td>Does the company explain the contract agreement to you?
Please tick Yes□ or No□</td></tr>
<tr><td>F6-2</td><td>If the answer to the above question (F5-1) is Yes, which language does the company use to explain the contract agreement?
1) Shona
2) English
3) Chinese
4) Other (please indicate _____)</td></tr>
</table></td></tr>
</table>

F6-3	Do you fully understand the agreement you made with the company? Please tick Yes☐ or No☐
F6-4	Do you think the agreement is fair to you? Please tick Yes☐ or No☐
F6-5	Do you think the company strictly follows the agreement? Please tick Yes☐ or No☐. If No, please explain why. ( )
F6-6	Have you ever made a claim to the company on the basic terms of contract agreements? Please tick Yes☐ or NO☐. If your answer to the above question is Yes, how do you make a claim when you find any challenges in the agreement? 1) Claim to the company's agent =By making a phone call? ☐ =By visiting the office in town? ☐) 2) Ask the farmer's union to claim for you. 3) You cannot make a claim. 4) Other ( )
F6-7	How does the company provide you inputs? 1)= Inputs are provided in advance b the company. 2)= Inputs are provided throughout the season. 3)=Money is provided in advance from the company. 4)=Other (Please describe) If your answer to the above question is 1), what kinds of inputs does the company provide? Please circulate the appropriate choice/s below. 1)=Fertilizer 2)=Chemicals 3)=Seeds 4)=Firewood 5) Coal 6) Bale materials 7)Other ( )

	F6-8	Are the inputs provided by the company enough for your tobacco farming? Please tick Yes☐ or NO☐. If your answer to the above question is No, please explain the reason below.	
		Does the company offer you operating expense? Please tick Yes☐ or No☐ If your answer to the above question is Yes, what kind of operating expense does the company offer? Please circulate the appropriate choice/s below. 1)=Cultivating cost 2)=Labour Cost 3)=Transport Cost 4)=Other ( )	
	F6-9	Do you receive invoices for your input cost from the company? Please tick Yes☐ or No☐	
	F6-10	How do you receive income? 1)=By cash at the auction floor 2)=By mobile money transfer 3)=By Bank Transfer 4)=Other ( )	

	F6-11	Does the company charge any penalty on your tobacco sales? Please tick Yes□ or No□ (If your answer to this question is No, please continue to F7.) F5-7-1 If your answer to the above question is Yes, why does the company charge penalty? 1)= Shipping Delay 2)=Low quality tobacco 3)=Arrear from the previous season 4)=Other ( ) F-5-7-2 How much is charged as penalty? Please describe below. ( )
F7	Please answer the questions below about the price of your tobacco.	
	F7-1	Do you think the price of your tobacco given by the company is fair for you? Please tick Yes□ or No□
	F7-2	Would you claim for better price if you did not agree with the price of your tobacco given by the company? Please tick Yes□ or No□ (If your answer to this question is No, please continue to F8.) F7-2-1 If the above answer is Yes, who will you claim to? 1)=The Company 2)=TIMB 3)=Other ( ) F7-2-2 When you claim for better price, does the price normally improve? Please tick Yes□ or No□ F7-2-3 If the price did not improve, what will you do? 1)= Just accept the price given by the company. 2)=Try to negotiate until the price is increased. 3)=You will try to sell your tobacco at the auction floor.

		4)=Other ( )
F8	Would you want to continue the contract arrangement with the company in your future?	Please tick Yes□ or NO□. Please describe the reason below. _____ _____ _____
F9	Do you receive any financial support for farming from your family?	Please tick Yes □ or No□
F10	How do you prepare capital for your farming expense?	Company: $_____ _ or_____ % Family: $_____ _ or_____ % Personal Savings: $_____ _ or_____ % Other: $_____ _ or_____ %

Section G: Independent Tobacco Farmers (Please answer the questions in this section if you are growing tobacco independently (non-contracted).

<table>
<tr><th>No.</th><th>Question</th><th>Answer</th></tr>
<tr><td>G1</td><td>What is the advantage of growing tobacco independently?</td><td>Please describe below.
_____
_____</td></tr>
<tr><td>G2</td><td>Would you like to glow tobacco independently in your future?</td><td>Please tick the answer below.
1) Yes, I will grow tobacco independently.
2) No, I would like to start growing tobacco under contract arrangements.
3) Others (Please describe)</td></tr>
<tr><td>G3</td><td>Do you receive any financial support for farming from your family?</td><td>Please tick Yes ☐ or No☐</td></tr>
<tr><td>G4</td><td>How do you prepare capital for your farming expense?</td><td><table><tr><td>Family</td><td>Personal Savings</td><td>Other</td></tr><tr><td>$_____
or_____%</td><td>$_____
or_____%</td><td>$_____
or_____%</td></tr></table></td></tr>
</table>

H. Agricultural Production

H1 Please indicate your performance on tobacco farming in the table below.

Season	Cultivated area for tobacco	Number of bales produced	Selling price (Lowest)	Selling Price (Highest)	Revenue
Season 2010/2011	_____ha	_____bales	Lowest $_____ per bale	Highest $_____ per bale	$_____
Season 2011/2012	_____ ha	_____bales	Lowest $_____ per bale	Highest $_____ per bale	$_____
Season 2012/2013	_____ ha	_____bales	Lowest $_____ per bale	Highest $_____ per bale	$_____
Season 2013/2014	_____ ha	_____bales	Lowest $_____ per bale	Highest $_____ per bale	$_____
Season 2014/2015	_____ ha	_____bales	Lowest $_____ per bale	Highest $_____ per bale	$_____

H2 Have you grown tobacco independently, under contract, or both of them? Please indicate below.

Season 2010/2011	1)=Independent (Please specify the auction floor) 2)=Under Contract (Please specify the company/s)
Season 2011/2012	1)=Independent (Please specify the auction floor) 2)=Under Contract (Please specify the company/s)
Season 2012/2013	1)=Independent (Please specify the auction floor) 2)=Under Contract (Please specify the company/s)
Season 2013/2014	1)=Independent (Please specify the auction floor) 2)=Under Contract (Please specify the company/s)
Season 2014/2015	1)=Independent (Please specify the auction floor) 2)=Under Contract (Please specify the company/s)

No.	Question	Answer
H3	How many crops do you grow on your farm?	_____
H4	What kind of crops do you grow on your farm?	Please specify below. _____ _____
H5	Do you exercise crop rotation?	Please tick Yes□ or NO□. Please describe how you exercise crop rotation. _____ _____
H6	Did you improve the size of the hector you cultivate after you started growing tobacco?	Please tick Yes□ or NO□. Please describe which crop/s have been improved in terms of the size. _____ _____ _____
H7	Which tobacco barn do you use when you cure your tobacco?	Please circulate the appropriate answer below. 1)=Your own barn 2)=Communal barn 3)=Your neighbour or friends' barn 4)=Other ( )

H8 Please indicate your agricultural production except tobacco in the table below.

Crops	The area cultivated (ha)	Revenue in seasons
Maize	_____ha (Season 2010/2011)	$_____(Season 2010/ 2011)
	_____ ha (Season 2011/2012)	$_____ (Season 2011/2012)
	_____ ha (Season 2012/2013)	$_____(Season 2012/2013)
	_____ ha (Season 2013/2014)	$_____(Season 2013/2014)
	_____ha (Season 2014/2015)	$_____(Season 2014/2015)
Groundnuts	_____ha (Season 2010/2011)	$_____(Season 2010/ 2011)
	_____ ha (Season 2011/2012)	$_____ (Season 2011/2012)
	_____ ha (Season 2012/2013)	$_____(Season 2012/2013)
	_____ ha (Season 2013/2014)	$_____(Season 2013/2014)
	_____ha (Season 2014/2015)	$_____(Season 2014/2015)
Sugar Beans	_____ha (Season 2010/2011)	$_____(Season 2010/ 2011)
	_____ ha (Season 2011/2012)	$_____ (Season 2011/2012)
	_____ ha (Season 2012/2013)	$_____(Season 2012/2013)
	_____ ha (Season 2013/2014)	$_____(Season 2013/2014)
	_____ha (Season 2014/2015)	$_____(Season 2014/2015)
Other (please specify the crop)	_____ha (Season 2010/2011)	$_____(Season 2010/ 2011)
	_____ ha (Season 2011/2012)	$_____ (Season 2011/2012)
	_____ ha (Season 2012/2013)	$_____(Season 2012/2013)
	_____ ha (Season 2013/2014)	$_____(Season 2013/2014)
	_____ha (Season 2014/2015)	$_____(Season 2014/2015)

H9 Please indicate the cost of growing tobacco in the table below.

Insurance	Seed	Seedbeds	Land Preparation (PH/ TC)*	Fertilizer (Please specify _____) (PH/ TC)*	Chemicals (Please specify _____) (PH/ TC)*	Transport
$_____	$_____	Fertilizer $_____ Chemicals $_____	$_____	$_____ or _____Bags of Compound ___ /hector $_____ or _____Bags of AN/ hector	$_____ or _____Bags of _____ _____/ hector	$_____
Labour				Firewood/ Coal	Other	Other
				$_____	(Please Specify _____)	(Please Specify _____)
					$_____	$_____

Permanent worker	$_____×_____PPL
Casual Labour	
Land Preparation	$_____/day ×_____days×_____PPL
Planting	$_____/day ×_____days×_____PPL
Reaping	$_____/day ×_____days×_____PPL
Curing	$_____/day ×_____days×_____PPL
Baling	$_____/day ×_____days×_____PPL
Grading	$_____/day ×_____days×_____PPL

H10 Please indicate the cost of growing Maize, if you are growing, in the table below.

Land Preparation	Ploughing	Seeds	Fertilizer	Chemicals	Shelling	Transport
$_____	$_____ _	$_____ or _____bags	Compound___ _____Bags ($____) AN _____Bags ($_____)	$_____	$_____	$_____

Casual Labour		
Land Preparation	$_____/day ×_____days×_____PPL	$_____/ hector
Weeding	$_____/day ×_____days×_____PPL	$_____ ×_____lines ×_____PPL
Harvesting	$_____/day ×_____days×_____PPL	$_____/hector
Topdressing	$_____/day ×_____days×_____PPL	$_____/hector

Other (Please specify_____)	Other (Please specify_____)
$_____	$_____

H11 Please indicate the cost of growing other crops, if you are growing, in the table below.

Crop	Land Preparation (PH/ TC)*	Seeds (PH/ TC)*	Fertilizer (Please specify _____) (PH/ TC)*	Chemicals (Please specify _____) (PH/ TC)*	Labour	Transport	Other (Please specify _____)	Other (Please specify _____)
Groundnuts	$_____	$_____	$_____	$_____	$_____	$_____	$_____	$_____
Sugar Beans	$_____	$_____	$_____	$_____	$_____	$_____	$_____	$_____
Soya Beans	$_____	$_____	$_____	$_____	$_____	$_____	$_____	$_____
Other (_____)	$_____	$_____	$_____	$_____	$_____	$_____	$_____	$_____
Other (_____)	$_____	$_____	$_____	$_____	$_____	$_____	$_____	$_____

Section I：Capital Accumulation

<table>
<tr><td>No.</td><td>Question</td><td>Answer</td></tr>
<tr><td>I1</td><td>Did you invest on any asses from your tobacco income?</td><td>Please tick Yes☐ or NO☐.</td></tr>
<tr><td>I2</td><td colspan="2">Give an inventory of your asset base before and after faming tobacco. Please tick or specify in the boxes below.

The assets you had <u>before</u> started growing tobacco.
☐ Goat/s (How many?_____)
☐ Cattle (How many?_____)
☐ Kraal
☐ Chicken/s (How many?_____)
☐ Pig/s (How many?_____)
☐ Tobacco barn
☐ Tractor
☐ Borehole
☐ Irrigation System
☐ Car
☐ House
☐ TV
☐ Radio
☐ Sofa
☐ Other
(Please specify)

The assets you have <u>after</u> started growing tobacco.
☐ Goat/s (How many?_____)
☐ Cattle (How many?_____)
☐ Kraal
☐ Chicken/s (How many?_____)
☐ Pig/s (How many?_____)
☐ Tobacco barn
☐ Tractor
☐ Borehole
☐ Irrigation System
☐ Car
☐ House
(Any renovation? Yes☐ or No☐)
☐ TV
☐ Radio
☐ Sofa
☐ Other
(Please specify)</td></tr>
<tr><td>I3</td><td>Has your economic situation improved after you started growing tobacco?</td><td>Please tick Yes ☐ or No☐</td></tr>
<tr><td>I4</td><td>What do you mainly use the profit from farming for?</td><td>Please <u>number</u> by the order of your priority.
☐ School fees for your children
☐ Food consumption
☐ Farming input cost for the next season.
☐ Savings
☐ Other
( )</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
</table>

I5	What challenges do you face on farming?	Please describe 5 major challenges below. 1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____
I6	What developments have you made on your farm so far?	Please describe 5 major developments below. 1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____

End of the Questionnaire— Thank you very much.

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