# A Socio-economic History of Coffee Production in Mbinga District, Tanzania, c.1920 – 2015

by

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*Dissertation presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (History) in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at Stellenbosch University*

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**March 2021**

## Declaration

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## Abstract

The research focused on the foundation, development, fortunes, and socio-economic impact of the coffee industry on smallholder coffee producers in the Mbinga District for the period from 1920 to 2015. Drawing on archival and oral sources, it analysed the historical interactions between the coffee actors in the coffee industry, namely the state, the co-operatives, private coffee enterprises, and smallholder coffee producers. In the process, Gavin Fridell's "coffee statecraft" and James Scott's "weapon of the weak" approaches are utilised as theoretical points of departure.

While the colonial state laid the foundation for state control of the coffee industry through the co-operative marketing system, the postcolonial state's interventions shaped the trajectory of the coffee industry between the 1960s and 1990 under the Ujamaa policy. The European Economic Community grant for the coffee-improvement programmes between 1977 and the late 1980s influenced the expansion of the coffee industry in the Mbinga District. From the late 1980s, the Tanzanian government implemented economic liberalisation which marked the end of Ujamaa principles and the transition from state monopoly to the free-market system. The research demonstrates how the transition from the state monopoly of coffee production under co-operative societies to co-existence with the private enterprises has resulted in entrenched hegemonic and exploitative practices at the expense of smallholder coffee producers between the 1990s and 2015.

There is also a focus on the role of women in coffee production and marketing in the Mbinga District over time. While coffee has been regarded as "man's crop", the complexity of women's participation in coffee production and marketing is revealed in the findings. This thesis argues that the history of the coffee industry in the Mbinga District evolved through the interaction between the state, the coffee producers, co-operatives and later private coffee enterprises, all of which have impacted on the socio-economic livelihood and fortunes of the smallholder coffee producers in a variety of ways.

**Keywords**: Tanzania; Mbinga; coffee; co-operatives; state; Matengo Highlands; Ngaka; Ujamaa; villagisation; MBICU; smallholder coffee producers; women.

**Opsomming**

Die navorsing het gefokus op die ontstaan, ontwikkeling, wedervaringe en sosio-ekonomiese impak van die koffie-industrie op die kleinboer-koffieprodusente in die Mbinga-distrik van 1920 tot 2015. Die historiese interaksie tussen die rolspelers in die koffie-industrie, naamlik die staat, die koöperatiewe verenigings, privaat koffiemaatskappye en die kleinboer-koffieprodusente is ontleed met behulp van argivale en mondelinge bronne. In die proses is Gavin Fridell se "coffee statecraft" en James Scott se "weapons of the weak" as teoretiese vertrekpunte gebruik.

Die grondslag vir die staatsbeheer van die koffie-industrie in Tanzanië deur middel van die koöperatiewe bemarkingstelsel is tydens die koloniale tydperk gelê. In die post-koloniale tydperk, dit is van die 1960's tot 1990, het staatsinmenging die koffie-industrie deur middel van die Ujamaa-beleid beïnvloed en gevorm. Die Europese Ekonomiese Gemeenskap se skenking vir die finansiering van koffie-verbeteringsprogramme tussen 1977 en die laat 1980's het die uitbreiding van die koffie-industrie in die Mbinga-distrik beïnvloed. Sedert die laat 1980's het die regering van Tanzanië 'n beleid van ekonomiese liberalisering ingevoer. Dit het die Ujamaa-beginsels vervang en 'n oorgang van staatsmonopolie tot 'n vryemarkstelsel ingelui. Die navorsing het aangetoon dat hierdie oorgang van staatsmonopolie oor koffieproduksie onder koöperatiewe verenigings tot 'n stelsel van medebestaan met nuwe privaat maatskappye tussen die 1990's en 2015 gelei het tot die verskansing van bestaande uitbuitende en dominerende praktyke tot nadeel van die koffie-kleinboere.

Die rol van vroue in koffieproduksie en bemarking in die Mbinga-distrik en hoe dit mettertyd verander het, kom ook onder bespreking. Navorsing het getoon dat, ten spyte van die feit dat koffie as 'n "man's crop" beskou is, vroue se aandeel in koffieproduksie en bemarking baie meer kompleks is as wat algemeen aanvaar is. Die proefskrif argumenteer dus dat die geskiedenis van die koffie-industrie in Mbinga-distrik ontwikkel het deur 'n interaksie tussen die staat, koffieprodusente, koöperatiewe en later ook privaat koffiemaatskappye wat die bestaansmoontlikhede en ervarings van koffie-kleinboere op verskeie maniere beïnvloed en bepaal het.

**Sleutelwoorde**: Tanzanië; Mbinga; koöperatiewe verenigings; staat; Matengo Hoogland; Ngaka; Ujamaa; hervestiging van mense in nuwe dorpe ("vigilisation"); kleinboer-koffieprodusente; vroue.

**Acknowledgements**

The writing of this thesis was made possible with support from supervisors, individual people and institutions. I pursued this study with a Lisa Maskell Fellowship under the Gerda Henkel Foundation at the Graduate School of Arts and Social Sciences of Stellenbosch University. I want to acknowledge their funding support through the Partnership for Africa's Next Generation of Academics (PANGeA).

I would like to express my enormous gratitude to my two supervisors, firstly Dr Anton Ehlers, who tirelessly gave his guidance, mentorship, encouragement, and support throughout my study period at Stellenbosch University. I sincerely appreciate his role in encouraging me to participate in various seminars and workshops within and outside Stellenbosch University, where I presented my papers which form substantive parts of this thesis. I will always be indebted to him for his guidance. A very special thank you for the support from my second supervisor, Dr Hezron Kangalawe, from the University of Dar es Salaam, for his guidance during my study. His familiarity with Tanzanian archival documentation helped me to obtain as much as possible from the archives.

I thankfully acknowledge the assistance I got from the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM), my working station. The UDSM supported me with a three-year study leave that enabled me to pursue my studies in South Africa. Financially, the university supported me to conclude my six months of field-work in Tanzania. It also assisted me in finding permits for my research in the Tanzania National Archives (TNA) in Dar es Salaam, Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operative Development in Dodoma, Kilimanjaro, and the Ruvuma regions. I acknowledge the role played by senior scholars of the University of Dar es Salaam to get the scholarships, especially Dr Rose Upor (a Principal of the College of Humanities) and Dr Oswald Masebo (a former Head of the Department of History).

Many thanks for the support of the staff members at TNA where I collected much of the archival data about coffee production in the Mbinga District during the colonial period. My gratitude to the Director of the Archives for the permits and support in redirecting me to the National Record Centre (NRC) in Dodoma, where I obtained more of the post-colonial archival data. At the NRC, I want to acknowledge the support I received from all staff members during my research in Dodoma. At the Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operative Development, Mr Kanuth Komba (an Assistant Director of the Crop Development Division) was very useful in facilitating my permits to the Tanzania Coffee Board (TCB) in Kilimanjaro and the Tanzania Coffee Research Institutes (TaCRI) in Lyamungu Station, the Hai District in Kilimanjaro and the Ugano Sub-station in the Mbinga District, Ruvuma region.

A heartfelt thank you for the support from the coffee enterprises in the Mbinga District, Dan and Associate Enterprises Limited, Coffee Management Services and Mbinga Coffee Curing Company Limited. Moreover, I am deeply grateful to the coffee producers in the Mbinga District for the time they sacrificed to talk to me during my field-work. I appreciate their hospitality, their trust and all the gifts I received during my visit.

I want to acknowledge the invaluable support from members of the postgraduate students in the Department of History at Stellenbosch University. Through the History Friday Morning Seminar (HFM) series, I was able to present drafts of my chapters and get feedback from the members. My special thanks to the members of HFM led by Prof. Sandra Swart and the team, consisting of Dr E. Doro, Dr Dande, Lloyd Maphosa, Bryan Kauma, Tinashe Takuva and all members of the HFM for their useful comments. Special appreciation to Leschelle and Melvyn from the History Department.

My sincerest thank you to my family in the Mbinga District for their spiritual, social and emotional support. Special thanks to my sister Rehema Samwel Komba together with her husband (Essau Alphonce Mbepera) for taking care of my two lovely children during my three-year absence. Moreover, I would like to thank my children, Jackline Yovitha Komba and Kelvine Kennedy Komba, for their patience and for adapting to a new lifestyle during my absence. To them, I would say *kambi popote*.

## Dedications

To my loving and supportive family – Jackline and Kelvine, who stood by me through this journey, nawapenda sana!

**Contents**

**List of Abbreviations**

| | |
|---|---|
| ACA | Agricultural Credit Agency |
| AKSCG | Association of Kilimanjaro Specialty Coffee Growers |
| AMCOS | Agricultural Marketing Co-operative Societies |
| APA | Archive of Peramiho Abbey |
| CAT | Coffee Authority of Tanzania |
| CBD | Coffee Berry Diseases |
| CDF | Colonial Development Fund |
| CDP | Coffee Development Programme |
| CIP | Coffee Improvement Programme |
| CMS | Coffee Management Services |
| CPT | Coffee Partnership for Tanzania |
| CPU | Central Pulpery Unit |
| CRDB | Co-operative Rural Development Bank |
| CUT | Co-operative Union of Tanganyika |
| DAE | Dan and Associates Enterprises |
| DOAG | Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft |
| DOAPG | Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Plantagengesellschaft |
| EDF | European Development Fund |
| EEC | European Economic Community |
| FLO | Fairtrade Labelling Organization |
| ICA | International Coffee Agreement |
| ICO | International Coffee Organization |
| KNCU | Kilimanjaro Native Co-operative Union |
| KNPA | Kilimanjaro Native Planters Association |
| LANCOT | Lake Nyasa Coffee Traders |
| MANCU | Matengo Native Co-operative Union |
| MBICU | Mbinga Co-operative Union |

| | |
|---|---|
| MBIFACU | Mbinga Farmer's Co-operative Union |
| MCCCO | Mbinga Coffee Curing Company |
| MDC | Mbinga District Council |
| MVIWAMBI | Mtandao wa Vikundi Vya Wakulima Mbinga |
| MVIWATA | Mtandao wa Vikundi Vya Wakulima Tanzania |
| NBC | National Bank of Commerce |
| NDCA | National Development Credit Agency |
| NGOMAT | Ngoni Matengo Co-operative Marketing Union |
| NRC | National Record Centre |
| OGL | Open General License |
| RCU | Ruvuma Co-operative Union |
| RDA | Ruvuma Development Association |
| RFA | Rain Forest Alliance |
| RURECU | Ruvuma Region Co-operative Union |
| SAP | Structural Adjustment Programme |
| STABEX | Export Stabilization Scheme |
| TaCRI | Tanzania Coffee Research Institute |
| TACTA | Tanganyika Co-operative Agency |
| TANU | Tanganyika African National Union |
| TCB | Tanzania Coffee Board |
| TCCCO | Tanzania Coffee Curing Company |
| TCGA | Tanzania Coffee Growers Association |
| TCMB | Tanzania Coffee Marketing Board |
| TNA | Tanzania National Archives |
| UDSM | University of Dar es Salaam |
| URT | United Republic of Tanzania |

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# Chapter One

## Introduction

### 1.1. Introduction

Coffee is one of the favourite drinks in the world. Its use ranges from households, learning institutions, subways, workshops, drive-ins, and even working places. It has dominated people's cultures to the extent that it is normal to hear things like "coffee-break", "evening coffee", "coffee talk" during academic engagements such as conferences or workshops. While the history of coffee production has become important worldwide, it also gives historians the chance to navigate the social history of the stakeholders – the farmers. Therefore, this study uses coffee production in the Mbinga District to navigate the more in-depth history of smallholder coffee producers in the Matengo Highlands in the Mbinga District, Southern Tanzania, historically from the 1920s to 2015. The history of coffee has intertwined with the lives of these people since the beginning of the 20th century. Coffee has been the primary source of income in the Mbinga District. Whatever affects the coffee industry directly or indirectly affects the livelihoods of coffee producers. As coffee producers, they have experienced the influence of the colonial and post-colonial states in the production and marketing of this "global product" – coffee. This study researches the socio-economic history of coffee production in the Mbinga District.

Coffee is one of the most valuable agricultural commodities in the world. It is estimated that that over 25 million smallholder farmers produce 80% of the coffee in the world.[1] Its history began in the 14th century when a wild Arabica coffee was discovered in Ethiopia.[2] By the end of the 18th century, coffee became one of the most valuable commodities in the world. In German East Africa,[3] Arabica coffee was believed to be introduced by French Roman Catholic

[1] 2016 Fair Trade annual report available at www.fairtrade.org.uk/Farmers-and-Workers/coffee, Accessed on 5 April 2018.

[2] M. Tuchscherer, "Coffee in the Red Sea Area from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century," in W.G. Clarence-Smith and S. Topik, (eds.), *The Global Coffee Economy in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, 1500-1989*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 51.

[3] German East Africa comprised of Rwanda, Burundi, and Tanganyika from 1885 to 1918. After 1918, Burundi and Rwanda were placed under Belgian mandate, and Tanganyika was placed under British mandate of the

Missionaries of the Holy Ghost Fathers in the second half of the 19th century.[4] By the turn of the 20th century, coffee experiments proved successful, and the coffee-growing knowledge started to be imparted to the church followers.

During the German colonial period, the earliest efforts consisted of experimenting with different crops in the coastal areas before expanding to the hinterland.[5] Their focus was on the plantation economy. The German East African Plantation Company (Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Plantagengesellschaft) or DOAPG introduced the first tobacco and later coffee plantations at Lewa in Bonde in 1887. The German East African Company (DOAG) established another two coffee plantations in Derema and Nguelo in Usambara in 1887.[6]

Labour issues in the coastal plantations forced the German colonial government to introduce measures to solve it. Taxation was one of the important measures of pushing Africans to provide labour in colonial enterprises and adjust themselves to the new demands. It was also aimed at raising state revenue. The first Taxation Ordinance was issued in November 1897 and became effective in 1898.[7] House and hut taxes were introduced and were based on the number of dwellings. The amount per house or hut was 6 to 12 rupees in urban and 3 rupees in rural areas.[8] With the increasing demands of taxes, people were forced to intensify the collection of wild products such as beeswax and wild rubber. They worked as porters, labourers in the plantations, in railway construction sites, or in colonial provincial or district administrative headquarters, popularly called *Bomas*[9], to get money for taxes. Most of the early colonial

League of Nations and later the United Nations. In 1961Tanganyika got its independence, and in 1964 united with Zanzibar to form the United Republic of Tanzania.

[4] The Holy Ghost Fathers started their missionary work in Zanzibar in 1863 from where they established various mission stations in the mainland including Bagamoyo, Mandera, Mhonda Morogoro, Kilema and Bura; A.J. Kieran, "The Origin of Commercial Arabica Coffee Production in East Africa", *African Historical Studies,* The African Studies Centre of Boston University, 2, 1, (1969), 51-67.

[5] J. Koponen, *Development for Exploitation: German Colonial Policies in Mainland Tanzania, 1884 – 1914,* (Helsinki/Hamburg, 1994), 204.

[6] *Ibid.*, 215.

[7] *Ibid.*, 216.

[8] J. Koponen, *Development for Exploitation*, 216. Rupees were Indian currency used in both mainland Tanganyika and Zanzibar islands in the late 19th century. Germany adopted rupees between the 1890s and 1905 as the German East African rupee. The value of rupees to the German Marks was fixed in 1905 when three rupees were exchanged to four German Marks whereby 15 rupees had a value of 20 German Marks or one UK pound; J. Iliffe, *Tanganyika Under German Rule, 1905-1912,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), ix.

[9] *Boma* is a Swahili word referring to a fort or government offices.

economic units were established along the railway line or the coast for easy shipping. The southern part of Tanzania, including the modern Mbinga District – the setting of the study at hand – was designated as a labour reserve area.[10]

Although the German colonial government under the Albrecht Freiherr von Rechenberg's governorship (1905–1911) changed its policy of over-relying on plantation agriculture by allowing African commercial crop cultivation in what he called a "gradual expansion and reform of indigenous agriculture,"[11] the southern part remained primarily a labour-supplying zone with no strong commercial crop. Its remoteness and transportation challenges could be the reasons for the German cessation of experimenting with cash crops in the region. The Benedictine missionaries were the only group that introduced coffee and wheat as a commercial crop to be spread to their followers.[12] In Southern Tanzania, missionaries did not establish large commercial farms compared to Northern Tanzania, particularly the Kilimanjaro region.[13]

During the British colonial period (1920–1961), coffee as a commercial crop was officially introduced in the Mbinga District.[14] In comparison with other Arabica coffee-growing areas, Mbinga seems to be a latecomer in the arena of coffee production.[15] The Mbinga District, specifically in the Matengo Highlands,[16] experienced a remarkable expansion of coffee production from the 1950s onwards due to increasing demand in the world markets. By the end

[10] Labour reserves were areas with no strong economic activities such as the production of food and cash crops. These were mainly associated with the poor climatic zones such as central Tanzania but also remoteness – a result of the absence of better transport. Mbinga was one of them; J. Iliffe, "Agricultural change in Modern Tanganyika", *Historical Association of Tanzania, 10*, (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1971), 30-33.
[11] J. Iliffe, *Tanganyika Under German Rule, 1905-1912*, 49-81.
[12] Fr. Ludger Breindl was the first missionary to introduce wheat in Umatengo in 1915 at Litembo; L. Doer, O.S.B., (ed.), *Peramiho 1898 – 1998: in the Service of Missionary Church*, Vol. 1, (Ndanda – Peramiho: Benedictine Publications, 1998), 81.
[13] A.J. Kieran, "The Origin of Commercial Arabica Coffee Production in East Africa", 64-67.
[14] J. Iliffe, *The Modern History of Tanganyika*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 278.
[15] Chief Fumba of Kilema (Kilimanjaro) started the coffee field in 1901; A.J. Kieran, "The Origin of Commercial Arabica in East Africa", 61. Coffee as a commercial crop was introduced in the Mbinga District in the 1920s under the British colonial government; J. Iliffe, *The Modern History of Tanganyika*, 287.
[16] The Matengo Highlands is an area with hilly highlands and an altitude range of 2 000 meters maximum, and an average annual rainfall between 1 200 and1 400mm. The soil is dark brown to reddish-brown clay loam and clay sandy loam with the *Hyparrhenia parinari* wooded grassland vegetation. All these attributes have made it to be a suitable area for growing Arabica coffee; United Republic of Tanzania (URT), *Ruvuma Socio-economic Profile,* (Dar es Salaam: The planning Commission & Ruvuma Regional Commissioner's Office, 1997), 20.

of British colonial rule in 1961, coffee production had become popular among the African smallholder farmers of the Mbinga District. The number of coffee growers increased from eight in 1929 to 4 420 in 1952.[17] Coffee from the Mbinga District was traded through the co-operative societies, including the Ngaka society formed in 1934[18] under the auspice of the Ngoni-Matengo Co-operative Union formed in 1936 by the colonial government.[19] The amount of land under coffee cultivation expanded, mostly under the tenure of the local population since there were neither settlers nor coffee plantations in the Mbinga District. Coffee remained the most important source of income in the district throughout the colonial period. This thesis, among others, seeks to examine the role of the colonial state in the foundation and development of the coffee industry in the Mbinga District, Tanzania.

During the post-colonial period (from 1962 onwards), various new policies were introduced, such as the *Ujamaa*[20] policy of 1962 that was cemented by the Arusha Declaration in 1967, Villagisation policies (1973–1976)[21], the Structural Adjustment Policies of the 1980s, and the coffee market liberalisation from the 1994/95 coffee season. These policies had a multi-layered impact on the production of coffee in the Mbinga District. The coffee production in the district experienced several changes – in both production and marketing. Primary co-operative societies and co-operative unions under the Coffee Marketing Board were responsible for coffee production (input and credit provision) and marketing between 1962 and 1975. The production of coffee stagnated in the 1970s, and the quality of the coffee produced in the District declined too. The occurrence of Coffee Berry Disease (CBD)[22] that spread in all coffee

[17] D. Schmied, *Subsistence Cultivation, Market production and Agricultural Development in Southern Tanzania,* Bayreuth African Studies (Eckhard Breitinger: Bayreuth University, 1989), 72.
[18] J. Iliffe, *The Modern History of Tanganyika*, 294.
[19] Tanzanian National Archive (TNA), 504/9/8, Coffee, "Marketing of Matengo Native Grown Coffee", Folio 43; S. Ponte, *Farmers and Markets in Tanzania*: *How Policy Reforms Affect Rural Livelihoods in Africa*, (Oxford: James Currey, 2002), 41.
[20] *Ujamaa* is a Swahili word that represented a socialist ideology in the post-colonial Tanzania between the 1960s and early 1980s; J.K. Nyerere, "Ujamaa –The Basis of African Socialism" in J. K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Unity/ Uhuru na Umoja: A Selection from Writings and Speeches 1952–65*, (Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1966), 162.
[21] Villagisation was the process of forcing people to live in the planned villages for "development" purposes. Villagisation was similar to the "collectivization campaigns" as in the Soviet Union 1928–1940, and China between 1952 and 1961; H. Holland "Soviet Agricultural with or without collectivization, 1928–1940", *Slavic Review*, 47 (2), (1988), 203–216; J.Y. Lin, "Collectivization and China's Agricultural Crisis in 1959–1961", *Journal of Political Economy*, 98 (6), (1990), 1228-1252.
[22] The spores of the fungus Colletotrichum kahawae are spread to other coffee plants by rain.

producing areas in Tanzania in the 1970s and poor coffee husbandry were among the reasons for the decline. This thesis also explores state intervention in the coffee industry and its socio-economic impact on the smallholder producers in the district.

On the marketing side, from 1976 to 1983 the co-operatives were replaced by the Coffee Authority of Tanzania. However, due to the economic crisis which faced the country between the late 1970s and 1985, the co-operatives were re-instated in 1984. The coffee industry in the Mbinga District survived through the coffee development programme (1977–1986) that was jointly financed by the European Economic Community (EEC) and the Tanzanian government. In this respect, this thesis examines the role of the post-colonial state in shaping the trajectory of the coffee industry in the Mbinga District between the 1960s and 1990, and its impact on the socio-economic aspects of the smallholder coffee producers in the district. Compared to other coffee-producing areas in Tanzania, the Mbinga District seemed to be consistent in producing coffee even in periods when the world was experiencing a decline in price.[23] This study is also an attempt to explain the persistence of coffee production in the district. For instance, following the collapse of Mbinga Co-operative Union (MBICU) in 1999 and the decline of the world coffee price in 2008, coffee producers still embarked on the expansion of coffee fields.

Globally, from the end of the 1980s, the coffee industry experienced many changes. The focus was on sustainable coffee production based on organic and eco-friendly production, fair trade and the operations of major coffee-trading and branding companies including Nespresso and Starbucks.[24] The standard, certification, and labelling systems were developed targeting the coffee market. The operation of sustainable coffee production focused on economic, social and

[23] M. F. Lyakurwa, "The Decline of Coffee Prices and Farmers' income Diversification Strategies: A Case Study of Rombo District in Kilimanjaro Tanzania", MA Thesis, University of Dar es Salaam, (2007); E. Kabwoto, "Causes of Decline in Major Crop Production in Bukoba: Banana, Coffee and Tea", MA Thesis, University of Dar es Salaam, (1976); J. Joseph, "Kilimanjaro farmers embrace Vanilla", *The Citizen*, Sunday, 22 October, 2017, available at www.thecitizen.co.tz accessed on 16 April 2018. The north and western coffee-growing areas experienced competition from other crops including Sunflower and Vanilla. This, as well as a general discouragement of coffee farmers, has led to the uprooting of coffee trees.

[24] D. Giovannuci and F. J. Koekoek, *The State of Sustainable Coffee: A Study of Twelve Major Markets*, (London and Winnipeg: International Institute of Sustainable Development, International Coffee Organization, United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 2003), 15.

environmental aspects in the coffee industry. Labels like Fairtrade, Rainforest Alliances, 4C (Common Code for Coffee Communities), and Utz dominated this period. This thesis traces the involvement of smallholder coffee producers in certification schemes and its socio-economic impact on their livelihood.

From 1994 to 2017, Tanzania's coffee-marketing system was operated through three different channels: the internal market where farmers sell their produce at the farm gate to private buyers, farmer groups, and co-operatives; through coffee auctions which were conducted weekly at Moshi-Kilimanjaro (the headquarter of the Tanzania Coffee Board) where licensed exporters bought coffee from suppliers, including farmer groups, co-operatives, and private buyers; and through direct export where growers of premium top-grade coffee were allowed to bypass the auctions and sell their coffee directly.[25] In the 2018/19 season, the coffee-marketing system was co-operative-based only with the Agricultural Marketing Cooperative Societies (AMCOS), collecting coffee from producers and selling it through auctions in Moshi. Private coffee buyers were not allowed to buy from smallholder producers. The coffee free-marketing system exposed the co-operative unions and societies to the competition with private coffee buyers. This thesis uses the Mbinga Co-operative Union (MBICU) to examine the fluctuating fortune of the coffee industry in Tanzania.

Tanzania has about 265 000 hectares of arable land under coffee cultivation, supporting some 450 000 households.[26] Smallholder farmers with an average of 0,5 hectares contribute over 90% of the country's production, while the remaining 10% of coffee comes from the estates.[27] In Tanzania, coffee is produced in three main geographical areas: Kilimanjaro, Arusha, Tanga, and Mara in the north; Kigoma and Kagera in the west; and Mbeya, Iringa, and Ruvuma in the

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[25] www.coffeeboard.or.tz/tzcoffee_%20profile.php, accessed on 22 May 2018.
[26] Tanzania Coffee Board Report available online at www.coffeeboard.or.tz. Accessed on 11 March 2018.
[27] B.D. Parrish, V.A. Luzadis, W.R. Bentley, "What Tanzania's Coffee Farmers Can Teach the World: A Performance-Based Look at the Fair Trade-Free Trade Debate", *Sustainable Development* 13, 3, (2005), 179. The estates were owned by the European settlers during the colonial period. After independence, particularly in 1973, some of the coffee estates were nationalized to be owned by primary societies while the remainder were run by the private individuals or companies under the Tanzania Coffee Growers Association; J. Baffes, Tanzania's Coffee Sector: Constraints and Challenges", *Journal of International Development*, 17, 1, (2005), 24.

south. Coffee accounted for about $162 million of Tanzania's export earnings in 2015[28] and during the 2015/16 coffee season, produced a total of 60 188 metric tons of coffee,[29] while in 2017/18, Tanzania produced about 43 625 metric tons of coffee.[30] Tanzania exports 90% of its coffee, while 10% is consumed locally.[31] This shows that the coffee culture in Tanzania focused mainly on export and not local consumption. In the International Coffee Organization (ICO), Tanzanian coffee was categorised in a group of Mild Arabica, named "Colombian Milds", which comprised of Colombia, Kenya and Tanzania.[32] Major markets are Japan and Germany (for Arabica), Italy, Belgium, and France (for Robusta). The focus of this thesis is on the Mbinga District that annually produces about 10 000 tons Mild Arabica.[33]

### 1.2. Mbinga District: Location and People

The research for this thesis was conducted in the Mbinga District, one of the six districts in the Ruvuma region. Other districts are Namtumbo, Nyasa, Songea Rural, Songea Urban and Tunduru. The Mbinga District is situated at the South West of the Region, bordered by the Songea District to the East, Nyasa District to the South and West and Ludewa District to the north. The district was established in 1963. During the colonial period, the District used to be

[28] G. Lamtey, "Coffee Board looks for east in drive to access new markets", *The Citizen*, Wednesday, 23 March 2016, accessed from www.thecitizen.co.tz , on 28 March 2018.

[29] Tanzania Coffee Board, "Midterm Evaluation Report of the Tanzania Coffee Industry Development Strategy 2011–2021" (May 2017), available at www.coffeeboard.or.tz. Accessed on 11 March 2018.

[30] In 2017/18 coffee production seemed to decline. One of the reasons was the withdrawal of some of the smallholder coffee producers from coffee production; S. Maghimbi, "Recent changes in crop patterns in the Kilimanjaro region of Tanzania: The decline of coffee and the rise of maize and rice", *African Study Monographs, Suppl*. 35, (2007), 73-83.

[31] G. Sembony, "Tanzanians only drink 10 percent of coffee grown locally", *The Citizen*, Monday, 6 June 2016, available at www.thecitizen.co.tz/News/Tanzanians-only-drink-10-per-cent-of-coffee-grown-locally/1840340-3234226-7m38dxz/index.html, accessed 22 May, 2018.

[32] Coffee is divided into Arabica and Robusta species (*Coffea arabica and Coffea canephora*). The coffee cherry can be processed through 'dry' or 'wet' (washed) methods. The dry method involves the drying of the ripened coffee cherries to get 'estate coffee' or *buni* (a Swahili word), while the wet method involves the pulping, fermenting, washing, and drying of the coffee cherries to get 'parchment coffee'. Both 'estate' and 'parchment' coffees pass through a curing process to get 'a clean or green coffee' for export or roasting for local consumption. The Arabica coffee produced by the wet method is called 'Mild Arabica' and 'Hard Arabica' results from dry methods. Brazil and Ethiopia are the major producers of the Hard Arabica, termed as 'Brazilian Naturals'. Robusta coffee is mainly processed through dry methods. The International Coffee Organization has divided coffee into Colombian Milds, other Milds, Brazilian Naturals, and Robusta; www.ico.org/coffee_prices.asp?section=statistics accessed 22 May 2018; J.G. Brown, "Agro-industry Profiles: Coffee", Economic Development Institute (EDI) Working Papers. Washington DC. World Bank, 1991, 3-7.

[33] United Republic of Tanzania (URT), *Tanzania Coffee Industry Development Strategy 2011- 2021*, (Tanzania Coffee Board, 2012), 10.

part of the Songea District in the former southern province. After the independence of Tanzania in 1961, new administrative regions, as well as Regional Commissioners, were created under State Circular No. 14 of 1962. In 1963, the Ruvuma region was made a full separate region with its headquarters at Songea Urban, and Mbinga became one of its districts.[34] In 2012, the lakeshore area of Mbinga was reduced to create the Nyasa District.

The Mbinga District covers an area of 7 585 square km, divided into six divisions, 48 wards, 167 villages and 1 086 hamlets with 75 499 households.[35] The district operates under two Councils: The Mbinga Town Council consists of one division (namely Mbinga Urban) with 19 wards in a 904 km$^2$ area, and the Mbinga District Council consists of five divisions, namely Hagati (1 010 km$^2$), Kigonsera (1 876 km$^2$), Mbuji (878 km$^2$), Mkumbi (913 km$^2$), and Namswea (1 924 km$^2$) with 29 wards.[36] In both Councils, with the exception of Kigonsera and Namswea who produces coffee in low quantity, the remaining divisions are the main coffee-growing areas in the Mbinga District and are commonly referred to as the Matengo Highlands. This is because coffee does not grow everywhere – it requires certain climatic and topographic conditions.

According to the 2012 National Population and Settlement Census, the district has a total population of 353 683 people consisting of 172 402 males and 181 281 females.[37] The district is sparsely populated, except in the Matengo Highlands where there is a high population density of 118 people per km$^2$ compared to the district population density of 48 people per km$^2$. The main ethnic groups in the district are Matengo, Ngoni, and Nindi. The Matengo are mainly found in the Matengo Highlands and a few in the lowlands. The Ngoni and Nindi, who are few, are found in the lowlands of the Mbinga Town Division (Kihungu and Mpepai Wards) and also in Kigonsera and Namswea Divisions.[38]

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[34] University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM), Bureau of Resource Assessment and Land-use Planning, "Economic Report of Ruvuma Region", Research Report 36, (1971), 1-2.
[35] Mbinga District Council (MDC), "The Rolling Strategic Plan 2015/2016 -2019/2020", December 2014, 1.
[36] (MDC), "The Rolling Strategic Plan", 2.
[37] United Republic of Tanzania (URT), *2012 Population and Housing Census: Population Distribution by Administrative Areas*, (Dar es Salaam: National Bureau of Statistics, 2013), 99.
[38] (MDC), "The Rolling Strategic Plan 2015/2016 -2019/2020", 2.

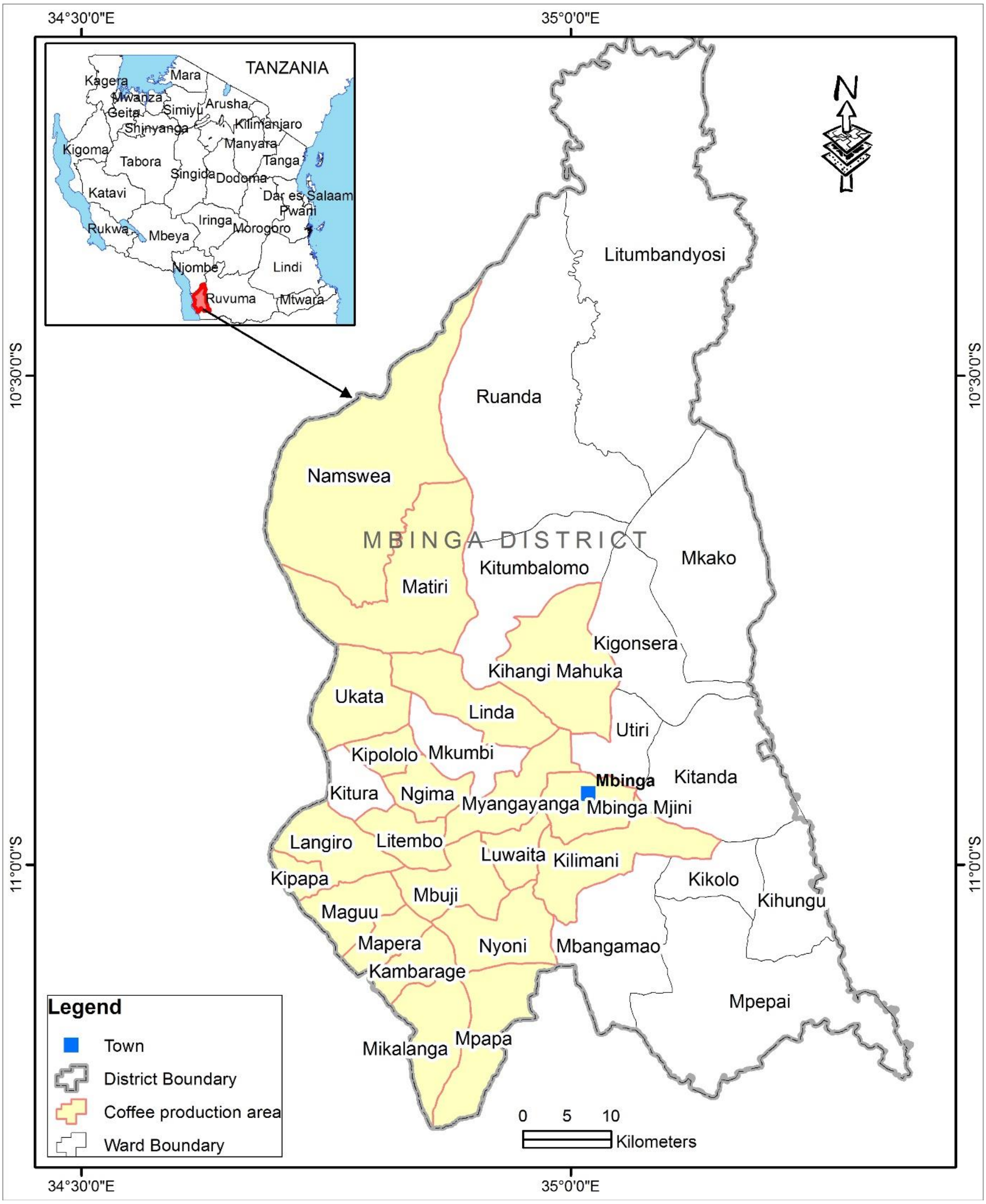


**Figure 1**: Mbinga District: Administrative and Coffee-producing Areas[39]

[39] (UDSM), Geographical Information System -GIS, UDSM, 2018

### 1.2.1. Climate and Agro-ecological Zone

The rainfall pattern in the district is unimodal[40] with an average annual rainfall of 1 224mm.[41] The wet season extends from December to April leaving the rest of the year dry. The growing period extends over six to seven months with the exception of Hagati Plateau, which extends up to nine months. The onset of the rains is reliable and begins typically at the end of November. The average maximum temperature is between 29 ˚C and 31 ˚C, while the average minimum is between 19 ˚C and 23 ˚C. Sometimes the temperature in Matengo Highlands goes down to 13 ˚C during the cold season in June, July, and August.

Mbinga District is divided into two agro-ecological zones, namely Matengo Highlands and the Lower Plateau. The Matengo Highlands are divided into four sub-zones namely the Mountain Area, the Hagati Plateau, and the North and South Rolling Hills. The North and South Rolling Hills are the two largest agro-ecological zones in the Matengo Highlands. The elevation lies between 1 100 metres and 1 400 metres above sea level. Two-thirds of the area is devoted to agriculture; the remaining area is mainly wooded grasslands, degraded Miombo Woodlands and Eucalyptus plantations on top of deforested hills. The coffee-growing area is concentrated on such hill slopes. Other crops grown in this area include maize, finger millet, sweet potatoes, beans, bananas, wheat, and tobacco. In the South Rolling Hills, only one-third of the area is cultivated, leaving other areas with wooded grassland and secondary Miombo woodlands. The average altitude of this zone is 1 200 metres above sea level, slightly lower than that of the North Rolling Hills. There are more flat valleys in the South Rolling Hills where finger millet is produced by clearing pit cultivation, ridge, or ridge cultivation for maize and beans. Coffee growing is not common in the South Rolling Hills because of unreliable rainfall and higher temperatures.

The mountain zone is characterized by a strongly dissected mountain range and narrow valleys where the elevation ranges from 1 400 to 2 000 metres above the sea level. The average annual

[40] The annual distribution of the rainfall has one peak – between December and April.
[41] (MDC), "The Rolling strategic plan 2015/16-2019/2020", 1.

rainfall is between 1 200 and 1 400mm.[42] The original vegetation was most probably mountain forest which was destroyed except for a small forest reserve. This is the most densely populated area in the Matengo Highlands. The area is called the Heart of Matengo Highlands where people are involved in a unique grass fallow system known as “Ngoro” or the Matengo Pits system, which is essentially a tied ridge system with strict crop rotation. The system ensures that, during heavy rains, water is trapped in these pits and seeps into the ground, thereby minimizing runoff and soil erosion. The system also ensures soil fertility. The Matengo Highlands is the primary coffee-growing area in the district.

The Hagati Plateau is a dissected plateau with an average elevation of 1 250 metres. It is located between the mountain zone and an escarpment facing down to the Livingstone Mountains. This area is quite similar to the mountain area. Unlike other areas where deep red soils are common, the soils of Hagati Plateau are shallow soils developed in granite. The area is favourable for coffee, maize, beans, finger millet, wheat, and sweet potato production.

The Lower Plateau occupies the eastern side of the North and South Rolling Hills. Altitude ranges from 900 to 1 200 metres above sea level. Further east to the Ruvuma River valley it is almost flat. The area is covered with Miombo woodland. The major crops grown in the zone include maize, beans, and finger millet.

[42] United Republic of Tanzania (URT), *Ruvuma Socio-economic Profile*, (Dar es Salaam: The planning Commission & Ruvuma Regional Commissioner’s Office, 1997), 20.

### 1.2.2. Mbinga during the German Colonial Period (the 1890s to 1920)

Following the Berlin Conference of 1884–85, Tanganyika was proclaimed as German East Africa.[43] The period from 1885 to 1890 was a period of "theoretical administration"[44] with the German's interests coastal-centred as previously explained. This attitude changed after the outbreak of coastal resistance in 1889, and they extended their administration and occupation inland. Before the German occupation, the southern part of the territory (the modern-day Songea and Mbinga Districts) were commonly referred to as Ungoni and Umatengo respectively. The Songea District was established in 1905, after the German occupation in 1897.[45]

In the Matengo area, the German colonial government divided the area into two parts, one under Tukuyu (Neu-Langerburg) and the other under the Songea District. The German occupation of the Matengo area did not go without resistance, especially with the introduction of forced labour and taxation. The most memorable incident was that of March 1902, when the inhabitants refused to pay taxes and burnt down the school built by the Benedictine Fathers at Litembo.[46] The German colonial government sent a punitive expedition to Litembo, and the area was placed under colonial rule from 1904. In 1905 both Ungoni and Umatengo formed the Songea District. During the Maji Maji War (1905–1907), Matengo did not participate as

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[43] The idea of an international conference to settle territorial disputes arising from European activities in the Congo region was first suggested by Portugal out of fear of being pushed out of Africa. This idea was later taken up by Otto von Bismarck (a German Chancellor who convened the meeting after sounding opinions of other powers) was encouraged to bring it about. The Conference was held in Berlin between 15 November 1884 and 26 February 1885. Two articles of the Berlin Act namely Article 34 as a doctrine of spheres of influence, and Article 35 as a doctrine of effective occupation, facilitated the colonization process in Africa. The German's sphere of influences was later negotiated through bilateral treaties, particularly the Anglo-German treaties between 1885 and 1893 that set the recognition of both British and German colonies in East Africa. G.N. Uzoigwe, "European partition and conquest of Africa: an overview", A. Boahen, (ed.), *General History of Africa, VII, Africa under Colonial Domination 1880 – 1935*, (Heinemann, California: UNESCO, 1985), 31-35; J. Iliffe, *The Modern History of Tanganyika*, Chapter 4.

[44] J. Iliffe, *Tanganyika Under German Rule 1905 – 1912*, 11.

[45] The Ngoni chiefs, led by Nkosi Mlamira Gama and chief (Nduna) Songea Mbano, were forced to surrender their authority to German colonial power in 1897. The negotiations turned into military occupation whereby five Ngoni nobles were killed by German military officers during the occupation in 1897 in the so-called "*Boma* massacre"; Fr. E. Ebner OSB, *History of Wangoni and their Origin in the South African Bantu Tribes,* (Benedictine Publications Ndanda-Peramiho, 1989).

[46] Rev. E. Ndunguru, *Historia, Mila na Desturi za Wamatengo*, (Dar es Salaam: East African Literature Bureau, 1972), 18.

their neighbour Ngoni did, probably because of the historical enmity that existed between the two groups.[47] They continued producing food crops which later were sold to Ngoni at inflated prices during the famine in the aftermath of the war.

Throughout the German colonial period, there was no dominant cash crop in the Matengo area. Africans had to provide labour in the colonial plantations in coastal areas or worked as porters in colonial offices for cash to pay taxes. The First World War marked the end of German rule, and in 1919, the British occupied the territory. It was during the British colonial period that coffee was introduced as a commercial crop in the Mbinga District. Ever since coffee has remained the primary source of income among smallholder producers in the district.

### 1.3. Literature Review

This thesis intends to reconstruct and analyse a socio-economic history of coffee production in the Mbinga District, Tanzania, between the 1920s and 2015. In doing so, this thesis explores specifically firstly, the role of the colonial state in the establishment of coffee production in the Mbinga District, secondly the influence of co-operatives on coffee production and marketing, thirdly, the influence of the post-colonial state on the coffee industry, fourthly, the coffee industry during the liberalized economic period, and finally, the role of women in the coffee industry. This section provides a review of the mentioned themes.

The existing literature on agricultural change in Tanzania, especially on coffee production, has focused on northern and western coffee-producing zones.[48] Many scholars have been attracted to the two zones for three reasons. Firstly, coffee cultivation was initially concentrated in the western and northern part of Tanzania as Robusta coffee is the indigenous crop in tropical

[47] Wangoni fought with Matengo several times but the most remembered war was that of 1885 whereby Wangoni under Mharule send their warriors to fight with Matengo and chief Makita (Matengo) was killed; Fr. E. Ebner, OSB, *History of Wangoni*, 103-104.

[48] The northern zone represents Kilimanjaro, Arusha, and Mara producing Arabica, while the western zone represents Kagera regions producing Robusta. Some of the literature on coffee includes A. Eckert, "Comparing Coffee Production in Cameroon and Tanganyika, c. 1900 to 1960s", in W.G. Clarence-Smith and S. Topik, (eds.), *The Global Coffee Economy*, 286-311, (focusing in Kilimanjaro region); K. R. Curtis, "Smaller is Better: A Consensus of Peasants and Bureaucrats in colonial Tanganyika", in W.G. Clarence-Smith and S. Topik, (eds.), *The Global Coffee Economy*, 312-334, (focusing in Kagera region); B. Weiss, *Sacred Trees, Bitter Harvests: Globalizing Coffee in Northwest Tanzania* (focusing on Haya communities in north-western Tanzania).

Africa, and was believed to be introduced in north-western Tanzania by Bunyoro conquerors more than 300 years ago.[49] Arabica coffee has been cultivated in the northern zone (Kilimanjaro) from the end of the 19th century by Germany missionaries and later by Africans, compared to the southern zone where coffee was first introduced in the 1920s. Secondly, the existence of large coffee estates in the northern part with well-documented records attracted more scholarship than the south where smallholder coffee producers dominated it. Lastly, the geographical area plays a more significant role in either attracting or discouraging scholarship. For instance, the Mbinga District is in the southern part of the country with a distance of more than 1 200 kilometres from Dar es Salaam (locus of power, business and transport centre in Tanzania). The major transport means is by road, which takes almost 20 hours compared to the northern and western part accessible via air transport. Distance and transport challenges were some of the reasons for the German colonial government to withdraw from cash crop experiments in the Mbinga District. Hence, the literature on coffee production has focused on the northern and western parts of the country, including Kilimanjaro, Arusha, and Kagera. Consequently, little was known about the Arabica coffee from the Mbinga District. The few scholars who wrote about coffee production in Tanzania, in general, were not historians but anthropologists and economists. Simon Mbilinyi's study in the 1970s examined the economics of peasant coffee production in Tanzania.[50] Mbilinyi's focus was on economic diversification possibilities in the coffee-growing areas to maximize farm income. The study was based on an economic analysis of peasant production and not a historical analysis of coffee production in the Mbinga District as this study does. This thesis acknowledges the different regional trajectories of coffee production and economic diversification in coffee-growing areas in Tanzania.

Brad Weiss,[51] an anthropologist, focused on coffee as a symbol of value and power among the Haya people in north-western Tanzania. Weiss uses the *Sacred tree*[52] to show how coffee was used in cultural rituals before becoming a commercial commodity. The Haya people had tried

[49] TNA/266/ABOACOF Vol. VIII, Coffee Board of Tanganyika.
[50] S. Mbilinyi, *Economics of Peasants Coffee Production in Tanzania*, (Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1976).
[51] B. Weiss, *Sacred Trees, Bitter Harvest: Globalizing Coffee in Northwest Tanzania*, (NH: Heinemann, 2003).
[52] *Ibid.*

to retain their values and order that was threatened by the global forces. For instance, during the colonial period, the rationalisation of the gender-based space of agriculture between the banana zone for perennial crops managed by men and grassland for annual food crop production managed by women lead to resistance from the Haya. They wanted to protect the social structure of their labour. As the colonial cash crop, coffee became a centre of conflict between the Catholic missionaries, colonial government, and coastal traders whom they believed to be a threat to the growth of Christianity among Africans. The book is vital to this study because it provides some cultural conceptions on coffee among Africans and how coffee values changed over time. However, Weiss's work is the product of a 1980s interview he conducted with the use of the White Fathers missionaries as an archival source while ignoring the use of other archival sources, including the German and British colonial archival record. Hence it lacks a historical analysis of coffee production. The work is based much on the role of co-operative unions without taking into consideration that the globalized coffee market went hand in hand with market deregulation by allowing private coffee buyers in Tanzania since 1994.

During the colonial period, the state has been viewed by historians as an institution for ensuring production and accumulation of capital. It was the role of the state to use its power in creating and sustaining capitalist relations of production. The state mobilized and controlled labour supply in the colonial economic units. This was common in all settler colonies but also in non-settler colonies like Tanganyika. B.J. Berman and J.M. Lonsdale's work explores how the colonial state in Kenya acted as an apparatus for "reproduction and accumulation of capital and political reproduction".[53] Though this work focussed on colonial Kenya, it is important to this thesis as, in colonial Tanganyika, the southern region where the Mbinga District is situated, was designated as a labour reserve supplying labourers in plantations and mines. This thesis demonstrates the transformation from labour reserve to peasant production. Kenneth R. Curtis[54]

[53] B.J. Berman & J.M. Lonsdale, "Crisis of Accumulation, Coercion and the Colonial State: The Development of Labour Control in Kenya", *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 14, 1, (1980), 55-81.
[54] K.R. Curtis, "Smaller is Better: A Consensus of Peasants and Bureaucrats in colonial Tanganyika", in W.G. Clarence-Smith and S. Topik, (eds.), *The Global Coffee Economy*, 322; K. R. Curtis, "Cooperation and Cooptation: The Struggle for Market Control in the Bukoba District of Colonial Tanganyika", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 25, 3, (1992), 505-538.

focused on a conflictual relationship between the colonial state and coffee producers over the implementation of rules and regulations. By using the Haya society in north-western Tanzania, Curtis shows how the coffee growers refused the coffee rules in 1937 and 1953.

The existing literature on co-operatives in colonial Tanzania has focused on the debates on the dynamics of the colonial marketing system focusing on the relationship between the state, co-operatives and local politics. Scholars such as Susan Rogers[55] and Kenneth R. Curtis[56] have focused on the colonial coffee-marketing systems in northern and north-western Tanzania, respectively. Susan Rogers focused on the role of the colonial state in the decline of the first African co-operative society Kilimanjaro Native Planters Association (KNPA) (1925–1931) and the introduction of the Kilimanjaro Native Co-operative Union (KNCU) in 1933. Similarly, Curtis stressed the colonial co-operation and co-optation of the African coffee association in north-western Tanzania. Both studies asserted that the state intervention in the development of the peasant co-operatives had an influence on the colonial crop-marketing systems. Studies on Southern Tanzania have focused on the tobacco-marketing system in the Songea District. Patrick Redmond[57] and Hebert H. Ndomba[58] have focused on the Ngoni-Matengo Marketing Union Limited. While Redmond focused on the colonial marketing system of tobacco, Ndomba went further analysing the complicated relationship between the state and marketing bodies including Ngoni-Matengo Co-operative Marketing Union (NGOMAT) and Songea Native Tobacco Board in controlling peasant tobacco production. These studies, however, did not explore the dynamics of the relationship between NGOMAT and the coffee co-operative societies as this thesis does. Therefore, drawing from the experiences of both northern and north-western, as well as the Songea District, this thesis arguably examines the rise of co-operative societies and its dynamic relationship to the coffee growers in the Mbinga District during both the colonial and post-colonial period.

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[55] S.G. Rogers, "The Kilimanjaro Native Planters Association: Administrative Responses to Chagga Initiatives in the 1920s", *Transafrican Journal of History*, Vol. 4, No. 1/2, (1974), 94-114.

[56] K.R. Curtis, "Co-operation and Cooptation: The struggle for market control in the Bukoba District of colonial Tanganyika", *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 25, 3, (1992), 505-538.

[57] P.M. Redmond, "The Ngoni-Matengo Co-operative Marketing Union (NMCMU) and Tobacco Production in Songea", *Tanzania Notes and Records*, 79, (1976), 65-98.

[58] H.H. Ndomba, "A History of Tobacco Production in Ruvuma Region, Southern Tanzania, c. 1930-2016", PhD Dissertation, Stellenbosch University, (2018).

Andrew Coulson examined state influence on peasant agriculture in Tanzania through different policies.[59] Coulson used the political, economic approach to indicate a conflict of interest between peasants and the state. Various policies between the 1940s and 1970s have been highlighted. These policies included the groundnut schemes of 1940 to 1950s, the white settlement programme, land and conservation schemes of the 1950s and progressive farming policy and settlement schemes. He also points out the post-independence policies such as the Ujamaa Policy of 1967 and Villagisation in 1969-1976. These policies had a wide-ranging impact on the establishment and development of peasant production in which coffee featured. Coulson also explores the role of the state in the development and failure of Ujamaa and Self-reliance in Tanzania.[60] The use of top-down initiatives and force were among the reasons for the failure of Ujamaa and the Villagisation Policy in Tanzania. However, Coulson's articles focus exclusively on the role of the state's policies on agricultural change while ignoring the peasants' reactions to state control. This thesis demonstrates the socio-economic impact of these policies with a specific focus on coffee production and marketing in the Mbinga District. This thesis goes beyond state-peasant dichotomy by employing the concept of coffee landscapes, hereafter "coffeescapes", to demonstrate the influence of coffee during the implementation of both Ujamaa and Villagisation Policies in the Mbinga District.

In post-colonial Tanzania, the state was an instrument that extracted surpluses from peasant production. Deborah Bryceson's article explores the relationship between peasant commodity production and the state in post-colonial Tanzania.[61] Peasant production is an important sector for national economic development. The state acquires the foreign exchange reserves by exporting cash crops. Also, peasants produce food for the non-food producing population. The state extracts surpluses from peasants through the imposition of crop levies, taxes and price control over cash crops. However, Bryceson's work emphasizes the unequal relationship between peasants and state. This thesis extends on Bryceson's analysis to explore the socio-economic impact of the relationship between the state and smallholder coffee producers in the

[59] A. Coulson, "Agricultural Policies in Mainland Tanzania, 1946–76", *Review of African Political Economy*, 4 (10), (1977), 74-100.
[60] A. Coulson, "Peasants and Bureaucrats", *Review of African Political Economy*, 3, (1975), 53-58.
[61] D. Bryceson, "Peasant Commodity Production in Post-colonial Tanzania", *African Affairs*, 81,325, (1982), 547-567.

Mbinga District from the colonial period to 2015. Furthermore, Andreas Eckert,[62] a historian, focused on the role of the state during the colonial and early years of independence in controlling peasant production and the use of co-operatives as a conduit of channelling the interests of the state to the peasants. Eckert argued on the continuity of elements of colonial state control over peasant production in the post-colonial period. This thesis extends the debate of the state monopolies through crop parastatals, including the Coffee Authority of Tanzania (CAT) after the abolition of co-operatives in the 1970s.

Moreover, coffee is one of the most regulated crops in the world. This has been revealed through the operation of the co-operatives and Tanzania Coffee Board as the major marketing bodies before the economic liberalisation in the 1990s. Most of the economists focus on the impact of the coffee market reforms on market structure, policies that show market performance and price volatility on the Tanzanian coffee industry.[63] These studies show that the reforms have led to the deterioration of coffee quality due to deregulation of the marketing processes, the uncompetitive nature of the coffee auction, a marketing shift from the public to private sectors and increasing capacity in coffee processing. Anna Temu et al. examines the impact of the liberalisation regarding the coffee auction process in northern Tanzania.[64] It is evident that the participation of private coffee buyers in both domestic and export level had contributed to the decline of the competitive coffee auction. These scholars did not focus on private coffee buyers who were solely participating in domestic markets. Neither did they explore the competition between the co-operatives and private coffee buyers at the domestic

[62] A. Eckert, "Useful Instruments of Participation? Local Government and Cooperatives in Tanzania, 1940s to 1970s", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 2007, Vol. 40, No. 1, (2007), 97-118.

[63] A. A. Temu, A. Winter-Nelson, and P. Garcia, "Market Liberalisation, Vertical Integration and Price Behaviour in Tanzania's Coffee Auction", *Development Policy Review*, 19, 2, (2001), 205-22; S. Ponte, "Brewing a Bitter Cup? Deregulation, Quality and the Re-Organization of Coffee Marketing in East Africa", *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 2,2, (2002), 248-272; T. Akiyama et al., "Commodity Market Reform in Africa: Some Recent Experience", *Economic Systems*, 27, (2003): 83-115; J. J. Baffes, "Tanzania's Coffee Sector: Constraints and Challenges", *Journal of International Development*, 17, 1, (2005): 21-43; B. L. and R. Swaray, "Market Reforms and Commodity Price Volatility: The Case of East African Coffee Market", *The World Economy*, 37, 8, (August 1, 2014), 1152-85.

[64] A. A. Temu, A. Winter-Nelson, and P. Garcia, "Market Liberalisation, Vertical Integration and Price Behaviour in Tanzania's Coffee Auction".

level as this thesis attempts to do. Brian Cooksey[65] and Stefano Ponte[66] examines state intervention as a reason for the failure of liberalisation in export crops. Their focus on the failures of the economic reforms in northern Tanzania ignored the success aspects of the reforms. In this regard, this thesis explores both the success and challenges of the co-existence of private coffee enterprises and co-operative unions in the Mbinga District, Southern Tanzania.

The 1990s economic reforms coincided with the breakdown of the International Coffee Agreement (ICA) in 1989. The ICA was the price stabilisation organ in the international coffee market through the quota system. Its decline exposed the coffee producers to price vulnerability as they shifted the coffee control power from the public to private agencies. This shifting of power resulted in the decline of the coffee price in the international market. Poverty increased among coffee producers in the world. The responses to these changes vary from one country to another or even from one district to another within the same country. For instance, in Colombia, the breakdown of the ICA was associated with increased poverty and the failure of the National Coffee Federation to provide economic stability and social services. As a result, it created the opportunity for illegal armed actors, cultivation of illegal crops and drug trafficking. There were increasing incidences of homicides, kidnappings, attacks by armed actors and illegal transport of weapons in the coffee-growing area.[67] This kind of response shows that there is a relationship between economic underdevelopment and economical as well as political decision-making.

The existing literature shows that the reactions towards the decline of the coffee price in Tanzania vary from one coffee producing area to another. In Kilimanjaro and Bukoba there was the conversion of coffee lands to other crops. An anthropological study by Sam

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[65] B. Cooksey, "Marketing Reform? The Rise and Fall of Agricultural Liberalisation in Tanzania", *Development Policy Review*, 21 (1), (2003), 67-91.

[66] S. Ponte, "The Politics of Ownership: Tanzanian Coffee Policy in the Age of Liberal Reformism", *African Affairs*, (2004), 617.

[67] A. Rettberg, "Global Markets, Local Conflict Violence in the Colombian Coffee Region after the Breakdown of the International Coffee Agreement", *Latin American Perspectives*, Issue 171, Vol. 37, No. 2, (March 2010), 111-132.

Maghimbi[68] in the Kilimanjaro region, shows the decline of coffee producers in favour of maize and rice. In the Mbinga District, the situation was different. People have continued cultivating coffee despite its price decline. This thesis, among other things, seeks to explore the peculiarities of the history of coffee production in the Mbinga District in comparison with other coffee-producing regions in Tanzania.

Scholars such as David G. Mhando[69] and Ryugo Korasaki[70] have studied the coping strategies among the smallholder coffee producers in the Mbinga District. Korasaki studied the multiple uses of small-scale valley bottomland resulting from socio-economic and environmental forces in the Mbinga District. The study focuses on one village of Kitanda.[71] On the other hand, the study by Mhando was based on the two villages of Kindimba and Kitanda.[72] Both studies focus on the coffee producer's responses to the decline of the coffee prices and the collapse of MBICU in 1996. The responses ranged from the expansion of the coffee fields to the diversifications of the income-generating sources. However, the two studies are silent on the period before the 1990s and beyond 2003. Their conclusions were based on oral interviews with no backup of other historical accounts such as archival sources. As a result, they lack historical continuity. The two scholars also make certain generalisations. Korasaki, for instance, states: "in the past, coffee production was supported by the MBICU which provided agricultural inputs and marketed coffee".[73] This generalisation ignores the dynamics of coffee marketing in the district from the 1920s to 1989 (when MBICU was established). This thesis found that Matengo coffee farmers have been trading their coffee through various marketing boards which have been changing from time to time depending on the economic and political policies. A study based on one village cannot be taken as the general trend for the whole district. This thesis uses both archival and oral sources to challenge the generalisation tendency and to explore the socio-economic history of coffee production in Mbinga District from the 1920s to

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[68] S. Maghimbi, "Recent changes in crop patterns in the Kilimanjaro region of Tanzania: The decline of coffee and the rise of maize and rice", *African Study Monographs*, Suppl. 35, (2007), 73-83.
[69] D. G. Mhando, "Farmers' Coping Strategies to a Changed Coffee Market After Economic Liberalization: The Case of Mbinga District in Tanzania", *African Study Monographs*, 36, Supplementary Issue, (2007), 39-58.
[70] R. Korasaki "Multiple Uses of Small-Scale Valley Bottom Land: Case of the Matengo in Southern Tanzania", *African Study Monographs*, 36, Supplementary Issue (March 2007), 19-38.
[71] R. Korasaki "Multiple Uses of Small-Scale Valley Bottom Land", 19-38.
[72] D. G. Mhando, "Farmers' Coping Strategies to a Changed Coffee Market", 42.
[73] R. Korasaki, "Multiple Uses of Small-Scale Valley Bottom Land", 20.

2015 focusing on the major coffee-growing areas of the Matengo Highlands. Most of their respondents were men whom they claim were the majority of people involved in coffee production and marketing in the Matengo society.[74] By doing so, the studies fail to give a nuanced analysis of the gender dynamics among coffee farmers as this thesis will attempt to demonstrate in Chapter Six.

Some ecological studies have focused on how coffee production affects the ability to maintain forest cover or on the conservation of biodiversity. For instance, Emily Benton et al.'s study in Oaxaca in Mexico shows the historical transformation of coffee landscapes and its impact on tree biodiversity.[75] The natural-human system framework was used in examining the impact of smallholder coffee producer's responses to the changes in coffee price and policies. As a result, the high price and supportive policies both at national and international levels, have stimulated the conversion of agricultural fields and forests into coffee farms. However, in the absence of supportive environments, the coffee farmers abandoned the coffee farms or converted to annual agricultural fields.[76] However, the study ignores the outcomes of management practices that increase small producers' income, such as organic and agroforestry coffee production. Although the study was conducted in Mexico and was based on social and quantitative ecological methods, it gives insights on how smallholder coffee producers respond to the market forces and the possible impacts on the environment.

Coffee production has been considered traditionally as a "man's crop". Consequently, women's participation in the coffee economy has been given less attention in the current scholarship. The idea of crop separateness was presented by Ester Boserup in 1970.[77] According to her, the women performed most of the agricultural activities in food production, hence "female farming" systems. The women's labour declined with the shift from cultivation to the

[74] D.G. Mhando, "Farmers' Coping Strategies to a Changed Coffee Market," 42.
[75] E. B. Hite, D. B. Bray, E. Duran, and A. Ricón-Gutiérrez, "From Forests and Fields to Coffee and Back again: Historic Transformations of a Traditional Coffee Agroecosystem in Oaxaca, Mexico", *Society and Natural Resources*, 30, 5, (2017), 613-629.
[76] *Ibid*., 615.
[77] E. Boserup, *Women's Role in Economic Development*, (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1970).

permanent agricultural system. Other scholars such as Jane Guyer[78] and Candice Bradley[79] joined the conversation on criticising the idea of the decline of women's labour due to mechanisation in agriculture. While Guyer showed the flexibility of women in food-crop farming, Bradley argued on the increasing women's labour due to mechanisation. They all agreed on the aspect of women as food-crop producers.

Other scholars had categorised crops as either men's or women's crop. Paul Sillitoe, the anthropologist, studied the division of crops among the Wola community in Papua Guinea.[80] Crops were divided as female *(wiy)* or male *(hae)* based on the erectness or recumbency. The erect crops, such as banana and sugarcane, were "men's crops" while hibiscus and tobacco were "women's crops". Sweet potatoes (creepy crop) was a staple. As a result, sweet potatoes were "men's crops". Therefore, a crop was termed as a "man's crop" due to its importance.

Gisela Geisler,[81] in responding, examined the validity of the separateness as to cash crop and food crop. She argued that what separated food crop from cash crop had, in fact, nothing to do with the nature of the crop or with gender division of labour, fields, or land, but with what appeared to be a gender division of control".[82] According to her, it was the control of the income or surplus of the produced crop that defined whose crop it was. This thesis draws from the Giesler analysis of the division of gender control over the income to demonstrate the women's participation in the coffee-marketing system over time.

Furthermore, in Ghana in West Africa, Martina Padmanabhan[83] wrote about the making and unmaking of the new crops based on the cultural belief of gender roles. For instance, when new, improved cowpeas were introduced in northern Ghana, it was assigned as men's crop.

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[78] J. I. Guyer, "Female Farming and the Evolution of Food Production Patterns Amongst the Beti of South-Central Cameroon", *Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 50, No. 4, (1980), 341-356.
[79] C. Bradley, "Women Weeding and the Plow: A Comparative Test of Boserup's Hypothesis", *African Urban Quarterly*, Vol. 5, No.3/4, (1990), 188-196.
[80] P. Sillitoe 'The Gender of Crops in the Papua New Guinea Highlands', *Ethnology*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Jan. 1981), 1-14.
[81] G. Geisler, "Silences Speak Louder Than Claims: Gender, Household, and Agricultural Development in Southern Africa", *World Development*, Vol. 21, No. 12, (1993).
[82] *Ibid*. 1970.
[83] M. A. Padmanabhan, "The making and unmaking of gendered crops in northern Ghana", *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 28, (2007), 57-70.

The reason was the need for chemical spray in which men owns the knowledge. Moreover, Alastair Orr et al.[84], attributed the division of men's or women's crop to the value of the crop at the market. Cotton had high market prices. Based in Zambia groundnuts was women's crop because of its low price, while cotton was termed as men's crop due to the high price at the market. The commercialisation of groundnuts in Zambia created conflict between men and women over its control. However, this thesis draws from these scholars and goes beyond these dichotomies of men's or women's crop since the assignment of a new crop to a particular gender differs from one cultural setting to the other. The Mbinga District presents different settings in this regard. Coffee has been produced mainly for export and not as part of the food crop. The cultural settings had allowed some of the women, albeit a few to penetrate what was claimed to be men's domain. However, with the changing political economy, women have been able to resist and even manipulate male dominance. Therefore, the argument over man's crop should not be understated.

However, this thesis suggests that irrespective of the scale of production, the role of women in the coffee economy should not be underestimated in historical scholarship. Coffee production is a labour-intensive activity. Globally women have been engaging in the coffee economy in production, processing and exporting. In some cases, they have played an important role in the state revolutions that lead to a fundamental changes through associations and unions.[85] Also, they have been performing unpaid labour and even when paid, they get less compared to men. Despite their role in coffee production, women are often excluded when it comes to production benefits and decision-making. Heather Fowler-Salamini's study in Veracruz, Mexico, shows how women were paid low wages compared to men. This was also revealed in 1850 when women workers in the coffee plantation in Ceylon (Sri Lanka) were paid half the men's salary.[86]

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[84] A. Orr et al., "What do we mean by women's crop? Commercialization, Gender and Power to name", *Journal of international Development*, 28, (2016), 919-937.

[85] H. Fowler-Salamini, "Women Coffee Sorters Confronting the Mill Owners and the Veracruz Revolutionary State, 1915-1918", *Journal of Women's History*, 14, 1, (2002).

[86] R. Kurian, "Labor, Race, and Gender on the Coffee plantations in Ceylon Sri Lanka, 1834-1880", W.G. Clarence- Smith and S. Topik, (eds.), *The Global Coffee Economy*, 181.

Elizabeth Dore's study in Nicaragua explains how patriarchal authority was exercised through the debt peonage system whereby cash was received in advance, and in return, one had to work in coffee estates during the harvest season.[87] Through the debt peonage system, men could use a wife and children as a peonage when signing the contract with the coffee estate owner. On the contrary, women were not allowed to receive cash or sign contracts without their husbands' permission.[88] However, Dore's study exclusively focused on the coffee estates where labourers were employed and being paid. This thesis focuses on gender role dynamics among smallholder coffee producers.

Traditionally, in most patriarchal African societies where land belongs to men, women have been considered as food producers for household consumption while men have been regarded as the breadwinners. For instance, in the Santa region of Cameroon, coffee production, being the primary source of family income, was seen as the men's occupation.[89] The 1980s economic liberalisation affected some changes in the male dominance of cash crops by allowing women to own land and by commercialising food crops. Similarly, Patrick Mbatura's[90] study on Nyeri Kenya shows that women became economically more powerful than their male counterparts in the 1990s. A. Tibaijuka,[91] however, focused on the agricultural structural change in the Kagera region in Tanzania where men began to cultivate horticultural products on the grassland areas that were traditionally used by women for food-crop production. This thesis draws from this experience to show that women in the Mbinga District failed to strive and replace men's control over the coffee economy despite the economic crisis.

Studies show that, in the Mbinga District, land is owned by men and the division of labour on both food and cash crop are complementary. The coffee cultivation supports the *ngolo* system (food-crop farming system) to remain economically viable. Nives Kinunda focused on the

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[87] E. Dore, "Patriarchy from above, Patriarchy from Below: Debt Peonage on Nicaragua Coffee Estates, 1870 – 1930", W.G. Clarence- Smith and S. Topik, (eds.), *The Global Coffee Economy*, 209-235.

[88] *Ibid.*, 230.

[89] C. L. Forje, "Economic Crisis helps to 'demarginalize 'women", *Development in Practice*, 8, 2, (1998), 212.

[90] P. Mbataru, "Women in the coffee society: the case of Nyeri, Kenya", *Etudes Rurales*, No. 180, (2007), 101-115.

[91] A. Tibaijuka, "The cost of Differential Gender Roles in African agriculture: A Case Study of Smallholder banana-coffee farms in the Kagera region, Tanzania", *Journal of Agricultural Economics*, 45, 1, (1994), 69-81.

negotiation of women farmers' labour between women farmers, the state, and society.[92] Although Kinunda's study shows the historical dynamism of women farmers' labour-power in the southern highland of Tanzania in various historical epochs, it focuses more on the general women's labour power with little emphasis on cash crops. However, this thesis explores the role of women in coffee production with a specific focus on their involvement in the production and marketing from the 1920s to 2015.

Coffee certification schemes that emerged globally in the late 1980s have stimulated women's participation in the coffee industry. Studies show that the number of women in the coffee industry has increased in Mesoamerica.[93] In African coffee-producing countries, more emphasis is recently placed on the empowerment of women through various sustainable coffee-production programmes, including Fair Trade and Utz Certification. Eveline Dijkdrenth[94], Annamrie G. Kormelinck,[95] and Felix M. zu Selhausen[96], examine the participation of women in the coffee co-operatives in Kenya, Ethiopia, and Uganda, respectively. In these three countries, women were facing the challenge of becoming a member of a co-operative, since one of the criteria was land ownership. Social and cultural norms have classified land ownership as a man's domain, and this has also contributed to the co-operatives being regarded as men's domain. However, the three studies focus on the co-operative level and, more specifically, the introduction of coffee-certification programmes, while ignoring the historical involvement of women in coffee production in different historical periods. This thesis traces the historical gender role dynamics in coffee production in the Mbinga District, by showing the historical roots of the exclusion or inclusion of women in different activities in the coffee industry.

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[92] N. Kinunda, "Negotiating womens' Labour: women farmers, state and society in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania, 1885-2000", PhD Dissertation, Goettingen University, (2019).

[93] S. Lyon, J. A. Bazaury, and T. Mutersbaugh, "Gender equity in Fairtrade-organic coffee producer organizations: Cases from Mesoamerica", *Geoforum,* 41 (2010), 93-103.

[94] E. Dijkdrenth, "Gender Equity Within Utz Certified Coffee Cooperatives in Eastern Province, Kenya", R. Ruben and P. Hoebink (eds.), *Coffee certification in East Africa: Impact on Farmers, Families, and Cooperatives*, (Netherlands: Wageningen Academic Publishers, 2015), 205-234.

[95] A. G. Kormelinck, "Back to Birthplace of the Bean: Women's Bargaining Position and trust in Ethiopian coffee co-operatives", R. Ruben and P. Hoebink (eds.), *Coffee Certification in East Africa*, 235-257.

[96] F.M. zu Selhausen, "What determines Women's participation in collective Action? Evidence from Western Ugandan Coffee Cooperative", *Feminist Economic*, 22, 1, (2016), 130-157.

Historians had written very little on coffee production (Arabica) in the period before 1963, during which Mbinga was part of the Songea District. Most of the studies on coffee in the Mbinga District have focused either on the colonial period or the post-colonial period. For instance, in 1993, Osmund M. Kapinga conducted a study in the Mbinga District, focusing on the impact of colonial commodity production on pre-capitalist social formations. The study shows how both the German and British colonial governments introduced various crops, such as in the Ruvuma region, which included sugarcane, cotton, citrus fruits, tobacco, and wheat. Although these crops failed, the colonisers managed, to some extent, to incorporate the Matengo people into cash-crops production by introducing coffee production in the Mbinga District. Kapinga's study shows that colonial cash-crop production initiated the transition of people in the Matengo Highlands from pre-capitalist to capitalist production relations. However, the focus was confined to the social formation, specifically from 1885 to 1960.[97] On the contrary, this thesis focuses on coffee, which is the main cash crop in the Mbinga District from the 1920s to 2015.

Furthermore, Yustina Komba's study[98] examined the socio-economic impact of coffee production in the district, covering the period from 1950 to 1990. Komba used a political-economic approach to link the coffee production and socio-economic status of the people in the Mbinga District. This author's previous thesis does not give enough information on coffee production before the 1950s and after the 1990s. The study solely focused on the Mbinga District while this thesis, among other things, assesses the similarities and peculiarities of the history of coffee production in the Mbinga District in comparison with other coffee-producing regions in Tanzania. It also comprises the wider range of sources of information on coffee production since 1920, accessed from the National Archives of Tanzania (secretariat files) and in the East Africana Section of the University of Dar es Salaam. Also, archival sources from the National Record Centre (NRC), Tanzania Coffee Board, Tanzania Coffee Research Institute (TACRI), Ministry of Agricultural and Co-operatives, private coffee companies and

[97] O. M. Kapinga, "Capitalism and the Disintegration of Pre-capitalist Social formation: the case of cash crop production in the Matengo Highlands, 1885-1960", MA Thesis, University of Dar es Salaam, (1993).

[98] Y. Komba, "The Impact of Coffee Production on the Socio-economic Status of the People of Mbinga District, 1950-1990", MA Thesis, University of Dar es Salaam, (2014). This study was the one which prepared and equipped the researcher to embark on the PhD research topic.

the Co-operative Union Headquarters which the researcher did not consult during her study. The combination of both new archival and oral sources enabled this thesis to revisit the findings of the MA study by exploring the history of coffee production in the district from its onset to 2015.

With regards to the historical writings, Tanzanian agrarian historiography has been categorised into four phases, namely colonial, nationalist, Marxist, and post-Marxist historiographies. The colonial historiography dominated the period from the 1930s to the 1950s. This was the phase characterised by consolidation of colonialism and its ideology. It was the phase full of racialised arguments trying to maintain white superiority over Africans. The central argument was the denial of the existence of African history. The studies in this phase focused on African culture, local languages, ethnic groups, as well as subsistence agriculture. Scholars who dominated this phase were mainly anthropologists such as C. Seligman[99], and R. Coupland[100] whom both denied the existence of history in Africa. The history that was produced from this phase explained the activities of Europeans in Africa. Under this phase, African agency was invisible. It brought about new developments in African scholarship, starting at the end of the 1950s and gaining momentum in the 1960s.[101]

The nationalist tradition, rather than Africanist historiography, was developed and maintained as an ideological response to colonial historiography.[102] The focus was on political developments and centralisation. Much effort was made in the recovery of what was termed "African initiative",[103] centred on political power to organise around and control the influence of nature. The nationalist phase was dominated by mass nationalist movements with the aim of ending colonial exploitation. For instance, Isaria N. Kimambo, Arnold Temu, and Steven

[99] C. Seligman, *Races of Africa*, (London: Harry Johnston, 1930).
[100] R. Coupland, *East Africa and its invaders: from earliest times to the death of Seyyid Said in 1856*, (Clarendon Press Oxford, 1938).
[101] Some of these works include: T. Ranger, *The Recovery of African Initiatives*, (Dar es Salaam University College, 1969); I. N. Kimambo and A. Temu (eds.), *A History of Tanzania*, (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969); I.N. Kimambo, *A Political History of Pare of Tanzania c.1500-1900*, (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969); S. Feierman, *The Shambaa Kingdom: A History*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1974).
[102] A. Temu and B. Swai, *Historians and Africanist History: A Critique*, (London: Zed Press, 1981), x, 5.
[103] T. Ranger, *The Recovery of African Initiatives*, (Dar es Salaam University college, 1969).

Feierman demonstrated the African past through their works by stressing the pre-colonial state formations, long-distance trade, the peasant protest over colonial exploitation, and the emergence of African rural capitalism.[104] However, a concentration of nationalist writings on political developments, power, and leaders failed to address economic problems in the societies. As a result, in the late 1970s, the materialist emerged.

The materialist historiography dominated the third phase. The "underdevelopment" and Marxist tendencies resurfaced in historical writings in Tanzania in the 1970s. Scholars such as Walter Rodney wrote on the root cause of African economic underdevelopment as the integration to the world capitalist system under which surpluses were extracted through unequal exchange systems.[105] Other scholars, such as Martin J. Kaniki, A. Sheriff, and Issa Shivji, also focused on the root cause of underdevelopment and class struggle between the exploiters and exploited.[106] Materialist historiography marked the turning point of peasant studies in Tanzania. This was the period where scholars discussed the concepts of class, labour relations and modes of production in agrarian societies. For instance, the concept of "African Peasantry" was brought into existence by various scholars. Goran Hyden defines African Peasantry as an agricultural social class whose autonomy depends on direct access to land and the use of family labour.[107] Peasants produce for their subsistence and contribute to the economic systems through the payment of taxes and rent. The conception of "peasants" has attracted various scholars with different discipline orientations. The debate dominated on the definition of "peasant" and whether peasants exist in African societies. For instance, Teodor. Shanin, a sociologist, defines peasants as small agricultural producers, using simple equipment and family labour to produce for their consumption and the fulfilment of obligations to those

[104] I. N. Kimambo and A. Temu (eds.), *A History of Tanzania*, (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969); I.N. Kimambo, *A Political History of Pare of Tanzania c.1500-1900*, (Nairobi: East African Publishing House,1969); S. Feierman, *The Shambaa Kingdom: A History*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1974).
[105] W. Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, (California: Howard University Press,1974 & 1981).
[106] A. Sheriff and E. Ferguson, *Zanzibar Under Colonial Rule*, (Nairobi: East African Publishers, 1991); M. J. Kaniki, (ed.), *Tanzania Under Colonial Rule*, (London: Longman, 1980); I. Shivji, *Class struggle in Tanzania*, (London: Heinemann, 1976).
[107] G. Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: Underdevelopment and Uncaptured Peasantry*, (Nairobi: Heinemann Education Books, 1980), 11.

with economic and political power.[108] L.A. Fallers, a social anthropologist, writing in 1961, viewed "peasant society" as "a society whose primary constituent units are semi-autonomous local communities with semi-autonomous culture".[109] The semi-autonomous culture was viewed in terms of economic, political and cultural dimensions. He denied the existence of peasant society in traditional Africa because according to him, Africa lacks a "version of high culture" and wherever literary culture has entered in Africa, they might be called "proto-peasants" or "incipient peasants".[110] Political economists, such as John S. Saul also viewed "peasants" as an exploited class who could lead to revolution.[111] Saul agreed on the existence of peasantry in Africa. To him, African rural peasantry had been trapped between the colonial and post-colonial states, as well as international capitalism to produce for both subsistence and market exchange. However, he argues that "'peasant-hood' is the potential ground for shared consciousness and political action against the broader structure that has come to dominate and exploit them".[112] According to M. Klein, a historian, most of the Africanist scholars agreed on the term "peasants" as referring to agriculturalists who control land, work as tenants or smallholders, and who are organised largely in households to meet their subsistence needs and ruled by other classes who extract surplus either directly or through the control of state power.[113] However, the term "peasants" has been used to refer to rural African producers, regardless of its conception and dynamics. This thesis is aware of the complexity of conceptualising the term "peasants" in the African context. Therefore, it proceeds with Hyden's view of "peasants" as smallholder producers because coffee in the Mbinga District was dominated by smallholder producers. The materialist historiography did not last long. In the 1980s a new paradigm emerged as post-materialist historiography (referred to as "post-modern" in Tanzanian context). The post-materialist historians focused on the power imposed by the colonial regimes and the post-colonial state while accepting the African agency. It combines the socio-economic, political and ecological aspects in studying African history, placing more emphasis on the interdisciplinary approach. Themes like diseases, environment,

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[108] T. Shanin, (ed.), *Peasants and Peasant Societies*, Selected Readings, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), 3.
[109] L. A. Fallers, 'Are African Cultivators to Be Called "Peasants"?' *Current Anthropology*, 2, 2, (1961), 108.
[110] *Ibid.,* 110.
[111] J. S. Saul, 'Africa Peasants and Revolution', *Review of African Political Economy*, 1, (1975), 41-68.
[112] *Ibid*., 47.
[113] M. A. Klein, *Peasant in Africa: Historical and Contemporary Perspective*, (Berverly Hills: Sage,1980).

gender, agrarian crisis and peasantry dominated this period. This ecological approach in East African history was first employed by a political scientist, Hedge Kjeshus, in his work on human nature relationship, *Ecology Control, and Economic Development in East African History: Case of Tanganyika, 1850–1950*. His main argument is based on the balance of ecological control between the pre-colonial societies in Tanganyika and the colonial period. To him, the pre-colonial societies were able to control the ecology, but with the introduction of colonial policies, it led to ecology collapse.[114] Although his study did not focus on the socio-economic impact on peasant production, it shows how pre-colonial societies were coping with environmental challenges. It also contributes to the understanding of the shifting trends in writing Tanzania's history. Other scholars who wrote under this paradigm were Steven Feierman who wrote on the involvement of peasants in political discourse in the Shambaa Kingdom by using the term "peasant intellectuals".[115] James Giblin wrote on marginalised peasant society in the Southern Highland of Tanzania.[116] During the colonial period (both German and British), the Njombe District provided migrant labourers for the mines and plantations within and outside Tanganyika. They also produced food for estate workers. They found themselves being excluded from agricultural markets, schooling, from access to medical services, and all opportunity to escape the impoverishing trap of the migrant labour. The writer used social analysis to provide the voice of the marginalised group of peasants. It focused on social and cultural changes in the Njombe District while ignoring the economic changes. However, this thesis demonstrates the socio-economic aspects by highlighting the voice of the marginalised smallholder coffee producers and by incorporating the aspect of gender in the Mbinga District. Although this thesis engages in some aspects of the coffee production in the Mbinga District that has been touched on in this historiography, it attempts to differentiate itself in terms of the period it covers, geographical area, and the extensive archival source base utilised – hopefully resulting in a more rounded and nuanced historical narrative and perspective. Finally, it hopes to bring a more nuanced gender perspective with its focus and

[114] H. Kjekshus, *Ecology Control, and Economic Development in East African History: Case of Tanganyika, 1850-1950*, (London: James Currey, 1977).
[115] S. Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania*, (Madison: Wisconsin University Press, 1990).
[116] J. Giblin, *A History of the Excluded: Making Family a Refugee from State in Twentieth-century Tanzania*, (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2005).

analysis on the role of women in coffee production in the Mbinga District. The thesis introduces the concept of "coffeescapes" and "coffeescapes of resistance" to demonstrate various landscapes that enabled the coffee producers to respond to the state policies and specific focus on women's resistance to male dominance in the coffee industry.

### 1.4. Theoretical and Methodological Issues

Given the fragmented information that exists on the history of coffee production in the southern part of Tanzania, with a case of the Mbinga District, this thesis aims to explore the socio-economic history of coffee production in the district from the 1920s to 2015. It examines the fortunes of coffee production over time and its multi-layered impact on the district and its people. It demonstrates the impact of the introduction of a new cash crop into an existing rural economy embedded within a specific political, social-economic and cultural context.

This study specifically answers the following questions: What was the role of the state in the establishment and expansion of coffee production in the district from the 1920s to 2015? How did the relationship between smallholder coffee farmers and co-operative societies in Mbinga District change over time? What role did private enterprise, local and global market forces play in the production, distribution, and marketing of coffee in the Mbinga District? What has been the gender division of control over coffee production and marketing and in what ways has it changed over time? What was the multi-layered impact of coffee production on the district and the livelihoods of its people? How did people in the district react towards those impacts over time? To what extent did coffee production and its impact in the Mbinga District correspond or differ from coffee production in the rest of Tanzania over time?

The thesis drew on Gavin Fridell's "coffee statecraft" and James C. Scott's "Weapons of the Weak" approaches in exploring the founding, expansion and the impact of coffee production in the Mbinga District and on its people. The "coffee statecraft" approach focuses on the role of the state in the coffee industry through policies and regulations governing the coffee sectors, provision of inputs and credits, production, processing, and marketing. Based on Fridell's analysis, market and state are inseparable, because it is the state that creates, manages, regulates and reproduces the market.[117]Although "coffee statecraft" emphasised the capitalist and class nature of coffee production in Vietnam, its ideas can be applied in a broader context to other coffee-producing countries, such as Tanzania. The approach is significant to this study because it provides the framework for not only examining the role of the state in the introduction, expansion, and marketing of coffee produce and its impact but also in assessing the plight of coffee in the global marketing systems. The rationale for applying this approach is that it stresses the fact that the complex nature of the modern capitalist states and global coffee marketing can best be understood through the idea of coffee statecraft.

The study also drew on Scott's "weapons of the weak" approach which focuses on the non-revolutionary forms of peasant resistance in response to the exploitation by capitalist and changing agricultural relations in the rural settings, and thus complements the limitation of the coffee statecraft approach towards the role of the coffee growers in coffee production. The approach stresses the need to consider the everyday forms of peasant struggle against any forms of exploitation by the wealthy farmers and state in their community. Scott argues that "… it is rare for peasants to risk an outright confrontation with the authorities over taxes, cropping patterns, development policies, or onerous new laws; instead they are likely to nibble away such policies by noncompliance, foot-dragging, deception …"[118] This approach is significant to this study because it provides the framework for analysing the forces for agricultural change and a tool for exploring the smallholder coffee producers' reactions to the impacts of coffee production in the Mbinga District over time.

Scott's analysis focuses on the socio-economic and political context of Sedaka village in Malaysia. This limits the model to a village level and ignores the broad structural context of the agricultural dynamics. However, despite this focus, Scott's model can be applied to a wide range of agricultural societies and settings in the world, including the coffee-growing societies in the Mbinga District in Southern Tanzania. The rationale for applying this approach is embedded in its argument that agricultural changes are best understood within the context of

[117] G. Fridell, "Coffee Statecraft: Rethinking the Global Coffee Crisis, 1998-2002", *New Political Economy*, 19, 3, (2014), 409.
[118] J. C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, (London, Yale University Press, 1985), xvi.

the dynamics of rural livelihoods. In this way, one will be able to understand the experience and perceptions of the smallholder farmers in relation to the broader agricultural system. Chapter Two of this thesis demonstrates how the colonial government has regarded smallholder coffee farmers as “weak” in comparison to the white settlers. The smallholder coffee producers reacted differently to the state policies, ordinances, and regulations, the compulsory co-operative movements that coincided with the Ujamaa ideology from 1967 to 1986 as discussed in Chapter Four, as well as the economic dynamics in the coffee-marketing system, ranging from ambivalence to compliance over the period from the 1920s to 2015. Also, weapons of the weak can be applied in examining the gender relations in the coffee-production economy, especially on how women react to the inequalities in agricultural relations.

This thesis drew from literature produced by two different approaches because the issue of coffee production and its impact is complex. It involves various stakeholders from different classes with different interests in society. Therefore, no single universal theory can offer a complete solution to the complexity of coffee production and its impact.

Apart from the two adopted theoretical frameworks mentioned previously, this thesis developed a novel theoretical framework - best bescribed by the term “coffeescapes” - distilled from the coffee landscapes. “Coffeescapes” also focuses on and includes the responses of the smallholder coffee producers to state policies and co-operative officials therefore “coffeescapes of resistance”. It involves the influence of coffee as plant on coffee producers and their reactions to the implementation of state policies. For instance, Chapter Two shows the colonial state discouraged the production of Arabica coffee by the Africans. Chapter Three shows how coffeescapes shaped the relationship between coffee co-operative societies and the Tobbaco Marketing Union [NGOMAT]. The use of gendered geographical coffee landscapes enabled women to challenge male power over coffee. It was from these landscapes the researcher developed the term “coffeescapes”, and because these “coffeescapes” were used to resist male dominance in the coffee economy, hence “coffeescapes of resistance”.

The thesis was based on a qualitative strategy. The qualitative strategy seeks to gain an in-depth understanding of social phenomena within their natural settings.[119] It pays special attention to specific events and issues to gain a deeper understanding of their meaning and significance. This thesis adopts the qualitative strategy to provide greater insight and in-depth analysis of the coffee producer's experience and reactions regarding the founding, establishment, fortunes and the multi-layered impact of coffee production in the Mbinga District.

The study area was the Mbinga District, which consists of six administrative divisions, namely Mbinga Urban, Mbuji, Mkumbi, Hagati, Kigonsera, and Namswea. However, this study focused on the four divisions of Mbuji, Mkumbi, Hagati, and Mbinga Urban, which forms the Matengo Highlands and, indeed, these are the major coffee-growing divisions in the district. The focus was on smallholder coffee producers, the Agricultural Marketing Cooperative Societies and Co-operative Union's headquarters, the coffee research centre, coffee curing mills, and centres for private coffee companies in the district.

The thesis is also a product of primary sources – both archival and oral sources. It also uses secondary sources as discussed in the literature review and in supporting arguments within the thesis. The body of archival sources was collected from the National Archives of Tanzania (TNA) housed in Dar es Salaam, the National Record Centre (NRC) in Dodoma and East Africana Section of the University of Dar es Salaam. At TNA four categories of archival sources were found. The first category consists of correspondence among the government officials on coffee production from the 1920s to the early 1960s. The second consists of monthly and annual reports on coffee production. The reports consist of Provincial Commissioners' Annual Reports, Agricultural Departmental Reports at both national and district level under the Ministry of Agriculture. The third category consists of legal documents, such as coffee ordinances and legislation. The last category comprises of coffee co-operatives and marketing reports consisting of minutes of the Coffee Board of Tanganyika and later the Coffee Board of Tanzania, Ngoni-Matengo Co-operative Marketing Union Limited

[119] A. Bryman, *Social Research Methods*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 408.

(NGOMAT), and Matengo Native Co-operative Union Limited (MANCU). These documents enabled the researcher to understand the foundation and development of the coffee industry in colonial Tanganyika. Also, information on the interactions between the state, co-operatives and smallholder coffee producers were obtained. Information obtained from TNA covers the period from the 1920s to the early 1960s.

However, from Tanzania National Archives, three challenges were encountered. One of the challenges was the scarcity of data on coffee production for post-colonial Tanzania. The available files cover the period from the 1920s to the early 1960s. Researcher was told the files on the post-colonial period could be found in Dodoma (National Record Centre). This forced her to request an access permit from the Director of the National Archives which enabled her to visit and access information on the post-colonial period at the National Record Centre. The second challenge was the incompleteness of the files found in the Tanzania National Archives – some of the files shown in the list could not be found. This caused difficulties in getting complete information on coffee production and marketing during the colonial period. After consulting the archival officials, the researcher was told that some of the files were in transit to Dodoma (National Record Centre) for appraisal. With the access permit, she was able to visit the National Record Centre.

From the NRC housed in Dodoma, information on co-operative development from the British colonial period to independent Tanzania, specifically to the late 1990s, was found. The Coffee Marketing Board's Reports were also obtained. With the NRC files, the researcher was able to explore the dynamics of co-operative development in Tanzania [and Mbinga in particular] and how smallholder coffee producers reacted as co-operative members or sometimes as individuals. Moreover, these files were important as they brought into light what transpired on matters such as the dissolutions and disaffiliation of some co-operatives in the Mbinga District. The information on the transition from the state-owned coffee marketing co-operatives to the individual or private enterprises was also obtained from these files.

However, challenges encountered in the Tanzania National Archive in Dar es Salaam were not completely solved. Firstly, the files concerned with women activities on coffee production were few. Of those limited files on women, some were empty. This forced the researcher to rely on oral sources exploring the role of women in coffee production and marketing in the Mbinga District. Secondly, the access to the post-colonial files was limited by the repository law.[120] This law requires the information to be declared public after 30 years. This study covers the period between the 1920s and 2015; therefore it was difficult to obtain data on coffee production and marketing beyond the 1990s. The author was able to acquire permission from the Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operatives to visit the Tanzania Coffee Board Headquarter in Moshi, Kilimanjaro, and Tanzania Coffee Research Institutes (TaCRI), Lyamungo Station (Kilimanjaro) and Ugano Sub-station (Mbinga).

The other archival sources were obtained from the then Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operatives of Tanzania, specifically from the Tanzania Coffee Board (TCB) in the Moshi District in Kilimanjaro region. TCB offered a body of information on coffee marketing through the auctions system, statistics on production and marketing trends in Tanzania from 1981 to 2015, which assisted in understanding the dynamics of coffee production and marketing. TCB also offered useful information on coffee buyers (co-operative and private companies). The Tanzania Coffee Research Institute Centre (TaCRI) at Lyamungo in the Hai District and Ugano Sub-station in the Mbinga District were also visited, whereby information on coffee research from the 1930s to 2015 was obtained. Mbinga Coffee Curing Company Limited (MCCCO) in Mbinga provided information on coffee production, processing, and marketing. Files on the marketing systems that were auctioned, as well as those directly exported, were accessed. Archives of Peramiho Abbey (APA) provided information on the early activities by missionaries in introducing cash crops in both Ungoni and Matengo area before the 1920s.

[120] The United Republic of Tanzania (URT), The Record and Archives Management Act, 2002. Section 16.4 (1) states that, "subject to any written law prohibiting or limiting the disclosure of information in any public record, public records in the National Archives, in any other archival repository under the control of the Director or in place of deposit appointed under section 15 of this Act, shall be available for public inspection after the expiration of a period of thirty years from their creation … (2) at the expiration of the period of thirty years prescribed in subsection (1) above, any record which has been classified as confidential or secret shall cease to be so classified and subject to the National Security Act …", for more details see Part IV of the Record and Archives Management Act, 2002 on access to public records, 14-15. Accessed from www.lrct.go.tz on 24 April 2019.

Two private coffee companies, Dan and Associates Enterprises Limited (DAE LTD), and Coffee Management Services Limited (CMS LTD) were also consulted. Information on their involvement in coffee production and marketing was obtained. Changes in the coffee-marketing system in Tanzania, particularly in 2017, preventing the involvement of private coffee buyers with smallholder producers, have affected this study. During the fieldwork (2018), out of 37 coffee buyers existing in the 2017/2018 season,[121] only two were in operation. Both companies operated as coffee curing factories, but DAE Limited also operated as coffee buyer/exporter from the auction in Moshi. The documents obtained from these companies were complemented by interviews with workers who worked with different private coffee companies and Non-Governmental Organisations such as TechnoServe, Tchibo Estate (T) Ltd, BAM (T) Contractors Ltd, Soochack Bush & Co Limited, LIMA Ltd, and Uniexim (T) Ltd.[122]

Oral interviews constituted the second core of sources for this thesis. It is the product of interviews conducted in Kilimanjaro and Ruvuma regions from November 2018 to January 2019. Some interviews were conducted in January 2020. A total of 42 people was interviewed. The larger number of the interviewees came from the Mbinga District in the Ruvuma Region as the area of study. Because of the geographical distribution of the district, a motorbike was used to visit villages in Matengo Highlands. Geographically, the Mbinga District consists of rolling hills, mountains, and plateaus, as explained earlier in this chapter. In Matengo Highland, most of the coffee producers are mountain dwellers. To reach them, one has to pass through different ranges of elevations. Transport has been challenging in mountainous areas, especially during the rainy season. The only available transport to reach them was by motorbike.

[121] District Executive Director's Office Mbinga District Council, 2019.

[122] Angelus Kinunda was interviewed on 27 December 2018 at DAE LTD. As an agricultural officer, he was employed from 2008 to date. He was once a government employee (1983–1995). After retirement, he worked with other private companies, such as Soochack Bush Limited (2000–2007) and LIMA Limited (2008); Wendo Sudayi was interviewed on 27 December 2018 at DAE Limited as project manager being employed in 2016, but he worked with Technoserve from 2012 to 2015; Suzo Komba was interviewed on 8 January 2019 at CMS Limited as an Assistant Manager (employed in 2015). He worked in various private coffee companies since 1998: in 1998 with UNIEXIM (T) LTD as zone supervisor, from 1999 to 2002 with TCHIBO Ltd in Mbinga Branch and from 2003 to 2005 in Moshi and Kikuyu (Kenya) coffee estates, from 2006 to 2015 he worked with BAM Contractors (T) Limited as a manager, and from 2015 to date, he is working with CMS as an Assistant Manager. Through them, information about private coffee enterprises was obtained.

In-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with coffee growers, government and non-governmental officials, coffee companies and farmers' co-operative officials in the Mbinga District. The snowball sampling technique was used in the selection of the key informants from the four administrative coffee-growing divisions, namely Mbinga Mjini (urban), Mbuji, Mkumbi, and Hagati. Key informants were selected by visiting the headquarters of Mbinga Farmers' Cooperative Union (MBIFACU) and getting two experienced informants, and after the interview or short conversations, they were able to direct me to other useful informants. The coffee growers were interviewed to get their experiences and responses on coffee farming and its multi-layered impact. Among the coffee growers, women were also interviewed to get information on their experiences and their roles in the coffee economy in the district. One challenge with women was their readiness to talk about coffee production as they kept directing the researcher to talk to men. In their mind, coffee was a "man's crop". Because of that context, only twelve women were interviewed of whom the most were widows and unmarried women. Although this demonstrated that coffee production and marketing was regarded a man's domain, it also demonstrated a power relation in the household on who should give information on agricultural production and marketing. This prevented a researcher from obtaining more information from women. Through informal conversations, more information about women involvement in coffee production in the Mbinga District was obtained.

Government officials, such as the General Director of Tanzania Coffee Board and the Marketing Director were interviewed on the role of the state in the coffee industry, whereas non-government officials, particularly from private coffee enterprises, were also interviewed on the role of their enterprises in coffee production, processing, and marketing in the Mbinga District.

This thesis is divided into seven chapters**.** The first chapter introduces the thesis, reviews the literature and discusses the theoretical and methodological approaches employed in the thesis. Chapter Two demonstrates the foundations and development of coffee production in the Mbinga District from the 1920s to 1945. The chapter shows how the colonial state was involved in the establishment and development of coffee production in the Mbinga District. It argues that the introduction and expansion of coffee production in Umatengo in the late 1920s and

1930s was largely influenced by the British colonial government attempts to generate state revenue by reducing tax defaulters and promoting the production of export crops. It also discusses other factors that enabled the introduction of the coffee economy in the district, including geographical, faith-related reasons, as well as the local people's desire to get rid of labour migration as the way of acquiring cash. It further examines the attitudes of the colonial state to the introduction of Arabica Coffee to African smallholder farmers in the late 1920s. This chapter also demonstrates the expansion of coffee production in the 1930s. The chapter proceeds with the decline in the demand for coffee in the world and the responses of the Empire of the United Kingdoms and its colonies in the wake of the Great Depression in the 1930s. It examines the coffee industry in the Mbinga District during the Second World War. The chapter also explores the African's responses (coffeescapes of resistance) to coffee production and marketing by both compliance and noncompliance ways.

Chapter Three traces the co-operative movement and the dynamic relations with smallholder coffee farmers from the 1930s to 1976. The chapter assesses the changes in the relationship between smallholder coffee farmers and co-operative societies in the Mbinga District over time. It argues that the rise of co-operative societies and its dynamic relationship with the coffee growers in the Mbinga District has influenced the development of smallholder coffee production and marketing in the district, particularly in the post-war period. The chapter examines the emergence of the co-operative movement in the district between 1930 and 1945. It further examines the formation of the Matengo Native Co-operative Union in 1954. It assesses the challenges faced by the co-operative movement and its subsequent dissolution in the 1976.

Chapter Four explores the influence of the Tanzanian independent state on coffee production and the marketing of coffee between the 1960s and 1990. It argues that the trajectory of the coffee industry between the 1960s and 1990 in the Mbinga District was mainly shaped by the post-colonial state interventions on agricultural production and marketing. This intervention had some impact on the socio-economic aspects of the smallholder coffee producers in the district. The chapter focuses on the influence of the state on coffee production and marketing through the compulsory co-operative movement and socialist policies (Ujamaa and

Villagisation) in the 1960s to 1990 in the Mbinga District. It demonstrates the monopolistic state control over peasant production in Tanzania and Mbinga in particular. The chapter also shows the responses of the coffee producers to the state interventions, specifically on the implementations of Ujamaa Policy in the district. Regarding the expansion of coffee production, the chapter examines the implementation of the Coffee Improvement Programmes between 1977 and 1986. Moreover, the chapter examines the newly established co-operative movements for the coffee-marketing processes between 1984 and 1990.

Chapter Five demonstrates a transition from state monopoly to the free and competitive marketing in the coffee industry in the Mbinga District between 1990 and 2015. It argues that the transition from a strict state monopoly under co-operative societies to co-existence with private enterprises in the coffee industry did not lead to free and fair competition but rather entrenched hegemonic and exploitative practices at the expense of the smallholder coffee producers. The chapter discusses the challenges faced by the Mbinga Co-operative Union (MBICU) and its demise in the late 1990s. It also explores the emergence of the independent co-operative societies and farmer groups between 2000 and 2015. The chapter also engages with the struggle and survival of the co-operatively owned coffee curing factory in the wake of private enterprises.

Chapter Six explores the women's role in coffee production in the Mbinga District with a particular focus on production and marketing between the 1920s and 2015. It argues that, notwithstanding the scale of production, the role of women in the coffee economy cannot be underestimated. It examines the influence of the colonial state on the role of women in coffee production in the district. The chapter demonstrates the participation of women in the co-operative coffee markets during both colonial and post-colonial period. It also examines the women's role in the coffee industry during the free-marketing period, 1994-2015. Moreover, it examines women's "coffeescapes of resistance" over the control of the coffee proceeds during the coffee free-marketing system.

Chapter Seven provides the synthesis of the major themes and identifies a new research avenue.

# Chapter Two

## Coffee Production: Foundation and Development in Mbinga District, c. 1920s–1945

### 2.1. Introduction

This chapter explores the foundation of coffee production from the 1920s to 1945 in the Mbinga District, Tanzania. In the period after the First World War, the Tanganyika territory which was part of German East Africa became a mandatory territory with Britain as mandate holder under the supervision of the League of Nation. The mandatory status was a result of the 1919 Peace Treaty of Versailles. This status ended soon after the Second World War, in June 1945 at the United Nations meeting when the United Nations Charter was signed to mark the beginning of the trusteeship system.[1] During the General Assembly on 13 December 1946 the United Nation approved the proposed agreement of Tanganyika territory as a trusteeship colony.[2] The period between the 1920s and 1945 featured two crises, namely the Great Depression and the outbreak of the Second World War. The British economy was ruined by the First World War, the Great Depression of the 1930s, and the Second World War. Consequently, it influenced the colonial economic development policymaking and development plans in the colonies. The colonial state responded to these crises by dictating to the colonies what to produce and how to produce it. The economic development was defined by the "political imperative" to serve the interests of the metropole economy first and then that of the colonies.[3] The weaknesses of the German colonial economic policies also played an important role in shaping the British economic development policies in Tanganyika. For instance, the coercive nature of German administrative systems in the

[1] "Tanganyika Text of Trusteeship Agreement as Approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations", *The International Law Quarterly*, Vol. 1, No. 4, (Winter, 1947), 568.

[2] "Report of the Fourth Committee to the General Assembly on Trusteeship Agreements, with First three Annexes, December, 12, 1946", *International Organisation*, Vol. 1, No. 1, (Feb. 1947), 212.

[3] C. C. Fourshey, "The Remedy for Hunger Is Bending the Back": Maize and British Agricultural Policy in Southwestern Tanzania 1920-1960", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 41, 2, (2008), 236.

labour recruitment processes, tax collection, and the use of direct rule had been the cause for the frequent African resistance in the territory. Therefore, Tanganyika territory was theoretically a mandate territory but was practically treated as a source of capital to rehabilitate the British ruined economy.

This chapter uses the "coffee statecraft" approach to examine the role of the colonial state in the foundation and development of the coffee industry in the Mbinga District, Tanzania, from the 1920s to 1945. The chapter argues that the introduction and expansion of coffee production in Umatengo in the late 1920s and 1930s was largely influenced by British colonial government attempts to generate state revenue by reducing tax defaulters and promoting the production of export crops. Other factors such as missionaries, indigenous people and geographical factors have played important roles in the foundation and development of the coffee economy in the district. In exploring the Africans' responses, this chapter uses the "coffeescapes of resistance" conceptual framework showing that African coffee producers had been responding variably through compliance and noncompliance. The chapter further shows that missionaries, European planters and a few Africans started commercial coffee production in the northern and north-western parts of Tanzania during the late 19$^{th}$ and early 20$^{th}$ centuries), while in the Mbinga District started coffee production much later.

This chapter uses mainly archival sources and a few oral sources.[4] The archival sources were obtained from the Tanzania National Archives Housed in Dar es Salaam and University of Dar es Salaam, East Africana Section. Oral sources were gathered from coffee producers and former coffee co-operative society officials in the Mbinga District. From these sources, the theme of the foundation and development of coffee production emerged. As mentioned earlier, the Mbinga District was part of the Songea District during the colonial period (German and British). It was called Umatengo while the Matengo Highlands was the coffee-growing area.

[4] The period under study (the 1920s to 1945) limits the possibilities of having more oral interviews with the earliest coffee producers (from the 1920s). As a result, the few interviews were conducted with the people above 80 years of age (born in the 1930s).

The chapter begins with the historical overview of coffee production in colonial Tanganyika (currently Tanzania) to contextualise the introduction of the coffee economy in Tanzania and Mbinga specifically. Also, it examines the forces behind the introduction of coffee production in the district. The chapter discusses the attitude of the colonial state in the introduction and expansion of the coffee industry, specifically on Arabica coffee. The chapter also examines the expansion of coffee production in the 1930s. Furthermore, it proceeds with the decline in the demand for coffee in the world and the responses by the Empire of the United Kingdoms and its colonies in the wake of the Great Depression in the 1930s. Finally, it examines the coffee industry in the Mbinga District during the Second World War.

## 2.2. Historiographical Note

Several scholars focus on the role of the state on cash-crop production. Goran Hyden shows how colonial states transformed the African societies into peasant economies.[5] He argued that peasantry in Africa was the creation of colonial powers and stressed that rural producers in most parts of Africa are still in the process of becoming peasants.[6] What is happening in Africa is "peasantization", which is the process of becoming a peasant.[7] According to Hyden, the colonial state used coercive measures, such as taxation, to compel African peasants to produce cash crops. However, taxation became a less effective way to sustain productivity once production had been established.[8] He then claimed that African peasants remained independent from the state as they owned the means of production. As a result, they could seek to withdraw from production. However, drawing from Hyden's book, this chapter shows that the independence was somewhat relative since peasants in Tanzania between the 1930s and 1940s were curtailed to the extent of remaining dependent on the colonial economy. The coffee production was backed with rules and regulations

[5] G. Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: Underdevelopment and Uncaptured Peasantry*, (Nairobi: Heinemann Education Books, 1980).
[6] *Ibid*., 11-12.
[7] K. Post, "'Peasantization' and rural political movements in Western Africa", *Archives europeennes de sociologie*, 13, 2, (1972), 223-54.
[8] G. Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania*, 24.

to the extent that any attempt to withdraw was subjected to penalties, including fines and even imprisonment.

B.J. Berman and J.M. Lonsdale stressed how the colonial state in Kenya played a double role in the reproduction and accumulation of capital as well as in political reproduction.[9] Other scholars focus on the responses of African peasants to the colonial state. Andrew Coulson focuses on the conflict between the state and peasants over the implementation of various agricultural policies in colonial and post-colonial Tanzania.[10] However, Kenneth Curtis contended that state interference in coffee production through the imposition of coffee rules and regulations created tension among the coffee producers. The Haya demonstrated their anger by protesting the colonial coffee rule of 1937 and 1953 by using the phrase "twaiyanga" [we refuse].[11] The 1937 coffee rules aimed to keep the coffee farms clean from weeds, long grasses, diseased trees, intercropping with maize and by reducing the number of plantain plants. On the other hand, the 1953 rules were directed to the plantain plants to curb the spread of plantain weevil.[12] On both rules, coffee producers were against inspection of their farms. In line with Curtis, the anthropologist Brad Weiss[13] focused on the symbolic and material value of coffee in the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Haya society in western Tanzania. The coffee tree has been associated with power and value. The coffee farmers tried to retain distance from global forces that threatened their values. This was shown during the colonial period when coffee production and marketing became a centre of conflict between the Catholic missionaries, colonial government, and coastal traders whom they believed to be a threat to the

[9] B.J. Berman & J.M. Lonsdale, "Crisis of Accumulation, Coercion and the Colonial State: The Development of Labour Control in Kenya", *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 14, 1, (1980), 55-81.

[10] A. Coulson, "Agricultural Policies in Mainland Tanzania, 1946–76", *Review of African Political Economy*, 4 (10), (1977), 74-100.

[11] K.R. Curtis, "Smaller is Better: A Consensus of Peasants and Bureaucrats in Colonial Tanganyika", in W.G. Clarence-Smith and S. Topik, (eds.), *The Global Coffee Economy*, 322; K. R. Curtis, "Cooperation and Cooptation: The Struggle for Market Control in the Bukoba District of Colonial Tanganyika", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 25, 3, (1992), 505-538.

[12] K.R. Curtis, "Small is Better", 325.

[13] B. Weiss, *Sacred Trees, Bitter Harvests: Globalizing Coffee in Northwest Tanzania*, (Portsmouth NH: Heinemann, 2003).

growth of Christianity among Africans.[14] Weiss argued that "the articulation of attachment and separation, inclusion and exclusion, intimacy and restraint is a critical process in establishing the symbolic and material dimensions of precolonial, colonial, and postcolonial relations."[15] The book is useful to this thesis as it provides the changing cultural value of coffee over time and space. However, the work by Weiss is normative in nature in representing the Haya society. It uses an idiosyncratic assessment of individual history in the Kagera region to support its description. Weiss's failure to use archival sources on the German and British colonial period made him use a generalised conversation as an ethnographic source while ignoring other historical accounts.

Therefore, the existing agrarian historiography focuses on the emergence of African peasants, their protest to the colonial state interferences, as well as the unequal relationship between the state, estate and peasants. As a result, the study of the Arabica coffee grown by the smallholder Africans has been given little attention in agrarian scholarship. This chapter contributes to the historiography of African peasant production focusing on the debate on the role of the colonial state in the introduction and development of coffee production in the Mbinga District from the 1920s to 1945.

### 2.3. Introduction of a Cash-crop Economy in Mbinga District, 1900–1919

Before the introduction of any cash-crop production in the Mbinga District, the German colonial administration was engaged in the collective economy revolving around ivory, beeswax and wild rubber trade.[16] By the late 19$^{th}$ and early 20$^{th}$ centuries, as explained in Chapter One, the Germans conducted various cash-crop experiments, specifically on tobacco, coffee, sisal, and cotton in the

[14] B. Weiss, "A Religion of the Rupee: Materialist encounters in North-West Tanzania", *Africa*, 72 (3), (2002), 391-419.

[15] B. Weiss, *Sacred Trees*, 3.

[16] Collective economy focused on the collection of forest products by hunting and gathering. The Germans had been engaging in the forest products trades even before the colonial period. The operation of German trading companies such as O'Swald and Hansing since 1847 and 1853 respectively in Zanzibar, facilitated the trading activities along the coast and in the hinterlands. It was easy for the German colonial government to adapt to the pre-existed economy before the introduction of the agricultural economy in Tanganyika; J. Koponen, *Development for Exploitation: German Colonial Policies in Mainland Tanzania, 1884 – 1914*, (Helsinki/Hamburg, 1994), 168.

coastal areas.[17] During the early colonial days in Tanganyika, the Mbinga District (as part of the colonial Songea District) was categorised as a labour reserve,[18] supplying labourers for the sisal estates in Tanga and along the central railway line, as well as for coffee estates in the Northern Province. In the Ruvuma region, Germans also engaged in experiments with coffee and sisal production before the outbreak of the Maji Maji War of 1905–1907.[19] Sisal production was tried along the shore of Lake Nyasa and was successfully grown; however, it was abandoned due to distance and the lack of a railway connection to the coast.[20] The German colonial government unsuccessfully tried coffee plantings in the Matengo Highlands and on the hills around Songea.[21]

Traders were also involved in the introduction of coffee in the Songea District. According to archival sources, the first coffee was planted by Arab traders at Kikole (18 miles south of Songea) in 1900. The seed was obtained from Indian traders at Lindi although its origin is unknown. About 20 coffee trees, which were believed to be of the Arabica type, flourished for five or six years. However, due to neglect, they were burnt by bush fires during the Maji Maji War in 1905.[22]

[17] J. Koponen, *Development for Exploitation*, 215.

[18] The early colonial economic establishment created development inequalities in the territory. By the 1930s, Tanganyika was divided into three economic zones; the production for export zone consists of the sisal estates, the main cash-crop producing areas, and towns; the second zone was food-production areas supplying to the estates (parts surrounding the coastal sisal estates and central railway line such as Uluguru, Kondoa); the last was a remoteness area beyond the export and food-producing areas supplying migrant labour; J. Iliffe, "Agricultural change in modern Tanganyika", 30-33.

[19] Maji Maji War was the resistance of Africans against the German colonial rule in Southern Tanzania between 1905 and 1907. The war started in July 1905 in the Matumbi Hills north-west of Kilwa. By August it had spread southwards to river Ruvuma and westward to Lake Nyasa. The term Maji Maji was coined from the Swahili word *maji* meaning water. The Maji Maji fighters obtained their inspiration from the Matumbi Prophet Kinjekitile who possessed the *hongo* spirit as war medicine. It was believed that the medicine would protect Africans during the fight by turning the European bullets into water (*maji*); Fr. E. Ebner OSB, *History of Wangoni and their Origin in the South African Bantu Tribes,* (Benedictine Publications Ndanda-Peramiho, 1989); J. Koponen, *Development for Exploitation*, 230.

[20] D. Schmied, *Subsistence Cultivation, Market Production and Agricultural Development in Southern Tanzania*, Bayreuth African Studies, (Eckhard Breitinger: Bayreuth University, 1989), 64.

[21] TNA, 504/9/8, Coffee, a report from the District Agricultural Officer, Songea, Ref. No. 19/75, "Coffee of Songea" to the Senior Agricultural Officer, South-western Circle, Lindi, 1932.

[22] *Ibid*.

Moreover, missionaries were an important group of people who pioneered the introduction of the cash crop in the Songea District. Between 1900 and 1909, the Benedictine Missionaries of German origin experimented with coffee and citrus fruits in Kigonsera and Litembo in Umatengo and Peramiho in Ungoni. The experiment with citrus fruits in Litembo was successful but commercially a failure due to the transport challenges and perishability of the fruits, which made it difficult to get it to the German market. In 1915, Fr. Ludger Breindl introduced wheat in Umatengo at the Litembo mission station.[23] Although wheat was not produced on large scale, it became an importance source of income for most of the people before the start of coffee production. The primary market was missionary mills at Peramiho in Ungoni.

As to coffee, the little success obtained by the missionaries in their centres were interrupted following the outbreak of the First World War (1914–1918). The forcible deportation of the Benedictine Missionaries of German origin resulted in the coffee plots being abandoned. Most of the cash-crop experiments in the district conducted before the 1920s were either abandoned or destroyed by bush fires during the wars (Maji Maji War in Ungoni and First World War in Umatengo). The Maji Maji War created fear among both missionaries and communities surrounding mission stations. For instance, both Peramiho and Kigonsera Mission stations were burnt by Ngoni warriors in 1905.[24] Also, missionary archival sources show that during and after the Maji Maji War, a local troop commonly known as *rugaruga* was campaigning against Ngoni. *Rugaruga* was led by an Arab trader, namely Rashid bin Masudi of Kikole.[25] During its operation, it was involved with food plundering and the destruction of houses and crops. The wars therefore hampered a successful crop experiment.

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[23] APA, Chronicle of Litembo Foundation to 31 December 1914.
[24] L. Doerr, O.S.B., (ed.), *Peramiho 1898-1998 in Service of the Missionary Church Vol. I*, (Ndanda-Peramiho: Benedictine Publications, 1998), 45.
[25] APA, Diary of Peramiho Mission Vol.1, entry of 13 January 1905.

### 2.4. Forces Behind the Introduction of Coffee Production in the Mbinga District in the 1920s

The emergence of coffee production in Mbinga was a gradual process with many challenges, both natural and human-made. Natural challenges refer to environmental forces, such as geographical and climatic forces, while human-made forces were primarily attributed to the discouragement from the colonial state. The success story of the emergence of coffee production in the district can be contributed to various forces. John Iliffe states that "one of the factors for successful adoption of commercial crops was the policy of the colonial government of compulsion".[26] This policy was applied by both German and British colonial governments in introducing agricultural cash crops. Cotton was introduced as a commercial crop in the coastal regions and Sukumaland. As it was under compulsion, it was met by resistance and discontent by the Africans. The most notable resistance was the outbreak of the Maji Maji War between 1905 and 1907. The colonial policy in the Songea District had a dual character regarding the introduction of cash crops. During the Depression of the 1930s, the British colonial government introduced tobacco in the Songea District. This followed the impoverishment caused by the increasing migrant labour recruitment, as well as the economic crisis facing the plantation economy.[27] The fall of wages in sisal plantations from Shs.30/- in 1927 to Shs.12/- to Shs.18/- by 1935, as well as poor working conditions, made the migrant labour economy less profitable.[28] Mbinga District (by then Matengo Division of the colonial Songea District) had a different experience. Despite several attempts of discouragement in the late 1920s, the "grow more crops" campaign of 1932 led to Africans accepting the growing of Arabica coffee.

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[26] J. Iliffe, "Agricultural change in Modern Tanganyika", *Historical Association of Tanzania*, 10, (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1971), 20. During the German colonial period the policy of compulsion was dominant on taxation, labour recruitment, and compulsory cotton cultivation in communal fields commonly known as "village shamba"; J. Koponen, *Development for Exploitation*, 230.

[27] H.H. Ndomba, "A History of Peasant Tobacco Production in Ruvuma Region, Southern Tanzania, c. 1930-2016", PhD Dissertation, Stellenbosch University, (2018); G. P. Mpangala, "A History of Colonial Production in the Songea District, Tanzania, 1897-1961", MA Thesis, University of Dar es Salaam, (1977).

[28] J. Iliffe, "Agricultural change in Modern Tanganyika", 29.

Colonial taxation was another force behind the introduction of coffee production in Umatengo. The colonial state was not merely an instrument for supervising colonial production, but also an instrument for accumulating capital from the colonies.[29] The German colonial administration introduced various forms of taxes, including hut and poll taxes. These taxes were to be paid in either cash, grains or cattle. Tax defaulters were indirectly forced to work in the plantations in Tanga and Morogoro. Local Africans from the labour reserve areas had to engage in the migrant labour system. Taxation was one of the reasons for the Matengo resistance of 1902 – during the German colonial occupation in Umatengo.[30] The Matengo resistance was, firstly, the reaction of people against forced labour, such as Matengo being forced to carry lime to Songea for the construction of the military station in 1901, and secondly, the colonial taxation imposed by the German colonial government. In March 1902 they refused to pay tax, tore off the badges of the askari (African soldier) and sent him back to Songea. They then burnt down the school which had been built by Fr. Yohannes Hafliger at Litembo. As a result, German Sergeant Müller arrived with 14 askari to fight the Matengo who retreated to the mountains after losing about 40 people. [31]Throughout the German colonial period, Wamatengo was facing difficulties in paying taxes to the colonial authority due to the lack of a reliable source of income. It was their labour-power as porters, plantation and estate labourers or in public works that served as the source of income to pay taxes.

By 1921, the British colonial state, through the Hut and Poll Tax Ordinance of 1921, provided for compulsory paid labour for tax defaulters on government works.[32] The burden of paying taxes became worse for Africans in the late 1920s and 1930s following the global economic crisis. The crisis affected the general economic life of people in the territory. It affected the wages in the colonial estates and plantations where the Matengo were working as migrant labourers. Some of the labourers became redundant due to economic hardship facing the plantation and estate sectors.

[29] B.J. Berman and J.M. Lonsdale, "Crisis of Accumulation, Coercion and the Colonial State: The Development of Labour Control in Kenya", *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 14, 1, (1980), 55-81.
[30] Rev. E. Ndunguru, *Historia, Mila na Desturi za Wamatengo*, (Dar es Salaam: East African Literature Bureau, 1968), 18; J. Iliffe, *The Modern History of Tanganyika*, 117.
[31] J. Iliffe, *The Modern History of Tanganyika*, 117.
[32] TNA, AB 16, Annual Report Songea of 1923, 19.

The introduction of coffee as the cash crop came as an opportunity for Matengo people to obtain money without becoming migrant labourers. During the 1930s, both hut and poll taxes were used as incentives to increase the production.[33] The introduction of coffee production in the Mbinga District was therefore not just an attempt of the colonial state to increase production of the export crops, but at the same time was an indirect way of capital accumulation through tax payments.

Another factor for the emergence of coffee production in the Mbinga District was the local people's desire of getting rid of labour migration as the way of getting cash. Before the introduction of coffee in the Mbinga District, people eligible to pay taxes were forced to go out of the Matengo territory to work and obtain money. The slogan was "go to Coast".[34] The migrant labour economy created problems among the Matengo society. Among other things, the migrant labour economy accelerated hardship in families, specifically for the wives and children of the absentee men. Family disintegration, adultery, divorce, and poverty were the outcomes of the increasing number of absentees in Umatengo country. To fulfil their desire of having a local economy, some of these migrant labourers, especially those who were working in the coffee estates in Moshi or Arusha, tried to smuggle with coffee seeds on their return to Mbinga. Although the colonial state, through the Department of Agriculture, intensified the cash-crop experimentations in the district in the 1920s with the aim of increasing production of the export crops, it was also responding to the Africans' desire to promote the local economy.

Along with the local people's desire, there were individual people who pioneered the introduction of coffee production in the Mbinga District. Christostomus Makita, the son of the Matengo chief, was the most prominent person in the coffee industry in Matengo Highlands in the 1920s. Makita worked as a clerk in a sisal estate in Tanga in 1924. On his return to Mbinga in 1926, he persuaded the District Commissioner to order some coffee seeds from Moshi. He saw in coffee production an opportunity to produce a cash crop. He pioneered the establishment of the first coffee nursery in

[33] TNA, H1/21527 Circular No. 36 of 1931, from Secretary to the Government, Dar es Salaam, to all Provincial Commissioners, 14 October 1931.
[34] TNA, 1733/9/AB/11, Annual Report Songea District of 1924, 10.

Matengo highlands at Myangayanga in 1927, the year acknowledged as the official starting point of coffee production among the local Africans in the Mbinga District. [35]

Missionaries also played an important role in the introduction of coffee as a cash crop in the Mbinga District. As explained in Chapter One, missionaries pioneered the introduction of coffee in Morogoro, Kilimanjaro, as well as in Mandela in Kenya since the late 19th century. From about the 1900s, the Benedictine Missionaries of the St. Ottilien pioneered the introduction of coffee in Peramiho (Ungoni) and later in Umatengo at Kigonsera and Litembo. Despite the disasters caused by the Maji Maji Uprising and the First World War, they were dedicated to the re-introduction of coffee production in the district in the 1920s. Mission stations played the role of distributors of coffee seeds to the government nurseries established in the early 1920s. The involvement of missionaries in the introduction of coffee production in the Mbinga District was motivated by three factors: local consumption, coffee production as an income-generating activity, and maintaining Christianity among their followers.

Although the missionaries in the Mbinga District did not establish large coffee farms, they were aiming to distribute the seedlings to their followers. The Matengo territory was among the areas designated as a labour reserve area. Matengo people had to go and supply their labour in the sisal plantations in Tanga and Morogoro and coffee estates in Arusha and Moshi. One of the major activities of the missionaries was evangelisation. With the migrant labour economy, it was a challenge to sustain newly converted Christians. The primary concern with missionaries was that the period which migrant labourers spent in the plantations or estates could relapse their Christian faith. The situation was more challenging with those working on the coast where Islam (which they referred to as "mohamadanism") was the dominant faith.[36] The introduction of cash crops was necessary for Umatengo in order to discourage the Christian followers from going to the coast. They

35 TNA, 155/CO-OP.27/XI, Maendeleo ya Umatengo Mkinga Factory Umatengo, Mkutano wa ukulima 17 June 1953; Interview with Denis Ndunguru, Myangayanga village, 20 December 2018; He is the grandson of Chief Christostomus Makita (the pioneer of the coffee production in the Matengo Highland).

36 TNA, AB 16, Annual Report Songea-1923, 19.

believed that the production of coffee would provide Matengo people with a permanent source of income and, therefore, reduce the rate of absentees. At the same time, converts would have more time for practising Christianity.

Geographical factors played a significant role in the introduction of coffee production in the Mbinga District. The Matengo Highlands is the area with hilly highland, as mentioned in Chapter One. The altitude range is 2 000 meters maximum, and the average annual rainfall is between 1 200-1 400 mm. The soil is dark-brown to reddish-brown clay loam and clay sandy loam with the *Hyparrhenia parinari* wooded grassland vegetation.[37] This was already confirmed in the 1920s through the outcomes of the experimentations conducted by the Department of Agriculture from the early 1920s to the late 1920s. It proved that the soil content, altitude, rainfall, and vegetation found in Matengo Highlands were suitable for coffee production – specifically for Arabica coffee production, not Robusta coffee.[38] The suitability of the area for coffee production was again confirmed many years later in 1971 when a team of the Bureau of Resource Assessment and Land Use Planning came up with 13 agro-economic zones in the Ruvuma region out of which only two were suitable for coffee production, namely the Matengo Highlands and Ubena Highlands in the northern part of the Songea District bordering the Njombe region.[39]

### 2.5. Colonial State vs Arabica Coffee Production in the 1920s

After the First World War, the missionaries re-introduced coffee production in mission stations at Peramiho in Ungoni, Kigonsera, and Litembo in Umatengo. It was from these stations, coffee seeds were collected and redistributed to local Africans. In the 1920s, some coffee seeds believed to be obtained from Bukoba, were planted at Peramiho in a sheltered valley with moist, dark to red loam soil in which cattle dung, grass, and wood ashes were incorporated. Although Bukoba was known

[37] United Republic of Tanzania (URT), *Ruvuma Socio-economic Profile,* (Dar es Salaam: The planning Commission & Ruvuma Regional Commissioner's Office, 1997), 20; (UDSM), D. Conyers, "Agro-economic Zones of Southern Tanzania", *Bureau of Resource Assessment and Land Use Planning, Research Report, 49*, (1971), 42-46.
[38] TNA, 504/9/8, Coffee.
[39] (UDSM), D. Conyers, "Agro-economic Zones of Southern Tanzania", 42-46.

to be the home of Robusta coffee, in 1928 it was discovered that the coffee at Peramiho was of the Arabica type. More coffee plantings were conducted at Peramiho, and in 1932 there were about 380 coffee trees growing at Peramiho.[40]

From Peramiho, missionaries took coffee seedlings to Kigonsera mission in 1920.[41] Coffee was planted on a gentle slope with an irrigation fallow for irrigation during the dry season. In 1926, approximately 20 trees were in existence. However, with no proper care, they were severely attacked by borer beetles. Seeds were obtained from these 20 trees for more plantings, and in 1932, there were about 300 mature coffee trees at Kigonsera mission station.[42] In 1922, one of the administrative officers, namely Vickers Haviland, ordered 20 coffee seedlings from Kigonsera and planted them at Lipumba.[43] In 1928, the trees were attacked by borer beetles and died. Eight coffee trees survived but were neglected.[44] Litembo Mission was not left behind in experimenting with coffee-growing. As was the case with their fellow missionaries of Peramiho and Kigonsera, several attempts were unsuccessful until in 1929 when coffee-growing was established. One of the reasons for the earlier failures was the low temperature of the area.

After the First World War, there was a growing desire among the Africans in colonial Tanganyika to cultivate Arabica coffee as an economic crop. For instance, in Kilimanjaro, there were 14 000 African-owned Arabica coffee trees. The number increased to 125 000 in 1922 and 375 000 in 1924.[45] The rapid expansion of coffee-growing during the period of 1922 to 1926 aroused opposition on the part of European planters in the Northern Province. They were afraid of the danger of pests and diseases spreading to the European estates and also of coffee theft by Africans. Resolutions were passed, asking for the prohibition of Arabica coffee-growing by Africans. It was presented to the Governor, Sir Donald Cameron, and read that "the growing of Arabica coffee in

[40] TNA, 504/9/8, Coffee, from the Agricultural Officer, Songea, Ref. No. 19/75, to Senior Agricultural Officer, Southern Eastern Circle, Lindi, 1932.
[41] *Ibid*.
[42] *Ibid*.
[43] *Ibid*.
[44] *Ibid*.
[45] TNA, H 5/11908, Coffee cultivation by Natives, Memorandum on the Production of Arabica by Natives, Folio 278.

East Africa shall be confined as far as possible to the areas where it is already being grown and that any extensions be discouraged excepting in areas where no European coffee estate exists."[46] This resulted in Government Circular No. 77 of 1927, that stipulated that no assistance was to be given to African Arabica coffee growers throughout the territory.[47] Exceptions could only be granted by the Governor. By 1927, such approval was only given to the Kilimanjaro Native Planters Association in the Northern Province.[48] The southern part of the territory, including the Mbinga District, was not approved by the Governor. This was the period when "coffee statecraft" was applied by the colonial state. The colonial state became the political instrument for maintaining the domination of European coffee planters in the Northern part of the territory where coffee settler farms were prominent by suppressing the development of smallholder African coffee growers.

B.J. Berman and J.M. Lonsdale contended that the colonial state was an ultimate institutional apparatus for ensuring the reproduction and accumulation of capital while, on the other hand, it functioned as an agency of political reproduction.[49] The colonial state applied the ideological justification for the distribution of property and the maintenance of the class relations of production. This was common in the settler colonies, such as Kenya and Southern Rhodesia. Political instruments were used to sustain labour supply in colonial economic units, such as mining and agriculture. In Southern Rhodesia, for instance, the colonial state applied various measures to discourage peasant agriculture in the early 1900s. The legal system, for example, was used to dispossess and exclude Africans from land to sustain labour supply to settler farms.[50] The idea of discouraging smallholder African coffee growers was a reaction of the estate coffee planters to the shortage of labour on their estates. The expansion of Africans growing coffee was regarded as a

[46] TNA, H5/11160, Arabica Coffee Growing by Natives, "East African Coffee Industry" an extract from the minutes of the meeting Joint East African Board, 13 July 1927.
[47] TNA, H5/11160, Arabica Coffee Growing by Natives, Government Circular No. 77 of 1927, "Coffee Growing by Natives" from General Secretary to all Provincial Commissioners, 20 December 1927.
[48] *Ibid*.
[49] B.J. Berman & J.M. Lonsdale, "Crisis of Accumulation, Coercion, and the Colonial State", 58.
[50] D. Johnson, "Settler Farmers and Coerced African Labour in Southern Rhodesia, 1936-46", *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 33, No. 1, (1992), 111-128; G. Arrighi, "Labour supplies in historical perspective: a study of the proletarianization of African peasantry in Rhodesia", *Journal of Development Studies*, VI, (1970), 197-232.

threat to the existence of estate farming. Mbinga District was free from the settler's pressure compared to the northern coffee producing zones where settlers were prominent.

More emphasis was placed on the production of Robusta coffee than Arabica. As explained before that coffee estate planters felt insecure with the growing number of African coffee (Arabica) producers. It created labour shortage and competition in marketing. District officers were supposed to encourage Africans to grow Robusta. From 1927 onwards, the "Coffee statecraft" was implemented through the district officers who were supposed to encourage Africans to grow Robusta. The district officer in Matengo Highlands received numerous consignments of Robusta coffee seeds from Amani research station for distribution to Africans. The coffee seeds failed to germinate. The 1929 consignment from Bukoba germinated fairly at Lipumba, but most of the seedlings died out after being transplanted.[51] The soil and climatic conditions in Umatengo did not favour the growth of Robusta coffee. In the Matengo Highlands, the Robusta seedlings died out during the cold season. For instance, in Litembo Mission station, the Robusta seedlings were planted alongside with Arabica coffee and given equal care. The Arabica coffee survived while the Robusta seedlings died.

The planting of Arabica coffee was never encouraged in the Mbinga District before the 1930s. Arabica coffee that was planted, was done so by mistake and usually the result of incorrect identification of the coffee variety. In 1929, for instance, the District Officer, under the impression that the Peramiho coffee was Robusta, planted the seeds from that source and the seedlings were distributed to local Africans. Later it was discovered that the Peramiho coffee was of the Arabica variety. The discouragement of Arabica coffee-growing by the colonial government, following circular No. 77 of 1927, created a sense of fear among local Africans and even among the Native Authorities. The local African individual growers were in fear of their crops being uprooted once identified as of the Arabica variety.

[51] TNA, 504/9/8, Coffee, from the Agricultural Officer, Songea, Ref. No. 19/75, to Senior Agricultural Officer, Southern Eastern Circle, Lindi, 1932.

### 2.6. "We must leave no stone unturned": Smallholder Coffee Production in the 1930s

The period between the 1930s and 1940s was characterised by expansion of coffee production in the Mbinga District. The colonial economic development policies and plans were more focused on economic rehabilitation in the wake of the Depression. In Tanganyika territory, the period was characterised by the so-called "Grow More Crops" campaign.[52] Under this campaign, the colonial government aimed at promoting and increasing crop production. It was a British colonial state agricultural strategy introduced in the 1930s with the aim to produce more crops for export. During the campaign, the Agricultural Director Ernst Harrison rationalised the use of force to make peasants work.[53]

Following the decline of prices of crops during the Great Depression, the colonial government thought that the cash crops would fall away altogether unless early steps were taken to avoid this contingency. The thinking was that Africans would revert to the production of a crop only for their sustenance. By letting Africans free to decide on what to produce, would mean the sharp decline in incomes from hut and poll taxes and other sources. The colonial government aimed to maintain incomes by increasing production through the deliberate "Grow More Crops" campaign from 1932 in order to maintain public revenue and preventing Africans cash-crop producers from abandoning the commercial economy entirely. The government was desperate to increase the production of crops as underlined by the directives of the Chief Secretary of the government to the Provincial Commissioners, stating that "we must leave no stone unturned to increase the export of native-grown cash crops".[54]

[52] TNA, H1/21527, Cooperation between Agricultural Department and Provincial Administration, from the Chief Secretary, Dar es Salaam, Ref. No. 13044/162, to all Provincial Commissioners, 21 November 1932.
[53] K.I. Tambila, "The Great Depression and Peasant Societies in Tanganyika 1930–1937", in *Die Weltwirtsschaftskrise der dreißiger Jahre in der Dritten Welt; Sonderfall oder Einstieg in die Strukturse der Gegenwart?*, (Universitat Hannover, Historisches Seminar, Lehrgebiet Aubereuropaische Geschite, 1990), 136.
[54] *Ibid*.

In 1933 the British colonial government introduced a change of policy. The 'coffee statecraft' took a different direction. Through the Department of Agriculture Circular No. 3 of 1933[55] the restrictions on the growing of Arabica coffee by local Africans were withdrawn. It was, however, stressed that Arabica coffee should be cultivated with care and knowledge, and pests and diseases that were often induced by cultural errors should be avoided since a diseased plot could spread the infection to neighbouring cultivators.

According to the Department of Agriculture, the coffee production had to be introduced in an approved area with adequate water supply, adequate or potentially adequate communications, and sufficient population to secure cultivation on a scale that would justify inspection and supervision by officers of the Agricultural Department.[56] As a result, the southern provincial commissioner recommended that Matengo Highlands of the Songea District be accepted as an approved area for Africans to grow and develop Arabica coffee. Efforts of encouragement were concentrated on the Matengo Highlands, which appeared to offer the best chance of success. No planting was allowed in other areas.[57]

In its quest for economically viable coffee production, the Department of Agriculture prescribed a minimum requirement for the size of production units. A minimum acreage of half an acre populated with not less than 250 coffee trees planted nine feet apart was considered an economically viable unit.[58] The Department argued that it was within range of the average peasant cultivator to handle and sufficiently large to prevent indiscriminate planting or abandonment of planted areas.

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[55] TNA, H5/11160, Arabica Coffee Growing by Natives, Circular No. 3 of 1933, from the Chief Secretary to the Government, Dar es Salaam, Ref.No.S.M.P.111660/125, to the all Provincial Commissioners and Directors of Agriculture, "Coffee Growing by Natives", 12 February 1933.

[56] TNA, H5/11160, Arabica Coffee Growing by Natives, from Director of Agriculture, Morogoro, Ref. No. 417/6948, to The Chief Secretary, Dar es Salaam, 19 September 1932. The conditions for the justification of an area for Arabica coffee cultivation become incorporated in a "Notes on Cultivation, Preparation, and Marketing of Arabica Coffee" in 1933.

[57] TNA, H5/11160, Arabica Coffee Cultivation by Natives-Lindi, from Provincial Commissioner, Lindi, the Chief Secretary to the Government, Dar es Salaam, 16 November 1932.

[58] TNA, H5/11160, Arabica Coffee Growing by Natives, "Notes on Cultivation, Preparation and Marketing of Arabica Coffee" from the Chief Secretary to the Government, Dar es Salaam, Ref.No.S.M.P.111660/125, to the all Provincial Commissioners and Directors of Agriculture, "Coffee Growing by Natives", 12 February 1933.

The experience proved that closer spacing often resulted in poorly developed coffee trees, and wider spacing was a waste of land for peasant producers.

The coffee production expanded following the approval of the Matengo Highlands for growing Arabica coffee in 1933.[59] In April 1933, two men, namely Hendrich Limka and Karistus Kayuni, were sent to Moshi to be trained as an agricultural assistant and senior African instructor, respectively. The government provided a grant-in-aid of £90 for the one-year training.[60] They were trained on matters concerning coffee, such as the choice of land, seeds, preparation of nurseries, planting distances, lining out, holing, shade planting, compost pits, manuring, capping, topping, pruning and handling, insect and pest control and the timetable of seasonal work. They also learned about the work of African associations on the marketing of coffee.[61]

In 1933, the Matengo Native Authority passed rules to guide the coffee plantings and growers. The most important of these rules was the restriction on the planting of the Kent variety which tended to be more resistant to *Hemileia vastatrix* disease than ordinary Bourbon.[62] The seed of selected Kent was obtained from Lyamungo Coffee Research Station and planted in various nurseries established in the Matengo Highlands. Coffee nurseries were established in Myangayanga, Wallanzi, Pilakano, Lipumba, and Litembo areas under the supervision of the Native Authorities and Agricultural Department. More Matengo was integrated into coffee production in the Matengo

[59] Tanganyika Territory, *Department of Agriculture Annual Report 1933*, (Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1934), 75.
[60] TNA, H5/11908/II, Coffee Growing by Natives: Songea District, from the chief Secretary, Dar es Salaam, to the Provincial Commissioner-Lindi dated 30 January 1933.
[61] *Ibid*.
[62] Bourbon coffee is a strain chiefly grown in the Northern Provinces. The branches have a characteristic upward growth and both the young and old leaves are pale green in colour. The strain appears susceptible to exhaustion and diseases in localities lacking the best conditions of climate and soil. With the Kent coffee variety the primary branches grow more closely from the main stem. It is resistant to the leaf rust disease, Hemileia vastatrix…..and is grown at the lower altitudes; Tanganyika Territory, *Department of Agriculture, Arabian Coffee, Pamphlet N0.2*, (Dar es Salaam: Government Printers, 1930), 1-2; Tanganyika Territory, *Department of Agriculture Annual Report 1934*, (Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1935), 67.

Highlands, and by 1935, coffee plantings already totalled 17 551 trees.[63] Following is the summary of the coffee plantings as obtained from various nurseries in Umatengo:

**Table 1:** The Coffee Seedlings in Umatengo in 1935.[64]

| **Coffee Nursery** | **Coffee Plantings Distributed** |
|---|---|
| Myangayanga, Ugano | 6 082 |
| Wallanzi | 4 400 |
| Pilikano and Lipumba | 4 569 |
| Litembo | 2 500 |
| **Total** | **17 551** |

These initiatives manifested in the further expansion of coffee production after 1935. The number of coffee growers increased from eight in 1929 to 230 in 1935.[65] The Department of Agriculture was able to realise the expansion of coffee production in the district following the enactment of the Coffee Industry (Registration and Improvement) Ordinance, 1936. The Ordinance required the owner or a manager of the coffee plantation and nursery to register annually. The coffee plantation owned by African smallholders was registered under the Co-operative names, paying one shilling as registration fee.[66] Failure of registration was considered as an offence. This translated into coffee growers increasing to 587 by 1937 with 154 949 coffee trees.[67] The Kent variety dominated with 145 958 coffee trees of which 13 400 were in the bearing stage. All non-Kent varieties (8 991) were in bearing stage. It was clear that the Kent variety was popular and dominant in the Matengo Highlands.

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[63] TNA, 504/9/8, Coffee, Coffee in Songea.
[64] *Ibid.*
[65] *Ibid*.
[66] TNA, H5/23455/Vol. I, Orders and Regulations issued under the Coffee Ordinance, "The Coffee Industry (Registration and Improvement) Ordinance, 1936".
[67] Tanganyika Territory, *Department of Agriculture Annual Report 1937 Part II*, (Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1939), 40.

The growth also manifested in an increase in coffee nurseries. Apart from the six managed by the Native authorities, more than 22 nurseries were established in 1935.[68] Demonstration coffee nurseries were also established by the Roman Catholic missionaries at 12 schools, and 200 seeds were issued to each school.[69] Through school gardens, students learnt about seed selection, planting, spacing, pruning, and other coffee production practices to apply to their family farms. These nurseries were subjected to the Native Authority Rules and under the control of the Department of Agriculture. Before 1935, the small amount of coffee obtained was disposed of locally and unrecorded due to the lack of an organised market. In 1935, the small coffee crop obtained from the older plantings in Matengo Highlands was disposed of locally. Two tons of parchment coffee was sold to Europeans and Indians at the rate of 50 cents of a shilling (East African shilling) per kilogram.[70]

### 2.7. "Too much coffee": Coffee Production and Marketing in the Wake of the Great Depression of the 1930s

The international economic crisis which started in 1929 in the USA caused a crisis in European countries by reducing production, consumption, and employment in the metropole and then in their colonies. Tanganyika, being under British rule, was not spared the impact of the Depression. As the production fell in European countries, so the market for primary products collapsed, and Tanganyika was unable to sell its export crops at a reasonable price.

The economic crisis led to a decline in the demand for coffee in the world market. The *Morning Post* expressed the situation in one of its articles as "too much coffee continental demand stopped …"[71] The coffees from the colonies of the Empire were imported by the United Kingdom (UK),

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[68] Tanganyika Territory, *Department of Agriculture Annual Report 1935*, (Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1936), 73.
[69] *Ibid*.
[70] *Ibid.* The British East African colonies (Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika) were using the East African shilling (Sh.) from 1920 to 1966 under East African Currency Board. One shilling was made up of 100 cents, and Shs.20 was equivalent to one UK pound.
[71] TNA, H5/19904, Marketing of Coffee, extract from *Morning Post*, 21 March 1931.

and then half of the imports were re-exported to other European countries. The imposition of import duties by European countries caused the collapse of the British re-export trade to other countries and at the same time caused anxiety among the East African coffee planters. For instance, in 1931, the *Morning Post* reported that a "large quantity of the previous crop understood to amount to some 1 000 tons remain unsold in the warehouses of London agents."[72] Table 2 summarises the imported and exported coffee from Tanganyika between 1930 and 1934.

**Table 2**: Tanganyika Coffee: Imports and Exports from UK, 1930–1934.[73]

| Year | Imports | | Exports | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Quantity (Cwt) | Value (£) | Quantity (Cwt) | Value (£) |
| 1930 | 59 877 | 350 204 | 12 893 | 58 566 |
| 1931 | 51 276 | 262 782 | 22 805 | 91 788 |
| 1932 | 44 151 | 206 130 | 11 339 | 46 687 |
| 1933 | 56 732 | 240 105 | 10 988 | 73 785 |
| 1934 | 32 313 | 134 259 | 21 306 | 72 010 |

The table above shows the decline of the coffee imported by the UK. The export of coffee from the UK reached the lowest quantity in 1932 and 1933.

Britain had an excellent asset during the Great Depression regarding her foreign trade, namely the Empire of dominions (Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Newfoundland) and her colonies. The British had to protect her Empire with tariffs following the detachment from the gold standard in September 1931.[74] During the Ottawa Conference in 1932, the British Empire was renamed as the British Commonwealth of Nations and "reciprocal preferences" (imperial preferential duties) were introduced for commonwealth products, including coffee receiving tariff

[72] *Ibid*.
[73] TNA, H5/2248, Monthly Tea and Coffee Statistics from Trade and Information Office, 1933–39.
[74] K.I. Tambila, "The Great Depression and Peasant Societies in Tanganyika 1930–1937", 134.

immunity.[75] The system of preferential rates that existed between the UK and its dominiums was focused on assisting East African producers of the Empire in competing with foreign coffee from countries such as Costa Rica. The preferential tariffs that existed in Canada and South Africa were aimed at assisting East African coffee growers in competing with coffee from Brazil. Following the Ottawa Agreement of 1932, the remainder of the chief British dominium markets, such as New Zealand, operated under the preferential rates of duty. Table 3 summarises the imperial preferential duties in various East African coffee markets in 1932.

**Table 3:** The Imperial Preferential Tariff Rates in Five Chief British Coffee-consuming Countries by 1932.[76]

| Country | Amount of duty per Cwt. | | Preferential tariffs per lb. in favour of British coffees |
|---|---|---|---|
| | General | Preferential | |
| United Kingdom | 14s | 4s 8d. | 1d. |
| Canada | $3.36 (14s) | Free | 3cts (1 ½ d.) |
| South Africa | 9s 4d. | 2s 4d. | 3s 4d. |
| Australia | 37s 4d. | 37s 4d. | NIL |
| New Zealand | 9s 4d. | Free | 1d. |

[75] The Ottawa agreements were the series of agreements on trade and tariffs between the United Kingdom and the commonwealth nations signed in 1932 at the Imperial Economic Conference held in Ottawa under the policy of imperial preference based on the principle of "home producers first, Empire producers second, and foreign producers last". The agreement came as a result of the effect of the Great Depression and the search for markets for the Empire products following the spread of the protectionism spirit, especially after the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act of 1930 by the United States on trade; https://www.britannica.com/topic/imperial-preference, accessed on 2 August 2019; K.I. Tambila, "The Great Depression and Peasant Societies in Tanganyika 1930–1937", 134 -135.

[76] TNA, H5/23189, Imperial Preference on East African Coffee. The end of the gold standard in 1931 made Canada attach its dollar to the US dollar currency.

The history of the UK tariffs on coffee can be traced back to the 1870s when all coffee entering the UK home market was subjected to import tariffs for the first time. For instance, on the 2 May 1872, a duty of 14s per cwt. was imposed on all coffee entering the UK home market, irrespective of the country of origin of the coffee.[77] From 1872 to 1919, British grown coffee had not received any preferential treatment. The first step towards preference was made on 1 September 1919, when the duty on coffee from Empire sources was reduced from 42s per cwt. to 35s per cwt., thereby creating a preference of ¾ d. per lb. in favour of British growers. This started a trend that continued into the 1930s as demonstrated in Table 4.

**Table 4:** A History of the United Kingdom Tariffs on Coffee.[78]

| Date duty | Amount of duty per cwt. | | Amount of d. per lb | | Imperial pref. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Operative | General | Preference | General | Preference | |
| 2 May 1872 | 14s | 14s | 1 ½ d. | 1 ½ d. | Nil |
| 22 September 1915 | 21s | 21s | 2 ¼ d. | 2 ¼ d. | Nil |
| 5 April 1916 | 42s | 42s | 4 ½ d. | 4 ½ d. | Nil |
| 1 September 1919 | 42s | 35s | 4 ½ d. | 3 ¾ d. | ¾ d. |
| 15 May 1922 | 28s | 23s 4d. | 3d. | 2 ½ d. | ½ d. per lb. |
| 5 May 1924 | 14s | 11s 8d. | 1 ½ d. | 1 ¼ d. | ¼ d. |
| 17 November 1932 | 14s | 4s 8d. | 1 ½ d. | ½ d. | 1d. per lb. |

[77] *Ibid*.
[78] *Ibid*.

On 17 November 1932, as a result of the Ottawa agreements, the duty on coffee was reduced from 11s 8d. (1924) to 4s 8d. per cwt. for Empire coffee and the duty on foreign coffee remained stationary at 14s per cwt., therefore favouring the Empire product.[79] Between 1933 and 1934, the percentage of coffee from Empire growers consumed in the UK rose from 48,2% to 52,5%, indicating that the preference of 1d. per lb. of coffee had resulted in an increase of approximately 5% in the share of the Empire growers in the United Kingdom home market.[80] This increase was also attributed to the existence of the sterling bloc that emerged in the early 1930s. These were countries whose currencies were tied to the pound sterling under the Bank of England in London. It consisted of the members of the British Empire and the commonwealth who formed a large portion of the foreign currency reserve in London.

The "Eat More Fruit" Campaign was introduced in the 1930s to increase the consumption of coffee in Great Britain.[81] The main objective was to popularise the East African Coffee (Empire coffee), hence increasing the consumption rates in the UK. The Coffee Board of Great Britain in London expressed the idea of increasing the consumption of coffee in Great Britain through a major advertising campaign. Coffee brokers, bankers, shipping companies wharfingers, wholesalers and retailers were involved. The Board set to raise a sum of £50 000 per annum for five years for the advertising campaign. Coffee-producing countries that were part of the Empire were expected to contribute £6 000 a year for five years, spread as follows: £2 500 each from Kenya and Tanganyika, £500 from Uganda, £250 each from Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The advertising campaign was entrusted to Messrs. Saward Baker & Co. Ltd, one of the leading advertising agencies in Europe.[82]

The decline in the demands for coffees in the world was also attributed to the competition from Brazil as the largest "hard Arabica" coffee producer. Before 1937, the increasing consumption of "Mild Arabica" coffee was at the expense of Brazilian coffee. The Brazilian government's policy

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[79] *Ibid*.
[80] *Ibid*.
[81] TNA, H5/19170, Coffee Board of Great Britain, 14 August 1930.
[82] *Ibid*.

to maintain the price of its coffee by destroying its surplus production was primarily responsible for the turn from Brazilian coffee. It was learned that the destruction programme of Brazilian coffee led to the production of low-quality coffee because coffee producers paid little attention to quality. The low-quality Brazilian coffee turned the public's taste to mild coffee. Following the growing tension between the Brazilian government and the naval and military authorities on the funding of the surplus coffee destruction programme, it was agreed that from 30 June 1938 no further funds should be allocated for the destruction. The Brazilian government decided to rather change their policy towards the improvement of the quality of the coffee to secure their position as a supplier of 70% of the world's coffee.[83] The change of policy towards quality improvement, brought competition to the mild coffee in East Africa. The price of Kenyan coffee declined between 20% to 25%, and Tanganyika and Ugandan coffee prices declined by 28%.[84]

In Tanganyika, the reaction to the decline of coffee prices was a sharper, focus on the improvement of the quality of coffee in an attempt to regain the market share lost to Brazilian coffee. The Department of Agriculture, using Agricultural Field instructors, supervised the implementation of coffee production practices, stipulated through various pamphlets and government circulars.[85] Crop diversification was also encouraged by the colonial government through the Department of Agriculture. In 1938, the Chief Secretary wrote a letter to all Provincial Commissioners, encouraging the cultivation of subsidiary crops to supplement the income from coffee production.[86] The coffee growers converted into non-agricultural activities, including basketry, pottery, and trading activities between the Matengo highlanders and the Nyasa Lakeshore community.

In the Mbinga District, following the decline of the coffee prices in 1937/38, the number of coffee producers who sold their coffee through the Ngaka Coffee Co-operative Society declined from 60

[83] TNA, H5/19904/Vol. III, Marketing of Coffee, Brazilian Coffee.
[84] TNA, H5/19554/Vol. II, Financial Assistance to Coffee Industries, Meeting Minutes, Nairobi, 16 December 1937.
[85] TNA, H5/11160, Circular No. 3 of 1933, 12 February 1933; and "Notes on Cultivation, Preparation, and Marketing of Arabica Coffee", 1933.
[86] TNA, H5/19904/Vol. II, Marketing of Coffee, from the Chief Secretary to the government, Dar es Salaam, to all Provincial Commissioners, 3 March 1938.

in 1937/38 to 15 in 1938/39.[87] The coffee price declined from 53 cents per kilogram in 1936/37, 50 cents in 1937/38, and 40 cents for grade I and 36 Cents for grade II in 1938/39.[88] There were signs of peasant withdrawal from the coffee-marketing system (through Co-operative Societies) as they disposed of their coffee through private traders. Goran Hyden in his book stresses that African peasants were autonomous from the state because they owned the means of production.[89] They could withdraw from the market system and survive on subsistence production. The trend was that a fall in the price of an agricultural product led to peasant withdrawal from the production of that crop. It was the opposite in Tanganyika. The failure to withdraw was due to the following reasons: firstly, the demands imposed by the colonial state, required peasants to look for money. For instance, they needed money to pay taxes. So, the extent to which peasants had been woven into the Tanganyika colonial economy made it difficult for them to withdraw.

Secondly, the colonial state applied force through the "Grow More Crops Campaign" initiated in late 1931. The use of state force was justified by the Director of Agriculture to encourage peasants to increase production. The enforcement of coffee rules and regulations with minimum acreage rules were among some of the forced state measures to promote and improve coffee production.[90] The reaction of coffee growers to the low prices of the late 1930s can be considered a "weapons of the weak" reaction. Instead of confronting the authorities, some abandoned their coffee farms, while others decided to divert their product to private buyers instead of the co-operative society. The Matengo coffee producers in the 1930s had no voice to confront any form of exploitation either by the colonial authorities or private coffee dealers. James Scott regarded the withdrawal of peasants from production as a "sign of great desperation" from those scattered across the countryside without formal organisation.[91] This was not the case in Kilimanjaro. Under the Kilimanjaro Native Co-

[87] TNA, 155/Co-op.27/II, Ngoni Matengo Co-operative Marketing Union Limited, a letter from The Manager, NGOMAT, to the Assistant Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Songea, 15 February 1939.
[88] TNA,155/CO-OP.27/II, Ngoni Matengo Co-operative Marketing Union Limited, NGOMAT Coffee Agency as of 31 March 1939.
[89] G. Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania*, 25.
[90] TNA, H5/11160, The 1933 Coffee Rules and Regulations, 1933.
[91] J.C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, (London, Yale University Press, 1985), 36.

operative Union (KNCU), small coffee producers expressed their anger following the failure to get the coffee payments for 1934/35 and general dissatisfactions with KNCU operations. They went into open rioting, involving destruction of the co-operative buildings.[92]

In 1938, the Matengo Native Authority, in order to improve the coffee quality, decided to bolster the 1933 Coffee Rules, as explained before, by adding a fourth rule to prevent the coffee producers from abandoning their farms. The rule stated that "one has to take care of the coffee plot by keeping it clean (eight days in a month) and anyone who does not comply to the regulation is liable on conviction whereby the coffee plants must be uprooted and fined up to Shs.10/-."[93] It was learned that the 1933 rules were, however, not strict enough to prevent coffee growers from neglecting their coffee farms in tough times, as in periods of fluctuating and low prices. It left room for the neglect of coffee farms that then became the breeding ground for coffee pests and diseases. The imposition of a fine as part of the penalty for neglecting of coffee farms was aimed at encouraging coffee growers to keep on growing coffee even when the price was low. However, the enforcement of the 1933 and 1938 Coffee Rules and Regulations by the Matengo Native Authorities and the Department of Agriculture created fear among the coffee producers. As a result, some Africans, especially the youth, decided to engage in the migrant labour economy. The migrant labour economy became one of the 'coffeescapes of resistance' among the youth in Mbinga district. This reaction was different compared to the reaction in other coffee-growing areas, such as Kagera where, as mentioned earlier, open revolts were witnessed from smallholder coffee producers in 1937.[94] In the Kagera region, the coffee producers reacted to rumours that coffee rules were associated with land alienation.[95]

[92] A. Eckert, "Comparing Coffee Production in Cameroon and Tanganyika, c. 1900 to 1960s Land, Labor, and Politics", in W.G. Clarence-Smith and S. Topik, (eds.), *The Global Coffee Economy in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, 1500-1989*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 300.

[93] TNA, 504/9/8, Coffee, "Coffee Rules passed by the Wamatengo Native Authorities conferred by Section 15 of the Native Authority Ordinance with the approval of the Governor", 4 January 1938.

[94] K.R. Curtis, "Smaller is Better: A Consensus of Peasants and Bureaucrats in Colonial Tanganyika", 322.

[95] *Ibid*., 323.

The economic depression and its aftermath also stimulated the number of absentees in the Matengo Highlands in the 1930s. People left the district to perform wage labour as migrant labourers in the northern, coastal and eastern Provinces. There were increased demands for labour in the sisal industry in the 1930s. In 1937, about 2 400 contracted labourers left the Songea District for estate work. Of these, 1 400 labourers were from the district, while the remainder were immigrants from Portuguese East Africa who came to Songea according to a contract between the "Native" Authorities and the recruiting agencies.[96]

Furthermore, tax demands imposed by the colonial states forced people into the migrant labour economy. The taxation rate which was reduced from Shs.7/- in 1932 to Shs.5/- between 1933 and 1936 was restored in 1937 to the pre-depression rate of Shs.6/-.[97] Taxation from its onset had been the force behind the involvement of many Africans in the migrant labour economy. The British colonial government aimed at increasing revenues through taxation and increasing production of the export crop, regardless of the decline of the prices. People in Umatengo produced wheat, European potatoes, and other cereal crops, but there was a limited market for the products. The primary market was the local Roman Catholic Mission. Prior to the Great Depression, people in the Matengo Highlands could raise their tax money of seven shillings by making two or three journeys to the market with a load of food.[98] It had been necessary, during the 1930s, to make four or five journeys, and they found this challenging to do. While trying to cope and adjust to the decline of the coffee prices, the Second World War broke out in 1939. The next section will discuss the coffee production and marketing during this war.

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[96] Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Reports of Provincial Commissioner on Native Administration for 1937*, (Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1938), 57. The number of Africans who left the district for estate works was higher than the figure reported. The 2 400 was the contracted labourers only, but some of the Matengo males travelled to the estates without contracts. The availability of cheap transport (motor transport) attracted a large number of migrant labourers from Matengo Highlands. In 1938 uncontracted labourers were able to obtain motor transport, which eliminated the journey of many weeks on foot; Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Reports of Provincial Commissioners on Native Administration for 1938*, (Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1939), 64.

[97] Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Reports of Provincial Commissioners for 1937*, 57.

[98] Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Reports of Provincial Commissioners on Native Administration for 1931*, (Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1932), 40-41.

## 2.8. Coffee Production during the Second World War (1939–1945)

In the period between 1939 and 1945, the world experienced the Second World War. Although the war was not fought on Tanganyika soil as it was with the First World War, the economy responded to the war requirements. Britain influenced the economies of both metropole and colonies by imposing various regulations on the production and marketing of agricultural products during the war. In 1940, the British Ministry of Food ceased issuing licenses for the importation of coffee into the UK. This decision was firstly based on the oversupply of coffee in the UK at the time. The UK had stocked the equivalent of two and a half year's consumption at its disposal. Secondly, the reduction in coffee imports was necessitated by the need for shipping space for the transport of war necessities.[99] Although the Ministry of Food initially granted a coffee quota of 7 500 tons to East Africa for 1940, shipping transport difficulties led to a suspension of the license for the importation of coffee into the United Kingdom in November 1940.[100]

The provisions of the Defence (Coffee Control Board) Regulations, 1940, which was published as Government Notice No.252/40 of 1 October 1940, under the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act, 1939 governed coffee control in Tanganyika. These regulations established a Control Board and Coffee Control (Sales) Order in 1940.[101] The primary function of the Control Board was to police coffee prices and to liaise with the Kenyan control authorities through a liaison officer in Nairobi to ensure that there was no drastic undercutting of selling prices to the detriment of the producers in both territories. They also had to administer the Tanganyika portion of the East African United Kingdom import quota. The Board controlled all the sales of raw coffee grown in the Northern and Southern Highlands, and Southern and Eastern Provinces. Non-native grown coffee was directed through the Tanganyika Coffee Growers' Association (TCGA), and the Kilimanjaro Native Co-operative Union (KNCU) directed native-grown coffee). All sales made, other than through the

[99] Tanganyika Territory, *Department of Agriculture Annual Report 1940*, (Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1941), 6.
[100] *Ibid.*
[101] TNA, H5/29092/1, Coffee Control and Marketing Policy (Mild Coffee).

agency of the TCGA or the KNCU had to receive the approval of the Control Board to ensure the maintenance of price.[102]

In June 1943 the colonial government appointed the TCGA as an agent for the purchase of the mild coffee crop.[103] The TCGA monopolised and controlled the bulk disposal to the Ministry of Food and the United Kingdom commercial corporations. The intervention of the colonial state in the production and marketing of coffee demonstrated the deliberate attempt of the state to promote the monopoly of the European firms in the exportation of agricultural products, including coffee. There was an agreement between the TCGA and the group of mild coffee exporters, whereby the crop received commission on the following basis: on direct overseas sales 5%, on sales to the Ministry of Food in the UK 1 ½%, and sales to the military and similar government orders, a rate of the commission was mutually agreed upon from time to time in the East African Territories.[104] All co-operative societies had to seek approval of the Board in disposing of the coffee crop. For the exportation of seven tons of the 1945 Matengo coffee crop to Johannesburg, South Africa had to obtain approval from the TCGA.[105] Since the Matengo coffee was not yet under the Tanganyika mild coffee control, the request was referred to the Director of Agriculture in Dar es Salaam.[106]

The centralisation and monopoly of marketing systems established during the war period discouraged the operations of private companies, specifically the Asian-owned companies. In Matengo Highlands, for example, the Indian traders applied for coffee export licenses from the Department of Agriculture, but up to 1944, none of them obtained the license.[107] On the other hand, the colonial state control of production and marketing promoted the operation of European

[102] Tanganyika Territory, *Department of Agriculture Annual Report 1940*, 6.
[103] TNA, H5/31553, Marketing corporation for Tanganyika Mild Coffee; Tanganyika Territory, *Department of Agriculture Annual Report 1944*, (Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1945), 2.
[104] TNA, H5/31553, Marketing Corporation for Tanganyika Mild Coffee.
[105] TNA, 504/9/8, Coffee, from the Senior Agricultural Officer, Iringa, in telegram Ref. No. 4/7/48, to the Manager, TCGA, Moshi,1945
[106] TNA, 504/9/8, Coffee, from the manager, TCGA, Ref. No. 2950, of 25 October 1945, to the Director of Agriculture, Dar es Salaam.
[107] TNA, 504/9/8, Coffee, from the Agricultural Officer, Songea, Ref. No. 4/7/54, to the Senior Agricultural Officer, Southern Highlands Province, Mbeya, 27 November 1944.

companies in colonial Tanganyika. The mild coffee group of exporters formed in 1943, continued to operate in the Northern Province. The exporters comprised of the following companies: The old East African Trading Company Limited (38 ½ % quota), A. Baumann & Company (25%), Leslie & Anderson (Nairobi) Limited (18%), J.G. Aronson Limited (7 ½ %), Sharif Jiwa & Company (3 ½ %), R.S. Campbell & Company (3 ½ %), Gibson & Company (2%), and Nauman, Gepp, Dorman & Company (2%).[108] The centralisation and monopoly of the coffee-marketing system impacted on the effective operation of the market. The lack of competition from other coffee buyers and sellers under the new marketing arrangement between the TCGA and the Ministry of Food created delays in decision making by the colonial government. There were also delays in the registration of new primary co-operative societies, such as Ngaka Coffee Society, and the issuing of coffee buyers and dealers' licenses. When this resulted in the stockpiling of coffee, the colonial officials' only reply was that "coffee takes no harm from keeping and can be marketed by the union in due course".[109]

The colonial state, through the Department of Agriculture, also extended its control to food crop production in Matengo Highland during the Second World War. Although the co-existence of food crop and cash-crop production lessened the occurrence of open discontent from peasants during the introduction of the cash crop economy, it was learned that it was difficult to maintain the balance between food crop and cash-crop production, especially when one of the two fetches a higher price in the market than the other. During the 1940s, Matengo coffee growers were more concerned with coffee production than food-crop production. As a result, the colonial state, through the Department of Agriculture, had to introduce the minimum acreage (one acre) for food crops to be produced by each household under the supervision of agricultural instructors.[110] This caused tension on a local level. The food crops were required for local consumption by the coffee growers, while the surplus was required for serving the war, as well as to feed the sisal plantation workforces. Families were allowed a minimum of one acre for food crop production. The agricultural instructors inspected the

[108] TNA, H5/31553, Marketing Corporation for Tanganyika Mild Coffee, 1945.
[109] TNA, 504/9/8, Coffee, from District Commissioner, Songea, Ref. No. 234/19, to the Provincial Commissioner, Lindi, 12 December 1944.
[110] Interview with Pilmin Lupogo Kindimba village, 9 January 2019.

implementation of regulations on coffee production, as well as the production of food crops. During the inspections, the African coffee producers regarded the inspectors as “colonial watchdogs” and compared them with the colonial police. As a result, some of the instructors were attacked during their inspections. In one such incident in February 1944, an agricultural instructor (Karistus Kayuni) stationed in the Myangayanga area of Umatengo, was confronted by an angry mob during his inspection in Ngima area.[111] The instructor found that people had planted coffee without the approval of an agricultural officer. They had also not planted food crops as it was demanded under the minimum acreage policy. The Agricultural Instructor uprooted eight coffee trees from the unapproved field.[112] The uprooting of coffee trees upset the group. In reacting to that, they beat up the instructor. The coffee producers, therefore, were not passive recipients of the colonial policies. Despite the setbacks, the number of coffee growers had increased from eight in 1929 to 487 in 1942.[113] This also contributed to the increased coffee production from two tons in 1935/36 to eleven tons in 1944/45.[114] Table *5* summarises the total production from 1935 to 1945.

**Table 5**: Coffee Production in Mbinga District, 1935–1945[115]

| **Year** | **Coffee production (Tons)** |
|---|---|
| 1935 | 2 |
| 1936 | 2.5 |
| 1937 | 5.7 |
| 1938 | 2.3 |
| 1939 | NA |
| 1940 | NA |
| 1941 | 12 |

[111] TNA, 504/9/8, Coffee, from Agricultural Officer, Songea, Ref. No.4/15/20, to the District Commissioner, Songea, 8 February 1944.
[112] *Ibid.*
[113] TNA, 504/9/8, Coffee, from the coffee instructor, Umatengo, to Agricultural Officer, Songea, 26 February 1942.
[114] TNA, 504/9/8, Coffee, from the agricultural officer, Songea, to the Senior Agricultural Officer, Southern Highlands Province, Mbeya, 15 January 1945.
[115] Tanganyika Territory, *Department of Agriculture Annual Reports 1935-1945*.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1942 | NA |
| 1943 | NA |
| 1944 | 11 |
| 1945 | 15 |

The review of this table shows that during the period from 1935 to 1945, coffee production was in its foundation stage. It was also clear that the operation of private traders (mainly Asians) for the retail and local consumption had contributed to the unavailability of production statistics from 1939 to 1943. Figure **2** is an illustration of the coffee-marketing system/chain between 1936 and 1945.

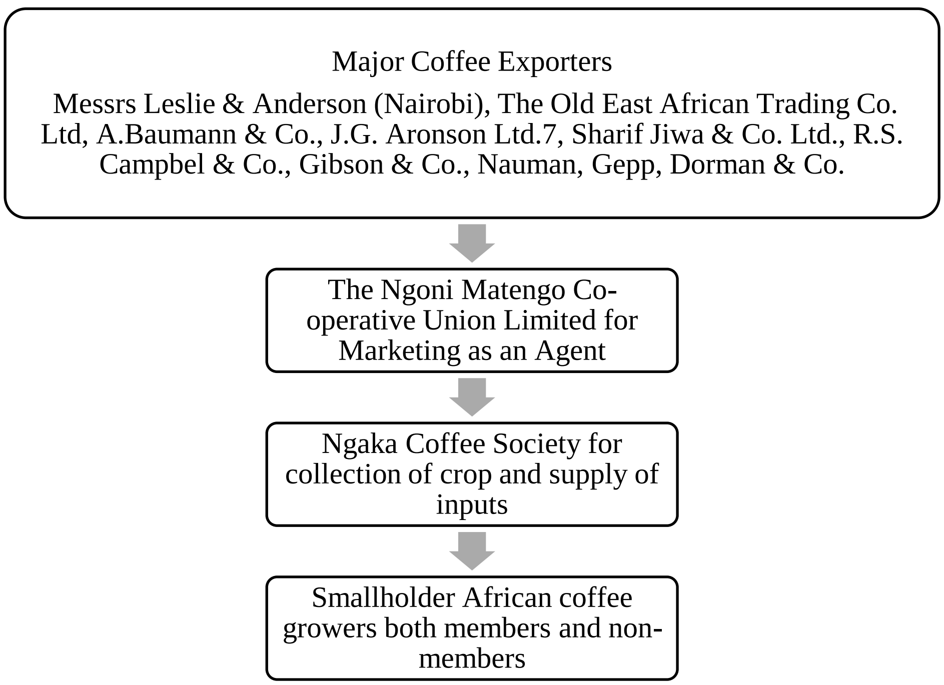


**Figure 2**: The Coffee Marketing Chain in Umatengo, 1936–1945

## 2.9. Conclusion

This chapter has explored the foundation and development of coffee production in the Mbinga District, since the 1920s to1945. It expanded the historical debate on the role of the state in the introduction and expansion of the cash-crop economy in Africa by focusing on coffee production in Mbinga. In exploring the factors behind the introduction of coffee production in the Mbinga District, the chapter argued that the introduction of coffee production in the Mbinga District did not result exclusively from the colonial state. Rather, missionaries and individual Africans' initiatives played an important role in the foundations of the coffee economy in the district. However, the geographical advantage of the Matengo Highlands contributed to the success of the initial trials and eventually, the growth and expansion of coffee production from the 1920s to 1945. In exploring Africans' responses, this chapter shows that African coffee producers had been responding variably through compliance and noncompliance. It demonstrates the 'coffeescapes of resistance' in implementing the coffee rules and regulations.

It explored the context in which the Great Depression of the 1930s and the Second World War influenced the coffee production and marketing in the Mbinga District. It also examined various measures taken by the colonial state and the reactions from the coffee growers between the 1920s and 1945. The chapter also explored the centralisation and colonial state monopoly on the coffee-marketing system during the Second World War. It argued that the state was not only supervising coffee production but also acted as an instrument of political reproduction by promoting the domination of European companies in the coffee-marketing system. Consequently, the chapter argued that coffee production had a significant impact on the socio-economic livelihood of the people in the Mbinga District. The district experienced the co-existence of coffee economy, as well as the migrant labour economy. It also led to the co-existence of both food and cash-crop production, although it created economic imbalances in agricultural production in the 1940s. The chapter adopted Gavin Fridell's "coffee statecraft" in exploring the role of the state on the foundation and development of coffee production in the Mbinga District from the 1920s to 1945 by examining how coffee-production culture was cultivated among the coffee producers in Matengo

Highlands. Also, James Scott's "weapons of the weak" analysis had been employed in exploring how coffee producers reacted to the changes in the coffee-production and marketing systems between 1920 and 1945. Lack of formal organization among the smallholder coffee producers forced them to divert their coffee sales to private buyers instead of co-operatives societies and sometimes they attempted to withdraw from the coffee economy. The chapter, therefore, explored the foundation and development of coffee production in the Mbinga District. The next chapter proceeds with the discussion to examine the co-operative movements and dynamic relationship with smallholder coffee farmers from the 1930's to 1976.

# Chapter Three

## The Co-operative Movement and the Dynamic Relations with Smallholder Coffee Farmers, 1930–1976

### 3.1. Introduction

During the 1930s, the foundation was laid for the further expansion of the coffee industry in the Mbinga District. It was also a period during which the coffee growers started experiencing a transformation from a free coffee-marketing system to a state-controlled period under the co-operative societies. The heyday for the development of co-operative societies in colonial Tanganyika was the period after the Second World War. As explained in Chapter Two, coffee produced in the Mbinga District (by then Umatengo-part of the Songea District) between the 1920s and 1945 was mostly consumed locally with Indians and Europeans being the main buyers. After the Second World War, the Mbinga District experienced the dominance of the co-operative societies in the coffee marketing system. The movement developed from a single Primary Co-operative Society, namely Ngaka, to eighteen co-operative societies affiliated to Matengo Native Co-operative Union Limited (MANCU) in the 1970s. The co-operative societies were established to arrange the joint sale of all marketable coffee handed over to the society by the members, purchasing coffee seed and agricultural implements on behalf of the members, raising loans, and providing office, storage and transport services to the members.

The existing historiography on agricultural co-operatives in colonial Tanzania helps to understand the debate on the changing nature of the colonial marketing system, especially on the relationship between the state, co-operatives, and local politics. However, most of the studies have focused on the northern and north-western part of Tanzania.[1] As a result, little has been written about co-

[1] K.R. Curtis, "Co-operation and Cooptation: The struggle for market control in the Bukoba district of colonial Tanganyika", *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 25, 3, (1992), 505-538; and S.M.L. Seimu, "The Post-War Co-operative Development in Colonial Tanzania", *International Affairs and Global Strategy*, 49, (2016).

operative movements among the smallholder coffee farmers in Southern Tanzania. Historians such as Susan G. Rogers[2] and Kenneth R. Curtis[3] focused on the colonial agricultural marketing system in northern and north-western Tanzania, respectively. Rogers used the formation of Kilimanjaro Planters Association (KNPA) and its demise to show how African independent initiatives were hijacked by the colonial state to maintain its monopoly in marketing systems. KNPA was formed by coffee growers to protect their interest from exploitation. The colonial state relationship with KNPA changed from assistance (1923–25), neutrality (1926–27) to state intervention and manipulation (1928–32).[4] KNPA was dissolved in 1931 due to its strength and independent tendencies in economic aspects and because it was seen as a political threat to the colonial state.[5] Similarly, Curtis focused on North-western Tanzania (Bukoba) and illustrated the relationship between the state, African and Asians traders and local politics. Both historians show that the colonial state aimed to eliminate intermediaries and centralise its monopoly in the marketing system. The colonial state was able to co-opt the African coffee producers' initiatives into the marketing system. Drawing from Rogers and Curtis, this chapter goes further by analysing the dynamic relationships between a state, co-operative movements, and smallholder coffee producers in Southern Tanzania.

Somo M.L. Seimu[6] explores the growth of the coffee and cotton marketing co-operatives in the northern and north western provinces in Tanzania from 1932 to 1982. The study focuses on the formation of the Kilimanjaro Native Co-operative Union (KNCU) and Bukoba Co-operative Union (BCU) for coffee in Kilimanjaro and Kagera regions respectively.

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[2] S.G. Rogers, "The Kilimanjaro Native Planters Association: Administrative Responses to Chagga Initiatives in the 1920's", *Transafrican Journal of History*, Vol. 4, No. ½, (1974), 94-114.
[3] K.R. Curtis, "Co-operation and Cooptation".
[4] S.G. Rogers, "The Kilimanjaro Native Planters Association", 95.
[5] *Ibid*, 111.
[6] S.M.L. Seimu, "The Growth and Development of Coffee and Cotton marketing Co-operatives in Tanzania, c.1932-1982", PhD Dissertation, University of Central Lancashire, 2015.

The mentioned scholars failed to address adequately the historical development of the co-operative societies in the southern part of Tanzania. Seimo also analysed the formation of the Victoria Federation of Co-operative Unions for cotton marketing in the Western Cotton Growing Areas in the Lake Province. Although Seimu did a comparative study on coffee and cotton from 1932 to 1982, his focus on north and north western Tanzania left the southern part of the country neglected in the history of the co-operative movement. Additionally, Seimu neglected the strained relationship between the co-operative societies and unions handling different crops – an aspect this chapter attempts to address by referring to the conflict between NGOMAT (tobacco) and Ngaka (coffee) societies. This chapter expands the analysis further by examining the co-operative movement in the Mbinga District focusing on the small coffee producers from the 1920s to the 2015. Some have focused on peasant tobacco in the Songea District, specifically on the hegemony of the Ngoni-Matengo Co-operative Marketing Union in the tobacco industry.[7] Patrick M. Redmond[8] and Hebert H. Ndomba focus on the complicated relationship between the state and African peasant tobacco production in the Ruvuma region from the early 1940s to the 1950s. By using Songea, Native Tobacco Board Ndomba argued that "the colonial state has created SONTOB to control tobacco production".[9] However, studies in the Ruvuma region ignored the dynamic relationship between co-operative societies and smallholder coffee producers. This chapter, therefore, draws and builds on both Redmond and Ndomba to draw out the conflicting relationship between NGOMAT and the Ngaka Coffee Society and its impact on smallholder coffee producers in the Mbinga District.

This chapter attempts to fill this historiographic gap by tracing the history and influence of the coffee co-operative societies in Mbinga between the 1930s and 1976. It focuses on the first phase of the existence of co-operative societies in Tanzania before the dissolution in 1976. The chapter

[7] The most referred Co-operatives in Ruvuma region is the Ngoni-Matengo Co-operative Marketing Union Limited (NGOMAT) formed in 1936 to handle tobacco production and marketing in Ruvuma region; H.H. Ndomba, "A History of Tobacco Production in Ruvuma Region, Southern Tanzania, c. 1930-2016", PhD Dissertation, Stellenbosch University, (2018); P.M. Redmond, "The NMCMU and Tobacco Production in Songea", *Tanzania Notes and Records*, 79, (1976), 65-98.

[8] P.M. Redmond, "The NMCMU and Tobacco Production in Songea".

[9] H.H. Ndomba, "A History of Tobacco Production in Ruvuma Region", 126.

assesses the changes in the relationship between smallholder coffee farmers and co-operative societies in the Mbinga District over time. It argues that the rise of co-operative societies and its dynamic relationship to the coffee growers in the Mbinga District have influenced the development of smallholder coffee production and marketing in the district, particularly in the post-war period. It further argues that, despite the rhetoric that the imposition of the co-operative movement by the colonial authority in the 1930s was to eliminate the exploitation of the African coffee growers by the middlemen traders, the co-operative societies became the state instruments in controlling and monopolising coffee production and marketing in the Mbinga District.

The chapter begins with contextualising a historical overview of co-operative societies in Tanzania between the 1920s and 1976. Secondly, it uses the Ngaka Coffee Co-operative Society and its subsequent relationship with NGOMAT to examine the emergence of co-operative movements in the Mbinga District between the 1930s and 1945. Thirdly, the chapter examines the co-operative movements in the post-war period, focusing on the formation of the Matengo Native Co-operative Union and its affiliated societies. Finally, the chapter assesses the challenges faced by the co-operative movement and subsequent dissolution of the co-operative societies in 1976. Moreover, it also examines the reactions by the coffee farmers to conflicts emanating within and among the co-operative societies between the 1930s and 1976. This chapter, therefore, analyses the rise of the co-operative movement in colonial and early postcolonial Tanzania and its impact on the production and marketing of coffee, as well as its dynamic relationship with smallholder coffee farmers.

### 3.2. Historical Overview of Co-operative Societies in Tanzania (1920s–1976)

The history of coffee co-operative societies in Tanganyika started in the 1920s, specifically in the Northern Province in Kilimanjaro. The Chagga people established the Kilimanjaro Native Planters Association (KNPA) in 1925 to protect the interests of the African coffee growers against the middlemen who were mainly Asians. The formation of KNPA was opposed by both Indian traders and the colonial government to protect the interest of the white settlers. KNPA was the voice of African coffee producers when the 1927 circular, discouraging Arabica coffee-growing by

Africans, was issued by the British governor Sir Donald Cameron.[10] In 1931, KNPA was dissolved following the bankruptcy and the arrest of its leaders by order of the Provincial Commissioner for fraud.[11] In 1932, the first co-operative union in Africa was formed, namely the Kilimanjaro Native Co-operative Union Limited (KNCU). KNCU was registered on 29 December 1933, following the enactment of the Co-operative Society Ordinance, 1932 (No. 7 of 1932).[12] In 1936, Ngoni-Matengo Co-operative Marketing Union Limited (NGOMAT) was formed in the Songea District to handle tobacco production while the Bugufi Coffee Co-operative Society was formed in the Ngara District.[13]

The period between the 1930s and 1940s was characterised by state control of the production and marketing of agricultural products. The co-operative societies were formed to promote agricultural production among Africans. This was facilitated through the appointment of the (non-African) Co-operative Society managers and the registrar of co-operative societies to monitor the registration and administration of the African peasant Co-operative Societies. The formation of control Boards in the 1940s, such as Moshi Native Coffee Board (MNCB) and Songea Native Tobacco Board (SONTOB) in 1940, promoted the state monopoly of the production and marketing process. By 1944, colonial Tanganyika had three co-operative unions (KNCU, NGOMAT, and Bugufi Co-operative Union) dealing with coffee and tobacco.

### 3.2.1. The rise of the Co-operative Societies in Tanzania, 1930–1976

The development of co-operative societies in Tanzania (1930s–1976) can be divided into two major phases. The first phase covers the period from the 1930s to 1945, and the second phase from 1946

[10] TNA, H5/11160, Arabica Coffee Growing by Natives, Government Circular No. 77 of 1927, "Coffee Growing by Natives" from General Secretary, Dar es Salaam, Ref. No. S.M.P. No. 11160/15, to all Provincial Commissioners, 20 December 1927.

[11] A. Coulson, *Tanzania: A Political Economy*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 62.

[12] TNA, H1/19595, Agriculture General: Co-operative Societies Ordinance, (No. 7 of 1932).

[13] NRC, 249/ 27, Ngoni-Matengo Co-operative Marketing Union Limited, "Tanganyika Territory-Certificate of Registration No. 27", 7 May 1936; TNA, H1/37192/Vol. II, Co-operative Development Annual Reports, Tanganyika Territory, *Report on Cooperative Development for the Year 1948*, (Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1949), 3.

to 1976. During the first phase, there were only a few co-operative societies established, mainly for crop-production supervision and marketing. Coffee and tobacco were among the earliest crops to be handled by the co-operative societies. There were several forces that led to the establishment of the co-operative societies in Tanzania between the 1930s and 1945.

One of the landmarks towards the establishment of the co-operative societies in colonial Tanganyika was the 1929 Memorandum by the Secretary of Native Affairs. The memorandum argued for the establishment of co-operative societies in Tanzania. During the conference of the senior administrative officers held in October 1929, the problems of marketing the African produce, including the lack of an organised marketing system and crop adulteration, were discussed. It was discovered that when marketing was failing, the petty dealers adulterated crops to recoup themselves for the losses they incurred.[14] The conference recommended that these problems could be solved through a co-operative movement – a suggestion the government supported. Financial constraints, however, prevented the implementation of the recommendation.[15]

The "Strickland's Committee" of 1931 also played an important role in the development of co-operative societies in the 1930s. The British colonial government secured the services of Mr C.F. Strickland, C.I.E. who had considerable experience of the co-operative movement in British colonies, including India, to advise on the application of the co-operative principle to local conditions. The committee held its meeting in the Northern and Tanga provinces. The committee recommended the need for adopting the co-operative marketing system in Tanganyika. The draft legislation to affect this was submitted to the government with some similarities to that of India and Ceylon. The legislation was enacted into a Co-operative Societies Ordinance in 1932.[16] The Co-

[14] TNA, H1/10138/Vol. I, System of Marketing of Produce, Marketing of Native Produce, a letter from the Director of Agriculture, Morogoro Ref. No. 3/8848 "Marketing of Native Crops", to the Chief Secretary, Dar es Salaam, December 1931.
[15] TNA, H1/10138/Vol. I, System of Marketing of Produce, Marketing of Native Produce, 1927–1932.
[16] Tanganyika Territory, *Department of Agriculture, Annual Report of the year 1931*, (Dar es Salaam: The Government Press, 1932), 8; Colonial Office, *Report by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Tanganyika Territory for the Year 1932, Colonial No. 81*, (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1933), 101.

operative Society Ordinance was designed to ensure government control over the movement. The registrar was given a legal power over the co-operatives regarding registration, auditing, and liquidation.[17]

The Colonial Development Fund (CDF) and the Carnegie Trust Fund also supported the promotion and development of Co-operative societies. The CDF was established by an Act of 1929 of the British Colonial Empire to finance economic developments in the colonies, protectorates and mandated territories in the form of grants or loans.[18] Apart from promoting trade and industry in the United Kingdom, CDF was aimed to promote development through various schemes in agriculture and industry in the colonies. As explained before, the recommendations by some of the committees were not implemented due to financial problems. The government, therefore, applied for a grant from the Carnegie Trust (Carnegie Corporation of New York) to facilitate the Co-operative Societies. Through the grant, the British colonial government was able to send Mr R.C. Northcote, District Officer, to attend a course in co-operative organisation in Ceylon from December 1934 to May 1935. Later, he proceeded to India and Burma for further investigation into the co-operative movement.[19] On his return, he was able to survey various parts of the colony, assessing the possibilities of establishing co-operative societies.[20] By using the Colonial Development Fund, some co-operative unions were able to borrow money for the development of Co-operative Societies. For instance, NGOMAT established a scheme No. 357 dealing with the

[17] TNA, HI/19595, Agriculture General: Co-operative Societies, The Co-operative Societies Ordinance, 1932, Sections 9,18 &45.

[18] The Colonial Office, *Report by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Tanganyika Territory for the Year 1935, Colonial No. 113,* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1936), 42.

[19] The Colonial Office, *Report by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Tanganyika Territory for the Year 1934, Colonial No. 105*, (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1935), 39. Mr Northcote played a consultative role in the organisation and formation of co-operative societies.

[20] In 1936 the British colonial government sent R.C. Northcote to North-western Tanzania to study the possibilities of establishing the Co-operative Society for Coffee Marketing; TNA/22919/4, R. C. Northcote, "Report on Co-operation".

development of African co-operative societies between 1935 and 1938. The sum of £1 253.14.6 equivalent to Shs.25 074.45 was acquired as a loan, which was repaid through instalments.[21]

Before 1936, the development of the was confined to the Northern Province, specifically to KNPA. The formation of societies in other areas was deferred due to lack of resources (both human and capital) to facilitate the co-operative movement, including the training of co-operative officers by visiting countries with experience in co-operatives, such as India and Ceylon. The 1932 Co-operative Societies Ordinance was enacted with no Co-operative Development Department and staff to deal with the co-operative matters. For instance, the first District Officer (Assistant Registrar) of the co-operative societies in the Songea District, including Mbinga, was only appointed in 1936.[22]

After 1936, the rate of registering new co-operative societies was slow, and even the few established societies were not operating independently from private firms. The colonial government was nervous about promoting co-operative societies following the coffee riots in Kilimanjaro and Kagera in 1937.[23] The war conditions (WWII) also acted as an inhibiting factor for the promotion of co-operative societies. This was demonstrated by the slow progress during the war period. Among the reasons was the scarcity of enough staff and funds. Some of the co-operative officers were assigned war tasks. For instance, in 1940, the Department of Agriculture suffered labour shortage following the release of 17 officers for military service to the extent that a call was made

[21] TNA, 155/C/2/2, Native Affairs Co-operative Societies Songea District Vol. III.

[22] TNA, 155/C 2/2, Native Affairs- Co-operative Societies Songea District, Vol. III, The assistant registrar of co-operative societies (District Officer) Songea, January 1937.

[23] Coffee riots in Kilimanjaro in 1937 was a result of several factors: compulsory coffee sales through the Union under the Chagga Rule of 1934; the low coffee price for African-produced coffee compared to German settler-produced coffee; the deductions from the years' payments; Fabian Colonial Bureau, *Co-operation in the Colonies: A Report from the Special Committee to the Fabian Colonial Bureau* (London: Gorge Allen & Unwin Limited, 1945), 77-79; The "Twaiyanga" resistance in Bukoba in 1937 was aimed at opposing the imposition of the coffee rules on Robusta coffee growers; K.R. Curtis, "Cooperation and Cooptation"; Speech by Lord Winster in the House of Lords, *Tanganyika Hansard of 29 February 1944*, Vol.130, cc1012-32 available at https://api.parliament.uk/historichansard/lords/1944/feb/29/tanganyika accessed on 30 May 2019.

in May 1940 for the release of the officers from military services.[24] There were 48 co-operative societies in 1939, and by 1945 they increased to 51 co-operatives.[25] The British colonial government had more focus on serving the war by directing most of the capital in terms of both human and finance to the war requirements.

Opposition to the co-operative movement also emerged from Indian merchants from all over the territory. They opposed the enactment of the Co-operative Societies Ordinance of 1932. Indians intermediaries deemed the co-operative society's legislation as a device to eliminate them.[26] During the Indian merchants' chambers conference held between 29 and 31 October 1933, the Indian community complained of having no representation in the marketing organising committee, appointed by the government in 1931, to consider the marketing scheme, the recommendations of which resulted in the enactment of the co-operative ordinance of 1932.[27] The ordinance was seen as a way of controlling the import and export business and creating a monopoly for the government. The conference urged the government to repeal the ordinance as soon as possible.[28] The ordinance was not repealed, and African smallholder coffee producers continued to establish co-operative societies in various places in the territory. An anti-Indian campaign was launched in Bukoba were Indian traders were buying Robusta Coffee. The *Daily Tanganyika Herald* of 23 October 1934, under the heading "Bukoba Indians in Danger", reported how the coffee growers attacked Indian shops with bows and spears in trying to drive them away because they were allegedly not paying the growers a fair price for their coffee.[29]

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[24] Tanganyika Territory, *Department of Agriculture, Annual Report of the year 1940*, (Dar es Salaam: The Government Press, 1941), 8.
[25] P. Ngeze, *Ushirika Tanzania*, (Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1975), 15.
[26] TNA, H1/19595 Vol. II, Agriculture General: Co-operative Societies Ordinance, *The Daily Tanganyika Herald,* "Cooperative Societies Legislation: a device for eliminating Indians", 11 October 1934.
[27] TNA, H1/19595 Vol. II, Agriculture General: Co-operative Societies Ordinance, Extract from the proceedings of the Indian Merchant Chambers Conference held at Dar es Salaam, 29, 30 and 31 October 1933.
[28] *Ibid.*
[29] TNA, H1/19595 Vol. II, Agriculture General: Co-operative Societies Ordinance, *The Daily Tanganyika Herald*, 23 October 1934.

After the Second World War, there was a significant development in the co-operative movement in Tanzania. The British colonial government took deliberate initiatives to promote the co-operative movement in her colonies as a means of economic development, particularly in cash-crop production. There were various forces behind the colonial government's decision in promoting the co-operative movement in post-war Tanzania.

Firstly, the United Nations Conference in 1943 at Hot Springs, Virginia, on Food and Agriculture, stressed the improvement of agricultural production in all countries. Among the adopted recommendations during the conference was the encouragement of the co-operative movements in which members could work under the guidance and recommendations made through their co-operative societies.[30] The co-operative societies were supposed to operate in the interest of the members and the society in general. It was recommended that the legal and institutional obstacles be examined to make it possible.[31] The conference also recommended education programs and improvements in marketing facilities, as well as increasing the efficiency and reducing the cost of marketing.[32]

Secondly, the 1944 Campbell Report also played a role in promoting the co-operative movement. The Colonial Office sent Mr W.K.H. Campbell to investigate the possibilities of promoting the co-operative movement in East African countries. Among his recommendations was the formation of co-operative societies by growers. However, he realised that growers did not have the knowledge to be able to form and run the co-operative societies without government support. Similarly, in Kenya, he also recommended the use of trained staff and the establishment of a separate Co-operative Department to assist in these processes.[33] Campbell also realised the potential dangers of returning World War II soldiers and their nationalist sentiments to the continued control of the

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[30] The United States, *United Conference on Food and Agriculture: Hot Springs, Virginia, May 18 – June 3, 1943: Final Act and Section Reports*, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943), 20. Resolution XVII was devoted to the Co-operative Movements.

[31] *Ibid*., 20.

[32] *Ibid*., 20-21, 28-30.

[33] Fabian Colonial Bureau, *A Report from Special Committee to the Fabian Colonial Bureau: Co-operation in the Colonies*, (London: George Allen & Unwin Limited, 1945), 38.

colonial power. He, therefore, recommended the accommodation of these soldiers into the Co-operative Societies. Against the background of these recommendations, the colonial government embarked on the promotion and development of the co-operative movement in the post-war period in Tanganyika.

The 1944 Campbell report coincided with the Fabian Colonial Bureau Report to the Colonial Office in 1945.[34] The report recommended the need to have a suitable co-operative law in the colonies and to have a fully trained registrar of co-operative societies with adequate power of control. The report also recommended the importance of establishing the Co-operative Advisory Committee in the Colonial Office and Co-operative Department.[35] The Advisory Committee was aimed at examining the co-operative position and making recommendations to the Secretary of State.[36] A Model Co-operative Ordinance was also recommended to be drafted on efficiently elastic lines to cover the diverse conditions of British colonies. The British were expected to offer practical assistance in promoting the co-operative movements through technical assistance to colonial officers, allocation of scholarships to enable students to study in English at co-operative colleges such as Loughborough Co-operative College in England, visiting European countries with special co-operative experiences, as well as raising funds for the co-operative movements in the colonies.[37] The recommendations made by the Special Committee influenced the British colonial policy in encouraging the co-operative movement after WWII. For instance, in 1947 the Co-operative

[34] A special committee was established in 1941 to investigate the position of the Co-operative Movement in British dependencies and encourage the future development of the movements. Members of the committee included Lord Winster (Chairman), Dr. N. Barou, Neil Beaton (chairman of the Scottish CWS), Sir Malcom Darling (Formerly Registrar of Co-operative Societies in Punjab), Margareth Digby (Secretary of the Horace Plunkett Foundation), R.G. Gosling (Director of the CWS), C.W. Greenidge (Secretary of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society), A. Creech Jones, MP, Percy Redfern, Rev. G.S. Woods, MP (Executive member of the Co-operative Union), Leonard Woolf, Dr. Rita Hinden (Editor and Secretary of the Fabian Colonial Bureau). The Fabian Society emerged in 1884 and became influential in UK politics, particularly with the formation of the Labour Party in 1900s. Fabian Society members dominated the 1945 parliament election where 229 were elected and become part of the ministers in the Atlee Administrative Reforms of 1945 under Labour government; www.fabian.org.uk.about-us/ourhistory accessed on 29 may 2019.

[35] Fabian Colonial Bureau, *A Report from Special Committee to the Fabian Colonial Bureau, 1945*, 166.

[36] *Ibid*.

[37] *Ibid*., 203.

Advisor, B. Surridge, who served as Registrar of Co-operatives in Cyprus between 1934 and 1943 and later as the vice-chair of the Trustee of the Plunkett Foundation, was appointed by the Colonial Office.

The victory of the Labour Party in Britain (1945) and the loss of India as one of the important sources of the British economy in 1947, prompted a sudden shift of focus and attention to African and Caribbean colonies. This coincided with the appointment of Arthur Creech Jones (a member in the Special Committee of the Fabian Colonial Bureau) as the Secretary of State for colonies who encouraged the changes in the colonies, including the development of co-operatives. As a result, the Co-operative Departments were established in the colonies to foster the development of the co-operatives.

Consequently, through these committee reports and recommendations, the colonial government made a great shift in the economic development policy in the post-war period by intervening in the development of the co-operative movement in Tanganyika. Marketing of African produce offered the first step in the co-operative movement in Tanganyika as there was a growing demand for more marketing societies. Marketing of African produce was organised in some districts by the administrative officers, and special accounts in the "Native" Treasuries were operated for this purpose; this was looked upon as an interim step to the formation of co-operative societies.[38]

The Co-operative Legislation was amended in 1945 to allow the establishment of the Co-operative Department.[39] The registrar of the co-operative societies, who was also the Director of Land and Mines, excused himself from Land and Mines to exclusively work on Co-operative Societies' matters under the Department of Co-operatives housed in the same building in Dar es Salaam. In May 1947, the registrar's office was relocated to Moshi where there were more co-operative societies. The office was relocated back to Dar es Salaam on 11 September 1953.[40]

[38] TNA, H1/37192 Vol. II, Co-operative Development Annual Reports, Tanganyika Territory, *Report on Cooperative Development for the Year 1947*, (Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1948), 1.
[39] TNA, H1/37192 Vol. II, Co-operative Development Annual Reports, Tanganyika Territory, *Report on Cooperative Development for the Year 1948*, (Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1949), 1.
[40] P. Ngeze, *Ushirika Tanzania*, (Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1975), 15.

The registrar of Co-operative Societies drafted a bill for the control and marketing of African produce under which Control Boards were formed in 1947. The function of Control Boards formed under such legislation was to foster the growth of agricultural and animal industries and to organise bulk sales. The co-operative movement was directly linked to such work. The boards assisted in the promotion of marketing societies and handing over functions such as the co-operative supply of consumer goods to societies that proved themselves able to undertake the work.

Consequently, 16 new marketing societies with African membership were registered during 1947, making a total of 55 African marketing societies in colonial Tanganyika.[41] In 1948, the number of co-operative marketing societies increased to 62 (58 African, two all races, and two African co-operative unions). Of these, 56 were principally engaged in the collection and bulking of export crops (39 in coffee, and 17 in fire-cured tobacco) while the remaining six were engaged in crops consumed locally.[42] Apart from marketing co-operatives societies, there were 15 other societies classified as follows: three consumers societies (two by Europeans and one by Indians), five credit societies (Indians), one bulk purchase (traders) society (African), one bulk (butchers) society (African), and one transporters society (African). No society was yet formed for the express purpose of exporting produce; however, Tanganyika Coffee Growers' Association Limited acted as agents for the sale of all mild coffee under contract with the Ministry of Food – and NGOMAT affected export sales of heavy western fire-cured tobacco with the advice and assistance of the Songea District Native Tobacco Board.[43] The total value of the crops marketed through societies in 1948 amounted to approximately £990 000.[44] The co-operative movement reached its zenith between the

[41] TNA, H1/37192 Vol. II, Tanganyika Territory, *Report on Cooperative Development for the Year 1947*, 1.

[42] TNA, H1/37192 Vol. II, Co-operative Development Annual Reports, Tanganyika Territory, *Report on Cooperative Development for the Year 1948*, 5; The Colonial Office, *Report by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Administration of Tanganyika Territory for the Year 1948*, (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1949), 93.

[43] TNA, H1/37192 Vol. II, Co-operative Development Annual Reports, Tanganyika Territory, *Report on Cooperative Development for the Year 1948*, 5.

[44] The Colonial Office, *Report by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Administration of Tanganyika Territory for the Year 1948*, 93.

1950s and 1960s. The marketing co-operative societies in Tanzania increased from 62 in 1948[45], 117 in 1953[46] to 243 with 196 775 members in 1954, operating in seven of the eight territorial provinces.[47]

After independence (1961), the co-operative movement intensified, and the number of registered co-operatives increased. In this period, the movement was dominated by problems related to mismanagement and corruption. As a result, the Special Presidential Committee of Enquiry was launched on 26 January 1966 to review the co-operative staff and structures of the co-operative movement and marketing boards in order to recommend the steps to be taken to ensure the maximum benefit to producers and consumers. The Committee Report identified co-operative shortcomings, including the lack of democracy at union level, lack of skilled workforce, the susceptibility of political interference, and uninformed memberships.[48] One of the recommendations was the dissolution of some unions such as the Victoria Federation of Co-operative Unions (VFCU) and Tanganyika Co-operative Trading Agency (TACTA) engaging in mild coffee sales since 1952. Following the Special Presidential Committee of Enquiry Report of 1966, a substantial number of co-operative societies were dissolved between 1966 and 1976 when all co-operative societies in Tanzania were finally dissolved. For instance, in 1966, there were 1 616 active co-operatives, and 122 were dissolved. The rate increased to 1 854 active co-operatives with 275 dissolved in 1971.[49] In future, villages were to perform the co-operative functions in the production and marketing of crops.

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[45] *Ibid.*

[46] The Colonial Office, *Report by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Administration of Tanganyika Territory for the Year 1953*, (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1954), 34.

[47] The Colonial Office, *Report by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Administration of Tanganyika Territory for the Year 1954*, (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1955), 33.

[48] The United Republic of Tanzania (URT), *Report of the Presidential Special Committee of Enquiry into Co-operative Movement and Marketing Boards*, (Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1966).

[49] P. Ngeze, *Ushirika Tanzania*, 14.

### 3.3. The Co-operative Movement in Mbinga District, 1930s–1945

The history of the Co-operative movement in the Mbinga District can be divided into three phases: the first phase covers the period between 1930 and 1945, characterised by the formation of the Ngaka Co-operative Society and its relationship with NGOMAT. The post-war co-operative movement in the Mbinga District (1946–1953), characterised by the emergence of more co-operative societies and the demand for a co-operative union was the second phase, and the third phase was dominated by the Matengo Native Co-operative Union Limited between1954 and 1976.

#### 3.3.1. The Formation of the Ngaka Co-operative Society in the 1930s

The history of co-operative societies in the Mbinga District has its roots in the Ngaka Co-operative Society that operated in Matengo Highlands from the 1930s. As mentioned in Chapter Two, two men from Myangayanga, namely Hendrich and Karistus, attended a one-year course at Moshi in 1933. This culminated in a spontaneous desire for the formation of a co-operative organisation in 1934 to control coffee marketing, to foster good cultivation and to disseminate knowledge. The temporary meeting centre to discuss problems concerning coffee growers was located at Wallanzi.[50] One of the problems discussed was the lack of a mouthpiece through which coffee growers could speak in one voice about their coffee. The coffee growers in Umatengo decided to formalise the informal organisation at Ngaka (currently Kindimba village) with the hope of registering it as a coffee co-operative society. The co-operative society operated informally until 1936 when the Ngoni-Matengo Marketing Co-operative Union Limited (NGOMAT) was formed. NGOMAT was formed mainly to deal with tobacco in Ungoni and Umatengo. The registrar sanctioned NGOMAT to act as a marketing agent for Matengo coffee following the provision of Rule 16 of the Co-

[50] Interview with Pilmin Lupogo, Kindimba Village, 9 January 2019. A smallholder coffee producer and a former Ngaka Coffee Society official (1957-1977, 1983-1993) also a Chairman of Ngaka Savings and Credit Co-operative Society (2007-2019); Tanganyika Territory, *Department of Agriculture Annual Report 1934*, (Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1935), 67.

operative Societies Rules, 1932, even though the coffee growers were not a society affiliated to the union.

Although Ngaka Co-operative Society was formed in the early 1930s, based on the example of the Kilimanjaro Native Co-operative Union (KNCU), it remained unregistered up to the late 1940s. One of the reasons was the colonial government's attitudes towards the co-operative movement, as explained before. This attitude prevailed until 1945. The Ngaka coffee society tried several times to apply for registration but to no avail. The government was reluctant to register the society. In 1938 the Ngaka Co-operative Society applied for registration with the drafting of several by-laws to guide the society – a requirement of the 1932 Co-operative Societies Ordinance. The application was rejected because the content of some of the by-laws were deemed unacceptable. For instance, By-Law 30 stated that,

> Members may sell their coffee wherever they so desire except that any member who is in debt to the society shall deliver to the society or if so directed by the committee to the NGOMAT Co-operative Marketing Union, Limited, such amount of coffee grown by him to be marketed by the NGOMAT Marketing Union, Limited, as shall in the opinion of the society be sufficient to liquidate the said member's debt.[51]

This by-law was seen as only encouraging members to sell their coffee through the society when they were indebted to the society. The by-law was, therefore, considered unsuitable.

The rejection of the Ngaka Co-operative Society registration did not go unnoticed by the coffee growers in Matengo Highlands. They wanted to know why other societies dealing with tobacco in Mbinga were allowed to be registered while the application of the coffee growers was rejected. They, therefore, questioned the registration of tobacco co-operative societies, namely Lipumba Co-operative Society in 1937 and Mbinga Co-operative Society in the same year. On 14 June 1937, two applications for registration of Lipumba and Mbinga Co-operatives were submitted to the

[51] TNA, 155/C 2/2, Songea District, Native Affairs – Co-operative Societies – Songea District, Vol. III, from the Assistant Registrar, Songea, Ref. no. 274/48, to the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Dar es Salaam, 15 March 1938.

registrar of co-operative societies, Dar es Salaam, and both were approved.[52] Their unregistered status demoralised the Matengo coffee growers as it demonstrated a bias and unequal treatment by the colonial authorities of the co-operative movement in the district.

The coffee growers in the Matengo Highlands reacted in different ways towards using NGOMAT as their marketing channel and agent. One of the reactions was a decline in the number of co-operative members who sold their coffee through Ngaka Co-operative Society during the 1938/39 season. Society members who marketed their coffee crop through the society declined from 60 in 1937/38 to only 15 members in 1938/39.[53] There were also signs of neglected coffee plantings in Matengo Highlands. The coffee growers considered the union (NGOMAT) as part of the exploitative organ created by the colonial state as they considered it to favour the Asian traders.

By the late 1930s, the bulk of Matengo coffee was sold locally, primarily to the Benedictine mission and local traders, while the remainder was marketed through NGOMAT and sold on markets such as London. For instance, part of the 1936 (24 coffee bags) crop was placed on the London market for the first time and was sold as follows: Grade "A' (10 bags) sold for Shs.72/- per cwt., Grade "B" (10 bags) for Shs.52/- per Cwt., Grade "C" (1 bag) Shs.46/- per Cwt., "PB" (2 bags) for Shs.60/- per Cwt., and Triage (1 bag) Shs.40/- per Cwt. All prices were in London Landed Terms.[54] The coffee growers had to pay an agency levy and commission to NGOMAT. The coffee levy and commission were needed to offset clerical work. The union incurred no costs in this regard as they had no processing work to perform with regard to the coffee, and all charges, stationery, postage and telegrams regarding coffee were debited directly to the coffee account. Despite that, the commission was 2 ½ % of the net proceedings while a levy of 5 cents per kilogram was paid in

[52] TNA, 155/C 2/18, Cooperative societies: Mbinga, A letters from District Officer, Songea, Ref. No. 274/13, to the Registrar of Co-operatives, Dar es Salaam, 14 June 1937; TNA, 155/C 2/2, Native Affairs – Co-operative Societies Songea district, from District Officer, Songea, Ref. No. 274/12, to the Registrar, Songea, 14 June 1937.

[53] TNA, 155/CO-OP.27/II, Ngoni Matengo Co-operative Marketing Union Limited, a letter from The Manager, NGOMAT, to the Assistant Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Songea, 15 February 1939.

[54] Tanganyika Territory, *Department of Agriculture Annual Report 1937 Part II* (Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1939), 40; TNA, 504/9/8, Coffee, "Matengo coffee", Ref. No. 153/229, from the Agricultural Officer, Songea, to the Senior Agricultural Officer, Southern Province, Lindi, 10 May 1937.

1936/37 and 1937/38.[55] The levy was reduced to a nominal one cent per kilogram in 1939 due to the poor price received for the 1938/39 crop.[56] The small amount of one cent per kilo barely covered the time of the manager and secretary of NGOMAT to prepare the accounts. Growers were paid 40 cents for parchment grade I and 36 cents for grade II.[57] The levy rate was increased to 3 cents per kilogram in 1942.[58]

The outbreak of the Second World War further delayed the Ngaka Coffee Co-operative Society registration process. As already shown in Chapter One, the war period affected the co-operative movement. The colonial state centralised and monopolised the marketing system under the Control Board and Coffee Control (Sales) Order of 1940. In 1940, the registrar (Dar es Salaam) commented that he was "of opinion that the Ngaka Society should not yet be registered and that the Union (NGOMAT) should continue to sell the coffee merely as its agent."[59] Although the registration of the Ngaka Coffee Co-operative Society was postponed, when the union acted as agent (and collected levy and/or commission), the coffee was regarded as the property of an organised, although unregistered, body, and not that of individual growers. In 1942, the registrar of co-operative societies further discouraged the registration of the society when he stated that the "Ngaka society is not a member of the union and should not become one. The main activity of the union is the sale of tobacco and should the Ngaka Society join at the present time certain complications may arise".[60] This illustrated the ultimate power given to the registrar in the registration process. As a

[55] TNA, 155/CO-OP.27/II, Ngoni Matengo Co-operative Marketing Union Limited, NGOMAT Coffee Agency as at 31 March 1938.
[56] TNA, 155/CO-OP.27/II, Ngoni Matengo Co-operative Marketing Union Limited, a letter from NGOMAT to the Registrar of the Co-operative Societies, Songea, 15 February 1939.
[57] TNA, 155/CO-OP.27/II, Ngoni Matengo Co-operative Marketing Union Limited, NGOMAT Coffee Agency as of 31 March 1939.
[58] TNA, 155/CO-OP.27/IV, Ngoni Matengo Co-operative Marketing Union Limited, Minutes of the meeting of the Committee of the Union, Songea District Office 23 June 1942.
[59] TNA, 155/C 2/2, Native Affairs – Co-operative Societies Songea District, from Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Dar es Salaam, Saving No. Co-op.27/98, to the Assistant Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Songea, 2 September 1940.
[60] TNA, 155/CO-OP.27/VI, Ngoni Matengo Co-operative Marketing Union Limited, No. Co-op.27/IX/31, from the Registrar, Dar es Salaam, to the Ngoni-Matengo Co-operative Marketing Union Limited, Songea, 25 August 1942.

result, Ngaka Co-operative Society remained a "stepchild" to NGOMAT, and this affected their relationship as explained in the following section.

### 3.3.2. "NGOMAT is dealing with tobacco and not coffee": The Relationship between Coffee Growers (Ngaka) and NGOMAT in the 1940s

NGOMAT was registered for tobacco marketing in Ungoni and Mbinga areas in 1936. Coffee growers in the Mbinga District had an association with NGOMAT through the Ngaka Coffee Co-operative Society. The fact that the Ngaka Co-operative Society was not affiliated to the union widened the distance between the coffee growers and NGOMAT. The registrar considered the position of NGOMAT as an agent for the sale of coffee as a favour to the coffee growers. This was revealed when the registrar of the co-operative societies, on 25 August 1942, wrote to the manager of NGOMAT that:

> If they do not like to use the Union as their agent, they need not, but of course it is most convenient for them to have the services of the Union and more particularly those of the Manager at such a low cost. In future, however, a fee or agency commission should be charged by the Union, if not the coffee growers are receiving an economic price for their coffee.[61]

The relationship between NGOMAT and Ngaka coffee society deteriorated in the 1940s. There was friction over the focus of the union on tobacco instead of coffee in the Mbinga District. The coffee growers in the Matengo Highlands also received conflicting instructions. The coffee instructors were encouraging the expansion of coffee growing while the tobacco instructors were encouraging the expansion of tobacco cultivation. This caused confusion among the coffee growers.[62] The Ngaka Coffee Society found itself having no voice in the union. The archival sources also express the conflicting interest between the expansion of tobacco and other crops, which can be traced back to the late 1930s. There was a confrontation between the Department of Agriculture in the Songea

[61] TNA,155/CO-OP.27/VI, Ngoni-Matengo Co-operative Marketing Union Ltd, a letter from the Registrar of the Co-operative Societies, Department of Lands and Mines, Dar es Salaam, Ref. No. Co-op.27/IX/31, to the Manager, NGOMAT Co-operative Marketing Limited, Songea, 25 August 1942.

[62] Interview with Edward Ndunguru, Myangayanga Village, 20 December 2018; Interview with Pilmin Lupogo, Kindimba Village, 9 January 2019.

District and NGOMAT about the expansion of tobacco into Undendeule and Umatengo in 1938.[63] As a result, in 1940, the colonial government held an inquiry into the tobacco industry in Songea which uncovered the frustration of members of the Department of Agriculture with their declining influence in the tobacco industry, and the clash of personalities of those interested in co-operation. The inquiry recommended that the government place NGOMAT in the hands of a tobacco board dominated by government officials. The NGOMAT manager, Mr A.E. Twells was replaced by the assistant Agricultural Officer Mr J.N. MacGregor.[64] The tension led to the creation of the Songea Native Tobacco Board, which was termed as "a mere puppet" of the Department of Agriculture to control tobacco production.[65] The growing tension between NGOMAT and the Department of Agriculture also accelerated the conflict with coffee growers in the Mbinga District.

By the 1940s, the tension between the union (NGOMAT) and Ngaka Coffee Society intensified to the extent that the union refused to handle coffee from Ngaka Coffee Society for the 1942/43 and 1943/44 crops. The District Agricultural Officer informed the Ngaka Coffee Society as follows: "NGOMAT has been dealing with the marketing of Matengo coffee in the past because you had no ability to do so, but this year NGOMAT will not deal with your coffee".[66] The refusal came at a time when the coffee society was still struggling with the registration process, which had been delayed and discouraged by the colonial authorities. The coffee growers did not get any promising support from either the registrar of the co-operatives or NGOMAT. On 23 September 1943, the chairman of Ngaka Coffee Society wrote a letter to the union (NGOMAT) to ask about the price of the 1943 coffee crop. The feedback was "… *chama kubwa kinahusika na kazi za vyama vya*

[63] TNA, 155/CO-OP.27/II, Ngoni-Matengo Marketing Union Limited, a letter from the Union Manager to the District Officer, Songea, 6 December 1939; TNA, 155/CO-OP.27/II Ngoni-Matengo Marketing Union Limited, "Songea Native Tobacco", a letter from Provincial Commissioner, Lindi to the District Officer, Songea, 12 December 1939.
[64] TNA, 155/CO-OP. 27/I, Ngoni-Matengo Marketing Union Limited, NGOMAT Report 1940.
[65] H. H. Ndomba, "A History of Tobacco Production in Ruvuma Region, Southern Tanzania", 132.
[66] TNA, 504/9/8, Coffee, from Agricultural Officer, Songea, Ref. No. 4/7/175, to "Bwana Mkubwa" [chairman] Ngaka Coffee Society, 21 October 1943.

*tumbaku tu siyo na chama cha kahawa*", translated loosely as "the union is dealing with tobacco only and not coffee".[67]

This strained relationship was created by the refusal of NGOMAT to deal with the marketing of the Matengo coffee in the early 1940s. The result was the emergence of a coffee "black market" in Mbinga. It was reported by the Provincial Commissioner (Southern Province) that, in 1944, 19.13 tons of coffee were exported from Lindi.[68] The only source from which this coffee could come was Songea. Considering the tonnage, it was not a single year crop but was the result of the accumulation of coffee stocks from different years by the local traders in Songea district. The 1944 coffee crop that amounted to 11 tons were bought by Songea local traders. The problem with the local market was that the traders were not honest. The agricultural officer reported that in 1945, he prosecuted one of the largest coffee dealers in Songea for not reporting the information regarding his coffee dealings.[69] The figure obtained from various Indian traders' *duka*s in Mbinga and Songea can be summarised in the following table:

**Table 6:** Coffee Stock in Mbinga and Songea Indian Shops (*dukas*) 1944/45[70]

| Name | Place | Amount of coffee (Bags) |
|---|---|---|
| Gulamhausen Jadhavi | Mbinga | 1 |
| Mohamed Ali Juma | Mbinga | 8 |
| Abdul Moossin Mohamed | Mbinga | 2 ½ |
| Gulamali Jadhavi | Mbinga | ½ |
| Hausen Jadhavi | Mbinga | 1 |
| Gulamhausen Jadhavi | Songea | 32 |

[67] TNA, 504/9/8, Coffee, from Agricultural Officer, Songea, Ref. No. 4/7/160, to the chairman, Ngaka Coffee Society, 6 October 1943.
[68] TNA, 504/9/8, Coffee, from the Provincial Commissioner, Southern Province Lindi, Ref. No.15/47/502, to the Agricultural Officer, Songea, 27 January 1945.
[69] TNA, 504/9/8, Coffee, from the Agricultural Officer, Songea, to Provincial Commissioner, Southern Province, Lindi, 14 February 1945.
[70] TNA, 504/9/8, Coffee, "Coffee stock in Mbinga and Songea Indian shops (*dukas*) 1944/45."

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Lajal Ladha Dimani | Songea | 40 |
| Lzde Souya | Songea | 55 |
| Total | | 140 Bags |

The 140 coffee bags showed in Table 6 were only the stock found in Indian shops (1944/45). They should not be taken as the actual total figure of all coffee bought by private retail sellers. Some of them refused to give any information about their coffee dealings. For instance, the District Officer reported that one of the largest coffee dealers in Mbinga (among those in the list) refused to give information about his coffee sales.[71]

The deteriorated relationship between NGOMAT and Ngaka Coffee Society accelerated competition among private coffee traders in the 1940s. According to section 12 of the Coffee Industry (Registration and Improvement) Ordinance, 1936, traders did not need a license to buy coffee from registered planters for their own consumption or for retail sale.[72] As a consequence, there were increasing competitions among local traders to buy the crop in the early 1940s. Coffee marketing in the Mbinga District was a complicated matter. While NGOMAT refused to act as an agent for the Matengo coffee, the applications for buyers and dealers' licenses under the Coffee (Registration and Improvement) Ordinance received by the Agricultural Officer, Songea were rejected. Up to 1944, not a single license had been granted under the ordinance to the coffee buyers in the Mbinga District for wholesale or export. The coffee could only be bought directly from the growers for local retail trade and for private consumption by missions. Coffee was disposed of in a haphazard manner, regardless of the standard or quality. For instance, in 1944/45, approximately 11 tons had been purchased by local traders at the price of one shilling per kilogram of the ungraded hulled coffee.[73] The traders had no dealers' license for trading coffee wholesale.

[71] *Ibid*.
[72] TNA, 504/9/8, Coffee, from Agricultural Officer, Songea, to the Senior Agricultural Officer, Southern Highlands Province, Mbeya, 15 January 1945.
[73] TNA, 504/9/8, Coffee, from the Agricultural Officer, Songea to the Senior Agricultural Officer, Southern Highlands Province, Mbeya, 15 January 1945.

NGOMAT resumed marketing the Matengo coffee crop in 1945 through Rungwe Co-operative Society (Southern Highlands) where the coffee was hulled and graded and then exported to Johannesburg in South Africa. Fifteen tons of coffee were sold to the South African Committee of Coffee Importers.[74] NGOMAT continued to play the role of an agent in the post-war period up to 1954 when the Matengo Native Co-operative Union Limited was formed. Despite the strained relationship between Ngaka Coffee Society and NGOMAT in the early 1940s, the number of coffee growers increased from 487 in 1942[75] to 1 478 in 1947.[76] The number of coffee trees also increased from 90 988 in 1942[77] to 246 735 in 1947[78], and 995 556 in 1952.[79] Coffee production increased from 12 tons in 1941 to 32 tons in 1947 and 55 tons in 1949.[80]

### 3.4. Co-operative Movement in Mbinga District 1946–1953

The post-war period was the heyday of the co-operative movement in the colonies. The British colonial government embarked on the promotion of co-operatives societies. As a result, in 1947, the Ngaka Coffee Co-operative Society was re-registered as Mbinga Coffee Grower's Co-operative Society Limited based at Mbinga Township.[81] Coffee growers later complained about the distance between the coffee growing areas and the Co-operative Headquarters. The Mbinga Township also had few coffee growers. They agitated for the transfer of the headquarters to Ngaka where it used to be before the re-registration under the name of Mbinga Coffee Grower's Co-operative Society

[74] Tanganyika Territory, *Department of Agriculture Annual Report 1945*, (Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1948), 107.
[75] TNA, 504/9/8, Coffee, from instructor Hendrik Limuka (Umatengo) to the Agricultural Officer, Songea, 26 February 1942.
[76] TNA,504/9/8, Coffee, "Hesabu ya Miti ya Kahawa Umatengo 1947" [total coffee trees by 1947] (By instructor E. Kasuma).
[77] TNA, 504/9/8, Coffee, from instructor Hendrik Limuka (Umatengo) to the Agricultural Officer, Songea, 26 February 1942.
[78] TNA, 504/9/8, Coffee, "Hesabu ya Miti ya Kahawa Umatengo 1947" (By instructor E. Kasuma).
[79] TNA, 504/9/8, Coffee, "Coffee Trees from various Villages in the Umatengo Area", from Agricultural Officer, Songea, Ref. No. 9/8/8, to the Provincial Agricultural Officer, Southern Province, Lindi, 15 April 1952.
[80] *Ibid.*
[81] TNA, H1/37192 Vol. II, Co-operative Development Annual Reports, Tanganyika Territory, *Report on Co-operative Development for 1947*, 4.

Limited.[82] In 1951 the headquarters was moved to Mkinga. This coincided with the decision to rename the Co-operative the Ngaka Coffee Co-operative Society, the name they maintained until 1976 when all co-operative societies were dissolved by the government.[83]

From the 1950s onwards, the Mbinga District experienced a significant expansion in coffee production. The expansion was credited to the higher price for the mild coffee, determined by the Ministry of Food (£456 per ton in 1951),[84] increased plantings, improved methods of coffee management, and planting of heavier bearing strains.[85] The increasing number of coffee producers and acreage demanded more co-operative societies in the district. As a result, on 10 July 1952, the Pilakano Coffee Growers Co-operative Limited was registered in addition to the Ngaka Coffee Society.[86] In 1952, the two Coffee Growers Co-operatives (Ngaka and Pilakano) also borrowed six instructors from the Moshi Native Coffee Board who toured the coffee-growing areas for six months.[87] The borrowed coffee instructors were distributed among Myangayanga, Litembo and Pilakano areas, two to each station.[88] As a result, the improvement in the preparation of coffee was immediately visible, and coffee sold through Tanganyika Co-operative Trading Agency (TACTA) on the Moshi auctions fetched higher prices than that of other co-operative societies. The Ngaka coffees were sold for Shs.4/45 per lb. equal to £498 per ton and Pilakano coffees fetched Shs.4/22

[82] TNA, 504/9/8, Coffee, Mbinga Coffee Co-operative Society Limited General Meeting held on 25 June 1949.
[83] TNA, 504/9/8, Coffee, Manager, Ngoni Matengo Co-operative Marketing Union Limited, Ref. No. 919/329, to the Agricultural Assistant, Songea, 7 April 1951.
[84] TNA, 155/1/10/1, "Songea District Annual Report, 1952", 10.
[85] Tanganyika Territory, *Department of Agriculture Annual Report 1950*, (Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1952), 157.
[86] NRC, 384/162, Pilakano Coffee Grower's Co-operative Society Limited.
[87] TNA, H1/37192/Vol. II, Co-operative Development Annual Reports, Tanganyika Territory, *Report on Co-operative Development for the Year 1952*, (Moshi: The K.N.C.U Printing), 8.
[88] TNA, 504/9/8, Coffee, District Agricultural Officer, Songea, Monthly Report for June 1952.

per lb. while Rungwe Co-operative Society (Southern Highlands) coffees fetched Shs.4/20 per lb.[89] The two societies (Ngaka and Pilakano) collected 134 tons parchment in 1951.[90]

In 1953, the number of co-operative members increased to 3 620, of which Ngaka had 2 603 members and Pilakano 1 017 members.[91] There was an increasing demand for establishing more co-operative societies. The expansion of coffee production in the Matengo Highlands increased the distance to the two existing co-operative societies. As a result, Mhagawa Asili Coffee Grower's Co-operative Society Limited was registered in 1952, splitting from Ngaka Coffee Growers' Co-operative Society.[92] The three co-operatives handled about 300 tons of coffee in 1952 and 1953.[93] In the 1953/54 coffee crop, the three coffee co-operative societies handled a total of 6 376 ½ coffee bags equivalent to 331 584kg (Ngaka 80 528kg), Pilakano (98 228kg), Mhagawa (152 828kg).[94] The expansion of coffee production demanded the formation of a co-operative union. The next section discusses the formation of the union.

### 3.5. The Matengo Native Co-operative Union Limited (MANCU) (1954–1970s)

MANCU Limited was established in 1954 with its objective of marketing the Matengo coffee crop. The headquarters of the union was at Mkinga, following the construction of a central coffee store

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[89] NRC, 268/164/F, Tanganyika Coffee Trading Agency Limited (TACTA), First Annual Report 1952–1953, 10. TACTA was established in 1952 as an agent for the sale of African-produced mild coffee for the co-operative societies (with exception of the KNCU) at the auction and for the purchase of their agricultural requirements. Ngaka and Pilakano Coffee Grower's Co-operative Societies joined TACTA for coffee sales at the first auction on Thursday 11 December 1952. Following the formation of the Matengo Native Co-operative Union Limited in 1954, TACTA acted as an agent for the Matengo coffee up to 1966 when it was dissolved as one of the recommendations made by the Special Presidential Committee of Enquiry in which coffee sales were handled by the Tanzania Coffee Board from 30 September 1966 and all shares and investments were returned to co-operative members; United Republic of Tanzania (URT), *Report of the Presidential Special Committee of Enquiry into Co-operative Movement and Marketing Boards*, (Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1966), 7-8.

[90] NRC, 268/164/F, Tanganyika Coffee Trading Agency Limited (TACTA), "First Annual Report 1952-1953", 10.

[91] TNA, H1/37192, Vol. II, Tanganyika Territory, *Report on Co-operative Development for the Year 1953*, (Moshi: The K.N.C.U Printing, 1954), 13.

[92] TNA, H1/37192, Vol. II, Tanganyika, *Report on Co-operative Development for the Year 1952*, (Moshi: The K.N.C.U Printing, 1953), 8.

[93] Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Reports of Provincial Commissioners for the year 1953*, (Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1954), 103.

[94] TNA, 504/C/COF/AR, Coffee General, MANCU Limited, "Coffee Instructors Report January 1955".

in 1953. To coffee growers in the Mbinga District, the formation of MANCU Limited was regarded as a new era of independence from the unstable marketing relationship with NGOMAT in the 1940s. This was expressed at the Co-operative General Meeting held on 15 June 1953, discussing the construction of the central coffee store. During the meeting, elders recommended a lamb and chickens to be slaughtered at the construction sites as a symbol of offerings according to Matengo customs. The Matengo chief, Yohanes Chrisostomus Makita, offered a lamb while each headman contributed one chicken. Apart from those contributions, every coffee co-operative society contributed Shs.25 000/- (Ngaka, Pilakano, and Mhagawa Asili) for a total of Shs.75 000/- for the construction expenses.[95]

The formation of MANCU Limited acted as a catalyst to the co-operative movement and expansion of coffee production in the Mbinga District. For instance, in 1955, Hagati Coffee Grower's Co-operative Society Limited was formed, splitting from Mhagawa Asili Coffee Grower's Co-operative Society Limited. The number of coffee producers was also increasing from 1 478 in 1947 to 6 300 in 1955: Ngaka 1 400, Pilakano, 1 400, Mhagawa, 1 900, Hagati, 1 600.[96] Three co-operative societies were registered in 1957, namely Mtuwa , Wukiro, and Nyoni Coffee Growers' Co-operative Society Limited for a total of seven co-operative societies and 6 593 members.[97] The union had assets of £67 756 consisting of £55 807 as share capital, reserves and surpluses and £11 949 as fixed assets.[98]

MANCU Limited established a coffee culture section that comprised of coffee officers performing various duties in the coffee industry in the Mbinga District. The section consisted of a senior coffee instructor, assistant senior coffee instructor, and ten coffee instructors. Their duties were to inspect coffee farms and nurseries, to do training and give warnings, to guide the selection of coffee trees

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95 TNA, 155/CO-OP/27/X, Maendeleo ya Umatengo Mkinga Factory Umatengo, Mkutano wa Ukulima 17 June 1953.

96 NRC, 532/265/D, Matengo Native Co-operative Union Limited: Affiliated Societies Accounts and Estimates, from Co-operative Officer, Songea, Ref. No. 91/16, to the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Dar es Salaam, 7 November 1957.

97 Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Reports of Provincial Commissioners for the year 1957*, (Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1958), 117.

98 *Ibid.*, 121.

for a better seed, to supervise coffee processing (picking, pulping, fermenting, drying and sorting), coffee pests and disease control, coffee grading in primary societies. They also noted farmers' concerns about farming implements and submitted it to the Co-operative Union.

In 1958, the co-operative movement in the Mbinga District took a different turn by establishing the Probationary Co-operative Store at Ngima. This was the first experimental co-operative society among the coffee growers in the Mbinga District. The store was registered on 18 August 1958 to supply foodstuffs, clothes, pesticides/fungicides, and agricultural implements to the members and non-members. Ngima African Probationary Co-operative Store Limited was registered under the Co-operative Societies Ordinance, Cap.211, Laws of Tanganyika 1947. Different from coffee grower's co-operative societies, the probationary society had unlimited liability. This means that the members could be called upon to meet the societies debts in full and above the value of the shares which they held in the society. The co-operative store was financed by the share capital of its members. The nominal value of a share was Shs.50/- from 1958 to 1963. The value of shares was considered too high by the coffee growers. As a result, by 28 February 1961, the society had only 80 members.[99] The agitations on the value of shares were presented and discussed during the special general meeting on 19 June 1963. An amendment was registered and approved to reduce the nominal value of a share to Shs.25/-.[100]

Between the 1950s and independence eve, the Mbinga District experienced a massive registration of coffee growers' co-operative societies. The number of co-operatives increased from a single coffee co-operative society in 1950 to 15 in 1961. This spike was also reflected in the increasing number of co-operative members in the district, as well as coffee-production outputs (tonnage). Table 7 summarises this growth in the co-operative movement.

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[99] NRC, 387/PROB/17, Ngima African Probationary Co-operative Store, from Ngima African Probationary Co-operative Store, Ref. No. 31/1, to the Hon. Paul Bomani, The Minister of Agriculture and Co-operative Development, 20 April 1961.

[100] NRC, 387/PROB.17, Ngima African Probationary Co-operative Store, "Ngima African Co-operative Store (Probationary): Amendment of Bye-Laws", from Regional Co-operative Officer, Ruvuma, Ref. No. 202/90, to the Registrar of Co-operative Society, Dar es Salaam, 17 June 1963.

**Table 7:** Primary Co-operative Societies Registered and Dissolved in Mbinga District (1950-1961)[101]

| Year | Registered Co-operatives | Dissolved | Membership | Coffee (tons) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1950 | 1 | - | NA | 110 |
| 1951 | 2 | - | NA | 135 |
| 1952 | 2 | - | NA | 300 |
| 1953 | 3 | - | 3 620 | 332 |
| 1954 | 3 | - | 3 620 | 390 |
| 1955 | 4 | - | 6 300 | 490 |
| 1956 | 4 | - | 5 630 | 597 |
| 1957 | 7 | - | 6 593 | 630 |
| 1958 | 8 | - | 6 091 | 634 |
| 1959 | 9 | - | 7 122 | 1 056 |
| 1960 | 14 | - | NA | 1 135 |
| 1961 | 15 | 1 | NA | 1 500 |

On 27 November 1961, the Co-operative Union of Tanganyika (CUT) was registered. The formation of CUT can be traced back to 1947 when it started its founding phase. The CUT's duties included the promotion of the work of existing African co-operative societies, the organisation of further societies, training of staff, provision of accountancy and audit, bulk purchase and sale, and the provision of co-operative education and propaganda. Training of co-operative staff and instruction in co-operative practice were some of the chief needs of the co-operative movement, which was not possible for the registrar to provide in the late 1940s owing to insufficient staff. Evidence suggests that African societies who were not members of unions were ineffective in matters of accountancy and business procedure. By joining the territorial union, the necessary assistance could be provided.[102]

[101] Tanganyika Territory, *Department of Agriculture Annual Reports and Annual Reports of Provincial Commissioners for 1950 to 1961*; NRC, 265/D, Matengo Native Co-operative Union Limited.

[102] TNA, H1/37192/Vol. II, Co-operative Development Annual Reports, Tanganyika Territory, *Report on Cooperative Development for the Year 1947*, 2.

The registration of CUT was regarded as an important landmark in the history of the co-operative movement in Tanganyika. Coffee produce formed the largest part (55%) of the crops handled by the co-operative societies in 1960.[103] It coincided with the attainment of Tanganyika's independence. The co-operative movement was considered a means of achieving economic development among people. The Hon. J.S. Kasambala, the Minister for Co-operative and Community Development, stated the following during the first CUT meeting on 16 to 17 February 1962:

> Co-operatives will be called upon to play an increasing part in the building up the economy of this country. Firstly, co-operatives will be used as a means to achieve our declared policy of creating greater wealth among our peoples … Secondly, and this equally important, government feels strongly that in many spheres of economic activity, such as local industries, the safety and best road to social security will be achieved through the medium of the co-operative movement which will go further to redress the unhappy economic balance in which we find ourselves in this country …[104]

Like any other member of the CUT, MANCU Limited had to contribute a subscription levy of 2% of its gross income. For instance, in 1963, MANCU had a gross income of Shs.321 825.28.[105] The 2%, therefore, amounted to Shs.6 436.50. Through the education facilitation, overseas scholarships to study the co-operative movement were made available. Students from various co-operative societies were able to study co-operative principles, business management, accountancy, banking, commerce, and agriculture. For instance, in 1962, about 22 students from different co-operative societies in Tanganyika obtained the scholarship for overseas studies. Among them, MANCU Limited sent one of its co-operative staff (L.L. Limuka) to K.F. Stockholm College,15, Sweden.[106] In 1964, Union Co-operative Instructor (Mr S.M. Kapinga) was offered a Swedish scholarship on

[103] TNA, 310/CCM/45, Co-operative Union of Tanganyika (CUT)Limited, the Tanganyika Co-operative Movement Celebrates Independence 1961.
[104] TNA, 310/CCM/45, Co-operative Union of Tanganyika (CUT) Limited, the speech from the Minister for Co-operative and Community Development in opening the inaugural convention, 16 –17 February 1962.
[105] TNA, 310/CCM/45, Co-operative Union of Tanganyika Limited (CUT) Limited, Progress Report for the first year ending 30 June 1963.
[106] TNA, 310/CCM/45, Co-operative Union of Tanganyika Limited, Annual Report and Balance Sheet 1962/63, 7.

co-operative studies for nine months while Mr W.D. Ndunguru, a bookkeeper, attended an advanced course on co-operative subjects for ten months at Moshi Co-operative College.[107]

In 1961, the Agricultural Credit Agency (ACA) was formed under Act No. 65 of 1961. The aim was to provide loans for agricultural development. In 1964, ACA was renamed as the National Development Credit Agency (NDCA) focusing on the co-operative movement under the National Co-operative and Development Bank Act No.38 of 1964. The NDCA joined with the National Co-operative Bank forming a twin holding company. The National Co-operative Bank operated for the Co-operative Union to finance the crop purchase, controlling overdraft facilities of the unions and ensuring the allocation of sales realisation between growers and co-operative management. On the other hand, the NDCA handled the short-term development finance for farmer's working capital and the medium and long-term finance for assets on the farms both at co-operative societies and union level.

The Co-operative Union in the Mbinga District in the 1960s focused on the construction of central coffee pulperies. By the late 1960s, MANCU Limited had a total of 11 central coffee pulperies.[108] These pulperies were established with loans acquired from the NDCA by the co-operative societies. By 1965, three central pulperies had been constructed, namely Lituru, Mtuwa and Ugano. The three pulperies acquired loans from the NDCA totalling Shs.215 000/-. The loans acquired were, however, not enough, and a further Shs.88 378.15 was eventually spent in establishing the pulperies.[109] Mhagawa-Asili and Ngima societies followed a similar pattern and borrowed Shs.50 000/- from the African Loan Fund for the installation of central pulperies to be settled within seven years (from 1964–1971).[110] In 1965, Ngima and Mhagawa-Asili applied for additional

[107] NRC, 403/265/B/II, Matengo Native Co-operative Union Limited: Minutes-Committee Meetings, Minutes of the 83rd Committee Meeting held at Mkinga on 17 February 1964.

[108] Lituru, Mtuwa, Ugano, Nyoni, Ngaka, Wukiro, Mhesa, Mhagawa-Asili, Ngima, Ngwambo, and Longa; University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM), Ruvuma Region, "Annual Report for 1966: Agricultural Division Ruvuma Region, Ref. No. A/AR/RUVR, 10 February 1967".

[109] NRC, 403/265/B/II, Matengo Native Co-operative Union Limited: Minutes-Committee Meetings, Minutes of the 28th Special General meeting held at Mkinga on 7 April 1965.

[110] NRC, 403/265/B/II, Matengo Native Co-operative Union Limited: Minutes-Committee Meetings, Minutes of the Board Committee Meeting held at Mkinga on 17 February 1964.

amounts in order to construct drying tables at the central pulperies – Shs.5 000/- for Mhagawa-Asili and Shs.7 749/- for Ngima.[111] In 1966, a further four central pulperies were constructed in the Mbinga District, namely Nyoni (Shs.120 000/-), Wukiro (Shs.88 000/-), Mhesa (Shs.100 000/-), and Ngaka (Shs.108 000/-).[112] Ngaka Central Pulpery was opened by the Honourable First Vice-President Rashid Mfaume Kawawa during his visit to the Ruvuma region in September 1966.[113] These pulperies enabled coffee growers to sell their coffee in two different forms, as parchment or cherry. In 1966, MANCU sold a total of 1 867 tons of dry parchment.[114] The average price of parchment coffee offered to growers was Shs.2/- for grade I and Shs.1.50 for grade II per kilo while cherry was sold at 40 cents (grade I) and 20 cents (grade II).[115]

Apart from pulperies, MANCU Limited also supplied infrastructure to the farmers in the form of implements. In 1963, MANCU Limited acquired a tractor from the government as Union's property. The tractor was hired to farmers at the following rates: ploughing Shs.60/- an acre, harrowing Shs.30/-, driver's wage Shs.180/- per month (Shs.6/- per day). Charges for a tractor to and from any shamba was Shs.2/- per mile. Charges for a trailer were Shs.15/- per hour whenever it was hired. Applications for the hiring of the tractor was always accompanied by a full cash payment in case of non-members. Members paid 25% deposit as advance payment and the remainder later on at the time of final payments. Payments were made directly to MANCU or through any convenient society.[116] Despite the progress, the co-operative movement faced some challenges as the next section will explain.

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[111] NRC, 403/265/B/II, Matengo Native Co-operative Union Limited: Minutes-Committee Meetings, Minutes of the 28th Special General meeting held at Mkinga on 7 April 1965.

[112] NRC, 403/265/B/II, Matengo Native Co-operative Union Limited: Minutes-Committee Meetings, Minutes of the 28th Special General Meeting held at Mkinga on 7 April 1965.

[113] (UDSM), "Annual Report for 1966, Agricultural Division Ruvuma Region, Ref. No. A/AR/RUVR, 10 February 1967", *Annual Report of Agriculture Division: Ruvuma Region,* (Ruvuma: Ministry of Agriculture, 10 February 1967), 9.

[114] *Ibid*.

[115] *Ibid.*

[116] NRC, 403/265/B/II, Matengo Native Co-operative Union Limited, Minutes of the 86th committee meeting held at Mkinga on 20 July 1964, Minute No. 1303.

### 3.6. Challenges of the Coffee Co-operative Societies in Mbinga District, 1950s–1976

Despite the progress of the co-operative movement in the Mbinga District, its development was challenged by primarily four factors: lack of implementation of coffee production practices, logistical/transport challenges, corruption and a lack of skilled human resources. The massive expansion in coffee production driven by, among others, the higher coffee price was realised despite the fact that it became apparent that only a few coffee growers observed the statutory rules in coffee production practices. The only existing Native Authority Rules under section 15 of the Native Authority Ordinance was enforced in 1933 and for the Mbinga District was revised in 1938.[117] The rules regulated aspects such as the selection of the coffee seedlings and the sites of plots and preparation of land to be subject to the approval of the Agricultural Department. The small number of agricultural and co-operative staff in the 1950s made it impossible to implement most of the binding rules. In practice, this manifested in unsound production practices such as the establishment of the coffee nurseries on the slopes or in a waterlogged area with no irrigation during the dry season and without windbreak. The increasing coffee plantings caused people to plant premature seedlings before reaching the age of 12 months in the nursery as recommended. The co-operative societies responded to this challenge by establishing central coffee nurseries under the supervision of MANCU coffee instructors. Also, coffee seedlings were given free to the growers.[118]

The second factor was the logistical or transport challenges the Mbinga District suffered throughout the colonial period. As explained previously, one of the reasons for the delay in the introduction of cash-crop production in the district was the transportation problems. This problem continued to affect the coffee growers even in the 1960s. Lack of tarmac roads, railways or freight cargos affected the coffee sales due to delays in getting the coffee to the auctions, especially during the rainy seasons.

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[117] TNA, 504/9/8, Coffee, “Coffee Rules passed by the Wamatengo Native Authorities conferred by Section 15 of the Native Authority Ordinance with the approval of the Governor”, 4 January 1938.

[118] TNA, 504/C/COF/AR, Coffee General, “Matengo Native Co-operative Union Limited: Coffee Culture Section”, 29 February 1956.

In the late 1940s, NGOMAT signed a transport contract with Mr Alimohamed Osman at a rate of Shs.1.15 per kilogram from Mbinga to Lindi for shipment to the Mombasa Auction.[119] Following the formation of MANCU Limited in 1954, with the increasing number of primary co-operative societies, there was an increase in the demand for local transport that could collect coffee from those societies for delivery to the central store of the union at Mkinga and Mbinga.

Transportation of crops and other items to and from the Mbinga District was faced with the challenge of the high cost of transport. In 1963/64, coffee from Mbinga had to be transported through roadways via Njombe to Moshi or from Mkinga/Mbinga to Mtwara, then via shipment from Mtwara to Tanga and then railed to Moshi. Road transport through Njombe to Moshi was expensive, ranging from Shs.470/- to Shs.490/- per ton.[120] The Union Committee decided to use road transport from Mkinga/Mbinga to Mtwara at the rate of Shs.280/- per ton and from Mtwara to Moshi at Shs.250/.[121] The local transport was rated at Shs.2/- per mile.[122] In the 1964/65 coffee season, the Tanganyika Transportation Company Limited, after long negotiations with MANCU, agreed to offer the service for the rate of Shs.180/- instead of 260/- per ton Mkinga/Mbinga to Mtwara and Shs.1.75 instead Shs.2/- per mile for local transport.[123] However, the lack of all-weather connected roads from the primary co-operative societies to the unions, and then from the unions to the shipping ports or curing factories, continued to affect the coffee production in the Mbinga District

[119] TNA, 155/Co-op/27/X, Ngoni-Matengo Co-operative Marketing Union Limited, "Manager's Handing over note" Ref. No. 078/26, 26 October 1948.
[120] NRC, 403/265/B/II, Matengo Native Co-operative Union Limited: Minutes of the 78th Committee Meeting held at Mkinga on 6 May 1963; Two companies tendered to transport coffee from Mkinga/Mbinga to Njombe (Tanganyika Transport Company Limited Shs.230/- and Haideri Roadways Co. Limited Shs.250/-). From Njombe to Moshi the rate was Shs.240/-.
[121] *Ibid*.; The coffee transport from Mkinga/Mbinga was handled by two companies namely Messrs Haider Roadways and Sadrudin N. Jivraj while from Mtwara to Moshi transport was handled by Messrs. Fidahussein &Co. Ltd.
[122] *Ibid.*
[123] NRC, 403/265/B/II, Matengo Native Co-operative Union Limited, Minutes of the 66th Committee Meeting held at Mkinga on 20 July 1964.

The tendering process for transport contracts for both coffee and mixed goods were conducted by the union who had the power to select the transport contractors. The tender was open to all transport companies. The process was not without its problems. Some of the companies given a transport tender did not carry out their duties properly, which resulted in the delay of the coffee auction. For instance, in 1964, Messrs. Smith Mackenzie & Co. Ltd neglected their duties when transporting coffee from Mtwara to Moshi, and as a result, curing and sales were delayed considerably, resulting in low prices for the coffee.[124] In some cases, contracts were awarded to bankrupt companies. In the 1963/64 crop season, MANCU Limited awarded a transporting tender to Messrs Haider Roadways and S.N. Jivraj, but it was revealed that Mr S.N. Jivraj had been awarded the contract while he was in a state of bankruptcy. This led to the failure of the contractor to fulfil the contractual requirements. It became clear that he attempted to use the contract as security to obtain trucks and licenses.[125]

The unreliability of transport remained a challenge throughout, especially in collecting coffee from the primary co-operative societies for transport to the Union Central Store (Mkinga/Mbinga). The problem became acute in 1972/73, when the company given the transportation contract delayed collecting crops on time, to the extent that up to 4 November 1972, the coffee was still at various primary co-operative societies' warehouses, as shown in the following table:

[124] NRC, 403/265/B/II, Matengo Native Co-operative Union Limited: Minutes-Committee Meetings, Minutes of the 83rd committee meeting held at Mkinga on 17 February 1964.
[125] NRC, 403/265/B/II, Matengo Native Co-operative Union Limited: Minutes-Committee Meetings, Minutes of the 80th Committee Meeting held at Mkinga on 17 August 1968, Minute No. 1265 "coffee transport contract".

**Table 8**: The Amount of Collected and Uncollected Coffee from Various Primary Co-operative Societies in the Mbinga District in 1972/73.[126]

| **Co-operative Society** | **Amount of coffee collected (Kg)** | **Amount of coffee remained (Kg)** |
|---|---|---|
| Ngaka | 185 340 | 84 390 |
| Mhekela | 154 302 | 100 254 |
| Mhelo | 309 840 | 179 025 |
| Mtuwa | 175 189 | 115 162 |
| Langiro | 119 019 | 78 979 |
| Kiwungi | 177 880 | 123 310 |
| Lima | 165 256 | 107 524 |
| Nyoni | 172 204 | 140 839 |
| Mbuji | 93 350 | 66 830 |
| Hagati | 309 670 | 264 280 |
| Kitumbalomo | 103 591 | 88 138 |
| **Total** | **1 965 641** | **1 348 731** |

Coffee transport became more difficult during the rainy seasons, which usually start by the end of November. In general, the delays caused the crops to fetch low prices at the Moshi auction. This further led to increasing of bank overdraft interests, and late payment to the coffee growers.

Another important challenge the co-operative societies faced in the Mbinga District, was the presence of dishonest and corrupt co-operative officials. This was exacerbated by the lack of skilled

[126] NRC, 491/265/IV, Mbinga Co-operative Society Limited, "Tatizo la uchukuzi wa mazao toka vyama vidogo hadi bohari kuu ya Union Mbinga 1972/73" [transport problem from co-operative societies to the Co-operative Union], a letter from the manager, Mbinga Co-operative Union Limited, Mbinga, Ref. No. MBCU/3/3/70, to M/s. Tanganyika Transport Company (1964) Limited, Mtwara, 11 November 1972.

human resources to run the co-operative societies. This compounded the difficulties in handling farmer's money, resulting in money theft and co-operative mismanagement being a common occurrence in the 1950s and 1960s. For instance, most of the co-operative secretaries were recruited in a matter of months and required to work with limited or no training. Although the use of untrained secretaries was justified by the scarcity of trained ones, their low remuneration made them easier targets for corruption. This was underlined when Wukiro Coffee Grower's submitted their estimated expenses to the co-operative officer in 1957, showing the salary for a secretary to be Shs.130/ per month and Shs.100/- for the assistant secretary. The co-operative officer responded, "I think Shs.120/- and Shs.80/- are enough for untrained secretary and assistant secretary to start on".[127] Studies showed the salaries for secretaries varied from society to society, depending on the financial capacity of a particular co-operative society, ranging from Shs.400/- to Shs.130.[128] Co-operative employees had no permanent salary scales, since the rates of salaries and allowances depended on the income of the co-operatives. The recommendation in the Report of the Presidential Special Committee of Enquiry in 1966 was to have a Unified Co-operative Services Commission (UCSC) with salary structures, tenure terms, and employment security. According to Unified Co-operative Service Regulations, co-operatives had a right to employ staff whose salaries were less than Shs.650/-.[129] Co-operative staff, such as managers, secretaries and treasurers were termed as salaried staff under the UCSC, while other staff members, including committee members, were paid in terms of honoraria, ranging from Shs.5/- to not more than Shs.10/- per day.[130]

Cases of money loss were reported in various co-operative societies in the 1950s and 1960s. For instance, in 1957, the Pilakano Coffee Grower's Co-operative Society experienced a case of money theft by the co-operative officials. The chairman, secretary and assistant secretary were accused of

[127] NRC, 532/265/D, Matengo Native Co-operative Union Limited, a letter from the Co-operative Officer, Ref. No. 158/135, to the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Dar es Salaam, 10 March 1958.
[128] The United Republic of Tanzania (URT), *Report of the Presidential Special Committee of Enquiry into Co-operative Movement and Marketing Boards*, (1966), 22.
[129] NRC, 330/848/B/II, Co-operative Union of Tanganyika: Minutes of the Committee Meetings, "Minutes of the 34th Meeting of the Central Committee, 23 January 1970".
[130] *Ibid*.

the loss of the co-operative society's money. The first two accused persons, namely Magnus Ndimbo (secretary) pleaded guilty to two counts involving Shs.423.10, and Ignas Mathias (assistant secretary) to one count involving Shs.205/-. They were sentenced to a total of three months' imprisonment on 23 June 1958.[131] The third accused person was Peter Mauris Mbepela (chairman) who was arrested on 16 June 1958. They were charged on 16 counts of forgery, 16 counts of issuing false documents and one count of theft of Shs.11 171/-.[132] Following the investigation on 1 August 1958, the three accused persons (Magnus Ndimbo, Ignas Mathias and Peter Mauris Mbepela) were found guilty as charged and sentenced to two years imprisonment.[133] In 1964, the MANCU storekeeper reported the loss of Shs.600/- from his safe box. The guilty person could not be apprehended; the Union Finance Sub-Committee ruled that the storekeeper (Mr P.B. Kinunda) had to refund the money. Shs.400/- was re-paid on 30 May 1964 and Shs.200/- in June 1964.[134]

Most of the co-operative societies faced challenges with recovering the stolen money. Although civil cases were brought against guilty parties, the money recovered in most cases were less than the money stolen. Table 9 shows the extent of money stolen and recovered in co-operative societies in Tanzania from 1964-1969.

[131] NRC, 384/162, Pilakano Coffee Grower's Co-operative Society Limited, Criminal Investigation Department (CID) Police Headquarters, Dar es Salaam, Ref. No. CID/SCR/869/58/6, to the Commissioner for Co-operative Societies, Dar es Salaam, Case File CRP No.165/58, 20 August 1958.
[132] NRC, 384/162, Pilakano Coffee Grower's Co-operative Society Limited, Criminal Investigation Department (CID) Police Headquarters, Dar es Salaam, Ref. No. CID/SCR/869/58/4, the Commissioner for Co-operative Societies, Dar es Salaam, Case File CRP No.165/58, 12 August 1958.
[133] NRC, 384/162, Pilakano Coffee Grower's Co-operative Society Limited, from Assistant Commissioner of Police, Criminal Investigation Department (CID) Police Headquarters, Dar es Salaam, Ref. No. CID/SCR/869/58/9, to the Commissioner for Co-operative Societies, Songea CRP No.165/58, 9 September 1958.
[134] NRC, 403/265/B/II, Matengo Native Co-operative Union Limited: Minute- Committee Meetings, Minutes of 80th Committee Meeting held at Mkinga on 28 May 1964.

**Table 9:** The Number of Convictions on Money Theft by Co-operative Officials in Tanzania, 1964-1969.[135]

| Year | Total convictions | Co-operative Officials (imprisoned) | Dismissed cases (by Court) | Dismissed cases (by police) | Cases under investigation | Stolen money (TShs.) | Recovered money (TShs.) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1964 | 37 | 8 | 6 | 12 | - | 69 698.00 | 1 929.00 |
| 1965 | 44 | 11 | 6 | 12 | - | 99 371.00 | 711.00 |
| 1966 | 61 | 19 | 4 | 9 | - | 629 488.00 | 66 434.00 |
| 1967 | 60 | 9 | 3 | 10 | - | 949 634.00 | 4 339.00 |
| 1968 | 118 | 33 | 7 | 23 | 56 | 1 396 563.04 | 47 775.25 |
| 1969 | 62 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 53 | 1 254 710.82 | 60.00 |
| **Total** | **382** | **86** | **28** | **67** | **109** | **4 399 464.86** | **121 248.25** |

### 3.6.1. "Hatutaki ukoloni"! Anti-Co-operative Movement in Mbinga District in the 1950s

The formation of MANCU coincided with the formation of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) Party in colonial Tanzania in 1954. Under the Leadership of Mwalimu J.K. Nyerere, the activities of TANU in the country brought heightened political awareness among the peasants that strengthened the demand for independence from the British colonial government. The involvement of the colonial officials in the co-operative movement was regarded as an intensification of colonial exploitation of peasant produce. The enforcement of the coffee rules and regulations by both colonial government authorities and co-operative officers also culminated in the anti-co-operative movement in various coffee-producing areas in Tanzania.[136] There were also a growing anti-

[135] NRC, 314/CCU/C/80/2, Cash Loss from Co-operative Unions and Societies, A letter from the Director, Criminal Investigation Department (CID), Dar es Salaam, Ref. No. CID/11Q/229/10/38, to the Commissioner for Co-operative Development, Dar es Salaam, 5 July 1969; The available information does not show the results of the 'cases under investigation' but from the available statistics it is clear that a large amount of the stolen money was not recovered.

[136] The coffee riots in Kilimanjaro and Bukoba (Kagera) in 1937; K.R. Curtis, "Cooperation and Cooptation".

colonial protest in other areas of the colonial Tanganyika including“anti-soil erosion campaigns” in the Sukumaland by the cotton growers against the tie-ridges, and cattle destocking.[137] The peasants in Uluguru mountains in the Morogoro region protested the compulsory terracing.[138]

In the 1950s, African coffee growers grew increasingly discontented with the way the co-operative officers graded the coffee. They saw the low prices offered to the lower grades it as a way of exploiting coffee growers. The coffee growers who were also co-operative members supported their respective co-operative committee members by rejecting the grading system undertaken by the union coffee instructors. This was reflected in many coffee marketing centres (*gulio*) during the 1955/56 coffee season as demonstrated by a series of protests in October 1955 in Mapipili and Kipololo.[139] These incidents led to the resignation of some co-operative members who decided to sell their coffee through Ngaka Coffee Growers’ Co-operative Society Limited. The African coffee growers’ dissatisfaction with the coffee-grading system dominated the whole period from the late 1950s to the early 1960s.

The coffee growers’ discontent towards the co-operative and agricultural departmental staff can also be associated with the peasants’ attitudes to the staff. Both archival and oral sources show that in the 1950s, both agricultural and co-operative officers were regarded as *askaris* (policemen), not only because they enforced the coffee rules and regulations, as well as the rules of the co-operative society and, as executive officers, they were involved in the grading of the co-operative society’s coffee.[140] The “policemen” character was reflected in their harsh supervision during the

137 G.A. Maguire, *Towards ‘Uhuru’ in Tanzania* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 30-1; R. Young, and H. Fosbrooke, *Land and Politics among the Luguru of Tanganyika*, (Chicago: North-Western University Press, 1960); and P. Maack, “We Don't Want Terraces!’: Protest & Identity under the Uluguru Land Usage Scheme”, in G. Maddox, J. Giblin, & I. Kimambo (eds.), *Custodians of the Land: Ecology and Culture in the History of Tanzania*, (Boydell & Brewer.1996), 152-170.

138 R. Young, and H. Fosbrooke, *Land and Politics among the Luguru of Tanganyika*; P. Maack, “We Don’t Want Terraces!: Protest & Identity under the Uluguru Land Usage Scheme”.

139 TNA, 504/C/COF/AR, Coffee General, Matengo Native Co-operative Union Limited: Coffee Section Report from October to December 1955.

140 TNA, 504/A/ML/D/SON, Monthly Report Songea District Agricultural Division Southern Region, Songea, Report for June 1961, 78.

enforcement of coffee rules and regulations on the coffee growers. As explained in Chapter Two, the penalties for the offences included the uprooting of the coffee trees, fines, and imprisonment. The uniforms (khaki) used by the agricultural instructors were also the source of associating them with the colonial policemen. In response to the coffee growers' dissatisfaction, the khaki uniform jackets were replaced with white or blue shirts in 1960 to win the confidence of the coffee growers as they were then regarded as teachers and not as policemen.[141] The problem was that farmers did not regard co-operative unions as belonging to them but saw them as an arm of government. This perception was strengthened by the fact that committee members were elected by the union general meeting in which farmers had little influence. The committee members had considerable power but did not feel directly responsible to the farmers. They therefore failed to serve the interests of the farmers. To some of the co-operative officials, co-operatives were "steppingstones" in the race for upward social mobility since through co-operative societies, they were able to access economic benefits and social prestige compared to other African coffee growers. In the Bukoba Native Co-operative Union, committee members were accused of living luxurious lives compared to the lives of the coffee growers.[142]

The Mbinga District witnessed the growing "anti-union movements" in the late 1950s whereby some primary co-operative societies wanted to be independent. They portrayed MANCU as an exploitative organ working for colonial interests. The anti-union movement was at first not expressed openly. Some co-operative members acted silently by not complying with the co-operative union's requirements. In the 1960s, the conflict between primary co-operatives and the Co-operative Union became open, for instance, the conflict between Kitumbalomo Coffee Growers Co-operative Society Limited and MANCU Limited in the 1960s. Members of Kitumbalomo questioned the right of the union to issue instructions to the affiliated societies. During the general meeting held on 7 December 1960, attended by the Regional Co-operative Officer, they shouted

[141] Tanganyika Territory, *Agriculture Department Annual Report 1960 Part I*, (Dar es Salaam: The Government Printers, 1960), 22.
[142] K.R. Curtis, "Co-operation and Cooptation", 529.

"Hatutaki ukoloni!" translated loosely as "they do not like to be colonised by the union."[143] The opposition arose from the new arrangements for coffee nurseries, under which every co-operative society was supposed to establish a central coffee nursery. A vote was eventually taken, and the overwhelming decision was that the society was under no obligation to abide by union instructions and would do so only when the society members agreed with the order.[144] By denying the instruction from the union, they acted against their by-laws by refusing their own by-laws. The co-operative officer withheld the Certificate of Registration which was supposed to be handed over during the meeting. The meeting broke up in disorder.[145] On 13 December 1960, the chairman of Kitumbalomo wrote a letter to apologise for what happened and asked the co-operative officer to attend another meeting scheduled for 16 December 1960. During this meeting, people who agitated in the previous meeting were brought before the meeting, apologised, and were given the choice of Shs.20/- fine or being stripped of their membership.[146] Although the general meeting decided to punish the *wachochezi* (instigating) co-operative members, the permission of the registrar of the co-operative societies was required for the society to be registered or de-registered.

The union was responsible for some issues such as the decision on the rate of advance payments to coffee growers and arranging the bank overdraft both according to primary society and union by-laws. Therefore, the refusal to obey the instruction of the union would necessarily result in the disaffiliation by the union and cancellation of registration by the registrar of societies. The registrar agreed to issue the certificate with the warning that "similar display of defiance of the law and bye-laws must result in cancellation of registration." [147] The registrar also stated, "I am not prepared to issue a certificate of maximum liability to any society not affiliated to the union."[148] The assistant

[143] NRC, 331/719, Kitumbalomo Coffee Growers Co-operative Society Limited, from Co-operative Officer, Ref. No. 232/9, to the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Dar es Salaam, 12 December 1960.
[144] *Ibid*.
[145] *Ibid*.
[146] NRC, 331/719, Kitumbalomo Coffee Growers Co-operative Society Limited, from Co-operative Officer, Songea, Ref. No.232/13, to the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Dar es Salaam, 13 January 1961.
[147] NRC, 331/719, Kitumbalomo Coffee Growers Co-operative Society Limited, from Registrar of Co-operative Societies, on Safari Songea, Ref. No.232/19A, to the President and Members, Kitumbalomo Coffee Growers Co-operative Society Limited, 13 July 1961.
[148] *Ibid*.

co-operative officer, A.S. Kahawanga, eventually handed the Certificate of Registration to the Kitumbalomo Society during the general meeting held on 20 November 1961.[149]

Other outward signs of anti-union movement were the disaffiliation of the Pilakano Coffee Grower's Co-operative Society from MANCU in 1961. The movement was initiated by the co-operative committee members demanding to be independent of union businesses. MANCU was regarded as exploitative because of various charges deducted from their coffee sales. These charges included a co-operative levy, transport charge from society to union, union levy, transportation charge from union to Board, Union Development Fund Levy, bank charges, Tanganyika Coffee Board export levy, National Development levy, and local Council levy. The range of these deductions caused complaints among coffee growers since they were imposed on them without their consent. For instance, the Coffee Board recommended and the Minister approved a levy for the period January to May (1958) of 10 shillings per ton of clean coffee exported from Tanganyika, eight shillings per ton of coffee in the parchment and five shillings per ton of dried cherry. From 1 June 1958, these rates were doubled.[150] From 1 June 1959, the export levy was increased to Shs.30/- per ton of clean coffee, Shs.24/-per ton of parchment coffee and Shs.15/- per ton of dried cherry. This increase was necessary to help close the gap between estimated income and expenditure in 1959-60.[151] These deductions increased the burden on coffee growers. The co-operative officer, however, considered the co-operative society's demand as being the result of a lack of knowledge and claimed that the demand was initiated by "young troublemaking self-seekers".[152] Consequently,

[149] NRC, 331/719, Kitumbalomo Coffee Growers Co-operative Society Limited, from the Chairman, Kitumbalomo Coffee Growers Society Limited, Ref. No. K/16/1, to the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Dar es Salaam, 6 December 1961.

[150] TNA, 266/A/BOA/COF. Vol. IV, Coffee Board (of Tanganyika) Arrangement for TCB, Tanganyika Coffee Board First Report for the period 30 December 1957 to 30 June 1958, 3.

[151] TNA, 266/A/BOA/COF. Vol. IV, Coffee Board (of Tanganyika) arrangement for TCB, Second Report for the year ended 30 June 1959.

[152] NRC, 268/162/A, Pilakano Coffee Growers' Co-operative Society Limited, a letter from the Co-operative Officer, Songea, Ref. No. 95/100, to the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Dar es Salaam, 1 August 1961.

Pilakano Coffee Growers Co-operative Society was disaffiliated from MANCU Limited on 21 August 1961.[153]

For a society to be independent of the union, it needed to have enough capital to run the daily coffee practices, both in production and marketing. The coffee growers found themselves tied to the co-operative system because very few of them had the necessary capital to be able to perform these functions. Pilakano Coffee Growers Co-operative Society failed to operate independently after disaffiliation. As a result, on 7 November 1961, the Pilakano coffee growers, during a special general meeting, therefore, agreed to request MANCU to accept their 1961/62 coffee crop.[154] Coffee growers organised themselves together and came up with a new co-operative society in 1962, namely Mhesa replacing "Pilakano".[155]

### 3.6.2. From Merging to the Dissolution of Co-operative Societies (1968–1976)

The growing numbers of the newly registered societies, especially in the 1960s (after independence), resulted in the establishment of a number of societies which were riddled with problems. Membership was too small as they could handle only small crops and was characterised by friction between administrative and management staff and between the members. The societies were also struggling with poor financial management. These societies burdened their members and hurt the co-operative movement. An example is, Kipololo Coffee Grower's Co-operative Society who collected only 60 tons of coffee during the 1971/72 coffee crop and was forced to collect a levy of 25 cents per pound from the coffee growers to cover the society's expenses.[156] The situation

[153] NRC, 268/162/A, Pilakano Coffee Growers' Co-operative Society Limited, "Disaffiliation of Pilakano Society", from the Manager, MANCU Limited, Ref. No. M/2/52, to the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Dar es Salaam, 30 September 1961; General Notice No. 2162, 1 September 1961.

[154] NRC, 384/162, Pilakano Coffee Grower's Co-operative Society Limited, minutes of the Special General Meeting held on 7 November 1961.

[155] Interview with Otmar Mbepera, Longa Village 11 January 2019; Longa Co-operative Society split from Pilakano Coffee Growers' Co-operative Society in 1959; Also interview with Pilmin Lupogo, Kindimba Village, 9 January 2019.

[156] NRC, 331/721, Kipololo Coffee Growers Co-operative Society Limited, a letter from the Regional Director of Agriculture, Ruvuma, Ref. No. 721/E, to the Chairman, Kipololo Coffee Grower's Co-operative Society Limited, 5 July 1971.

was even worse in Ngima where coffee growers were charged a levy of 71 cents per kilo while the quantity of coffee collected was only 35 tons during the 1971/72 coffee crop.[157] The levy was too high compared to 23 cents in 1970/71 when 60 tons of coffee were produced.[158] It was clear that the survival of weaker co-operatives societies placed a heavier burden on the coffee producers.

Two processes, therefore, characterised the period from 1968 to 1976: firstly, a co-operative society merger wave, and finally the dissolution of the societies. In 1968, during the union general meeting, the members proposed a change of name from Matengo Native Co-operative Union Limited to Mbinga Co-operative Union Limited. There was a fear that the name change would be interpreted as an attempt to escape the debts incurred by the union. Eventually, the name was changed, but the registration number (265) was retained.[159] Mbinga Co-operative Union Limited only existed between 1968 and 1972. The registrar of co-operative societies ordered the merging of all three unions in the Ruvuma region namely NGOMAT, Tunduru Co-operative Union, and Mbinga Co-operative Union Limited to form Ruvuma Region Co-operative Union Limited in 1972 (RURECU).[160] The aim was to strengthen the union at a regional level.

To remedy the existence of unsustainable weak societies, the registrar of co-operative societies decided to merge some societies. The recommended co-operatives to be merged in the district included Ngaka and Liule, Mahenge-Mpalu, Ngwambo and Mhagawa-Timbwili, Lituru and Mhagawa Asili, Wukiro, Ngima and Kipololo, Mhesa and Longa. Wukiro, Ngima, and Kipololo Coffee Growers Co-operative Society Limited were merged on 24 September 1971 to form

[157] NRC, 331/724, Ngima Coffee Growers Co-operative Society Limited, a letter from the Regional Director of Agriculture, Ruvuma, Ref. No. 724/E, to the Chairman, Ngima Coffee Grower's Co-operative Society Limited, 5 July 1971.
[158] NRC, 331/724, Ngima Coffee Growers Co-operative Society Limited, Estimate and Expenditure 1970/71, 14 July 1970.
[159] NRC, 403/265/B/II, Matengo Native Co-operative Union Limited: Minutes-Committee Meeting, General Meeting held on 7 May 1968 at Mkinga.
[160] NRC, 491/265/IV, Mbinga Co-operative Union Limited, Notice from the Registrar of Co-operative Societies (J.V. Lwabuti), Ref. No. CCU/C/230/23/11, 19 September 1972.

KIWUNGI Co-operative Society Limited .[161] Longa merged with the Mhesa (Umatengo) Coffee Co-operative Society Limited to form MHELO Co-operative Society Limited on 24 September 1971.[162] Lituru Coffee Growers Co-operative Society Limited and Mhagawa-Asili Coffee Growers Co-operative Society Limited merged to form LIMA Co-operative Society Limited on 24 September 1971.[163] The newly formed co-operative societies inherited all assets and debts of the merged co-operative societies.

In 1975, the Tanzanian parliament passed the Villages and Ujamaa Villages Registration Act. In line with this act, the TANU National Executive Committee (NEC) decided to transform the co-operative movement to revolve around the Ujamaa Villages in future, both in terms of its marketing and production functions. There was a need to move from the traditional system where co-operatives were marketing-oriented instead of being producer-oriented. On 14 May 1976, all primary societies were dissolved by the government. Its marketing functions were taken over by the villages. All co-operative unions were also dissolved, and their buying function was taken over by the Coffee Authority of Tanzania (CAT) who in future would buy coffee directly from the villages. CAT operated from 1977 to 1984 when the Tanzania Coffee Marketing Board took over. This development will be explained in the next chapter.

### 3.7. Conclusion

This chapter analysed the relationship between smallholder coffee farmers and co-operative societies in the Mbinga District from the 1930s to 1976. It showed how the interactions between different co-operative actors shaped the co-operative development in the Mbinga District. The

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[161] NRC, 331/721, Kipololo Coffee Growers Co-operative Society Limited, "Muungano", a notice from the Registrar of Co-operative Societies (Joseph Venant Lwabuti), Dar es Salaam, Ref. No. CCU/230/23/11/600, 1 October 1971, published in Government Notice No. 1983 of 5 November 1971.

[162] NRC, 331/720, Longa Coffee Growers Co-operative Society Limited, "Muungano", a notice from the Registrar of Co-operative Societies (Joseph Venant Lwabuti), Dar es Salaam, Ref. No. CCU/230/23/11/602, 1 October 1971, published in Government Notice No. 1983 of 5 November 1971.

[163] NRC, 230/646/Public, Lituru Coffee Co-operative Society Limited, "Muungano", a notice from the Registrar of Co-operative Societies (Joseph Venant Lwabuti), Dar es Salaam, Ref. No. CCU/230/23/11/601, 1 October 1971, published in Government Notice No. 1983 of 5 November 1971.

interactions between coffee growers, colonial officials, co-operative officials, private coffee traders as well as the early independent government officials have influenced the co-operative development in the district from the 1930s to 1976. Before the imposition of the co-operative institutions by the colonial authorities, coffee producers in the Mbinga District initiated their co-operative organisation in 1934 under which they faced difficulties to be registered. The colonial authorities expected Africans to accept the imposed co-operative institutions and not to develop their own co-operative structures. However, coffee growers were not passive respondents. Their reactions varied from compliance to ambivalence. The 1950s anti-co-operative movements showed how coffee growers were not passive during the interactions and how the co-operative societies were used as a political platform for the nationalist movement in Tanzania.

The chapter used Ngaka Coffee Grower's Co-operative Society and later MANCU Limited, to analyse the influence of the colonial state in the control of African export crops. It shows how the co-operative movement that aimed to eliminate exploitation of the African smallholder coffee producers by the intermediary traders, became the state instruments in controlling and monopolising coffee production and marketing in the Mbinga District.

The chapter has attempted to bridge the existed scholarship gap left by the historians on co-operative movements who paid more attention to Northern and North-western Tanzania among the Chagga and Haya coffee growers. It is, therefore, add to the existing work on co-operative history in Southern Tanzania, done by Hebert H. Ndomba and Patrick M. Redmond, which focused on tobacco in the Songea District, while taking no account of coffee co-operative societies in the Mbinga District. This chapter contributed to the historiography of co-operatives in Tanzania by tracing the history and context in which co-operative actors interacted and influenced the relationships between the smallholder coffee growers and the co-operative societies in the Mbinga District from the 1930s to 1976.

# Chapter Four

## State Monopoly and Coffee Production in Mbinga District, c.1960s–1990

### 4.1. Introduction

This chapter examines the state's intervention in the coffee industry through co-operative societies and unions, coffee boards and coffee authorities between 1960 and 1990. It focuses on the implementation of the Ujamaa policy and its subsequent demise in the 1980s. Global coffee production in the period between the 1960s and 1989 was dominated by the International Coffee Agreement (ICA, 1962–1989). It was a period of extreme regulation in terms of the marketing of coffee following the overproduction of the crop that resulted in a surplus of coffee throughout the world in the late 1950s. This was a result of bumper crops in Brazil and Colombia and the increase in production of Robusta coffee in Africa. Coffee prices plummeted. During conferences attended by coffee-producing countries, held in Paris (France) and Washington DC (USA) in 1958, it was agreed to restrict exports of coffee by retaining a percentage of their production. For example, Brazil, which had the largest stock of coffee, decided not to sell 40% of their 1958/59 crop.[1] Against this background, coffee growers had to maintain their income. The best way of doing so was to increase their yields per acre by using the best planting material and the best cultivation methods – pruning, mulching, and to endeavour to improve the quality of the coffee by careful attention to preparation on the farm – pulping, fermentation, and drying. In the case of Tanzania, the best coffee had to be exported, retaining the lowest coffee grades for the internal market.

Apart from promoting coffee production, Tanzania through the coffee board had to expand coffee markets beyond the quotas allocated under ICA. The 'new markets' had to be secured in addition to the 'traditional markets'. The new markets were also known as non-traditional coffee markets. These were countries in which coffee was consumed [in the 1960s] on a very low and in some cases, negligible per capita level. It represented the principal outlet for coffees which had to be withheld

[1] TNA, 266, ABOACOF/Vol. III, a letter by the chairman of the Tanganyika Coffee Board, October 1958.

from sale in the traditional markets under the commitments also accepted by Tanganyika in terms of the ICA.[2] Non-traditional markets consisted of the "Iron Curtain" markets, and the rest-principally the Middle East and the Far East and African countries south of Tanganyika.

By focusing on smallholder coffee producers in the Mbinga District, this chapter demonstrates state monopoly in the production and marketing of coffee between the 1960s and 1990. It argues that the post-colonial state's interventions mainly shaped the trajectory of the coffee industry between the 1960s and 1990 in the Mbinga District in agricultural production and marketing, and this had some socio-economic impact on the smallholder coffee producers in the district. On the other hand, 'coffeescapes' also shaped the implementation of the post-colonial policies in the district. The chapter focuses on the influence of the state on coffee production and marketing through the implementation of Ujamaa and Villagisation policies (1967–1980s).

It drew on economist Gavin Fridell's "coffee statecraft"[3] and anthropologist, James Scott's "weapons of the weak"[4] approaches to explore the role of the post-colonial state on the coffee industry and the reactions of the smallholder coffee producers in the Mbinga District. In addition, the chapter uses the 'coffeescapes and coffeescapes of resistance' concepts to analyse the influence of coffee landscapes on the implementation of the postcolonial policies and the responses of the coffee producers.

This chapter uses both archival and oral sources. The archival sources were obtained from Tanzania National Archives (TNA), housed in Dar es Salaam, the National Record Centre (NRC) in Dodoma, and the Tanzania Coffee Board (TCB) in the Moshi District in the Kilimanjaro region. Oral sources were gathered from ex-co-operative officials and coffee producers in the Mbinga District.

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[2] TNA, 266, A/BOA/COF/VII, Tanganyika Coffee Board, Promotion of Sales of Coffees in "New Markets", September 1962.

[3] G. Fridell, "Coffee Statecraft: Rethinking the Global Coffee Crisis, 1998 – 2002", *New Political Economy*, 19, 3, (2014), 407-426.

[4] J.C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, (London, Yale University Press, 1985).

The chapter starts with a historiographical note on the dynamic relationship between the state and peasant production in post-colonial Tanzania. It proceeds with coffee production in the context of the Ujamaa policy and villagisation processes. It also demonstrates how the coffee development and improvement programmes between the 1970s and 1980s influenced coffee production and marketing in the district. It assesses the re-instatement of the co-operative societies in 1984, emphasising the ability to deliver a desired benefit to the coffee growers. The chapter also analyses the responses of the coffee producers to the state interventions, specifically on the implementations of the Ujamaa policy in the district.

## 4.2. Historiographical Note

The debate on the influence of the state on peasant production has attracted scholars from various disciplines, including political sciences, natural sciences and social sciences. Scholars such as Andrew Coulson[5], Goran Hyden[6], Deborah Bryceson[7], and Andreas Eckert[8] have focused on the post-colonial Tanzanian state and its influence on peasant production. Andrew Coulson, a political economist, focused on the influence of the state on peasants in both colonial and post-colonial period in Tanzania. He explored the development and failure of the Ujamaa and Villagisation policies. The failure was attributed to the use of top-down coercive forces by the state on the peasant producers. He argued that "for peasants to develop, struggle is inevitable".[9] He suggested the struggle to be directed to the exploitative co-operatives, as well as against the state bureaucratic class. According to Coulson, successful socialism had to be constructed from below (by peasants). Although the use of force was one of the reasons for the failure of the Ujamaa, Coulson does not focus on the reactions of the peasants to the state as this chapter attempts to use the concept of the

[5] A. Coulson, "Agricultural Policies in Mainland Tanzania, 1946–76", *Review of African Political Economy*, 4 (10), (1977),74 -100.

[6] G. Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: Underdevelopment and Uncaptured Peasantry*, (Nairobi: Heinemann Education Books, 1980).

[7] D. Bryceson, "Peasant Commodity Production in Post-colonial Tanzania" *African Affairs*, 81, 325, (1982), 547-567.

[8] A. Eckert, "Useful Instruments of Participation? Local Government and Cooperatives in Tanzania, 1940s to 1970s", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 1, (2007), 97-118.

[9] A. Coulson, "Agricultural Policies in Mainland Tanzania", 58.

'coffeescapes' and 'coffeescapes of resistance' to show the reactions of the coffee producers including the maintenance of dual residence. However, this can be attributed to the limits of his article's timeframe since it focuses on the period between 1968 and 1974, which was in the middle of the villagisation operation. Furthermore, Deborah Bryceson[10] explores the unequal relationship between the state and peasant. The relationship was established through the extraction of surpluses from peasants in terms of levies and price control. The article shows how the decline of prices of cash crops on the international market made peasants in low-income regions to divert into subsistence production.[11] This chapter draws from both Coulson and Bryceson on the impacts of top-down coercive forces on the peasant production in post-colonial Tanzania. The chapter attempts to take the conversation between Coulson and Bryceson further by showing the influence of the responses from below on bending the implementation of the top-down decisions. It extends the analysis to explore the socio-economic impact of the relationship between the state and smallholder coffee producers in the Mbinga District from 1960 to 1990.

Andreas Eckert, a historian, focused on the influence of the state on the creation and abolition of local government, as well as co-operatives in Tanzania. Focusing on both the colonial and early postcolonial period, the tools that were depicted as democratic and educational to the masses turned out to be instruments of state control. He argued that "although those in power expressed fairly different political ideas over the course of time, there were strong elements of continuity between the late colonial period and the first decades of independence."[12] This chapter draws from Eckert's analysis of the ambiguous role of the co-operatives. This chapter extends the debate of the state monopolies to the 1990.

This chapter also draws from James Scott[13] who focuses on the failure of the state-initiated development schemes in Germany, Soviet Union and Tanzania to improve human conditions. Using

[10] D. Bryceson, "Peasant Commodity Production in Post-colonial Tanzania".
[11] *Ibid*., 561.
[12] A. Eckert, "Useful Instruments of Participation? Local Government and Cooperatives in Tanzania", 97.
[13] J.C. Scott, *Seeing like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition have Failed*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1998).

Ujamaa villages, Scott associated the failure with little or no attention to the role of agricultural producers and livestock keepers.[14] To him, villagisation was an instance of high modernity social engineering, and its failure was due to the failure of villagisation in imposing modern machinery for agricultural production.[15] In line with Coulson, Scott attributes the failure of Ujamaa villages to the top-down approach. This chapter agrees with Scott on the failure of the state to recognise peasants as important to the successful implementation of the policy. However, Scott's analysis focuses on the negative impact on African societies while ignoring the positive results of some development programmes, including the coffee improvement and development programmes of the late 1970s and early 1980s on which this chapter will be focusing. This chapter also shows that the implementation of villagisation in the Mbinga District did not exhibit the substantively modern traits as Scott attributes to them.

Goran Hyden[16] focused on the debate about the relationship between state and peasants in African societies. Goran Hyden provides a critique of the underdevelopment school of thought by attributing the African underdevelopment to capitalism. To him, the existence of local predicaments included ownership of the means of production and failure to traditionalise modern agricultural practices. He further shows the distinct position of African peasants from capitalism and the socialist mode of production. The presence of household production constraints, such as labour shortages, the autonomy of peasants and the rise of an "economy of affection"[17] limit state control on peasant production. However, Hyden's shortcomings included his generalisation on African peasants being powerful to defy, control and manipulate the state, and the recommendation on the use of force to control peasants. By placing all blame of underdevelopment on peasants, Hyden did not differ from the underdevelopment school of thought which placed blame on capitalism. Taking Coulson's thesis of post-colonial state autonomy over peasants, and on the other hand Hyden's thesis of

[14] *Ibid*., 225.
[15] *Ibid*., 228.
[16] G. Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania*.
[17] Economy of affection refers to the model of an economy governed by the communal undertakings that prevent the growth of contradictions and the subsequent emergence of the other social-political organisation, such as socialism and capitalism. G. Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania*, 18.

peasants autonomy, this chapter uses the two antagonistic views to show the dynamics of the state-peasants relationship in the post-colonial period. This chapter contends that, through the co-operative movement and Ujamaa policy, the Tanzanian post-colonial state was able to influence, directly or indirectly, the cash-crop production and marketing in the Mbinga District. Despite the autonomy of the post-colonial state over coffee production and marketing, the 'coffeescapes' in the Mbinga District had also made the post-colonial state to response to the needs of coffee production that did not conform to the implementation of the Ujamaa policy. These needs were such as ecological requirements, coffee production culture consisting of the nature of the plant, size of the land and pests and disease control.

Other scholars focused on the impact of the post-colonial policies on the environment, particularly on the miombo woodlands in Tanzania. Historians such as Yusuf Q. Lawi[18] examines how the state policies failed as a result of ignoring the local people's knowledge in planning and implementation. Focusing on Operation *Vijiji* or the villagisation policy in the 1970s, the government failed to consider the long-term awareness development among villagers in their interaction with nature. For instance, in the eastern Iraqwland, windward side of the hills, top ridges and extreme lower slopes were associated with evil and diseases. Therefore, no settlements were established in these areas before Operation *Vijiji*.[19] As a result, the implementation of villagisation violated local ecological principles in eastern Iraqwland in the Mbulu District. Similarly, natural scientist Idris Kikula[20] shows how the villagisation intensified land use in the newly established settlement in the southern highland of Tanzania. The programme ended with the highest experience of soil erosion and general environmental degradation in the southern highlands. Both Kikula's and Lawi's work focus on the failure of villagisation processes and its environmental impact while ignoring some positive outcomes. Their work remained useful to this thesis because as it was with Coulson and Scott,

[18] Y.Q. Lawi, "Tanzania's Operation Vijiji and Local ecological consciousness: The Case of Eastern Iraqw-land, 1974-76", *The Journal of African History*, 48, 1, (2007), 69-93.
[19] *Ibid*., 81-87.
[20] I.S. Kikula, *Policy Implications on Environment the case of Villagization in Tanzania*, (Dar es Salaam: Dar es Salaam University Press, 1997).

discussed previously, they demonstrate the difficulties of the top-down approach in policymaking and implementation. This chapter explores further on both success and challenges of the state-centred policies on the coffee industry in the Mbinga District. This chapter demonstrates the influence of coffee as a plant in shaping the implementation of Ujamaa in the Mbinga District. The nature of the plant and its political economy sometimes demanded bending of the Ujamaa policy. As it was stated that "plants are no longer the passive object of contemplation, but are increasingly resembling "subjects", "stakeholders", or "performers", the plant now makes unprecedented demands upon the nature of contemplation itself."[21]

This chapter, therefore, uses the implementation of Ujamaa policy from the 1960s to the early 1980s to explore the power of the state to control the coffee industry. It demonstrates how the state dissolved the co-operative movement to create a monopolistic instrument, such as coffee authority to control the growing influences of coffee co-operatives in the production and marketing of coffee in the Mbinga District. Therefore, diverging from the existing scholarship, which focuses on the environmental impact of the state developmental policies, this chapter expands the debate on the state monopolies on African peasant production. The chapter contributes toward a reassessment of Tanzania's historiography on the analysis of the socio-economic impact of the post-colonial development policies on smallholder coffee production in Tanzania.

### 4.3. Ujamaa and Coffee Production, 1960–1973

After independence in 1961, Tanzania inherited an export-oriented colonial economic structure. The focus of the government was to bring about development. They were, however, heavily dependent on foreign money in terms of gifts, loans and private investments to finance development. Of the total planned national expenditure budget of Shs.480 million of the Three-Year Development Plan (1961-1964), Shs.380 million were expected to be obtained from external

[21] P. Gibson & B. Baylee, (ed.), *Covert Plants: Vegetal Consciousness and Agency in an Anthropocentric world*, (Santa Barbara: Brainstorm Books, 2018), 13; J.C. Ryan, "Passive Flora? Reconsidering Nature's Agency through Human-Plant Studies (HPS)", *Societies*, 2, (2012), 101-121.

sources.[22] The independent government faced three major challenges of development, namely disease, poverty and ignorance.[23] It required the government to come up with a clear policy to achieve the required development. In 1962, Nyerere came up with a paper titled, "Ujamaa: The Basis of African Socialism". The paper laid the basis of creating a socialist society in Tanzania. Nyerere declared that "socialism is an attitude of mind".[24] This was also reflected in a section of the 1962 TANU constitution that stated the principal aims and objectives of TANU such as, to establish a democratic and socialist form of government devoted to consolidating national independence and ensuring a decent standard of living for every individual; giving equal opportunities to both men and women, eliminating poverty, diseases and ignorance, and eradicating all types of injustice, intimidation, discrimination, bribery and corruption.[25]

Tanzania's turn to socialism was cemented on 5 February 1967, with the Arusha Declaration by the National Executive Council (NEC) of TANU that opted for a socialist development path based on self-reliance (*Ujamaa na Kujitegemea*).[26] It was an attempt to overcome the difficulties of securing development loans by mobilising local resources, such as the potential of its people, land, good policies and good leadership.[27]

In September 1967, Nyerere issued a policy paper entitled "Socialism and Rural Development". The paper was popularly known as "*Ujamaa Vijijini*". It stressed the establishment of Ujamaa villages in which people were supposed to live and work together for the good of all. The Ujamaa policy was initiated as a response to the growth of social inequalities in the post-colonial society.

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[22] J.K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Development/Uhuru na Maendeleo: A Selection from writings and speeches, 1968-1973*, (Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1973), 272.
[23] *Ibid*.
[24] J.K. Nyerere, "Ujamaa –The Basis of African Socialism" in J. K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Unity/ Uhuru na Umoja*: *A Selection from Writings and Speeches 1952-65*, (Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1966), 162.
[25] Tanganyika African Union (TANU), *Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) Constitution*, (Dar es Salaam, 1962), 1-2.
[26] J.K. Nyerere, "*The Arusha Declaration, Socialism and Self Reliance"*, in J.K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism/Uhuru na Ujamaa: A selected from writings and Speeches 1965–1967*, (Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1968), 231.
[27] J.K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism/Uhuru na Ujamaa*, 243.

There were economic inequalities between urban and rural residents. There were growing inequalities within rural areas. The significant growth of *kulaks* or progressive farmers and their use of hired labour on privately owned farms were regarded as potential obstacles to the realisation of rural socialist transformation. This was expressed when Nyerere stated that "yet the present trend is away from the extended family production and social unity, and towards the development of a class system in the rural areas. It is this kind of development which would be inconsistent with the growth of a socialist Tanzania in which all citizens would be assured of human dignity and equality, and in which all were able to have a decent and constantly improving life for themselves and their children".[28] The policy called upon the peasants to organise into viable socio-economic and political communities (Ujamaa villages) to transform production that was private and scattered into communal and planned production. The objective was to create a society based on the principles of co-operation, equality, and freedom.[29]

In Ujamaa villages, people were expected to live and work together. As Nyerere stated, "the land this community farms would be called 'our land' by all the members; the crops they produced on that land would be called 'our crops'; it would be 'our shop' which provided individual members with the day-to-day necessities from outside; 'our workshop' which made the bricks from which houses and other buildings were constructed, and so on".[30]

In implementing the Ujamaa villages strategy, three steps were involved. The first step was to make people from scattered settlements to come together and live in planned villages. The step involved land distribution to the people who moved to new settlements. The new settlements were either unoccupied land or existing villages with less than 250 households and not more than 600 households.[31] This would facilitate the second step of working together on communally owned

[28] J.K. Nyerere, "Socialism and Rural Development", in *Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism*, (Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1968), 117-118.
[29] J.K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, 23; URT, *The Second Five Years Development Plan for Economic and Social Development, 1st July 1969-30th June 1974*, (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1969), 26.
[30] J.K. Nyerere, "Socialism and Rural Development", 124-5.
[31] The number of households was estimated according to the Village and Ujamaa Village Act of 1975.

farms and use social and economic benefits such as schools, healthcare, and water supply services. It is then registered as an agricultural association and thus entitled to a credit from financial institutions. The third step was when the village became a fully-fledged multipurpose co-operative society with security to attract commercial credit from any source, including the National Bank of Commerce and Marketing Boards.[32]

In the early 1960s, Tanzania had experimented with the Ujamaa policy in which about 30 villages were established under Ujamaa principles. Out of these 30 villages, 15 were in the Ruvuma region.[33] A group of TANU Youth League members, under the leadership of Ntimbanjayo, a secretary at Peramiho, started an Ujamaa farm at Litowa in Songea in November 1960. In 1963, Raph Ibbott, a British expatriate from Southern Rhodesia, joined the Ruvuma Development Association (RDA). By 1969 the RDA had 17 villages with a total of 400 households. Although the initial focus was on food crops, and later tobacco as a cash crop, communal grain and sawmills, health centres, schools and water-supply projects were also implemented.[34]

Between 1965 and 1970, the Ruvuma region witnessed an intensive agricultural campaign led by Edward Barongo, the appointed Regional Commissioner. The campaign aimed to promote the production of both food and cash crops, including tobacco, coffee, cashew nuts, oilseeds, coconuts, maize, cassava, sorghum and beans. Barongo played a leading role in giving advice, suggestions and directives to districts on how to promote agricultural production. He was named "Second Agricultural Officer" due to his participation in agricultural campaigns.[35] Tobacco-growing areas in the region were most affected by this campaign. The campaign set a minimum acreage of one

[32] K.A.B. Okoko, *Socialism and Self-Reliance in Tanzania*, (London: KPI Limited, 1987), 99; D.E. McHenry, JR., *Tanzania's Ujamaa Villages: The implementation of a Rural Development Strategy*, Research No.39, (Berkeley: University of California, 1979).

[33] G. Huizer, "The Ujamaa Village Program in Tanzania: New Forms of Rural Development", *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 8, 2, (1973), 189.

[34] H.H. Ndomba, "A History of Tobacco Production in Ruvuma Region", (2018); L. Schneider, *Government of Development: Peasants and Politicians in Postcolonial Tanzania*, (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2014).

[35] (UDSM), "Annual Report for 1966: Agricultural Division Ruvuma Region, Ref. No. A/AR/RUVR", *Annual Report of Agriculture Division: Ruvuma Region*, (Ruvuma: Ministry of Agriculture, 10 February 1967), 9.

acre for every tobacco grower, three curing bans, nine seedbeds and the use of fertilisers.[36] As a result, tobacco production increased from 1 030 tons in 1965/66 to 1 525.5 tons in 1966/67.[37] The bulk of the crop came from the Songea District with 1 442.5 tons, the Mbinga District with 80 tons while Tunduru produced only three tons.[38] The "tobacco promotion committee" became a centre of the struggle between the RDA and the state. The RDA wanted to maintain its autonomy in agricultural production and marketing of tobacco without interference by the state. Consequently, in 1969, the RDA was banned, and all Ujamaa villages came under the control of the TANU government and party.[39]

On the side of coffee production, more emphasis was placed on good agricultural practices on coffee farms, including weeding, pruning, mulching, timely responses to pests and disease and processing through central pulpery units, as well as individual processing. The production of coffee declined by 7% in 1966 to 1 867 tons compared to 2 049 tons produced in 1965.[40] A small tonnage of 26 tons of coffee was produced in the Songea District.[41] The regional commissioner was strict, and coffee producers referred to him as a *bwana tumbaku* meaning a "tobacco master".[42] His interest in tobacco production brought confusion to agricultural officers, as well as to the coffee producers. In some villages such as Litembo, Myangayanga, and Kindimba, the farmers argued that for many years the NGOMAT had been trying unsuccessfully to expand tobacco production in the district. However, tobacco failed to surpass coffee production in the Matengo Highlands. The agricultural "campaign" showed the direct participation of the government bureaucrats in promoting agriculture on the one hand, and peasants who were not ready to be under strict supervision on the other hand. It showed the conflicting interests between peasants and state.

[36] *Ibid.*
[37] *Ibid*.
[38] *Ibid*.
[39] *The Nationalist*, 25 September 1969.
[40] (UDSM), "Annual Report for 1966: Agricultural Division Ruvuma Region", 4.
[41] *Ibid*.
[42] Interview with Edward Ndunguru, Myangayanga Village, 20 December 2018.

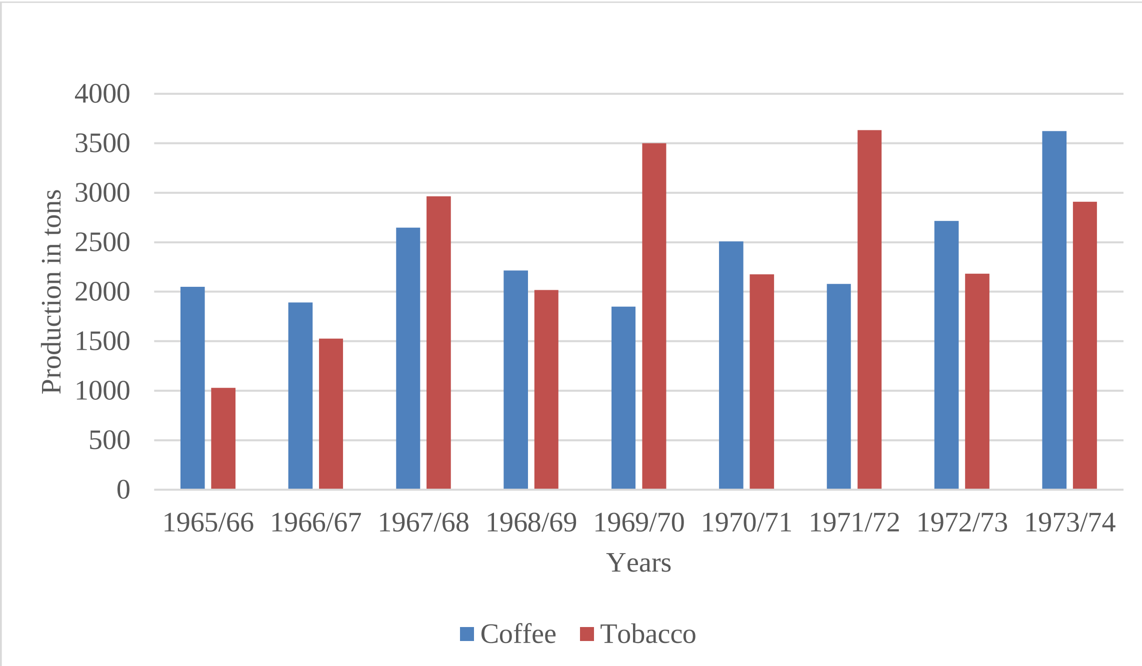


**Figure 3**: Coffee and Tobacco Production Trend in Ruvuma, 1965–1973[43]

The production trends shown in Figure 3 indicate that peasant production fluctuated between 1965 and 1973. The production of both tobacco and coffee declined in 1968. Government reports showed a decline of 50% in cash-crop production in the region. There was a drop of 358 tons in the production of tobacco in 1968, compared to the 1967 crop (2 965,50 tons). The high incidence of diseases, such as tobacco mosaic, spot leaf and virus bushy top diseases was partly responsible for the decline in tobacco production. However, the diversion of the RDA members to food-crop production due to the labour demands and low price for tobacco also contributed to the decline. Coffee production followed the same trend and declined for about 432.295 tons in 1968 and 364.656 tons in 1969, respectively. The decline was due to high incidences of coffee diseases such as leaf

[43] (UDSM), "Annual Reports of Agricultural Division: Ruvuma Region for 1966 – 1974".

rust and antestia in 1968, and low-price incentives due to a decline in the price of coffee from Shs.2/- per kilo to Shs.1.50 for the Grade I in 1969.[44]

In Ujamaa villages, numerous efforts were concentrated on advising villagers on the proper use of fertilisers, insecticides and fungicides. Farmers were trained through meetings, seminars and campaigns, direct visits to the groups, block farms, Ujamaa villages and individual farmers. Farmers were advised to work together in groups, including block farms for crops such, as maize, paddy, sorghum, and tobacco. For instance, a group of 32 paddy farmers ploughed 120 acres in Lituhi-Mbinga in 1969.[45] Ujamaa villages in the Ruvuma region increased in number from 26 in 1969 to 126 by the end of 1970.[46]

The implementation of the Ujamaa policy in the Matengo Highlands – the coffee-growing area in the Mbinga District – was not as extensive as it was in non-coffee-producing areas. The coffee growers in these areas were already living in populous villages. Thus, any attempt to move them into new villages would disturb their cash crops on a bigger scale, and such crops were vital in generating state revenues and foreign currency for the country. Coffee growers were encouraged to work on their coffee farms and sell their produce through the Matengo Native Co-operative Union (MANCU). In the late 1960s, in a few areas with a low population, such as the Mkumbi division, people were able to move to new villages while maintaining their original coffee farms. Nives Kinunda reports that a similar movement took place in the Mkumbi division in 1969.[47] As a result, between 1967 and 1973, most of the villages registered in the Mbinga District were more "co-operative villages" than Ujamaa villages. This was noted during the Ujamaa-campaign training in September and October 1969, at Mlale Farmers Training College. People from the Mbinga District

[44] (UDSM), "Annual Report Agricultural Division: Ruvuma Region for 1969, Ref. No. A/AR/RUV", *Annual Report of Agriculture Division: Ruvuma Region,* (Ruvuma: Ministry of Agriculture, 4 February 1970), 6.
[45] (UDSM), "Annual Report for 1970: Agriculture Advisory Services Ruvuma Region, Ref. No. A/AR/RUV", *Annual Report of Agriculture Division: Ruvuma Region,* (Ruvuma: Ministry of Agriculture, 3 May 1971), 8.
[46] *Ibid*.
[47] N. Kinunda, "Negotiating Womens' Labour: Women Farmers, State and Society in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania, 1885-2000", PhD Dissertation, Goettingen University, (2019), 204.

participated as co-operative societies and not as Ujamaa villages, compared to, for example, the Tunduru and Songea districts.[48]

Instead of establishing the Ujamaa farms, the coffee producers in the Mbinga District established block farming, commonly known as "village farms". Although agricultural extension officers were involved in the selection of the sites, most of the village farms were unsuitable for coffee production because they were located on a steep slope that had infertile soil. In Kindimba village, for instance, village coffee farms were established in Kindimba and Mungaka hamlets in the 1970s.[49] Before the dissolution of Ngaka Coffee Grower's Co-operative Society in 1976, the co-operation coffee instructors and extension officers were using the Kindimba coffee farm (at the headquarter) as a demonstration plot.[50] The village was divided into six hamlets called *Vitongoji* (plural of *kitongoji*). The management of the two village farms was divided into three *vitongoji* each. A *kitongoji* had cells of ten houses called *mashina*. Cell leaders (Balozi) were responsible for mobilising labour in the village farms. Both men and women participated in the village farms. The response was not always positive as the coffee producers paid more attention to individual coffee farms than to the village farms. The lack of appreciable returns from the village farms was one of the reasons for the coffee producer's unwillingness to participate in the village farms.[51] Individuals who did not fulfil their assigned tasks were fined or punished with extra work. The size of village farms in the Mbinga District was one to one and a half hectares. Fines took the form of public work, such as road construction, building schools, and village office construction. This was different from what Huizer described as "block farms", established in the Pare District in Kilimanjaro, in terms of size, ownership, and operations. The block farms in Pare consisted of 60 hectares divided among 86 members, working communally in growing cotton while harvesting individually.[52]

[48] NRC, 53/CCU/C/130/11E, Cooperative Education Centre-Songea Wing, Quarterly report of C.E.C. Ruvuma wing August-October 1972.
[49] Interview with Pilmin Lupogo, Kindimba Village, 9 January 2019.
[50] Interview with Pilmin Lupogo, Kindimba Village, 9 January 2019.
[51] Interview with Josephina Komba, Kindimba Village, 9 January 2019.
[52] G. Huizer, *The Ujamaa Village Program in Tanzania*, 200.

Moreover, the nature of the coffee plant also shaped the way people reacted towards the Ujamaa policy. As a perennial crop grown in an area for many decades on varied farm sizes, created difficulties for people to move to another village. It was also was challenging to merge individual farms into large Ujamaa farms. Therefore, coffee planting altered the implementation of the Ujamaa policy. This also proved to be the case in the West Lake areas.[53] In the Mbinga District, block farms were possible in the lowland areas that consisted of Ruhuhu, Ruhekei, and Mpepo administrative divisions. These divisions were mainly producing annual crops such as tobacco, sorghum, paddy and maize. Any attempt to merge coffee farms could lead to serious resistance from the farm owners. For this reason, Ujamaa policy was implemented through the co-operative coffee-marketing system, working together in a village farm, or through joint income-generating activities, such as grain mills, trucks or village shops.

The Ujamaa policy strengthened the communal mutual assistances (*ngokela*) that existed in the Mbinga District before the introduction of coffee production. *Ngokela* was organised by people, generally of the same clan, for specific work, including, farm clearance, tilling and planting, weeding and harvesting. With the introduction of coffee in the district, *ngokela* became limited to food crops. The main reason was that coffee was produced for the market while food crops were mainly for household consumption. Since coffee was the main cash crop in the district, any mutual assistance had to involve cash payment. The coffee industry failed to adopt the Ujamaa principle of working together in production. They did, however, retain the co-operative marketing system. Therefore, coffee as "culture" and an income-generating venture, agreed with some aspects of Ujamaa organisation but did not conform to Ujamaa in all aspects. As a result, coffee became a political crop. The next section will describe the coffee production under compulsory villagisation.

[53] J. Rald, "Ujamaa, Problems of Implementation (Experience from West Lakes)" Dar es Salaam University College, *Bureau of Resource Assessment and Land Use Planning, Research Report No. 10*, (1970).

### 4.4. Coffee Production in the Context of Villagisation Policy, 1973–1979

Following the slow pace of the Ujamaa policy implementation, the government, through the Presidential Circular of 1973, compelled all people to live in the villages by the end of 1976. This mandatory Act was called "Operation *Vijiji*" or villagisation. It was supervised by the regional commissioners, area commissioners, ward and division executive officers. Villagisation was aimed at promoting rural development. The implementation of Operation *Vijiji* was a coercive and hurried process. It was stated that "to live in a village is an order".[54] People who were living in remote areas were moved to the main road. As a result, many of the villages in the Mbinga District were located along the main and feeder roads, including the Mbinga-Songea road, Mbinga-Mbamba-Bay, Mbinga-Maguu-Mkoha, the Mbinga-Litembo road, and Mbinga-Longa-Kipololo. Villagisation reached its peak in the Ruvuma region in 1974. There were 61 villages in the Mbinga District with a total of 23 071 families – approximately 115 355 people.[55] By the end of 1975, the number of villages in the region increased from 126 villages in 1970,[56] to 315 in 1975[57] with some of the other districts contributing as follows: 111 villages in the Songea District with a total of 30 233 families involving about 151 165 people and 77 villages with 24 412 families of about 111 165 people in the Tunduru District.[58]

Based on the villages and Ujamaa Village Act of 1975, two types of villages were established, namely villages and Ujamaa villages.[59] The Act also placed all coffee-marketing processes under the agency of the village. A village was supposed to be made up of a minimum of 250 families and

[54] *The Daily News*, Dar es Salaam, 7 November 1973.

[55] (UDSM), "Taarifa ya Maendeleo ya Kilimo Mwaka 1974 Mkoa wa Ruvuma [Annual Agricultural Report for 1974], Ref. No. A/AR/R/RUV", *Annual Report of Agriculture Division: Ruvuma Region*, (Ruvuma: Ministry of Agriculture, 25 March 1975), 1.

[56] (UDSM), "Annual Report for 1970 Agricultural Advisory Services: Ruvuma Region", *Annual Report of Agriculture Division: Ruvuma Region*, (Ruvuma: Ministry of Agriculture, 3 May 1971), 1.

[57] J. K. Nyerere, *Kujenga Ujamaa Tanzania Miaka Kumi ya Kwanza: Matatizo, Mafunzo na Matazamio*, (Dar es Salaam: Printpark Tanzania, 1977), 172.

[58] (UDSM), "Taarifa ya Maendeleo ya Kilimo Mwaka 1974 Mkoa wa Ruvuma", [Annual Agricultural Report for 1974], 1.

[59] URT, Villages and Ujamaa Villages Act, 1975, in Government Notice No. 162, published 22 August 1975.

to operate as a multipurpose co-operative society. People were expected to live and work together for the benefit of all. Individual farms were maintained. Crops that were produced were to be sold through the village. In Ujamaa villages, people were expected to work communally while the means of production were to be owned exclusively by the village. Between 1973 and 1976, people were forced to move to the planned village centres where the services, including schools, hospitals, and water, were located. Villages with a population of less than 250 were forced to merge with the neighbouring village to form a single village. The idea of the size of villages was for easy service provisions and security reasons, especially for the villages along the border with neighbouring countries.[60] In Mhekela (Hagati Administrative Division), the dispersed population was compelled to move to Ilela to form Ilela Village in 1976.[61] The settlement made the former area (Mhekela) to continue to be a food-crop producing area. It had a few coffee farms and new coffee farms were established in Ilela Village. People from Mhekela were given land in Ilela Village for residence and agricultural production of both cash and food crops. Land was distributed to households of a similar lineage in the new villages. Most of the households were male-dominated. Ilela Village proved to be a successful coffee-producing area. Despite the weaknesses of the villagisation process, Ilela Village became popular, and its success story was one of the successful agricultural village models in the district. It was named as one of the "best villages" in the district during National Farmer's Day (*Saba Saba)* in 1978.[62] Apart from acquiring a village tractor, a lorry, and a shop, the village purchased a plot of land in the Mbinga township and constructed a building named Ilela in 1980. The name became a living memory since the street was named after the building. The success of Ilela villages was primarily made possible with money obtained from coffee sales. The Ilela story provides another view of Ujamaa and coffee as a plant. Coffee shaped the landscape of the newly established areas. The newly established structures, such as new coffee farms, food crops, buildings

[60] Villages in Mtwara and Ruvuma region in the 1970s were in a security alert due to the Liberation struggle in Mozambique. D.E. McHenry, JR., *Tanzania's Ujamaa Villages.*
[61] Interview with Beda Lupogo, Ilela Village, 21 January 2019.
[62] *Saba Saba* is a Swahili word referring to the seventh day of July every year marking Farmer's Day, later replaced with the eighth day of August, commonly known as *Nane Nane*.

and the street name, represent the impact of coffee on the landscapes as the result of villagisation in the 1970s.

During the compulsory villagisation, people were not well informed about the motives or ideas that informed their forcible relocations. As a result, people came up with different narratives about Ujamaa and villagisation. One of the disturbing narratives was the association of Ujamaa with expropriation of their coffee farms to form Ujamaa farms. Ujamaa and villagisation were regarded as the enemy of coffee development in the district. As recalled by most of the people interviewed, "we did not need Ujamaa in our district. The concept was not clear to us and when we asked the area commissioner and other officials to explain to us, they simply said '*Ujamaa ni maendeleo*' meaning Ujamaa is development."[63] From this context, all villages established under villagisation processes in the 1970s, were commonly referred to as *vijiji vya maendeleo* meaning "developmental villages". The state exercised its power over peasants by forcing them into new-planned villages. It failed to adhere to democracy as one of the principles of socialism. In this regard, peasants were not engaged in the planning stage of villagisation.

Coffee farms required daily monitoring to control pests and diseases, as well as general management in both production and marketing. The coffee-crop calendar covered the whole year and this feature thus militated against relocations. The relocation during villagisation created difficulties to manage some of the coffee farms due to distance. As a result, antestia, white-stem borers, green scales, red-star scales, leaf miners and Coffee Berry Disease (CBD) became rampant in the 1970s in most of the coffee-growing areas in Tanzania, including the Mbinga District. Some coffee producers operated between the two settlements, old (*Mahame*) for coffee-farm management and new for residential purposes. This was the case in the Mbangamao and Kilimani villages. These were villages established during the villagisation process. Most of the residents were migrants from various villages in the Matengo Highlands. After they had established their food crop, tobacco and

[63] Interview with Edward Ndunguru, Myangayanga Village, 20 December 2018; Pilmin Lupogo, Kindimba Village, 9 January 2019.

some coffee farms, the villagisation forced them to reside in newly planned villages. Although villagisation minimised the walking distance to social service centres, at the same time, it increased the walking distance from residential areas to the established farms. As a result, it threatened the loss of crops to vermin, pests, and diseases, also discouraging crop-management practices. Therefore, coffee as a "culture" and way of life resisted villagisation. Andrew Coulson related a similar trend experienced in the Tanga and Mtwara regions where cashew nuts and sisal plantations were neglected.[64] To reverse the situations, some coffee producers in the Mbinga District retained dual residence (both in the lowlands and highlands). Under dual residence, some family members were able to register as permanent residents in the lowlands while the rest could maintain the coffee farms in the highlands and migrate seasonally for food-crop cultivation to the lowlands. Dual residence represents another coffeescapes that refused to bend to Ujamaa policies.

From 1976, villages replaced primary co-operative societies and unions as multipurpose co-operative villages. All activities previously undertaken by the co-operative societies (collecting and selling export crops) were now provided by villages. The villages were caught unprepared. There was a problem with unskilled accounting and bookkeeping personnel in the newly established villages. The government launched a training programme for all village accountants (8 000 in total) for eight years (1978/79 to 1985/86). The total cost for the programme was Tshs.35 888 565/-.[65] The Mlale Community Development College, situated in the Songea District, was selected to be the centre for the training for the Ruvuma region. Mr S. Butha and A. Mwansasu were the facilitators of the training at Mlale training centre.[66]

Operation *Vijiji* coincided with other "operations" in the 1970s with the aim of building a strong socialist society. Under the Village Act of 1975, villages became multipurpose co-operative societies by handling various services and economic activities, such as crop production and

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[64] A. Coulson, *Tanzania: A Political Economy*, (2nd ed.), (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 305.
[65] NRC, 4/CCU/A/140/3B, Standard Ujamaa Co-operative Societies, Village Bookkeeping System Training.
[66] NRC, 4/CCU/A/140/3B, Standard Ujamaa Co-operative Societies, Village Bookkeeping System (Training), "Utekelezaji wa Mafunzo ya Wahasibu Vijijini".

marketing, grain mills, sawmills, village vehicles, and shops. In 1976, the government initiated Operation *Maduka*.[67] The objective was to fight against capitalist exploitation by the private traders and intermediaries (*walanguzi*). The objective of the Ujamaa and self-reliance was to fight against exploitation as stated in the TANU constitution that:

> *ni wajibu wa serikali ambayo ni watu wenyewe, kuingilia katika vitendo, maisha ya uchumi ya taifa, kuhakikisha ustawi wa raia wote na kuzuia mtu mwingine au kikundi kimoja kunyonya kikundi kingine na kuzuia limbikizo la utajiri kufikia kiasi ambacho hakipatani na siasa ya watu wote kuwa sawa*.[68]

Loosely translated as:

> it is the responsibility of the government to intervene in the national economy for the wellbeing of all citizens, to prevent the exploitation of one another, as well as the accumulation of wealth to the extent that is incompatible with the politics of equality.

Similar to the party constitution, Julius K. Nyerere (the first president of Tanzania) in his speech in the General National Assembly in December 1962, stated, "mbali ya uhuru wa kutokana na ukoloni, tulitaka pia uhuru wa kila mwanachi, tulitaka kila mwananchi awe anatumia uhuru wake kwa kushirikiana na wenzake, kujipatia mahitaji yake ya kibinadamu"[69] translated as "apart from independence from the colonial rule, we also wanted the freedom of every citizen to co-operate with others in obtaining their personal needs" (my translation).

To maintain socialist principles in land use, communal ownership of all economic means of production, TANU in its 17th meeting in 1975, decided to establish village and Ujamaa shops to enable people in the rural areas to get essential needs. Apart from rural areas, Operation *Maduka* also focused on the estates, industries, and corporations. There was an expansion of the Ujamaa and village shops while discouraging and even closing private shops.[70] Private shops were only allowed

[67] *Maduka* is a Kiswahili word referring to shops.
[68] NRC, 450/CCU/S/100/3/2, Village Settlement Co-operatives, "Ujamaa na Operation *Maduka*".
[69] *Ibid*.
[70] The Prime Minister then Rashid Mfaume Kawawa gave an order on 16 February 1976 in Morogoro of closing all private shops; *Daily News* (Dar es Salaam), 10 March 1976, 5.

to operate in areas where no other shops existed until the village or Ujamaa shops were introduced. This aligned with what the President insisted on during his visit to Kilimanjaro on August 1975, that "it would be absurd to allow an individual to own a shop in an Ujamaa village because such an act would be tantamount to allowing the peasants who have accepted the ideology of socialism to be exploited freely."[71]

The established shops during Operation *Maduka* were owned by all villagers, selling items at a uniform price. The village committee was responsible for supervising the operation of the shops in registered villages. Capital for the establishment and construction of the shops was obtained from villagers by issuing shares of TShs.10 each with individuals not being allowed to own more than five shares per shop.[72] Loans were acquired from banks at 5% interest.[73] Operation *Maduka* involved the transformation of the previously owned co-operative shops into the Ujamaa or village-owned shops. The co-operative shops were owned by co-operative members while Ujamaa or village shops were owned by all villagers.[74]

By 1979, there were increasing numbers of village shops in the Mbinga District. There were 86 village shops in 108 registered villages in the district. Nine villages had trucks, nine villages had grinding mills, 40 out of 72 village managers had attained training, and 21 village accountants out of 85 had attained the training.[75] However, the archival data shows the 108 villages in 1979 consisted of five divisions of the Mbinga District. The administrative divisions included Ruhekei, Ruhuhu, and Mpepo of the present-day Nyasa District, and Namswea, Mbinga and Mbuji divisions of the present-day Mbinga District. Mbuji division had more villages as well as village shops, vehicles and grain mills as summarized in Table 10. One of the reasons for the differences has to

[71] *Sunday News* (Dar es Salaam), 12 August 1975, 1.
[72] NRC, 446/CCU/C/230/60/18, Operation Maduka, "Semina ya Operation Maduka iliyofanyika Chuo Cha Ushirika Moshi", 3 -10 April 1976.
[73] *Ibid*.
[74] NRC, 450/CCU/S/100/3/2, Village Settlement Co-operatives, "Ujamaa na Operation *Maduka*".
[75] NRC, 4/CCU/A/140/3B, Standard Ujamaa Co-operative Societies Village Bookkeeping System (Training), a letter from District Ujamaa and Co-operative Officer, Mbinga, Ref. No. VU/V41/173, to Ujamaa and Co-operative Commissioner, Dodoma, "Takwimu za Mameneja, Wahasibu na Miradi mbali mbali ya Vijiji vya Wilaya ya Mbinga", 28 July 1979.

do with coffee production. Mbuji and Mbinga divisions form the Matengo Highlands and the main coffee producing area in the district. The area demonstrated the 'coffeescapes of power'.[76] As a result, coffee production in the Mbinga District facilitated the establishment of multiple economic activities such as transport, agricultural processing and trade. The presence of co-operative shops, including those introduced as a probationary store as discussed in chapter three in the Matengo Highlands enabled the area to adapt easily (although not without problems) to Operation *Maduka*.

**Table 10:** Number of Villages, Village Shops, Grain Mills and Trucks by 1979 in Mbinga District.[77]

| Division | Villages | Village shops | | Grain mills | Village trucks |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ruhekei | 20 | 18 | | 2 | 0 |
| Ruhuhu | 13 | 11 | | 0 | 0 |
| Mpepo | 8 | 3 | | 0 | 0 |
| Namswea | 6 | 6 | | 0 | 0 |
| Mbuji | 35 | 31 | | 1 | 9 |
| Mbinga | 26 | 17 | | 5 | 0 |
| **Total** | **108** | **86** | | **9** | **9** |

However, Operation *Maduka* was implemented with some chaos, especially in the initial stage. Like Operation *Vijiji*, Operation *Maduka* also began with the coercive government "orders". The owners of private shops were regarded as exploiters, commonly named as *kupe* (ticks) and forced to close their shops. As a result, it created a shortage of essential goods, such as sugar, salt, soap, kerosene and cooking oil.[78] Although Operation *Maduka* was part of the implementation of the Ujamaa policy, its implementation required more training and orientation to village authorities. The

[76] The 'coffeescapes of power' derived by the researcher from the coffee landscapes that proved more powerful in transformation.
[77] NRC, 4/CCU/A/140/3B, Standard Ujamaa Co-operative Societies Village Bookkeeping System (Training), "Orodha ya Vijiji, Maduka ya Vijiji na Miradi mingine hadi kufikia 28 July 1979" (A list of villages, shops and other economic activities by 28 July 1979).
[78] Interview with Edward Ndunguru, Myangayanga Village, 20 December 2018.

authoritative nature of the state officials in implementing Operation *Maduka* created misunderstanding and confusion among the private traders. For instance, the order from the Prime Minister, Mr Rashid Mfaume Kawawa, on 16 February 1976, in Morogoro to close all private shops, created chaos for all private traders in almost every part of the country.[79] Although the order was directed to the Morogoro region, it was taken as an order to the whole country. The village authorities implemented the order by closing all private-owned shops to the extent of creating shortages of essential commodities. As one of the informants described the situation: "It was difficult to get salt and soap in the village unless you had a missionary friend. From morning to the evening, queues formed outside the village shops, called as *Maduka ya kaya*, sometimes you can't get even a single matchbox."[80] Shortage of consumer goods in 1979 was also a result of the global oil crisis. The shortage of oil to run automobiles and industries exacerbated the difficulty of goods supplies and coffee production in the district. Shortages of farm implements and agricultural inputs due to transportation difficulties were experienced.

In the process of the making, re-making and unmaking of the state identity through villagisation, the coffee industry was able to conform to some of the aspects, such as the marketing system through the Ujamaa policy. In other aspects, coffee production created new landscapes through its rejection to fully conform to the Ujamaa policy. The prevalence of coffee diseases also required the state to re-think how to intervene in the coffee industry to make it profitable to the producers as well as to the state. The next section turns to the coffee developmental programmes from the late 1970s to the 1980s.

### 4.5. Coffee Development and Improvement Programmes, 1977–1986

Coffee production in Tanzania showed a rapid expansion in the 1950s, as demonstrated in Chapter Three. This trend was sustained with a rapid increase in production in the 1960s. The increase was,

[79] *Daily News* (Dar es Salaam), 10 March 1976, 5.

[80] Interview with Edward Ndunguru, Myangayanga Village, 20 December 2018; *Maduka ya Kaya* is a Swahili term referred to the 'village shops.

however, not sustained beyond that as a result of the decrease in the planting of new coffee trees while the earlier plantings became aged and less productive. The drought of 1973/74 also affected coffee production in the northern coffee-producing zone. The coffee production in Kilimanjaro region declined from 14 133 tons of clean coffee in 1972/73 to 10 504 tons in 1973/74.[81] The 1973 drought had less effect in the Mbinga District since the coffee production increased from 3 515.145 tons to 3 622.786 tons in 1973/74.[82] The Tanzania Coffee Board's statistics show that coffee delivered to the TCB from the Ruvuma region increased from 2 174 tons of clean coffee in 1972/73 to 3 046 tons in 1973/74.[83] Apart from drought, the spread of Coffee Berry Disease (CBD) badly affected the northern zone and later the southern highlands in the early 1970s. All these incidences, coupled with the poor standard of coffee husbandry, reduced yield levels. To increase the level of coffee yields and quality in Tanzania, the government embarked on different programmes, namely the Coffee Improvement Programme (CIP), 1977–1981 and the Coffee Development Programme (CDP), 1982–1986. The two programmes demonstrated what Fridel termed 'coffee statecraft'.[84]

Despite the fact that the Arusha Declaration was based on Ujamaa and self-reliance, Tanzania attracted more aid from donor communities during the 1960s and 1970s. This period was characterised by the following "guidelines" or perceptions about received aid and the relationship with donors: they would accept aid without conditions to protect state autonomy; they would accept grants for free or low interest; they would accept aid that supported projects and programmes that were important for state development.[85] The CIP and CDP aligned with these guidelines/perceptions.

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[81] URT, Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Development, *Annual Review of Coffee 1986*, (Marketing Development Bureau: Dar es Salaam, 1986), 4.

[82] UDSM, "Ruvuma Region, Taarifa ya Maendeleo ya Kilimo Mwaka 1974" [Annual Agricultural Report for 1974].

[83] URT, Ministry of Agriculture, *Agriculture Bulletin Crop and Livestock –1978*, (Dar es Salaam, June 1979), 2; URT, Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Development, *Annual Review of Coffee 1986*, 4.

[84] G. Fridell, "Coffee Statecraft: Rethinking the Global Coffee Crisis, 1998 – 2002".

[85] R. Mukandala, "From Proud Defiance to Beggary: A Recipient's Tale", G. Hyden and R. Mukandala, (eds.), *Agencies in Foreign Aid Comparing China, Sweden and the United States in Tanzania*, (London: Macmillan Press, 1999), 39.

The implementation of the programmes coincided with the implementation of a structural change in the coffee-marketing system in Tanzania in 1977 when the country moved from a three-tier to a single-channel marketing system. The old three-tier marketing system consisted of the Tanzania Coffee Board at the top, co-operative unions in the middle, and co-operative societies at the bottom. That changed to a single-channel marketing system. Under single channel, the Coffee Authority of Tanzania (CAT) was established in 1977 under the Coffee Industry Act of 1977. CAT was responsible for promoting, co-ordinating and regulating all aspects of coffee production, processing, marketing and export sales of coffee and its products. CAT had three main administrative zones and two sub-zones representing the authority that was centred in Moshi. The northern zone consisted of Kilimanjaro, Tanga, and the Morogoro regions. The southern zone consisted of Mbeya and Iringa. The western zone consisted of Kagera, Mara, the Kigoma regions, and Ukerewe Islands. The two sub-zones were Arusha and Ruvuma. The implementation of CIP and the CDP was based on the new administrative structure.

### 4.5.1. The Coffee Improvement Programme (CIP), 1977–1981

Between 1977 and 1981, the Coffee Improvement Programme (CIP) was implemented. It sought to improve yields by establishing an agricultural extension services network and by providing inputs and credit to improve husbandry, and pest and disease control by smallholders. The CIP was implemented simultaneously in six regions: Kilimanjaro, Arusha, West Lake, Mbeya, Ruvuma and Tanga, covering some 110 000 ha of coffee. The programme primarily aimed at increasing average yields and quality. The programme was jointly financed by the European Economic Community (EEC) and the Tanzanian government. The government contribution of Tshs.211 million consisted of TShs. 80 million from internal sources and TShs.131 million to be gathered through the coffee levy for the period 1977 to 1981.[86] The European Economic Community (EEC) contributed a grant

[86] NRC, 570/MD/3/7/1A/Vol.2, Tanzania Coffee Marketing Board Marketing and Sales Reports, Report on Coffee Subsector in Tanzania, “Comments on the coffee sub-sector”, study by M/S A Gland, 24 June 1989.

through the European Development Fund (EDF) to the CIP. The cost and expenditure of the EDF contribution have been summarised in Table 11.

**Table 11:** EDF Expenditure Contribution to CIP from 1977 to 30 September 1981 (TShs.'000)[87]

| Component | Expenditure |
|---|---|
| Dormitories | 1 743 |
| Factory (Improvement) | 10 290 |
| Vehicle/M/Cycle & Graders | 10 975 |
| Farm Inputs | 93 789 |
| Technical Assistance | 9 095 |
| Total Expenditure | 125 892 |

At the end of the programme, the total area under coffee production (under the CIP) in all six regions increased from 61 770 ha in 1978/79 to 115 377 ha in 1980/81.[88] Of this production area, 16 737 ha was from the Ruvuma region – mainly the Mbinga District. This represented an increase of 9 279 ha from 7 458 ha in 1978/79.[89] The yield of coffee production among the smallholders in the Ruvuma region was improved. Between 1974/75 and 1978/79, coffee production in the Ruvuma region amounted to an average of 3 498 tons with the mean yield of 290kg/ha.[90] In 1980/81, coffee production amounted to 6 578 tons with a mean yield of 393kg/ha.[91] The mean yield surpassed that of the northern zone (Kilimanjaro, Tanga, and Morogoro), which was 305kg/ha in 1980/81. The bumper crop in 1980/81 was also attributed to the favourable weather between 1978 and 1980/81 and the improved husbandry and greater use of coffee production inputs under the CIP. The difference between the Ruvuma region and the northern zones was also attributed to the cropping system. The northern zone was under intercropping (coffee with banana), unlike the Ruvuma region that only focused on coffee. Coffee as a plant when intercropped with taller crops, such as banana

[87] NRC, 509/CCU/B/70/17, Coffee Board of Tanganyika, Cost and Expenditure EDF contribution to 30 September 1981.

[88] URT, Ministry of Agriculture, *Price Recommendations for the July 1982, Agricultural Price Review Annex 7 Coffee*, (Dar es Salaam: Marketing Development Bureau, 1982), 9. The total area under coffee production (national wide) consists of both estates and smallholder coffee producers by 1978/79 was 195 514 ha.

[89] *Ibid*.

[90] *Ibid*., 5.

[91] *Ibid*.

within a close space, tend to reduce its canopy, hence lower yields. While excessive shadow reduces the sun to reach the crop for the photosynthesis.[92]

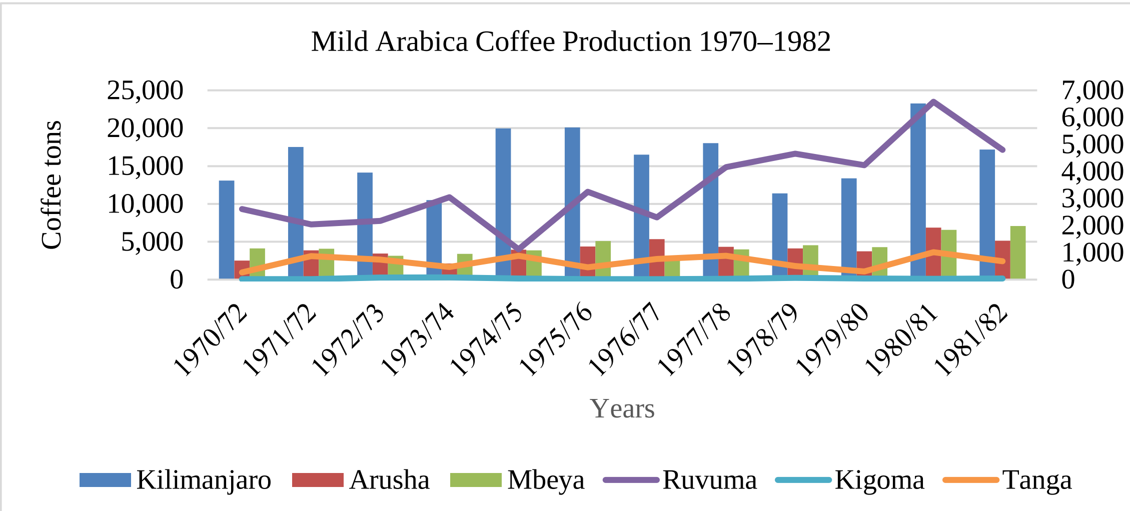


**Figure 4**: Mild Arabica Coffee Production 1970/71–1981/82[93]

The increased coffee production also brought some challenges in the Matengo Highlands as it created demands for land for food crop production. As a result, an internal migration between highland and lowlands within the district was experienced. During the interview, one informant described that "we migrated to the woodlands (*Itutu*) to feed the family. The land we used for maize and beans cultivation, was converted into coffee farms.''[94] The coffee industry, therefore, moulded the landscape, and in some cases, forced people to seasonally migrate while retaining their coffee farms in their old homes.

The implementation of the CIP met with a number of challenges. Its implementation coincided with economic shocks for the Tanzanian economy such as the dissolution of the East African Community

[92] Interview with Deusdedit Kilambo, Lyamungo Director-Tanzania Coffee Research Institute (TaCRI), 12 November 2018.
[93] URT, Ministry of Agriculture, *Price Recommendations for the July 1982, Agricultural Price Review Annex 7 Coffee*, 7.
[94] Interview with Angelus Ndunguru, Kilimani Village, 29 December 2018.

in 1977[95], the Tanzania-Uganda war of 1978-79, and the oil price shock. These challenges forced the government to divert funds to counter the impact of these external events. For instance, about $500 million were used for war purposes during the 1978-79 war.[96] The cost of imports went up due to the increase in oil prices. As a result, government drew money from the foreign reserves which declined from US $ 300 million (in early 1978) to US $30 million by the end of 1978.[97]

Poorly directed agricultural extension services were also one of the challenges faced during the implementation of the CIP. The frequent changes in crop-marketing systems from co-operative societies to crop authorities in 1976 were disruptive. The implementation of Ujamaa and villagisation policies from the late 1960s to the late 1970s caused unnecessary fear among both officials and coffee growers. As a result, it created persistent tendencies of interpreting everything as an "order", including advice from extension officers. This also manifested in the distribution of agricultural inputs, including fertilisers, pesticides, and seedlings. It was reported that peasants were forced to collect agrochemical inputs and had to pay for it whether they liked it or not.[98] Most of the agricultural inputs collected were diverted to food-crop production.

The average price of coffee paid to peasants in the second half of the 1970s did not reflect any increase. Except for the 1976/77 coffee season, the price of coffee declined. The main reason for the high price in the 1976/77 season was the Brazilian coffee frost of July 1975. The coffee frost damage in Brazil caused panic among the coffee importing centres. As a result, most of the buying dealers devoted most of their attention to searching for coffee for fear of extensive price increases

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[95] The East African Community (EAC) was formed in 1967 and consisted of three countries namely Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda. During its existence the member countries used to cooperate in various economic activities including transportation corporations and industrial developments. In 1977 due to differences in political stance as well as economic differences the community collapsed. To replace the collapsed joint economic parastatals, Tanzania needed about US$100 million for replacement; Knud E. Svendsen, "Development Strategy and Crisis Management", in Colin Legume and Geoffrey Mmari, *Mwalimu: The influence of Nyerere*, (Dar es Salaam: Britain – Tanzania Society, 1995), 115.

[96] Knud Erik Svendsen, "The Creation of Macroeconomic Imbalances and Structural Crisis" in Jannik Boesen, et al., (eds.), *Tanzania: Crisis and Struggle for Survival*, (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1986), 67.

[97] *Ibid*.,67.

[98] Interview with Edward Ndunguru, Myangayanga Village, 20 December 2018; Interview with Otmar Mbepera, Longa Village, 11 January 2019.

and probable stock exhaustion. Smallholder coffee producers in the Mbinga District responded to the price increase by planting more coffee in the 1977/78 season. For instance, as one of the informants recalled, "1977 was the last time I planted 2 500 coffee trees that was the largest number for me".[99]

Compounding the impact of the Brazil situation was the Angolan pre-independence scuffle between rival political organisations, which blocked the smooth flow of coffee exports from this region. The competition was extremely lively for both Arabica and Robusta at the coffee auctions. In Moshi, two coffee auctions took place in July 1975. Some 48 773 bags were sold at an average of TShs.444/- per 50 kg against the previous months (June) average of TShs.378/19 per 50 kg for 54 305 bags.[100] An indication of the sudden change in prices in July was the average price of sale 29 on 10 July 1975 when coffee was sold for TShs.350/20 per 50 kg, while a fortnight later sale 30 on 24 July 1975 realised an average of TShs.530/37 per 50 kg coffee bag.[101] However, experience shows that the early sales fetches higher prices than the later sales. The coffee seasons begin in June and July when the northern zone begin to harvest. In the Mbinga District coffee sales begin in early September. This was a disadvantage to them. The trend of high prices continued during the new season of 1976/77 that commenced early October 1975. It led to a 41% increase in export earnings in 1976/1977 compared to 1975. The price of coffee paid to the coffee growers slumped in the two years between 1977/78 and 1978/79 before slightly recovering in 1979/80.

**Table 12** shows the trend of the coffee-producer price of mild Arabica coffee parchment I from 1976/77 to 1985/86.

[99] Interview with Pilmin Lupogo, Kindimba Village 9 January 2019.
[100] NRC, 9/CCU/B/70/17/I, Coffee Board of Tanganyika, "Market and Export Report for July 1975".
[101] *Ibid*.

**Table 12:** Payment Made to Mild Arabica Coffee Growers, 1976/77–1985/86 (Parchment coffee, payment TShs/Kg).[102]

| **Installments** | **Years** | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1976/77 | 1977/78 | 1978/79 | 1979/80 | 1980/81 | 1981/82 | 1982/83 | 1983/84 | 1984/85 | 1985/86 |
| Advance | 6.00 | 9.00 | 8.00 | 8.00 | 9.00 | 9.00 | 12.00 | 16.80 | 23.50 | 28.20 |
| Interim | 6.00 | 1.00 | 0.70 | 2.00 | 2.00 | 2.00 | - | 3.20 | - | 8.00 |
| Final | 3.00 | 0.89 | 0.37 | 1.42 | 1.36 | 2.90 | 3.17 | 2.87 | 6.18 | 9.60 |
| **Total** | **15.00** | **10.89** | **9.07** | **11.42** | **12.36** | **13.90** | **15.17** | **22.87** | **29.68** | **45.80** |

The table above shows the decline of coffee prices between 1977/78 and 1981/82. The downward trend became a threat to the survival of the coffee industry in Tanzania and Mbinga in particular. It reduced the coffee producers' incentives to replant and expand the existed coffee-producing areas. To reverse the situation, the government first had to subsidise the coffee producers' price from the 1982/83 season onwards. This was part of financial assistance of TShs.707 million provided by the government to agricultural parastatals.[103] A coffee price support subsidy amounting to TShs.140 million was provided to boost the producers' purchasing power.[104] The remainder was divided as follows; Cashew Nut Authority (TShs.150 million), Pyrethrum Board (TShs.15 million), Tea Authority (TShs.26 million), Cardamom (TShs.5 million). As a result, the price for mild Arabica Parchment I advance instalment increased from TShs. 9.00/kg in 1981/82 to TShs. 12.00/kg in 1982/83. An increase of 33%.[105] Unfortunately, this coincided with the period when Tanzania faced budget deficits and was locked in a confrontation with the World Bank and IMF over the need to

[102] URT, Ministry of Agriculture, *Price Policy Recommendations for the July 1982, Agricultural Price Review Annex 7 Coffee*, (Dar es Salaam: Marketing Development Bureau, July 1982), 24.
[103] *Ibid.*, 18.
[104] *Ibid.*, 2.
[105] *Ibid.*, 50.

liberalise its economy. To support the declining economy, the National Economic Survival Programme was launched (1981-82). The programme aimed to revive export commodities and increase industrial capacity. For the agricultural sector, the price subsidy support, as mentioned above, was provided for the 1982/83 season.[106] Secondly, the government incorporated the Coffee Development Programme (CDP) into a Five Years CAT's Development Plan (1981–1985). The following sections describe the implementation of the CDP from 1982 to 1986.

### 4.5.2. The Coffee Development Programme (CDP), 1982/83–1985/86

The CDP coincided with the implementation of a broader economic Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in the period 1982–1986.[107] The Tanzanian government under Julius K. Nyerere aimed at mobilising foreign exchange to revive the failing economy. For the government to obtain a loan and foreign aids, they had to meet the demands of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) by reorganising the internal economic structures. This resulted in the implementation of SAP. SAP measures included, among others, the partial liberalisation of the imports, re-introduction of co-operative movements and the promotion of export commodities. Despite the struggle between Tanzania and the World Bank and the IMF, the EEC continued to support the coffee sector throughout this period. From October 1982, the Tanzanian government embarked on the Coffee Development Programme (CDP). The programme aimed to exploit the considerable potential which existed for increased coffee production. The CDP aimed at increasing the quality and quantity of coffee production in Tanzania by expanding and consolidating the activities undertaken during the CIP. It was implemented in two phases. Phase I covered the period between October 1982/83 and September 1983/84. Phase II covered the period between 1984/85 and 1985/86. During the first phase, the Coffee Authority of Tanzania (CAT) was responsible for the implementation of the programme. A total of Tshs.221 062 000 was allocated for the first two years. The European

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[106] S. M. Wangwe "Impact of the IMF/World Bank Philosophy, the case of Tanzania", K. Havnevik, (ed.), *The IMF and World Bank in Africa, Conditionality, Impact and Alternatives*, (Upssala, Seminar Proceedings No. 18, Scandinavian Institute of Studies, 1987), 151.

[107] *Ibid*.

Development Fund contributed 13 500 000 ECU equivalent to Tshs.132 707 000 while CAT contributed Tshs.88 355 000 from the coffee growers levy (1 ECU=TShs.9.83 in 1982).[108]

During Phase I, the focus was on improving husbandry methods for some 210 328 ha of coffee growing areas, including 4 920 ha previously excluded from the CIP.[109] It included creating coffeescapes' including a considerable complementary investment for infrastructures, such as roads, transport, maintenance of workshops, storage, and primary and secondary coffee-processing facilities. A long-term research programme was initiated, covering plant breeding, pathology, and entomology. The assistance was directed at improving the processing of raw coffee at the farmer's level. Chemical inputs and seedlings were provided for free. The coffee growers had to purchase the mechanical farm inputs, such as hand and motorised pulpers, pruning saws and secateurs, spray pumps, drying cloth, and coffee tray wires. The chemical inputs included Copper Oxychloride 50%Cu to control leaf rust, fenitrothion 50%EC for antestia and leaf miner, dieldrin 18%EC for white-stem borer and blue copper for Coffee Berry Disease (CBD) control.[110]

Furthermore, feeder roads in the Mbinga District were improved. Local funds of Tshs.1 460 000/- and TShs. Three hundred sixty-eight thousand from the EDF Fund were allocated for road improvement in the Mbinga District. [111.] In order to ensure the uninterrupted flow of inputs and coffee, the road grader and excavators worked on the following roads during the first year of the CDP: Nyoni via Hagati to Langiro (26 km), Mbinga via Kindimba to Litembo (30 km), Tanga via Longa to Kipololo and Longa to Mkumbi (39 km), Ndengu via Miyau to Litembo (16 km), Nyoni via Mapera to Maguu (25 km), totalling 136 km. As reported in Chapter Three, transport was one of the recurrent challenges in the early 1970s. The newly constructed and upgraded roads solved the problem to a large extent. The total budget for the CDP Phase I is summarised in Table 13.

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[108] URT, "Tanzania Coffee Development Programme for 1982-83", Project No.5100.31.50.010, 11.
[109] *Ibid*., 3.
[110] *Ibid*., 22.
[111] *Ibid*., 82.

**Table 13:** CDP Budget 1982/83 – Ruvuma Zone (Value in TShs. '000)[112]

| Item | EDF Fund | CAT Fund |
|---|---|---|
| Nursery Costs | 184 | 700 |
| Staff Training | 550 | 556 |
| Coffee Inputs | 395 | 39 |
| Constructions | 785 | 1 681 |
| Transportation | 1 446 | 1 031 |
| Feeder Roads | 374 | 1 460 |
| Processing | 5 584 | 110 |
| Contingency | 932 | 566 |
| **Total** | **10 250** | **6 223** |

By the end of the first phase of the CDP, the Tanzanian government had contributed a total of TShs.135.8 million consisting of TShs 47.4 million from government revenue and TShs.88.4 million from the TCMB/CDP levy from coffee sales.[113]

The second phase (1984/85 and 1985/86) comprised of the components that received the EDF support in Phase I. It expanded the assistance to the activities that were previously not involved in the programme. These activities included support for the coffee authority's extension services and staff training facilities, the provision of mechanical and chemical inputs to coffee smallholder producers on credit, and improvement of marketing facilities to achieve a higher quality of coffee. Furthermore, improving transportation and research programmes, and provision of technical assistance for the implementation of the programme were also included. The total costs of the programme were ECUs 19.06 million (TShs.247.82 million) of which ECUs 9.77 million (TShs.126.98 million) was a grant from the EDF, and the remaining ECUs 9.29 million

[112] *Ibid*., 85.
[113] NRC, 570/MD/3/7/1A/Vol.2, Tanzania Coffee Marketing Board Marketing and Sales Reports, Comments on the coffee sub-sector study by M/S A Gland, 24 June 1989.

(TShs.120.84 million) was funded by CAT as levy balances and revenue from the sale of agricultural inputs.[114]

During the CDP implementation, 285 motorcycles (TShs.7 200 000/-) and 242 bicycles (TShs.600 000/-) were purchased and sold to the extension staff on credit in all coffee-growing areas. It was repayable by instalment over four and two years, respectively.[115] From 1983/84 to 1985/86, a total of 65 motorcycles (to the value of TShs.139 750/-) were provided to the southern zone of which 25 were distributed in the Mbinga District and the remainder to Mbeya. Nine motorcycles were distributed in 1983/84, while 16 motorcycles were distributed in 1985/86.[116] Similarly, 25 bicycles (to the value of TShs.29 250/-) out of 106 provided to the southern zone from 1983/84 to 1985/86 were distributed to extension staff in the Mbinga District.[117] Both motorcycles and bicycles were funded by the EDF. Availability of both motorcycles and bicycles enabled extension officers to visit coffee growers in their coffee fields. On the research aspect, the programme focused on the control of Coffee Berry Disease (CBD), Coffee Leaf Rust (CLR) and Fusarium by assessing its resistance and extending the control to the southern zone.

Moreover, there was a general upward trend in coffee production in the Mbinga District in the second half of the 1970s. The increase in production can be attributed to the implementation of the coffee development programmes from 1977 to 1986. The area under coffee production expanded from 7 458 ha in 1978/79[118] to 25 696 ha in 1984/85.[119] During the first five years of the 1980s, however, production targets were not reached. This can be attributed to the delay of the timely

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[114] ECU stands for European Currency used before 1999 then replaced with Euro (€). URT, "Tanzania Coffee Development Programme Phase II, 1985-86", Project No. 5100 31. 50.027, 2.
[115] URT, "Tanzania Coffee Development Programme Phase II", 6.
[116] *Ibid.*,80.
[117] *Ibid*., 86.
[118] URT, Ministry of Agriculture, *Price Recommendations for the July 1982, Agricultural Price Review Annex 7 Coffee*, 9.
[119] URT, "Tanzania Coffee Development Programme Phase II", 76.

application of fertiliser and pests and disease-control interventions caused by shortages of foreign exchange/currency for the buying of agricultural inputs and pesticides.[120]

**Table 14:** Coffee Production in Mbinga District 1980/81–1985/86 (Tons-parchment)[121]

| Year | Target | Actual |
|---|---|---|
| 1977/78 | N/A | 5 297 |
| 1978/79 | N/A | 5 812 |
| 1979/89 | N/A | 5 333 |
| 1980/81 | 7 997 | 8 114 |
| 1981/82 | 6 726 | 6 002 |
| 1982/83 | 8 420 | 8 007 |
| 1983/84 | 8 518 | 6 368 |
| 1984/85 | 9 167 | 8 922.3 |
| 1985/86 | 9 514 | 7 614. 787 |

In the wake of the CDP implementation, the Tanzania Coffee Marketing Board delegated the activities initiated by the programmes to the co-operative unions. Coffee growers had to continue contributing TShs.3/- to the Coffee Development Levy for every kilogram of coffee sold. In 1986/87, a total of 765 454 kg was delivered to the TCMB Moshi, which contributed TShs.2 296 362 in terms of the coffee levy.[122] The money was paid to the Ruvuma Co-operative Union (RCU) as a development levy.

On 30 January 1987, a financial agreement was signed between the government of Tanzania and the EEC under the LOME III Convention.[123] According to this agreement, the CDP implementation was extended to the end of 1988, with the understanding that it would be placed under the

[120] NRC, 509/ CCU/B/70/17, Coffee Board of Tanganyika, "Annual plan for 1988/89".

[121] URT, "Tanzania Coffee Development Programme Phase II", 77; NRC, 549/5467, Ruvuma Regional Co-operative Union (1989) Limited, a letter from Assistant Registrar, Ruvuma Region, Ref. No. UM/UK.UN/121/7, to the Registrar of the Co-operative Societies, Dodoma, "Taarifa ya Kiuchumi" [Economic Report], 21 March 1988.

[122] NRC, 509/CCU/B/70/17, Coffee Board of Tanganyika, from General Manager, Tanzania Coffee Marketing Board, Moshi, Ref. No. D-1-20, to the General Managers of Co-operative Unions, 4 January 1988.

[123] NRC, 445/CCU/E/169/7, LOME III: Agriculture Sector Support Policy Committee Meeting, Brief meeting held on 24 May 1989. Apart from supporting coffee industry ASSP focused also on food security in the Ruvuma, Iringa, Mbeya and Rukwa Regions together known as 'Big Four' as granaries of the nation.

Agriculture Sector Support Programme (ASSP) for a further 30 months after that. The property assets accumulated under the CDP programmes were then distributed to the co-operative unions. In the Mbinga District, the CDP assets were placed under the TCMB zonal office, which handed them over to the Mbinga Co-operative Union (MBICU) (1989) Limited in 1989. As far as the coffee industry is concerned, the ASSP focused on the improvement of quality and the development of processing facilities. The construction of curing factories in Southern Tanzania was facilitated during this period, particularly in Mbinga and Mbozi Mbeya. The EEC contributed a total of TShs. 710 662 880 (34.60%) out of TShs. 2 053 938 955.35 for the construction of both the Mbinga and Mbozi coffee curing factories.[124]

### 4.6. The Re-instatement of the Co-operative Movement in Mbinga District, (1984–1989)

The implementation of the CDP coincided with an institutional change in the coffee industry in Tanzania. Following the re-instatement of co-operative unions in 1984 and the assumption of their crop procurement function, CAT reorganised to form the Tanzania Coffee Marketing Board (TCMB). The TCMB's headquarters was located at Moshi. It was established under the Coffee Industry Act of 1977 and adapted in 1984. The TCMB was responsible for co-ordinating, promoting and regulating all aspects of coffee marketing, processing and export sales of clean (cured) coffee and its products. The co-operative unions (as part of the SAP) were re-established and responsible for coffee purchases from producers with the support of the primary societies.

In Chapter Three of this thesis, it was argued that the dissolution of the co-operative societies in 1976 was a result of the inefficiency of the co-operative societies and marketing boards to deliver maximum benefit to both producers and consumers. The operation of the Coffee Authority of Tanzania (CAT) between 1977 and 1984, elicited problematic experiences. The coffee producers were complaining about the lack of communication and the divide between the villages and the Coffee Authority. The absence of co-operative unions created this situation which left coffee

[124] NRC, 589/CCD, Mbinga Co-operative Union (1989) Limited, Shareholdings of Mbinga and Mbozi Coffee Factories, 1989.

growers isolated. As one of the coffee growers recalled, "there was no one to complain to about our dissatisfaction relating to coffee marketing. Confronting CAT was like to confront the state and no one was ready to do that since the state has a long arm".[125] This demonstrated the perceptions of coffee growers at the village level with regards to CAT. The centralisation of the coffee-marketing system through CAT demonstrated the state monopoly over peasant production at the village level. As a result, there was a great desire among coffee growers for re-instating the co-operative marketing system.

To the coffee growers, the dissolution of the co-operative marketing system in 1976, brought about unnecessary disruptions and created mistrust in government organs. Some coffee growers were expecting to be repaid their deposits held by Ruvuma Regional Co-operative Union (RURECU) in Mbinga branch before it was dissolved in 1976. For instance, one coffee grower, Francis Damian Lupogo from Kindimba Village, wrote a letter to the Prime Minister's Office in Dodoma to claim his deposited money on 31 July 1977. He was not allowed to withdraw his money before the liquidation of the union.[126] He wrote several letters to the Prime Minister in the period from 1977 to 1979. In one of his letters, he argued that "… we did not vote for the dissolution …. The co-operative leaders in the office don't care about starving coffee growers looking for their peanut money. Their silence could be interpreted as an insult to the complainant".[127] On 11 December 1979, the Registrar of Co-operative Societies replied that "all claims in RURECU are being processed. For more information write a letter to the Co-operative liquidator, Songea."[128] Two years later, on 6 July 1981, Francis wrote a letter to the Registrar, complaining that each time he wrote to the liquidator, he had been told "ngoja ngoja" (wait).[129] On 17 August 1981, the Registrar of Co-

[125] Interview with Pilmin Lupogo, Kindimba Village 9 January 2019.

[126] NRC, 491/2324/II, Ruvuma Region Co-operative Union Limited, A letter from Francis Damian Lupogo-Kindimba Village, "Fedha za Amana" (Money Deposits), to the Prime Minister's Office-Dodoma, 31 July 1977.

[127] NRC, 491/2324/II, Ruvuma Region Co-operative Union Limited, a letter to the Prime Minister's Office "Fedha za Amana katika RURECU" (Money deposits in RURECU), 14 October 1979.

[128] NRC, 491/2324/II, Ruvuma Region Co-operative Union Limited, a letter from the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Dar es Salaam. Ref. No. 2334/II, to Francis Damian Lupogo, 11 December 1979.

[129] NRC, 491/2324/II, Ruvuma Region Co-operative Union Limited, a letter to the Registrar of the Co-operative Societies, Dodoma, 6 July 1981.

operative Societies replied, "it is a pity for the complainant to be kept waiting for such long time without success only to be told "ngoja ngoja".[130] It was learnt that the coffee growers' deposits were in the RURECU's account at the Songea Branch of the NBC, but due to the existence of an outstanding loan in the account, no money could be withdrawn from the account until the loan was reimbursed.[131] On 15 December 1983, Francis wrote a letter to the Registrar of Co-operative Societies requesting a permit to file a case to court demanding justice after waiting for seven years (1976–1983) for his money.[132] Francis is representative of a number of other coffee growers who deposited their money to the co-operative union and become the victims of the abolition of co-operative societies. He was among the few coffee growers who came out and demanded his money. He was a primary teacher, as well as a coffee producer. For this reason, he was among the rural elite who could stand up and fight the government. The majority of coffee growers' deposits were, however, liquidated by the bank without public outcry. Although the archival sources do not show the amount Francis was claiming (1976–1983), the archival source does show that there were 391 members of the co-operative societies that deposited their money into the RURECU Mbinga branch in 1973. Francis Damian was among the few with a large deposit of TShs.4 153.18. With the interest of 3% (TShs.130.44) added, the balance amounted to TShs.4 283.62.[133] The interview with Francis revealed that his deposit was not recovered, despite being promised to be incorporated into a newly re-instated co-operative union in 1984.[134] As a result, while some coffee growers supported the re-instatement of co-operative societies and unions, it reminded others of their impoverishment.

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[130] NRC, 491/2324/II, Ruvuma Region Co-operative Union Limited, a letter from the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Ref. No. 2324/II/153, to the Auditor and Zonal Supervisor, Songea, 17 August 1981.

[131] NRC, 491/2324/II, Ruvuma Regional Co-operative Union Limited, a letter from the co-operative officer, Songea Ref. No. UM/N/II/38, to the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Dodoma, "Amana za Wakulima wa Wilaya ya Mbinga" [Deposits of the coffee growers], 18 February 1983.

[132] NRC, 491/2324/II/, Ruvuma Region Co-operative Union Limited, a letter from Francis Damian Lupogo, to the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Dodoma, "Fedha za Amana katika RURECU" [Money deposits in RURECU], 15 December 1983.

[133] NRC, 491/2324/II, Ruvuma Region Co-operative Union Limited, "Annex to Account for the period ended 30 April 1973".

[134] Interview with Francis Lupogo, Kindimba Village 20 January 2020.

The international corporations also supported the re-instatement of the co-operative unions and primary co-operative societies in the 1980s. The Nordic Corporation Project, which was financed jointly by Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Finland, and Iceland, hereinafter referred to as the Nordic Government, assisted the co-operative movement in Tanzania under an agreement signed in April 1984. The project covered the period from 1983 to 1988. It was a continuation of co-operation between the Nordic Government and the Tanzanian government in the co-operative movement. Previous agreements were signed on 13 December 1971, and on 16 March 1979. The project focused on strengthening the Department of Co-operative Development, Co-operative Unions and Societies, Co-operative College (Moshi) and its Education Centres. The amount of 203.2 million Danish Krone (D.kr.) was allocated for the projects among which 116.0 D.kr. million was allocated for 1983–84 while 87.2 million D.kr. was allocated for 1985–88.[135] With the exception of the Co-operative Loan Fund (50 million D.kr.), all funds contributed by the Nordic Governments were in terms of grants to the Tanzanian government.[136]

The Ruvuma Co-operative Union (1984) Limited (RCU) was established under the Co-operative Societies Act of 1982. The RCU had three branches: in Songea (30 co-operative societies), Tunduru (13 co-operative societies) and Mbinga (30 co-operative societies). The newly re-established co-operative societies in the Mbinga District were operated by the RCU between 1984 and 1989. The RCU dealt with four main crops, namely maize, coffee, tobacco, and cashew nuts. The amount of coffee collected from the Mbinga District during this period, amounted to 23 075 477 kg (7 614 787 kg collected in 1985/86; 5 214 327 kg collected in 1986/87; 10 246 363 kg collected in 1987/88).[137]

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[135] NRC, 296/848/XII, Co-operative Union of Tanganyika, Agreement signed on 25 April 1984 (the figure constituted upper limits only).

[136] NRC, 296/848/XII, Co-operative Union of Tanganyika, Agreement signed on 25 April 1984.

[137] NRC, 549/5467, Ruvuma Regional Co-operative Union (1989) Limited, a letter from Assistant Registrar, Ruvuma Region, Ref. No. UM/UK. UN/121/7, to the Registrar of the Co-operative Societies, Dodoma, “Taarifa ya Kiuchumi” [Economic Report], 21 March 1988.

On 30 October 1988, the registrar of the Co-operative Societies split the RCU into two co-operative unions, namely the Mbinga Co-operative Union (1989) Limited (MBICU) and the Ruvuma Co-operative Union (RCU) (1989) Limited for the Songea and Tunduru districts. The idea of forming the Mbinga Co-operative Union emerged in 1982, following the enactment of the Co-operative Societies Act of 1982. As mentioned in Chapter Three, the MBICU merged with Ngoni Matengo Co-operative Union and Tunduru Co-operative Union Limited to form the Ruvuma Regional Co-operative Union (RURECU) in 1972, before the dissolution of all co-operatives in 1976. In 1987, the Mbinga District had 45 registered co-operative societies. Therefore, coffee growers had enough experience to run a co-operative union. The coffee growers in the Mbinga District demanded to have their own co-operative union at district level. During the general meeting in February 1987, the majority of the members agreed on the idea of the re-establishment of the MBICU. The MBICU inherited the immovable fixed assets, such as buildings, estate, and forest located in Mbinga in which some were from the former co-operative unions (MANCU Limited and RURECU).

### 4.6.1. Challenges of the Newly Re-instated Co-operatives in Mbinga District, 1984–1989

The newly re-established primary co-operative societies and co-operative unions failed to deliver the desired benefits to the coffee growers in the Mbinga District as promised with their re-establishment. The nature of the economic crisis of the 1980s, in tandem with the organisational weaknesses of the co-operative societies and unions, were primarily responsible for this situation and heralded what became the most challenging phase in the history of the co-operative movement in Tanzania.

The operations of the RCU (1984) Limited was characterised by corruption and economic embezzlements of the co-operative union funds in the 1980s. The union manager was accused of money embezzlement, and the co-operative union committee gave him six months to rectify the situation (from March 1987 to September 1987). As a result, the union was burdened with a debt of TShs.1.3 billion of which only TShs. Three hundred twenty-six million were covered by union assets.[138] The union was, therefore, technically bankrupt. As disciplinary measures, the union committee was dissolved, and the union managers, including branch managers (Mbinga and Songea), were expelled by the registrar of the co-operative societies. The marketing officer, production manager and accountant of the Songea branch were also expelled.[139]

Apart from the loss through fraud, the union also had accumulated debts from commercial banks. By 1989, during the split of the RCU, the Mbinga branch had accumulated debts on agricultural inputs and crop financing amounting to TShs.223 809 604.05 (TShs.48 468 508.35 from the CRDB Bank and TShs.175 341 095.70 from the NBC Bank).[140] On the other hand, the RCU (Songea and Tunduru district) had a total of TShs.619 943 777.50 (TShs.218 968 521.40 from the NBC and TShs.400 975 256.10 from the CRDB).[141] As a result, payment for coffee sales also proved to be a challenge. In the 1988/89 season, until the new coffee season of 1989/1990, some of the co-operative societies had not yet been paid. By September 1989, the advance payment of TShs.94 216 858 to 44 co-operative societies in the Mbinga District for their coffee delivered to RCU (1984) Limited were still outstanding.[142] With the outstanding loan situation, the co-operative union failed to obtain a loan from financial institutions. For instance, in 1988/89, the RCU (1984) Limited applied for TShs.900/- million for coffee payments but failed to acquire it due to the

[138] NRC, 549/5467, Ruvuma Region Co-operative Union (1989) Limited, "Kushindwa kwa Managementi na Halmashauri ya Ruvuma Region Co-operative Union" [Failure of the RCU Management and Committee].

[139] NRC, 549/5467, Ruvuma Region Co-operative Union Limited, Muhtasari wa mkutano wa mwaka wanne wa Ruvuma Co-operative Union Limited uliofanyika 26 March 1988, katika ukumbi wa mikutano wa Majimaji Mjini Songea, (Minutes of the meeting held 26 March 1988).

[140] NRC, 549/5467, Ruvuma Regional Co-operative Union (1989) Limited, "Madeni ya Cooperative and Rural Development Bank (CRDB) Madeni ya pembejeo, [CRDB Bank: Debts on Agricultural Inputs] 1985/86 to 1987/88; and the division of debts on NBC Loan Account 1985/86–1986/87.

[141] NRC, 549/5467, Ruvuma Regional Co-operative Union (1989) Limited, "Madeni ya Cooperative and Rural Development Bank (CRDB) Madeni ya pembejeo, [CRDB Bank: Debts on Agricultural Inputs] 1985/86 to 1987/88; and the division of debts on the NBC Loan Account 1985/86–1986/87.

[142] NRC, 549/5467, Ruvuma Co-operative Union (1989) Limited, a letter from the General Manager, RCU, Ref. No. RCU/F/20/Vol. III/160, to the Branch Manager, National Bank of Commerce Songea, "Vyama vinavyodai Fedha za Makopesho ya Kahawa Msimu 1988/89 hadi 5 September 1989".

accumulation of outstanding loans. As a result, coffee growers were paid TShs.24.50 per kilogram as advance payment, which was less than the indicated price of TShs.90/-.[143]

Co-operative unions had also acquired loans from banks for agricultural inputs. The TCMB had been importing all agricultural inputs, both chemical and mechanical. For the chemical inputs (pesticides and fertilisers), there had been the system of deducting it from the final payment for coffee growers, while for mechanical inputs, the co-operative unions had to buy it from the TCMB. The coffee growers were required to buy mechanical inputs, including sprayers, hessian wires, pruning facilities, and pulping and drying materials from the co-operative unions. All these activities were supported through financial overdrafts, based on the collateral the unions could supply. It was reported during the National Executive Committee on co-operatives on 15 September 1989, that the co-operative unions in Tanzania had accumulated debt totalling TShs.28.8 billion. On this debit side, seven co-operative unions had a total of TShs.18 billion due to outstanding loans from the NBC and CRDB Banks.[144] Some of the reasons for this accumulated debt have been mentioned earlier and included poor management systems due to the presence of unskilled co-operative officials, logistic challenges, and money and crop theft. Consequently, the financial difficulties of the co-operative unions placed a heavy burden on coffee producers.

Coffee loss in terms of quality and quantity was another challenge the coffee industry faced in the Mbinga District. The coffee season of 1985/86 witnessed the loss of about 1 142 tons.[145] Most of the losses in quantity were attributed to theft. The key suspects were primary co-operative secretaries, watchmen of the coffee warehouses, and transporters. Even after convictions had been affected, the guilty parties were unable to repay the amount of money for the lost coffee of TShs.168 807 567/15, which created a loss to the Co-operative Union and the coffee growers.[146]

[143] NRC, 572/CCD, Malalamiko ya Wakulima wa Kahawa Mkoani Ruvuma Msimu 1985/86 [Complaints of the coffee growers in the 1985/86 season].
[144] NRC, 425, "Taarifa za Madeni ya Vyama Vikuu vya Ushirika, 1989".
[145] NRC, 572/CCD, Malalamiko ya Wakulima wa Kahawa Mkoani Ruvuma Msimu 1985/86.
[146] NRC, 572/CCD, Malalamiko ya wakulima wa kahawa mkoani Ruvuma Msimu 1985/86, "Taarifa fupi kuhusu wizi wa kahawa RCU Ltd kama ilivyokuwa tarehe 23/4/1988" [Complaints of the coffee growers in the 1985/86 season, A summary of the coffee theft by 23 April 1988].

Between October 1985 and December 1986, eight drivers during 16 different trips were involved in coffee theft in the Mbinga District.[147] Some of the transporters delivered less coffee at their destinations than what they uploaded at the collection points. Further, coffee loss was experienced during the transport of coffee from the Co-operative Union (RCU) to the Tanzania Coffee Curing Company in Moshi. Some of the cases reported for coffee theft are summarised in Table 15 to give an extent of the losses and an indication of the success of the prosecution of the guilty transporters.

**Table 15**: A Report on Coffee Theft in the RCU Limited by 23 April 1988[148]

| Case File No. | Criminal Case No. | Accused name | Amount | Result |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| MAK/IR/629/86 | 77/86 | Oswald Weston Njabili & three others | TShs.235 000/- (157 coffee bags) | Jailed 4 years |
| MAK/IR/244/87 | 33/87 | Salum Masoo & four others | TShs.1 408 000/- (320 coffee bags) | Case in process |
| MAK/IR/280/87 | 116/87 | Amri Swalehe | TShs.655 000/- (149 coffee bags) | 6 years imprisonment |
| MAK/IR/390/87 | RMS 20/87 (Montion 25/5/88) | Angelus Kumburu, Njelekela, Soko, E. Komba & C. Sawala | TShs.12 848 000/- (300 bags) | Court case in process |
| MAK/IR/605/87 | RMS 36/87 (MONTION 13/5/88) | E. Komba, C. Sawala, and O. Weston | TShs.21 045 433.40 (loss of 329 092 kg) | At Government Advocate for hearings. |

[147] NRC, 572/CCD, Malalamiko ya wakulima wa kahawa mkoani Ruvuma Msimu 1985/86, “Majina ya Madereva waliokuwa na magari tawi la Mbinga walihusika katika upotevu/wizi wa kahawa 1985/86” [Complaints of the coffee growers in the 1985/86 season].

[148] NRC, 572/CCD, Malalamiko ya Wakulima wa Kahawa Mkoani Ruvuma Msimu 1985/86, [Complaints of the coffee growers in the 1985/86 season].

Above table shows that transporters coffee to the value of TShs.36 191 433.40 between 1986 and 1987. The convicted people were involved in multiple charges. As shown further, some of the imprisoned convicts also had other charges in court. This could be one of the reasons for the incomplete rulings. All five criminal cases were reported from the Makambako (Iringa) coffee depot.

Transport continued to be a problem in the Mbinga District, particularly with coffee transportation under the RCU. The liquidity problems and bad roads were primarily responsible for the transport dilemma. Although road upgrading under the CDP reduced some of the transport challenges, lack of all-weather roads, like tarmac roads, continued to challenge the coffee industry during rainy seasons. Consequently, by May 1988, there were 4 000 tons of parchment coffee in the district yet to be transported to the Tanzania Coffee Curing Company (TCCCO) Limited in Moshi.[149] Before the construction of the Mbinga coffee curing factory in 1989, all Southern Tanzanian Co-operative Unions (Ruvuma, Mbeya and Iringa regions) were responsible for delivering coffee to the TCMB in Moshi. The main challenges included the distance from Mbinga to Moshi, which was more than 1 300 kilometres and coupled with a shortage of vehicles and spares. This affected the quality of coffee delivered due to delays in transport logistics. In 1988, the TCCCO refused to process 861 bags of coffee of the 1987/88 season in Ruvuma for fear of deterioration in the quality.[150] As a result, the coffee fetched a lower price at the auction. The extended transport times also increased interest accumulated on bank overdrafts and increased the risk of coffee loss through theft on transit. All these factors had an impact on the coffee growers.

Another challenge for coffee growers was the lack of consistency in the ratio between the producer price and sales price. In the 1980s, CAT and later the TCMB, channelled varying percentages of

[149] NRC, 570/MD/3/7/1A/Vol. 2, Tanzania Coffee Marketing Board: Coffee Sales and Marketing Reports, Reports of Meeting to review syndication in preparation of meeting with B.T.C.O, 16 May 1988.

[150] NRC, 570/MD/3/7/1A Vol.2, Tanganyika Coffee Marketing Board: Sales and Marketing Reports, “Muhtasari wa Kikao No.4/88 cha Kamati ya Utendaji wa TCCCO Limited, 16 December 1988.”

their selling price to coffee producers. In 1981/82, the producer price was determined at 82,7% of the selling price, mainly due to the input support from the EEC through the CIP. In 1982/83 and 1983/84, the producer price represented 73% of the selling price while declining to 67% in 1984/85 and recovering to 79% in 1985/86.[151] These percentages depended on the marketing costs at both the marketing board and co-operatives. The coffee growers were paid after the deduction of the expenses of the TCMB and the co-operative unions. The payment was done in two or three instalments – as advance, interim and final payments. The advance instalment was paid to the coffee growers upon delivery to the co-operative societies (into-store price). After the calculation of the actual realisation from the auction, the TCMB paid the interim instalment to the co-operatives. The final instalment depended on the finalised trading account. However, in most cases, the third payments took a long time and sometimes did not materialise due to the decline of coffee prices on the world market. The TCMB marketing expenses included the curing expenses, development levy, the TCMB levy, and insecticides and fertilisers. The union marketing expenses included the union levy, society levy, interest on bank overdraft, transportation of fertiliser and gunny bags, crop and cash insurance, crop transportation, handling charges and storage, district bank charges and commission. In addition to the TCMB and co-operative expenses, in 1985/86, the government as part of the 'coffee statecraft' introduced a price stabilisation fund for which TShs.5 was deducted per every kilogram of coffee sold in final payment.[152] The development levy (TShs.2.0146/kg) which was previously used to facilitate the CIP and CDP programmes were directed to the construction of two coffee curing factories in Mbinga and Mbozi Mbeya.[153] These deductions made coffee growers receive less than what they deserved through their labour. For instance, in the 1985/86 season, the average coffee sales price for mild Arabica coffee was $2.666/kg (TShs.87.18)

[151] URT, Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Development, *Annual Review of Coffee (Kahawa) 1972-1987* (Dar es Salaam: Marketing Development Bureau, 1987), 36.
[152] NRC, 572/CCD, Malalamiko ya Wakulima wa Kahawa Mkoa wa Ruvuma Msimu 1985/86 (Complaints of the coffee growers in Ruvuma region, 1985/86 season); URT, Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Development, *Annual Review of Coffee (Kahawa) 1972-1987*, (Dar es Salaam: Marketing Development Bureau, 1987), 36.
[153] NRC, 589/CCD, Mbinga Co-operative Union (1989) Limited, Shareholdings of Mbinga and Mbozi Coffee Factories, 1989.

compared to the producer's price of the parchment I of $1.4006/kg (TShs.45.80).[154] This makes a margin cost (deduction) of $1.2653 (TShs.41.38). Coffee growers complained that they were overburdened by the deductions from their coffee sales proceeds.

## 4.7. Conclusion

This chapter joined the debate on the historiography of African peasant production. The existing historiography focused on understanding the state, co-operative movement and peasant production relationship. However, this chapter expanded the debate on the state monopolies on peasant production, focusing on the context of socialist or Ujamaa and villagisation policies in the Mbinga District during the post-colonial period. It challenges the existing historiographic model that emphasize the state's top-down decision in implementing Ujamaa policy as one of the reasons for its failure in Tanzania. The existing model neglect the role of the 'coffeescapes' in shaping the policy implementation. It has argued that the trajectory of the coffee industry between 1960s and 1990 in the Mbinga District, has been mainly influenced by the post-colonial state interventions on agricultural production and marketing and this had some impact on the socio-economic aspects of the smallholder coffee producers in the district.

The economic crisis from the late 1970s and the early 1980s forced the state to abandon its socialist principles by accepting the Structural Adjustment Programs as stipulated by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. The chapter has demonstrated the increase of coffee tonnage and production coverage as a result of the coffee improvement and development programmes as part of the 'coffee statecraft' from the late 1970s and 1980s. The re-instating of the co-operative movement in the early 1980s, was expected to restore the lost autonomy of the coffee producers in the control of the industry from the post-colonial state-controlled coffee authority of 1977 that was not restored. This however did not materialize. In examining the newly re-instated co-operative movements in the early 1980s, the chapter has documented a number of challenges, including

[154] Tanzania Coffee Board (TCB) Office, Moshi, Coffee Sales and Average Prices from 1980/81 – 2018/19.

financial debts, corrupt leaders and general economic hardships, which prevented the co-operatives from delivering on their promises. It left the smallholder coffee producers with a feeling of being overburdened and overtaxed. The next chapter shows how the global wave of economic liberalisation forced the Tanzanian government to adopt the free-market system in the 1990s by allowing co-operatives to compete with private coffee buyers. The chapter explains the transition from the co-operative society's monopoly in the coffee-marketing system to the co-existence with private coffee enterprises in the Mbinga District.

# Chapter Five

## Struggle for Survival: Co-operative Societies and Private Enterprises in the Coffee Industry, c.1990–2015.

### 5.1. Introduction

This chapter explores coffee production and marketing processes from the 1990s to 2015 in the Mbinga District, Tanzania. This was a period of economic liberalisation that demonstrated a transition from state monopoly to free and competitive marketing. As indicated in Chapter Four, the coffee industry was under state monopoly since Tanzanian independence in 1961. The co-operative societies under the auspices of the Coffee Board were initially responsible for coffee-marketing processes. Globally, the International Coffee Agreement (ICA) regulated prices through a quota system from 1962 to 1989. Following the collapse of the International Coffee Agreement in 1989, coffee-producing countries experienced fluctuations and instability in coffee prices. Tanzania was no exception. Steps had to be taken to stabilise the coffee economy. Pressures from the global economy forced Tanzania to implement economic reforms. Although some reforms had been initiated since the 1980s, particularly in food-crop marketing, it was perceived as happening at a glacial pace. The 1990s heralded a second phase in agricultural reforms, focusing on export crops such as coffee, tobacco, cotton and cashew nuts. It was a phase during which the state monopoly was challenged by the private enterprises in terms of the production and marketing of export crops, including coffee.

By focusing on the Mbinga Co-operative Union (MBICU), the chapter demonstrates the transition from state monopoly to the private enterprises' hegemony in the production and marketing of coffee. It uses this case study as a lens through which to examine the fluctuating fortunes of the coffee industry in Tanzania from the 1990s to 2015. The chapter argues that the transition from a strict state monopoly under co-operative societies to co-existence with private enterprises in the coffee industry did not lead to free and fair competition but rather entrenched hegemonic and exploitative practices at the expense of the smallholder coffee producers.

This chapter uses both archival and oral sources. The archival sources were obtained from the National Record Centre (NRC) housed in the Dodoma region, and the Tanzania Coffee Board headquarters in the Moshi District in the Kilimanjaro region. Oral sources were gathered from the officials and coffee producers from the Mbinga District. Some of the officials from both public and private enterprises in the Mbinga District, in addition to participating in interviews, were willing to provide the researcher with documents that are unavailable in the public domain. The three coffee-curing companies, namely the Mbinga Coffee Curing Company (MCCCO) Limited, Coffee Management Services (CMS), and Dan & Associates Enterprises Limited (DAE) Coffee Curing factory counted among these. The MCCCO is a co-operative owned enterprise, while the CMS and DAE Limited are private enterprises. From these sources, the theme of the struggle and survival strategies adopted by the co-operative union and the private enterprises in the Mbinga District from the 1990s to 2015 emerged.

The chapter starts with a historical overview of the period, followed by contextualising the economic situation of the co-operative unions in the early 1990s and the adoption of the economic liberalisation reforms in the coffee industry. The chapter also discusses the challenges which led to the collapse of the MBICU in the late 1990s. The chapter advances to the survival of the smallholder coffee producers through independent co-operative societies and farmer groups between 2000 and 2015. Moreover, it explains how the MCCCO, as one of the co-operative-owned enterprises, struggled and survived in the wake of the introduction of private coffee enterprises. It concludes that the competition between co-operatives and private coffee enterprises had led to more confusion and desperation for the smallholder coffee producers in the Mbinga District.

## 5.2. Historiographical Issues

This chapter draws from and critiques on the sometimes-extended debates from various scholars who have focused on the development of the coffee industry in the 1990s in Tanzania. It draws from economists who focused on the economic reforms and their impact on the coffee-marketing systems. These scholars, including Anna Temu et al., focus on the changes in the marketing structures after liberalisation, particularly the involvement of private companies (vertically integrated exporters) in the marketing processes.[1] They pointed out that the increasing share of "captive coffee" from zero per cent in 1993/94 to 53% in 1997/98 in Northern Tanzania had led to the decline of competition among bidders at the auction level.[2] This chapter draws on this analysis to examine the competition between private coffee enterprises (both vertically integrated exporters and domestic traders) and co-operative unions in domestic coffee marketing in Southern Tanzania.

Furthermore, Brian Cooksey uses the example of maize, tobacco and coffee, to show how liberalisation has failed in Tanzania, specifically in export crops.[3] The author argues that liberalisation in export crops in Tanzania has failed due to the interferences of bureaucratic political class.[4] The need for patronage, cronyism and rent-seeking are considered to be the reason for the interferences. Furthermore, Stefano Ponte considered the interventions taken on the ground of principles such as quality control and social identity.[5] The reactions of the state to intervene and reverse market reform was termed the "politics of ownership", meaning that a state defends the interest of local business by undermining the domination of "foreign" interest.[6] Ponte and Cooksey

[1] A. Temu, A. Winter-Nelson, and P. Garcia, "Market Liberation Vertical Integration and Price Behaviour in Tanzania's Coffee Auction", *Development Policy Review*, 19, 2, (2001), 205-222.

[2] Captive coffee is the coffee at the auction floor owned by private companies participating in both domestic markets and as exporters. A. Temu, A. Winter-Nelson and P. Garcia, "Market Liberation Vertical Integration and Price Behaviour in Tanzania's Coffee Auction", 219.

[3] B. Cooksey, "Marketing Reform? The Rise and Fall of Agricultural Liberalisation in Tanzania", *Development Policy Review*, 21 (1), (2003), 67-91.

[4] *Ibid.*, 67.

[5] S. Ponte, "The Politics of Ownership: Tanzanian Coffee Policy in the Age of Liberal Reformism", *African Affairs*, (2004), 617.

[6] *Ibid*.

contend that economic reforms in the coffee industry failed because the state wanted to protect its political space without considering the initial aim of the reform, namely to have a competitive market. Despite their political extremism, which made them focus on the failure of economic reforms in export crops and ignore some of the successful elements, Cooksey's and Ponte's work is important for this thesis because they demonstrate the challenges of implementing economic reforms in a long-established state-owned co-operative system. This chapter accepts the political interference as one of the challenges involved in the implementing of economic reforms in Northern and Western Tanzania; however, it will further explore both the success and challenges of the coffee industry, particularly in relation to the co-existence of both private coffee enterprises and co-operative unions in the Mbinga District, Southern Tanzania.

The 1990s was a period characterised by mixed reactions from the coffee producers. While in some parts of the country, the coffee farms had been abandoned, others had been expanding their coffee production, irrespective of the decline of the coffee prices in the world market. The chapter also draws on the social anthropological study by Sam Maghimbi[7] that focuses on the northern coffee-producing zone, specifically the Kilimanjaro region in the early 2000s. Maghimbi's study shows how coffee producers shifted from coffee production to maize and rice. To him, the weaknesses of the co-operative unions and lack of enough land for the expansion of coffee production in Kilimanjaro had made peasants turn to maize, rice, and dairy farming.[8] However, this was not the case in the Mbinga District. This thesis shows that, despite the challenges, people have retained coffee production. The evidence shows the expansion of the area under coffee cultivation in the

[7] S. Maghimbi, "Recent changes in crop patterns in the Kilimanjaro region of Tanzania: The decline of coffee and the rise of maize and rice", *African Study Monographs*, Suppl. 35, (2007), 73-83.

[8] The small size of land of less the 0.6 ha as national average size in 2007 compared to 0.73 ha in the 1930s prevented the expansion of coffee production in the Kilimanjaro region; S. Maghimbi, Recent changes in crop patterns in the Kilimanjaro region of Tanzania, 76.

Mbinga District from 30 734 ha in 2008[9] to 35 000 ha in 2012.[10] The coffee producers have been evolving through various mechanisms to survive the competitive coffee markets.

This chapter also draws on the argument put forward by David Mhando (2014) on the conflicts of interests as a reason for the co-operative societies withdrawing from co-operative unions. Mhando argued that "in some cases, large organisations do not meet farmers' needs. Thus smaller organisations with lower operating costs may be needed."[11] The conflicts within the Kilimanjaro Co-operative Union in the Moshi District led to the withdrawal of 22 out of 92 co-operative societies to form independent associations, generally known as G-32 in 2002/03.[12] Building on Mhando's argument, this chapter, however, further explores the emerging independent co-operative societies and farmer groups following the collapse of the MBICU in relation to the development of the coffee industry in the Mbinga District.

Moreover, this chapter draws on the work of David G. Mhando[13] and Ryugo Korasaki[14] who studied the impact of economic liberalisation on the coffee market, focusing on the farmers' coping strategies in the Mbinga District. Following the decline of coffee prices in 1992, and the collapse of the Mbinga Co-operative Union (MBICU) in 1996 as a marketing organ, coffee farmers adapted among other things, by expanding their coffee fields and diversifying their income sources. However, the studies are limited in timeframe and geographical scope. They focus on the ten years after economic liberalisation (1993–2003), based on the two villages of Kindimba and Kitanda.[15] Apart from being silent on the period before liberalisation and ten years after – something which

[9] URT, *National Sample Census of Agriculture 2007/2008 Smallholder Agriculture Regional Report-Ruvuma*, (Vol. VJ), (September 2012), 46.
[10] URT, *Tanzania Coffee Industry Strategy 2011–2021*, (Amended version), (Tanzanian Coffee Board and Tanzania Coffee Association, 2010), 10.
[11] D.G. Mhando, "Conflict as Motivation for change: The case of coffee farmers' cooperatives in Moshi, Tanzania", *African Study Monographs*, Suppl. 50, (2014), 139.
[12] *Ibid*., 143.
[13] D.G. Mhando, "Farmers' Coping Strategies to a Changed Coffee Market After Economic Liberalization: The Case of Mbinga District in Tanzania", *African Study Monographs*, 36, Supplementary Issue, (2007), 39-58.
[14] R. Korasaki, "Multiple Uses of Small-Scale Valley Bottom Land: Case of the Matengo in Southern Tanzania", *African Study Monographs*, 36, Supplementary Issue, (March 2007), 19-38.
[15] D.G. Mhando, "Farmers' Coping Strategies to a Changed Coffee Market After Economic Liberalization", 39-58.

makes it lack historical continuity – their conclusions were based on oral interviews with no backup of other historical accounts, such as archival sources. Thus, conclusions do not provide a complete picture of the prevailing environment. This chapter will attempt to fill this gap and will also draw on the similarities and differences of the coffee-producing area in the Mbinga District in comparison with other coffee-producing regions in Tanzania.

Therefore, diverging from the existing literature that focuses on quantitative analysis of the economic impact of the economic reforms on coffee marketing, as well as anthropological studies in Northern and Western Tanzania, this chapter contributes knowledge to the agrarian history of Tanzania by providing a historiographical analysis of the fortunes of the coffee industry in the post-reform period in Tanzania. Hence, this chapter draws together archival and oral sources in studying the socio-economic impacts of coffee co-operatives and private enterprises on smallholder coffee producers in the Mbinga District between the 1990s and 2015.

### 5.3. From State Monopoly to the Free-market System, 1990–1994

The 1980s economic crisis discussed in the previous chapter forced Tanzania to stabilise its economy by mobilising the internal resources as well as external aids and loans. Since the pace of reform was slow, some of the donor countries threatened to withdraw their assistance from the country. For instance, the poor performance of co-operative societies in the late 1980s forced some of the external supporters to withdraw from Tanzania. Nordic countries that had supported the co-operative movement financially since the 1970s, for example, withdrew their support for co-operative societies in Tanzania from June 1990.[16] Most of these co-operative societies were functioning so poorly and so uneconomically that supporting them was seen as useless. This was expressed in their exit letter which stated "njia pekee ya kuvisaidia vyama vya Ushirika nchini Tanzania ni kutovisaidia" translated as "the only way to assist co-operative unions is not to assist."[17]

[16] NRC, 564/MD/6/1/VOL.II, Co-operative Marketing in Tanzania, a letter from the Nordic Advisory committee, to General Secretary, "Washirika", June 1990.
[17] *Ibid*.

The withdrawal of financial support for co-operative societies was intended by the donor to force the Tanzanian government to adopt policy reforms. From 1990 to 1993, there was an intense conflict between Tanzania and donors, led by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. Donors withdrew from funding the Open General License (OGL), which was mainly responsible for financing agricultural inputs in 1992.[18] The main reason was the slow pace of the state in fund accountability, especially the payment of the funds from commercial banks to the central banks.

The coffee sector had to adopt some changes within its institutions. From 1 July 1990, the Coffee Board became an agent of the co-operative unions. This went together with the reduction of board workers both working in and outside of the headquarters. External workers were reduced from 826 to 39 and internal workers from 123 to 80.[19] The Board reduced its annual expenditure from TShs.895 465 182 to TShs.266 136 242.[20] In practical terms, the implementation of the agency system as set out in 1990, led to little real change in the marketing systems, which continued to be a single-channel monopoly system. They were run by the same actors – primary co-operative societies, co-operative unions, and the Tanzania Coffee Marketing Board (TCMB) – simply with reshuffled responsibilities. In terms of operations, almost nothing changed other than some reduction in the TCMB's staff. As an agent, the TCMB's activities included preparing the client's coffee for auction (storage, liquoring, paperwork, transport), assisting in setting auction reserve prices, arranging the official transfer of products, and handling financial transactions.[21]

[18] Open General License (OGL) was introduced in 1987 by the World Bank, Tanzanian government, the African Development Bank, and Bilateral donors. It was aimed to support importation liberalisation by providing foreign exchange to importers. In 1991/92 OGL had a total share of financing by WB-56%, Bilateral donors-28%, Government-11% and African Development Bank-5%. In 1992/93, donors stopped their finance subject to the improvement in the management and sufficiency accounting for the counterpart funds owed by the commercial banks to the Bank of Tanzania; D. Mans, "Tanzania: Resolute Action", I. Husain and R. Faruqee (eds.), *Adjustment in Africa Lessons from Country Case Studies*, (Washington, D.C. The World Bank, 1994), 366-67, 392.

[19] NRC, 564/MD/6/1/VOL.II, Co-operative Marketing in Tanzania, "Maazimio ya Mkutano kati ya Viongozi wa vyama vikuu vya Ushirika , bodi za mazao na wizara ya serikali za mitaa, maendeleo ya jamii, ushirika na masoko uliofanyika Dodoma kuanzia tarehe 7 hadi 9 Agosti, 1989, [Meeting Resolutions by the chairmen of the co-operative Unions, Crop Boards, and the Ministry of Local Authorities, Marketing and Co-operative Development held in Dodoma from 7 to 9 August 1989], 62.

[20] *Ibid*.

[21] NRC, 556/MD/9/1A, Marketing of coffee in Tanzania: Tanganyika Coffee Board, "Coffee Sub-Sector- Marketing Structure for 1993/94".

Tanzania has been under the socialist (Ujamaa) philosophy from the 1960s. As a result, Co-operative Acts in operation still reflected the Ujamaa principles. Therefore, the transition to the free-market system had also to be incorporated into Co-operative Acts. The government decided to amend Co-operative Act No.14 of 1982 and enact a new one (No.15) in 1991. The revised Co-operative Act aimed at allowing the co-operative sector to operate as commercial entities without government intervention. The overreliance of co-operatives on the state created room for relaxation on debt collection and repayment. As a result, there was an increasing rate of outstanding debts. For instance, on 3 January 1991, co-operative unions in Tanzania had a total debt of TShs.3 517 621 742.65 ($11 815 995.10) on coffee inputs.[22] The MBICU had outstanding debts of coffee inputs to the value of TShs.964 063 286/- ($3 238 371.80).[23] The new Co-operative Societies Act of 1991 demanded that only economically viable co-operative societies be registered.[24] However, the Act also replaced a criterion of compulsory co-operative membership with a voluntary one.[25] These changes could not guarantee coffee co-operatives to get more members after the liberalisation of its market. The Co-operative Union of Tanzania (CUT) was replaced by the Tanzania Federation of Co-operatives (TFC) in December 1994 to strengthen the co-operative movement. The TFC aimed at representing, promoting and coordinating the co-operative movement in Tanzania.[26]

In August 1993, the Tanzania parliament passed a bill amending the Coffee Marketing Board Act of 1984. The objective of the bill was to amend legislation on the Coffee Board to allow private companies and individuals to purchase and sell coffee both in and outside Tanzania. As a result, the TCMB was replaced by the Tanzania Coffee Board (TCB) and the marketing structure altered from a three-tier single marketing channel, which was established in 1961 and restructured in 1985 (and

[22] NRC, 570/MD/3/7/1A/VOL.2, Tanzania Coffee Marketing Board Sales and Marketing Report, "Debt to Unions" as of January 1991.
[23] *Ibid.*
[24] NRC, 416/CCU/C.230/IV, Co-operative Societies: General, 1991.
[25] United Republic of Tanzania (URT), *The Co-operative Societies Act No.15 of 1991,* Section 22, (1991).
[26] S. Maghimbi, "Cooperatives in Tanzania Mainland: Revival and Growth", *CoopAfrica Working Paper No. 14,* (International Labour Organization-Dar es Salaam, 2010), 13.

consisted of primary societies, regional co-operative unions and the Tanzania Coffee Marketing Board), to a multi-channel marketing system which commenced effectively in the 1993/94 season. The changes brought a shift in policy emphasis from a highly government-controlled marketing system to a competitive model incorporating private enterprises. The TCB acted as a regulatory organ focusing on the licensing issues, running the coffee auction, and acting as an advisor to the government on matters concerning the coffee industry.[27]

The directors of regional development were given the responsibility of registering all private traders of a crop produced in the region. The registered names were sent to the crop boards to get a buying license. Buying licenses were issued annually. Under a newly enacted Act, coffee buyers included primary co-operative societies and co-operative unions, farmer's groups, coffee curing companies, individual and private enterprises, and crop boards (coffee boards). The regional, district and village authorities identified and recognised the coffee-buying stations, including village offices and co-operative society centres. The coffee buyers had to pay levies, to which they agreed. The district levy was arranged by the district councils according to the district by-laws. A society levy was paid to primary co-operative societies whenever societies were involved in providing services, such as crop grading, where society committee members were used, the use of co-operative warehouses, and scales. The amount of the levy was negotiated between buyers and service providers.

The private sector has historically been involved in the coffee industry. As explained in Chapter Three, before the formation of co-operative societies in the 1930s in the Mbinga District, private traders, predominantly Indians traders, were the main coffee buyers. With the introduction of co-operative societies and unions, private traders were only licensed as coffee buyers for export at the coffee auction. Starting with the 1993/94 season, private companies could purchase crops from farmers, primary co-operative societies or unions. Traders could opt to sell parchment coffee to the curing plant or have their product processed for a fee and sell it in their name at the auction.

[27] NRC, 556/MD/9/1A, Marketing of coffee in Tanzania: Tanganyika Coffee Board, "coffee Sub-Sector- marketing structure for 1993/94.

However, in the Mbinga District, coffee market liberalisation was the beginning of the competition between the MBICU and private coffee enterprises.

### 5.4. The Struggle and Collapse of the Mbinga Co-operative Union, 1990–2000

The introduction of the free-market system in coffee marketing since 1994/95, found most co-operative unions in an already precarious financial position, mostly related to the outstanding debt. From the late 1980s to the 1990s, most of the co-operative unions in Tanzania, including the MBICU, were highly indebted to various institutions, including banks, crop boards, public corporations, and co-operative societies. In 1989, the government formed a committee to investigate the economic conditions of co-operative unions. On 15 September 1989, the committee submitted their report to the National Executive Council showing that co-operative unions were indebted to the National Bank of Commerce (NBC) and the Co-operative Rural Development Bank (CRDB) to the total of TShs.28.8 billion.[28]

The presence of outstanding loans to co-operative unions in the late 1980s impacted on the financial capacity of the unions in the 1990s. As indicated in Chapter Four, the MBICU split from the Ruvuma Co-operative Union (1984) Limited (RCU) in 1989. The RCU had an outstanding debt of TShs.1.7 billion that was divided between the two unions on 31 January 1989. While the RCU remained with TShs.1.2 billion debt, the MBICU was apportioned with TShs.508 million.[29] The inherited debt of TShs.508/- million increased to TShs.658 610 325.30 ($1 615 032.676) in 1992 due to bank interests accumulated over the three years.[30] In addition, the union had to sustain a sum of TShs.409 000 000/-($1 002 942.6) as a debt to the NBC Bank. This resulted from coffee-sale “shortfalls” in the 1991/92 season.[31] The coffee sale shortfalls in the 1991/92 season, was a result

[28] NRC, 425, Taarifa za Madeni ya Vyama Vikuu vya Ushirika 1989 [Report on Co-operative Unions’ Debts by 1989].

[29] NRC, 589/CCD, Mbinga Co-operative Union (hereafter MBICU) (1989) Limited, a letter from the MBICU to the Prime Minister and the first vice president, Dar es Salaam, Ref. No. MBICU/C.B/1/163, “Ukombozi wako kwa Wakulima wa Kahawa wa Wilaya ya Mbinga kwa Fedha Zao za Msimu wa 1992/93” [Your support to the coffee producers in the Mbinga District on their payment for 1992/93 season] 25 April 1994.

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] *Ibid*.

of the decline of the prices to a very low level compared with the previous years – from $2.6 per kg in the 1988/89 season to $1.1 per kg in 1991/92.[32] As a result, the MBICU was unable to repay the bank debt by end of the 1991/92 season. The 1992/93 coffee sales were used to repay the union debts. Apart from repaying a sum of TShs.1 421 000 000 as the overdraft to NBC Bank for the 1992/93 coffee season and TShs.409 million for the coffee sale "shortfall' (1991/92 season), the bank also deducted TShs.310 302 617.20 as part of the RCU's inherited debt.[33] The RCU's inherited debt was part of the TShs.35.129 billion moratoria granted by the Tanzanian government on 16 April 1993 to all co-operative unions due to the high rate of outstanding loans.[34] The moratorium was excepted to extend the time for repayment. The deduction of the inherited RCU's debt was unexpected. Consequently, coffee producers did not get a sum of TShs.144 000 000/- as their second payment for the 1992/93 coffee sales.[35]

On top of their accumulating debt and their outstanding debtors, co-operative unions in Tanzania also had to contend with declining coffee prices in the first half of the nineties – all contributing to most of the co-operative unions in Tanzania operating at a loss. Lack of cash forced some co-operatives to reduce the amount of money paid to the coffee producers compared to the official price announced by the government. For instance, in the 1991/92 coffee season, the government announced advanced prices of TShs.230/- for the Mild Arabica per kilogram (parchment I) but due to lack of cash, the MBICU paid only TShs.155/- to the coffee growers.[36] This decision was made during the Union Executive Committee Meeting held on 29 August 1991. Having a total capital of

[32] URT, Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Development, *Coffee Marketing Review* 1993-94, (Dar es Salaam: Marketing Development Bureau,1994), 22.

[33] NRC, 589/CCD, MBICU (1989) Limited, a letter from MBICU to the Prime Minister and the first vice president, Dar es Salaam, Ref. No. MBICU/C.B/1/163, "Ukombozi wako kwa Wakulima wa Kahawa wa Wilaya ya Mbinga kwa Fedha Zao za Msimu wa 1992/93", 25 April 1994.

[34] MBICU was granted a TShs.993 041 391.75 (Shs.613 million debt and TShs.380 041 391.75 interest) moratorium; NRC, 589/CCD, MBICU (1989) Limited, a letter from vice chairman of the planning commission and the Minister of State (H. Kolimba), to the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Finance, Dar es Salaam, "Madeni ya vyama vya ushirika kuchukuliwa na serikali (MBICU)" [Co-operative Union's debts taken by the government], 30 April 1994.

[35] NRC, 589/CCD, MBICU (1989) Limited, "Minutes of the 8th General Meeting held at MBICU Hotel's Conference Hall", 7 – 8 December 1996.

[36] NRC, 589/CCD, MBICU (1989) Limited, a Memo from A. Haukelani Coffee Management Unit (CMU), Ref. No. ASSP/CMU 3.9, to CPM, Kilimo, 11 November 1991.

TShs.1 438 381 200 for coffee sales, they realised that if they pay producers TShs.230/kg for the estimated 9 000 tons of coffee, the union could suffer a loss of TShs.631 618 800. In contrast, by paying TShs.155/kg, the union could realise a profit of TShs.43 381 200.[37] This was different from what other co-operative unions in Mbeya, Kilimanjaro, and Arusha were paying to their coffee growers. The financial capacity of the co-operative union had a significant impact on the payment to the coffee producers. Consequently, the 1991/92 coffee season experience made most of the coffee producers to view the co-operative unions as an exploitative organ. This was because its focus or preference was on making a profit at the expense of the coffee producers.

**Table 16:** The Sale Price and the Share of Producer Price of Mild Arabica Coffee in Tanzania 1991–1994[38]

| Year | Sales Price (TSh/Kg) | Average producer price (TSh/Kg) | Share of the producer in the sales price (%) |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1991/92 | 242.58 | 155.00 | 64 |
| 1992/93 | 684.00 | 231.00 | 34 |
| 1993/94 | 1000.00 | 333.00 | 33 |
| 1994/95 | 1675.00 | 932.00 | 56 |

The new marketing system created misunderstanding between the MBICU and the co-operative societies over the ability to acquire more loans from banks and repay it. This was expressed during the meetings held between April and August 1994 for the 1994/95 coffee season. During the meeting of the MBICU, held on 11 May 1994, 42 of the 51 primary co-operative societies did not

[37] NRC, 583/MD/5/13 (formerly MD/3/1/20), Agricultural Price Review, a letter from the General Manager, Mbinga Co-operative Union (1989) limited, Ref. No. MBICU/Z.1/106, to the Chairman and members of the executive committee of the co-operative societies, Mbinga, "Bei za Kahawa Msimu wa 1991/92" [the price of coffee in the 1991/92 season], 31 August 1991.

[38] NRC, 571/MD/5/23, National Agricultural Policy, "Liberalization of Cash Crop Marketing", 7 March 1996.

support the union to acquire a loan from banks for the 1994/95 coffee seasons.[39] Later, on 28 June 1994, during the general meeting, the union agreed not to acquire a loan for coffee payments.[40] Despite the agreement, the MBICU went ahead and applied for a loan of TShs.300 000 000/- from the NBC Bank to facilitate coffee-buying expenses.[41] The union (MBICU) did not have enough money to pay cash to producers at the beginning of the season and the applied loan took longer than expected – five months (July to November 1994) instead of the normal one to two months, resulting in a continuation of the tendency of collecting producers' crops on credit. A total of TShs.166 000 000/- was used to pay coffee producers for their coffee sales while the remaining money (TShs.134 000 000/-) was used for the coffee collection expenses.[42] As a result, by the end of the 1994/95 coffee seasons, coffee growers were yet to be paid a sum of TShs.146 000 000/- from their coffee sales.[43] However, at the end of the coffee buying season, of the TShs.300 000 000/- loan acquired from the NBC Bank, a total of TShs.219 000 000 was repaid while TShs.81 000 000 remained unpaid.[44]

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[39] NRC, 473/5468E, MBICU (1989) Limited: Estimates & MLC (Minutes of Meetings and Limited Liability Certificates), 1993-1995, "Muhtasari wa Mkutano Mkuu wa Mwaka wa Sita uliofanyika Tarehe 28 Juni 1994 katika Ukumbi wa Mkutano MBICU hotel" [Minutes of the general meeting of the 6th year held on 28 June 1994 at MBICU hotel].

[40] NRC, 589/CCD, MBICU (1989) Limited, a letter from the General Manager, MBICU, Ref. No. MBICU/2.1/VOL.II/130/ to the Prime minister, "Utaratibu wa Biashara Huria kuhusu mazao asilia" [Free tarde procedures on traditional export crops], 23 May 1995.

[41] NRC, 473/5468E, MBICU (1989) Limited: Estimates & MLC (Minutes of Meetings and Limited Liability Certificates), 1993–1995, a letter from the Registrar of the Co-operative Societies, Dar es Salaam, Ref. No. 5468/E, to the Chairman, Mbinga Agricultural Co-operative Union (1993) Limited, "Sheria ya Kuandikisha vyama vya Ushirika 1991 fungu la 72 la sheria na kanuni ya 43 amri Na.6- Ukomo wa Madeni" [the Co-operative Societies Act, 1991, section 72, Rules and Regulation 43, No.6, Limited Liability], 13 July 1994.

[42] NRC, 589/CCD, MBICU (1989) Limited, a letter from MBICU, Ref. No. MBICU/2.1/VOL. II/130, to the Prime Minister, Utaratibu wa Biashara Huria Kuhusu Mazao Asilia [Free trade procedures on traditional export crops], 23 May 1995. A total of TShs.166 000 000/- was distributed as follows: Lundumato TShs.48 000 000/-, KIMULI TShs.60 000 000/-, Longa TShs.35 000 000, and TShs.23 000 000/- to the remaining primary co-operative societies.

[43] NRC, 589/CCD, MBICU (1989) Limited, a letter from the General Manager, MBICU, Ref. No. MBICU/2.1/VOL. II/130, to the Prime Minister, Utaratibu wa Biashara Huria Kuhusu Mazao Asilia [Free trade procedures on traditional export crops], 23 May 1995. The sources show the unpaid amount of TShs.71 000 000/-.

[44] NRC, 589/CCD, MBICU (1989) Limited, The report of the Registrar of the Co-operative Societies, "Taarifa ya Safari-Ruvuma" to the Minister of Agriculture, 16 June 1995; NRC, 589/CCD, MBICU (1989) Limited, a letter from the Minister of Agriculture [Fredrick T. Sumaye (MP)], Ref. No. KI/C.10/70/MBINGA, to the Prime Minister, "Madeni ya MBICU" [Debts of MBICU], 22 June 1995. The error in the figures of the repaid loan from two sources creates a sense of suspicious with the accuracy of co-operative reports on financial status.

Apart from being indebted to the coffee producers, banks and other institutions, the unstable financial position of co-operative unions such as the MBICU was also rooted in the practice of distributing agricultural inputs and implements to primary co-operative societies on credit. Outstanding payments from these debtors contributed to the financial woes of unions. This practice had a long history from a previous centrally controlled system which did not chime well with the new free-market system. Historically, the Tanzania Coffee Marketing Board (TCMB), through its coffee foreign exchange retention scheme, had financed the importation of agricultural inputs. The scheme was stopped in the 1987/88 season when the TCMB raised money through the Open General License (OGL) for the procurement of agricultural inputs by obtaining seasonal loans from banks using coffee as collateral.[45] The TCMB distributed the inputs to farmers through co-operative unions on loan and recovered the money at the time of making the final coffee payment to producers. When the TCMB became a marketing agent in 1990/91, the responsibility to raise funds for agricultural inputs shifted to the co-operative unions. Unfortunately, most of the co-operative unions defaulted to repay their loans, resulting in more accumulated debts. The total outstanding debt of coffee inputs to unions as at 3 January 1991 was TShs.3 517 742.65 out of which the share of the MBICU was TShs.964 063 286/-.[46] In 1990/91, the unions charged cash for all inputs in order to avoid long-term interest charges.[47] The practice was unpopular among farmers. To avoid the decline in utilisation of agrochemicals on coffee farms, the MBICU decided to distribute inputs on credit and deduct it from the coffee sales in 1992/93. Consequently, the "input on credit" was a popular culture that made smallholder coffee producers too dependent on the co-operative union.

The presence of private enterprises in coffee marketing created uncertainty, whereby the MBICU became wary of distributing more agricultural inputs to coffee growers. Before the free-market system, the MBICU was responsible for ordering and supplying agrochemicals and agricultural

[45] NRC, 583/MD/5/13 (formerly MD/3/1/20), Agricultural Price Review, "Agricultural Inputs Revolving Funds".
[46] NRC, 570/MD/3/7/1A/VOL.2, Tanzania Coffee Marketing Board Sales and Marketing Reports, Dokezo Sabili [clear hint], "Debts to unions" 3 January 1991.
[47] NRC, 570/MD/3/7/1A/VOL.2, Tanzania Coffee Marketing Board Sales and Marketing Reports, "Coffee Policy Paper".

implements to coffee producers on credit. Under the new marketing system, there was no guarantee or even a contract that coffee growers would sell their coffee to the union. The free-market system for coffee was implemented in the 1994/95 season. In the Mbinga District, the MBICU had to compete with private coffee buyers, shifting from collecting producer's coffee on credit to pay later, to cash payment on delivery. The 1994/95 marketing system went smoothly in Songea for tobacco, where the Songea Agricultural Marketing Co-operative Union (SAMCU) managed to collect all tobacco from producers. This was possible since the free-market system for tobacco in the Songea District was adopted in the 1995/96 season.[48] In the Tunduru District, 3 380 tons of cashew nuts were sold through Tunduru Agricultural Marketing Co-operative Union (TAMCU) out of 6 000 tons produced in 1994/95.[49] The coffee marketing system in the Mbinga District seemed to be more problematic. It was easy for crops like tobacco and cashew nuts to get pre-financing from crop buyers who were then free to sell the crops wherever they preferred. It was even possible for the MBICU to obtain pre-financing for tobacco, which was then sold to Standard Commercial Tobacco Limited. The challenge with coffee was that it was sold by auction, at which both collected coffee through co-operative unions and private coffee buyers bid for it. In this case, it was the Moshi auction under the control of the Tanzania Coffee Board. Uncertainty about the future auction prices created difficulties for (financially) weak co-operatives to operate.

Before the 1994/95 coffee marketing season, coffee producers agreed with the union officials to sell their coffee through the co-operative societies system. However, when the time for coffee sales arrived, most of the coffee producers refused to sell their products on credit to the union – instead, they sold it to the private coffee buyers. The decision of coffee growers to sell their coffee to private buyers affected the distribution of the agricultural inputs. For instance, on 11 May 1993, the MBICU held a general meeting in which they agreed to distribute agricultural inputs to the coffee producers through their primary co-operative societies. From 1993/94 to 1994/95, the union had distributed

[48] NRC, 589/CCD, MBICU (1989) Limited, a letter from MBICU, Ref. No. MBICU/2.1/VOL. II/130, "Utaratibu wa Biashara Huria Kuhusu Mazao Asilia" [Free trade procedures on traditional export crops], 23 May 1995.
[49] *Ibid*.

fertiliser and agrochemicals to the coffee growers on credit, expecting to deduct it from the coffee sales. A total of 609 056 litres/kilos of Coffee Berry Disease and Coffee Leaf Rust control agrochemicals valued at about TShs.1 107 613 440/- ($1 905 407.60) were freely distributed.[50] The MBICU also distributed a total of 45 155 bags of chemical fertiliser (2257.75 tons) valued at TShs.305 606 000/- ($52 582.14) on credit to be recovered from coffee sales during the 1994/95 season.[51] A total of 8 000 tons of agrochemicals were ordered, valued at about TShs.600 000 000/- ($1 032 169.27) in the 1994/95 season.[52] The target was to collect a total of about 8 000 tons of coffee produced in the 1994/95 season.[53] Unfortunately, due to the competition from the private coffee traders, only 1 826 tons of coffee valued at TShs.1 435 656 000/- ($2 469 733.35) were sold through the union.[54] The sum of TShs.1 284 557 560/- ($2 209 801.41) was paid to the coffee producers, while a sum of TShs.151 098 434/- ($259 931.93) was deducted for the agricultural inputs.[55] The payment and deductions applied only to the "honest"[56] co-operative members who sold their coffee through the MBICU. The failure of the co-operative union to collect enough coffee from producers led to the failure to recover the debt on agricultural inputs supplied on credit. The MBICU could not deduct the full debt for credited agricultural inputs from the few "honest" coffee producers. This was to avoid resistance from the coffee producers for being over-deducted. The decline of "honest" co-operative members, therefore, threatened the competitive capacity of the MBICU.

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[50] NRC, 473/5468E, MBICU (1989) Limited: Estimates & MLC (Minutes of Meetings and Limited Liability Certificates), 1993-1995, "Muhtasari wa Mkutano Mkuu wa Mwaka wa Sita uliofanyika Tarehe 28 Juni 1994 katika Ukumbi wa Mkutano MBICU Hotel" [Minutes of the general meeting of the 6 year held on 28 June 1994 at MBICU Hotel].

[51] *Ibid*.

[52] NRC, 589/CCD, MBICU (1989) Limited, from CCD (T.J. Mahuwi), "MBICU", 21 April 1995.

[53] *Ibid.*

[54] NRC, 589/CCD, MBICU (1989) Limited, The report of the Registrar of the Co-operative Societies, "Taarifa ya Safari-Ruvuma" to the Minister of Agriculture, 16 June 1995.

[55] *Ibid*

[56] The "honest" co-operative members referred to those members that did not desert the union for the private coffee buyers even when they owed money to the Union.

By the end of the 1994/95 season, the MBICU owed a total of TShs.1 075 000 000/- ($1 849 303.28) to the coffee producers, Tanzania Coffee Board, and other enterprises, of which the largest amount was incurred from coffee producers who collected agricultural inputs to the value of TShs.834 000 000/ ($1 434 715.29) but sold their coffee to the private coffee buyers.[57] As a result, it created difficulties in debt payment to the creditors. For instance, the MBICU had an accumulated debt of TShs.428 292 100 ($736 783.24) by the end of the 1994/95 season.[58] The total debt was divided as follows: NBC Bank (TShs.71 000 000), Bondeni seeds (TShs.113 147 100/-), SUKITA (TShs.74 119 000/-), Shavlak Tank (TShs.58 026 000/-), and Fertilizer & Chemicals (TShs.112 000 000/-).[59]

Having collected only approximately 20% of the production of the 1994/95 coffee season, the MBICU only supplied 350 tons of disease and pest control agrochemicals out of 1 000 tons required, and 3 500 tons of chemical fertiliser out of 12 000 required tons for the 1995/96 coffee seasons on credit.[60] Apart from being economically weak, the fear of allowing the private coffee buyers to “reap what they didn’t sow”[61] dominated the thinking of the MBICU officials. This situation did

[57] NRC, 589/CCD, MBICU (1989) Limited, The report of the Registrar of the Co-operative Societies, “Taarifa ya Safari-Ruvuma” to the Minister of Agriculture, 16 June 1995. The TShs.834 000 000 / consisted of TShs.754 507 566 of 1994/95 and TShs.79 492 434 as accumulated debts from the previous years; NRC, 589/CCD, MBICU (1989) Limited (1989) Limited, a letter from the General Manager, MBICU, Ref. No. MBICU/2.1/VOL. II/130, Utaratibu wa Biashara Huria Kuhusu Mazao Asilia [Free trade procedures on traditional export crops], 23 May 1995.

[58] NRC, 589/CCD, MBICU (1989) Limited, The report of the Registrar of the Co-operative Societies, “Taarifa ya Safari-Ruvuma” to the Minister of Agriculture, 16 June 1995.

[59] A total debt to MBICU was Shs.428 292 100/- although the source shows Shs.438 292 100/- [SIC]; NRC, 589/CCD, MBICU (1989) Limited, a letter from the Minister of Agriculture, Dar es Salaam, Ref. No. KI/C.10/70/MBINGA, “Madeni ya MBICU” [the debts of the MBICU], to the Prime Minister and the first vice president (C.D. Msuya), 22 June 1995.

[60] NRC, 589/CCD, MBICU (1989) Limited, a letter from the General Manager, MBICU, Ref. No. MBICU/Z.1/VOL.II/129, “Mashambulizi ya Mheshimiwa Banduka, Mkuu wa mkoa wa Ruvuma yanayohusu janga lililoipata Mbinga Co-operative Union Limited (MBICU) Kutokana na Biashara Huria ya Kahawa iliyoanzanza msimu wa mazao wa 1994/95” [Ruvuma Regional Commissioners’ attacks on the MBICU over the loss in 1994/95 season], 23 March 1995.

[61] The term was coined from the saying that “you reap what you sow”, meaning that “future consequences are inevitably shaped by present actions”. The tendency of the private coffee buyers to buy coffee from coffee producers whom they did not support with necessary inputs as their co-operative union counterpart.

not bode well for the future of the co-operative union and its ability to compete with private buyers in the Mbinga District.

On the other hand, the private enterprises who collected 80% of the produced coffee in the 1994/95 season, supplied only 24 tons of disease and pest control agrochemicals.[62] Private enterprises, particularly coffee buyers, were reluctant to supply agricultural inputs on credit. It was difficult to recover the debts from coffee producers since there was no guarantee that coffee producers would sell their coffee to the private coffee buyers the following season. Also, the system of annually licensing the coffee buyers did not guarantee their operations in the next buying season. This situation led to a decline in applications for agrochemicals from coffee farms. The illegal money lenders (*magoma*) grasped it as an opportunity to make money. The coffee producers borrowed money (before the coffee season) from money lenders to be repaid during the harvesting time. The value of the money borrowed was generally less than the value of the coffee to be paid. Although the government tried to prevent the operation of *magoma*, it failed since its operations were conducted in secrecy and some of the coffee producers were desperately reliant on the loan. During an interview, one coffee producer stated, "I cannot remain poor by letting pests and diseases ruin my coffee farm while the rich people can lend money."[63] This reliance was the result of the financial inability of the co-operative union to support its members in coffee production, while on the other hand, it was due to the unwillingness of private coffee buyers to invest in coffee production and instead focusing on coffee buying processes. Table 17 reflects the decline in agricultural supply, especially in chemical fertiliser.

[62] NRC, 589/CCD, MBICU (1989) Limited, a letter from the General Manager, MBICU, Ref. No. MBICU/Z.1/VOL.II/129, "Mashambulizi ya Mheshimiwa Banduka, Mkuu wa mkoa wa Ruvuma yanayohusu janga lililoipata Mbinga Co-operative Union Limited (MBICU) Kutokana na Biashara Huria ya Kahawa iliyoanzanza msimu wa mazao wa 1994/95" [Ruvuma Regional Commissioners' attacks on MBICU over the loss in 1994/95 season], 23 March 1995.

[63] Interview with Adelina Komba, Longa Village, 11 January 2019.

**Table 17:** Fertiliser Supply in Mbinga District 1990–1997[64]

| Year | Demand (tons) | Supply (tons) | Shortage (tons) |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1990 | 19 071 | 6 599.25 | 12 471.75 |
| 1991 | 16 409 | 6 168.25 | 10 240.75 |
| 1992 | 8 538 | 1 877 | 15 437 |
| 1993 | 16 834 | 8 538 | 8 296 |
| 1994 | 16 834 | 9 247.3 | 7 586.7 |
| 1995 | 17 406 | 2 600.3 | 14 805 |
| 1996 | 11 327 | 2 669 | 8 658 |

To reverse the situation, the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security, in collaboration with the Tanzania Coffee Board, Tanzania Coffee Association, and Tanzania Coffee Growers Association (TCGA), established the National Input Voucher Scheme in 1997, financed by the European Union, under the export earnings stabilisation scheme (STABEX) funds.[65] This was a system whereby coffee farmers were given vouchers worth 4% of the value of the coffee they sold.[66] The coffee buyers had to include the voucher value of TShs.50 per kg ($0.075) in their coffee payments.[67] With the voucher system, coffee farmers were able to collect vouchers during the coffee sale and use it to buy inputs from agrochemical stores in the Mbinga township. Unfortunately, the voucher scheme did not last long. Most of the input distributors were situated in the township, while the majority of coffee producers lived in the remote villages with a poor transport system. As a result, a secondary market developed for vouchers whereby poor coffee producers sold their vouchers at a discount to the "well to do" coffee producers who could purchase the inputs from the distributors in town. The

[64] URT, *Ruvuma Region Socio-economic Profile*, (The Planning Commission Dar es Salaam & Regional Commissioner's Office Ruvuma, December,1997), 48.

[65] STABEX funding system was established in 1975 under Lome Convention and financed by the European Development Fund. It aimed at compensating the shortfalls on export products from Africa, Caribbean and Pacific states to European Community countries. STABEX was replaced by Cotonou Agreement signed in June 2000 (in Benin's city) by 78 ACP states and 15 members of European Union; J. Brun, et al., "Stabex versus IMF Compensatory Financing: Impact on Fiscal Policy", *Journal of International Development*, 13, (2001), 572.

[66] J. Baffes, "Tanzania's Coffee Sector: Constraints and Challenges", *Journal of International Development*, 17, (2005), 30.

[67] Sokoine University of Agriculture, Bureau for Agricultural Consultancy and Advisory Service (BACAS), Final Report on Coffee Baseline Report for Tanzania Coffee Research Institute, (2005), 21.

existence of the "black market" in the voucher system was coupled with the decline in the price of coffee on the international market, which accelerated scepticism among the coffee traders in the voucher system. One of the former agrichemical traders said, "I lost my two houses which I used as a collateral at National Microfinance Bank. The Government failed to refund our money as we presented the voucher. We were told the coffee price in the world market has declined."[68] As a result, the scheme was abandoned in 2000 and agricultural inputs had to be bought in cash.

The proliferation of private enterprises in the coffee industry in the Mbinga District during the 1994/95 coffee season, further endangered the continued existence of the MBICU. For instance, in the 1994/95 season, the district had a total of ten coffee buyers comprising of one co-operative union (MBICU) and nine private coffee buyers. Among the private enterprises, two were African-owned enterprises, namely *Shirika la Uchumi na Kilimo Mbinga* (SUKIMBI) translated loosely as Mbinga Economic Corporation and Dan & Associates Enterprises (DAE) Limited, while the remainder were foreign-owned enterprises. The two African-owned enterprises bought a total of 876 tons of coffee out of 8 800 produced tons in the Mbinga District, while the MBICU collected 1 800 tons of coffee (20% of the whole produce) as mentioned earlier.[69] Compared to other coffee-producing regions, the Mbinga District had more private coffee buyers than anywhere in Tanzania. For instance, the Mbeya region had four, Kigoma one, Arusha five and Kilimanjaro four private coffee buyers.[70] In the case of Arusha, for instance, in the 1994/95 coffee season, the five private coffee buying enterprises collected only a total of 647 476 kg compared to 2 174 983 kg of coffee collected by co-operative unions.[71] The main reason for the numerous private coffee-buying enterprises in the Mbinga District was the dominance of the smallholder coffee producers in the

[68] Interview with Kennedy Ismail, Mbinga Township, 26 December 2018.

[69] NRC, 589/CCD, MBICU (1989) Limited, a letter from the General Manager, MBICU, Ref. No. MBICU/Z.1/VOL.II/129, "Mashambulizi ya Mheshimiwa Nicodemus Banduka, Mkuu wa mkoa wa Ruvuma yanayohusu janga lililoipata Mbinga Co-operative Union Limited (MBICU) Kutokana na Biashara Huria ya Kahawa iliyoanzanza msimu wa mazao wa 1994/95" [Ruvuma Regional Commissioners' attacks on MBICU over the loss in 1994/95 season], 23 March 1995.

[70] *Ibid.*

[71] NRC, 553/KI/C40/34, Coffee Marketing, a letter from the Regional Development Director, Arusha, Ref. No. AR/Coop/C.40/8, "Ununuzi wa kahawa katika mkoa wa Arusha kwa msimu 1995/96" [Coffee marketing in Arusha region for the 1995/96 season], to Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture, Dar es Salaam, 5 February 1996.

district compared to other coffee-producing areas, such as Kilimanjaro and Arusha, where coffee estates were prominent. This factor, in tandem with the financial problems of the MBICU, paved the way for the private enterprises with capital to penetrate the coffee market in the district.

It was against the background of these experiences that the 1994/95 season was popularly referred to as “Mbinga mbinguni”, translated as “Mbinga is heaven” to both coffee producers and private coffee buyers. On the side of the coffee producers, the 1994/95 coffee season was regarded as a blessing since it was the first season in which they experienced the payment on the delivery system made possible by the introduction of the free-market system. It was well acknowledged by coffee producers, coffee buyers, as well as businessmen that the 1994/1995 season in the Mbinga District was like “heaven”. The coffee price recovered from its decline following the collapse of the International Coffee Agreement in 1989/90 and peaked in the 1994/1995 season. The 1994/95 higher prices were due to the negative impact of the bad weather (frost) on the production of the world’s largest coffee producer, Brazil, and the improvement of the quality of coffee produced in Tanzania. Figure 5 below demonstrates the increasing trend of the price of mild Arabica coffee.

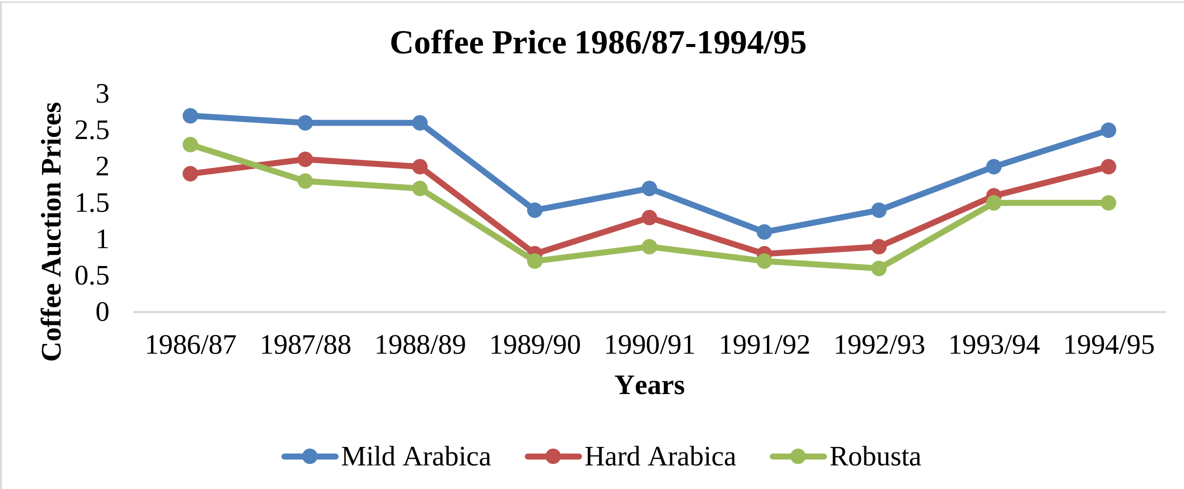


**Figure 5**: Average Coffee Auction Prices in Tanzania, 1986/87–1994/95 ($/kg)[72]

The free-market system encouraged efficient coffee buyers and eliminated the inefficient ones. To survive the competition, the co-operative unions had to reorganise and become as business and market-oriented as their competitors who were increasing their market share at an alarming rate. The deteriorating financial position of the MBICU forced them to adopt a variety of survival measures, such as rationalisation by closing down projects and retrenching staff, eradicating corruption and selling moveable and immovable assets in an attempt to stave off liquidation.[73]

In contrast to the "Mbinga Mbinguni" experiences of the coffee producers and private coffee buyers of the 1994/1995 season, the mid-nineties represented a continuation of the decline of the MBICU, characterised by a chronic shortage of capital for coffee marketing (buying). This shortage was compounded by the rapid loss of market share to the private coffee buyers. The 1996/97 coffee season was particularly bad for both the MBICU and the coffee producers who sold their coffee

[72] Modified from URT, Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Development, *Coffee Marketing Review 1993-94*, (Dar es Salaam: Marketing Development Bureau,1994), 22; Tanzania Coffee Board Office-Moshi, "Coffee Sales and Average Prices from 1980/81 to 2018/19".

[73] NRC, 589/CCD, MBICU (1989) Limited, Muhtasari wa mkutano mkuu wa mwaka wa nane uliofanyika tarehe 7 na 8 Desemba 1996 katika ukumbi wa mikutano wa MBICU hotel, "Maazimio" [Minutes of the 8th MBICU General Meeting, "Resolutions", 7 – 8 December 1996].

through the co-operative union (MBICU). The union was able to collect only 50 tons of coffee out of 6 000 tons produced in the district.[74] This followed on the decline of the previous season when they could only secure 2 500 tons out of 12 500 tons produced in the 1995/96 coffee season.[75] The union was immersed in outstanding debts to various companies, governmental institutions, and coffee producers, which necessitated drastic measures. MBICU projects, such as a hotel, bar, coffee estate, and forest were all operating at a loss. Some of the losses were the result of the presence of dishonest officials within the MBICU. For instance, there were reported cases of the loss of goods from the union's warehouses. The Board Director, Mr Peter Ndemiwaka, had been charged in the Mbinga Magistrate's Court for stealing 1 600 litres of Bravo coffee fungicides valued at TShs.11 200 000/- ($18 114.18).[76] As a result, he was suspended from the union board on 22 May 1996. Theft incidences by the co-operative officials accelerated the loss of trust from the co-operative members who were the coffee producers. The general manager of the MBICU was suspended on 8 August 1996 due to mismanagement of the co-operative resources.[77]

Furthermore, during the general meeting held from 7 to 8 December 1996, members agreed to shut down the transportation section of the union and to sell the vehicles. While announcing the tender for vehicle sales, the court issued a statutory warranty on the MBICU's properties. The court (at the village, district, and regional levels) ordered the claimants to take possession of some of the union's property as compensation for their claims. Some of the coffee producers were ordered to take some vehicles as compensation for their unpaid coffee sales as summarised in Table 18. Under the court order, Bora Brothers Court Brokers (based in Songea) and the Mbinga Urban Ward Executive Officer were allowed to hold and sell six vehicles to raise a sum of TShs.15 506 062.20

[74] *Ibid*.
[75] *Ibid*.
[76] NRC, 589/CCD, MBICU (1989) Limited, a letter from the Manager, MBICU, Ref. No. MBICU/CONF/P. I/34, to the Managing Director, Tanzania Coffee Board, TCB Board Director Mr Peter Ndemiwaka" 25 June 1996.
[77] NRC, 589/CCD, MBICU (1989) Ltd, A letter from the chairman-MBICU, Ref. No. MBICU/PFC/1/7, to Mr B.I. Hyera, "Kufukuzwa kazi kama meneja mkuu" [Dismissal as General Manager], 8 August 1996.

($26 633.56) for coffee producers and sales tax.[78] One vehicle was sold to Mbinga Coffee Curing Company on 14 February 1997 for TShs.11 006 062.20 ($18 904.26) for coffee sales tax to the Tanzania Revenue Authority (TRA).[79]

**Table 18*:*** Coffee Producers who were given MBICU's Property to Recover the 1995/96 debts[80]

| Name | Amount (TShs.) | Vehicle/Property |
|---|---|---|
| Adelina Komba | 3 997 800 | TZ 98435 Iveco |
| Otmar Komba | 670 000 | TZ 87861 Short chases |
| Timothy Komba | 1 419 700 | TZB 4057 Tractor |
| Osmund H. Ndomba | 1 166 600 | TZ 98416 Iveco |
| Aidon Kinunda | 1 554 428.20 | Photocopy Machine (MBICU/GM/CO/01) |
| Protas Kinunda | 5 971 000 | Lister generator KVA.15,5 No. 2327/08 & Compressor |
| Adrian Galus | 356 000 | Typewriter |
| Paul K. Mwingira | 5 567 550 | Building |

Note: 1$=Tshs.582.2 as per 1995 exchange rate.

Most of the union assets distributed to the claimants were not in good operating conditions, especially machinery, including vehicles, generators, photocopiers and typewriters. This was expressed by two of the claimants during oral interviews. They stated, "we were not satisfied with the compensation as it was not wealthy enough compared to our coffee sold. For instance, the lorry which I was given did not even move an inch. Consequently, I was forced to sell it for less than 2

[78] NRC, 589/CCD, MBICU (1989) Limited, a letter from Mbinga Agricultural Co-operative Union (1993) Limited, Ref. No. MBICU/C/3/16/200, to Attorney General, "kukamatwa kwa magari na mali ya chama kikuu cha ushirika Mbinga na Mahakama" [the Court holding of Vehicles and Properties of MBICU], 23 February 1997.

[79] Bora Brothers & Court Brokers sold the vehicle (Nissan Diesel No. TZD 4661) after the Kisutu Magistrate's order (Dar es Salaam) on 13 February 1997; NRC, 589/CCD, MBICU (1989) Limited, a letter from Mbinga Agricultural Co-operative Union (1993) Limited, Ref. No. MBICU/C/3/16/200, to Attorney General, "kukamatwa kwa magari na mali ya chama kikuu cha ushirika Mbinga na Mahakama" [the Court holding of Vehicles and Properties of MBICU].

[80] NRC, 589/CCD, MBICU (1989) Limited, a letter from Mbinga Agricultural Co-operative Union (1993) Limited, Ref. No. MBICU/C/3/16/200, to Attorney General, "kukamatwa kwa magari na mali ya chama kikuu cha ushirika Mbinga na Mahakama" [the Court holding of Vehicles and Properties of MBICU], 23 February 1997.

million ($3 435.24)".[81] This represents only the few coffee producers who had the courage to sue the co-operative union in court while the majority of coffee producers remained unpaid. The archival source shows that by the end of 1996, the MBICU had other accumulated unpaid debt of the second payments to coffee producers since the 1992/93 season, amounting to TShs.435 486 481/- ($704 328.77).[82]

The union also had a total workforce of 246.[83]These workers exceeded their capacity to pay salaries by far. Following the decision to close down the transportation section, the number of MBICU workers was reduced to 56 in 1997 (190 out of 246 were retrenched).[84] For instance, the retrenched staff consisted of 107 that were sent on leave, six suspended on fraud and theft charges, while the remainder were those with different disciplinary misconducts, including alcoholism.[85] The remaining employees serviced the remaining three projects and were distributed as follows: Central Office (22), the MBICU Hotel (27), Ugano Estate (7).[86] Despite these measures, it became apparent by 1997, that the MBICU could not service all its debts since its assets were less than its debt. The assets – the value of the goods in stock (agricultural inputs) was TShs.406 160 000/- and the total of outstanding debtors (co-operative societies) TShs.656 038 109/- amounted to TShs.1 062 198 109/- ($1 596 090.32). The liabilities amounted to TShs.2 343 760 000/- ($3 521 803.15). This left the MBICU short of TShs.1 281 561 891/- ($1 925 712.83).[87] Therefore,

[81] Interviews with Adelina Komba and Otmar Komba, Longa Village, 11 January 2019.
[82] NRC, 589/CCD, MBICU (1989) Limited, "Muhtasari wa mkutano mkuu wa mwaka wa nane uliofanyika tarehe 7&8 December 1996 katika ukumbi wa mikutano wa MBICU Hotel" [Minutes of the 8th Annual General Meeting held on 7 & 8 December 1996].
[83] NRC, 589/CCD, MBICU (1989) Limited, a letter from Assistant Registrar of the Co-operative Societies, Ruvuma region, Ref. No. UM/C/10/T.2/42, to the Registrar of the Co-operative Societies, Dar es salaam, Hali mbaya ya Mbinga Co-operative Union Limited [The economic crisis of Mbinga Co-operative Union Limited], 25 February 1997.
[84] *Ibid.*
[85] NRC, 589/CCD, MBICU (1989) Limited, "Muhtasari wa mkutano mkuu wa mwaka wa nane uliofanyika tarehe 7&8 December 1996 katika ukumbi wa mikutano wa MBICU Hotel" [Minutes of the 8th Annual General Meeting held on 7 & 8 December 1996]
[86] NRC, 589/CCD, MBICU (1989) Limited, a letter from Assistant Registrar of the Co-operative Societies, Ruvuma region, Ref. No. UM/C/10/T.2/42, to the Registrar of the co-operative societies, Dar es salaam, "Hali mbaya ya Mbinga Co-operative Union Limited" [The economic crisis of Mbinga Co-operative Union Limited], 25 February 1997.
[87] *Ibid.*

it was evident that the MBICU could not repay the debts even after selling all its movable goods and retrenching most of its staff. In March 1997, it was suggested that the liquidation of the MBICU (1993) Limited be considered as one way of rescuing its properties from creditors and misappropriation by dishonest officials.[88] As a result, the Ruvuma Regional Co-operative Officer (RCO) was appointed as custodian to seize MBICU property pending appointment of a liquidator.[89] The RCO was later appointed as a co-operative liquidator to supervise all the activities concerned with the MBICU that was liquidated in 1999.[90] The coffee producers in the Mbinga District, therefore, suffered a double blow in the 1999/2000 coffee season – the total collapse of the MBICU and the decline of coffee prices. The increase in the production of Robusta coffee with the emergence of new coffee-producing countries, such as Vietnam, led to a decline in the average price for Mild Arabica coffee from $121.80 per 50 kg in 1998/99 to $89.78 per 50 kg in 1999/2000.[91] By the late 1990s and early 2000s, most of the coffee co-operative unions in Tanzania were in financial crisis. Despite the government decision to cancel the accumulated co-operative debts in the early 1990s, the debt had risen to TShs.17.8 billion ($19 635 962.49) by 2001.[92] Most of the co-operative unions could not compete with private coffee buyers. For instance, the Kilimanjaro Native Co-operative Union (KNCU) in the Kilimanjaro region became insolvent in 2001.[93] The collapse of the MBICU, for the same reason, exposed coffee producers to the competitive terrain of the private coffee enterprises with no common voice to defend themselves.

[88] NRC, 589/CCD, MBICU (1989) Limited, a memo from the CCD (D.M. Mpuya), to the Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives, "Dokezo sabili", Hali mbaya ya Kiuchumi ya MBICU [MBICU Economic crisis], 13 March 1997.
[89] NRC, 589/CCD, MBICU (1989) Limited, a fax-0635-2005, from the Registrar of the Co-operative Societies, to the Regional Co-operative Officer Ruvuma, 19 March 1997.
[90] Interview with Henric Ndimbo, Manager-Mbinga Farmer's Co-operative Union (MBIFACU), 18 December 2018.
[91] Tanzania Coffee Board Office-Moshi, "Coffee sales and average prices from 1980/81 to 2018/19".
[92] F.F. Lyimo, *Rural Cooperation in the Cooperative Movement in Tanzania*, (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2012), 90.
[93] D. G. Mhando, "Conflict as Motivation for Change: The Case of Coffee Farmers".

### 5.5. A Title Without Power! Mbinga Farmers' Co-operative Union (MBIFACU), 2000–2015

The demise of the MBICU in 1999, gave birth to a new Mbinga initiative – the establishment of the Mbinga Farmers' Co-operative Union Limited (MBIFACU) on 14 August 2000.[94] The MBIFACU was formed to re-unite coffee producers as it was before the collapse of the MBICU. The main objective was to collect crops from producers and sell them to the auction. Due to a lack of enough capital to run the coffee-marketing process, the MBIFACU only started to engage in marketing 12 years later (2012). The MBIFACU initiative was introduced after the president of Tanzania (1995–2005), by then Benjamin Mkapa, appointed a special committee, herein referred to as the Presidential Special Committee of 2000, to investigate ways of reviving the declining co-operative unions in Tanzania. The committee found that most of the co-operatives were unable to compete with private operators in the liberalised economy due to a lack of funds. The rapidly decreasing membership of the unions was ascribed to a lack of opportunities for members to participate in and take ownership of the activities and affairs of the unions. Corruption, in the form of misappropriation of co-operative properties by dishonest union leaders, also played a role. The committee recommended the formation of the Co-operative Development Policy of 2002, which led to the enactment of the new Co-operative Societies Act of 2003.

Despite the intentions of the MBIFACU, they were unsuccessful in collecting coffee from the producers, primarily because of competition from the mushrooming private coffee buyers. The MBIFACU divided co-operative societies into five zones (Mahenge, Pilakano, Luwaita, KIMULI, and Malindindo) for coffee-marketing purposes. KIMULI withdrew from the MBIFACU in 2005.[95] Most of the co-operative societies became agents of private coffee buyers. In 2005, the government launched the "Cooperative Reform and Modernizations Program, 2005–2015" to overcome the

[94] MBIFACU, Taarifa ya MBIFACU Limited Msimu wa 2018/2019 hadi kufikia tarehe 28/12/2018" [The Report of MBIFACU Limited of the 2018/2019 season], 28 December 2018.
[95] Interview with Otmar Mbepera, Longa Village, 11 January 2019.

deficiencies and problems facing the co-operative movement.[96] The programme was focused on the need to establish co-operative societies that were economically viable, strong on governance, and in involving members.

Despite government reforms and initiatives, the MBIFACU could not turn the tide of a progressive decline in the share of the coffee production they were able to collect in the Mbinga District. In 2015/16, out of about 13 000 tons of parchment coffee produced in the Mbinga District, only 466 971kgs were sold through the MBIFACU. The quantity declined to 164 537 kgs and 130 165 kgs in the 2016/17 and 2017/18 coffee seasons, respectively.[97] This was due to the growing hegemony of the independent co-operative societies, farmer groups (pre-co-operative societies) and private enterprises that emerged during this period – a development that will be described in the following sections.

### 5.6. Smallholder Coffee Farmers in the Wake of Private Enterprises Hegemony, 2000–2015

The vacuum created in coffee-marketing mechanisms following the collapse of the MBICU, and the establishment of the ineffective replacement in the form of the MBIFACU in 2000, pushed smallholder coffee producers to depend on private coffee enterprises for coffee marketing. Although the collapse of the MBICU was expected to be a victory for private coffee enterprises, this was not the case in the Mbinga District. One of the reasons was the long historical experience of co-operative movements in the district since the 1930s that was not easy to eliminate. The co-operative nature, cemented with Ujamaa ideology from the 1960s, made smallholder coffee producers rely on "co-operatives" in the Mbinga District. As a result, two initiatives emerged after the demise of the MBICU, namely independent co-operative societies and farmer groups.

[96] URT, *The Cooperative Reform and Modernization Program (CRMP), 2005–2015*, April 2005.
[97] MBIFACU, "Taarifa ya MBIFACU Ltd Msimu wa 2018/2019 hadi kufikia tarehe 28/12/2018" [The Report of MBIFACU Limited of the 2018/2019 season], 28 December 2018.

Starting with independent co-operative societies, these were co-operatives operated independently from the co-operative union. Some co-operative societies were not satisfied with the newly formed co-operative union, since there was no sign of improvement in solving the persistent problems that existed in the former co-operative union (MBICU). As one of the oral accounts observed: "If the task of the co-operative union was to collect coffee and sell it to the auction, the co-operative societies can do the same without placing more burden to the coffee producers."[98] This implies that the co-operative union was seen as an intermediary in the coffee-market chain and, by omitting its operation, it meant the increasing of payment to the coffee producers. Other coffee-growing areas in Tanzania also experienced the emergence of independent co-operative societies. For instance, in the Kilimanjaro region, 22 out of 92 co-operative societies under the Kilimanjaro Native Co-operative Union (KNCU) became independent as in 2002/03.[99] Among the reasons for their emergence was a conflict of interest, including leadership positions, property ownerships and lack of financial transparency in the co-operatives. However, in the Kilimanjaro region, independent co-operative societies co-existed with the KNCU, while in the Mbinga District, they emerged after the collapse of the MBICU and "toothless" reign of the MBIFACU. In line with this, Daniel Jaffe stated that the collapse of the Instituto Mexicano del Café (INMECAFÉ) in Mexico in 1989, led to the emergence of independent co-operative societies.[100]

The emergence of independent co-operative societies was a response to a need for survival in a free and competitive marketing economy, in which coffee producers had to create a mechanism that could assist them in selling their coffee and improve their livelihoods. Under the independent co-operative society system, members agreed to sell their coffee through either auction or through the direct export system. This was made possible through the passing of the Coffee Industry Act of 2001, which allowed both private and co-operative societies to acquire a direct coffee export

[98] Interview with Ernest Komba, KIMULI Agricultural Marketing Co-operative Society, Utiri Village, 22 December 2018.
[99] D.G. Mhando, "Conflict as Motivation for Change: The Case of Coffee Farmers''.
[100] D. Jaffee, *Brewing Justice: Fair Trade Coffee, Sustainability, and Survival*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 50-55.

license. Later on, the Co-operative Societies Act No. 20 of 2003 allowed the operation of independent co-operative societies as section 16 sub-section (1) states, "…where a Primary or Secondary co-operative society is unable to join into a Secondary or Apex society, due to its nature and/or desire of its members, it may be allowed to become a member of the Federation".[101]

Furthermore, coffee producers were organised into groups commonly known as "Vikundi", literally translated as "farmer groups". Some farmer groups organised into networks at district level while others collaborated with private coffee enterprises or non-governmental organisations from within and outside Tanzania. In rare cases, farmer groups were even organised at family level, operating independently from the wider networks.[102] The network of farmer groups commonly known as *Mtandao wa Vikundi Vya Wakulima Mbinga* (MVIWAMBI), translated as "Network of Farmers' Groups in Mbinga", was formed in the Mbinga District in 2000. The network liaised within the nationwide network known as Mtandao wa Vikundi Vya Wakulima Tanzania (MVIWATA), literally translated as "National Network of Smallholder Farmers' Group in Tanzania".[103] Farmers' networks aimed to bring together smallholder farmers to defend their social, economic and political interests through a common voice. Through the MVIWAMBI, coffee producers were able to get inputs, agronomy training, and to sell their coffee to the auction without using co-operative unions. By 2015, the network operated a total of 57 farmer groups with about 2 000 members in total, engaging in multiple crops, in 50 villages in the district.[104] The network attracted financial support from the NGOs for buying and reselling the agricultural inputs to the members. For instance, in 2014, the MVIWAMBI acquired a loan of $80 000 from *Solidarité internationale pour le*

[101] The United Republic of Tanzania, *The Co-operative Societies Act No. 20 of 2003,* (2003).
[102] Interview with Festus Komba, Longa Village, 11 January 2019, the chairman of Kipiti farmers'group formed on 15 March 2010 by 12 family members.
[103] MVIWATA was registered in 1995 under Society Ordinance Act of 1954 and transformed into Trust Fund in 2000. Following the introduction of Non-Governmental Act of 2002, MVIWATA became a Non-profit private organization in 2007; www.mviwata.or.tz/annualreports Accessed on 28 March 2020.
[104] MVIWAMBI collapsed in 2017/2018 following the Prime Ministers' order of "single-channel coffee marketing system" that is through co-operative societies in the 2017/2018 coffee season; Interview with Suzo Komba, Mbinga, 8 January 2019.

*développement et l'investissement* (SIDI).[105] With the loan, the MVIWAMBI was able to start a pilot project on organic coffee farms with eight farmer groups in 2015. The idea was to be certified as organic coffee producers for direct export in the speciality coffee markets. Unfortunately, these projects did not materialise following the dramatic change in the coffee-marketing systems in 2017/2018 that forced all members of farmer groups to join co-operative societies.

The second category of farmer groups was formed in collaboration with the NGOs, including TechnoServe[106] or/and private coffee enterprises. For instance, in the Kilimanjaro region, in 2000, TechnoServe organised about 60 groups which later in 2001 formed the Association of Kilimanjaro Specialty Coffee Growers (AKSCG) using KILICAFE as a trading name. KILICAFE operated in two other regions, including Mbinga in Ruvuma and Mbeya. In 2002, a total of 22 farmer groups in the Mbinga District joined KILICAFE. By 2009, the TechnoServe KILICAFE program had 137 farmer groups (26 in Kilimanjaro, 35 in Mbeya, and 76 in Mbinga) with more than 11 000 smallholder coffee producers as members.[107] The major difference between the MVIWAMBI and KILICAFE was their access to the external markets. Unlike the former, KILICAFE was the first to operate in the direct export marketing system in 2004, whereby Peet's Coffee & Tea Company (US) bought about 23 000 pounds of Arabica coffee from KILICAFE.[108] Other coffee buyers included the Starbucks Coffee Company (US), List & Beisler (Germany), and Volcafé Limited (Japan). By 2010, KILICAFE had more than 200 farmer groups, among which 159 were in the Mbinga District.[109]

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[105] SIDI is a French NGO created in 1983, focusing on the provision of both technical and financial support to the marginalised in economic development through microfinance institutions, producer organisations and rural agribusinesses, and other entities that support community-based finance; www.sidi.fr/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/RA-2015-SIDI accessed on 28 March 2020.

[106] TechnoServe is a non-profit organization focusing on poverty reduction by linking people from developing countries to the capital and market opportunities. It uses the slogan "business solution to poverty"; www.technoserve.org.

[107] Interview with Wendo Suday, Project Manager, DAE Limited, 27 December 2018; He worked as an agricultural and business consultant with TechnoServe from 2010 to 2015; KILICAFE Business Plan and Report of Performance, 2009.

[108] TechnoServe, "Building a Competitive Coffee Industry in Tanzania" in www.technoserve.org accessed on 6 January 2020.

[109] Interview with Wendo Suday, DAE Limited, 27 December 2018.

The private coffee enterprises were also involved in farmer groups' agronomy training to transform the agricultural practices of coffee, which for many years were transmitted from one generation to another through family grooming. The practice of the intergenerational transfer of knowledge and skills in coffee production was confirmed in oral interviews with coffee producers. With the assistance of agricultural extension officers, coffee farmers were able to obtain knowledge on how to produce good coffee for the market. The training was enabled in partnership with various projects over time. For instance, between 2008 and 2011, TechnoServe initiated the coffee initiative programme in East African coffee-producing countries, including Tanzania, Rwanda, Kenya, and Ethiopia. KILICAFE participated in this programme. In 2012, the Coffee Partnership for Tanzania (CPT) was introduced in Tanzania and financed by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and three other companies, namely Ecom Agro-Industrial Corporation Limited, Armajaro, and Hans Neumann Stiftung, to the total costs of $25.5 million.[110] The project covered the period from 2012 to 2016. The project was implemented in all coffee-growing regions in Tanzania. Two private enterprises were involved in the Mbinga District since 2012, namely Tutunze Kahawa Limited and Coffee Management Services. DAE Limited was integrated into the program in 2014, targeting about 10 000 smallholder coffee producers in the Mbinga District.[111] The project aimed at increasing coffee production to alleviate poverty and improve the livelihood of smallholder coffee producers. During the CPT operations, DAE Limited focused on training coffee farmer's groups on how to process and market their coffee. The trained coffee producers were free to sell their coffee to any coffee buyer of their choice since there was no contract to bind them to the former. The determining factor was usually the price offered by each coffee buyer.

From 2001 to 2015, several co-operative societies were involved in selling coffee, both through an auction in Moshi as well as to direct exporters. KIMULI, Mahenge, and Luwaita AMCOS were the three foremost coffee-marketing societies involved with direct coffee export to various coffee

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[110] www.afca.coffee/wp-content/sites/2/2015/07/ian-lachmund-coffee-partnership-for-tanzania, accessed on 14 February 2020.

[111] Interview with Wendo Suday, DAE Limited, 27 December 2018.

roasters in European countries. The emergence of the direct coffee export system coincided with the growing global demands for the highest quality speciality coffee in the world. Most of the coffee buyers were interested in certified coffee – meaning coffee of which they could trace the origin. The most popular certification schemes included the Fairtrade Labelling Organisation (FLO), Rain Forest Alliance (RFA), UTZ, and 4C. The certification schemes enabled both coffee producers and buyers to meet some required standards as stipulated by each scheme. For instance, FLO focused on criteria such as environmentally sustainable practices, long-term contracts, public accountability and financial transparency, the guarantee of paying minimum prices and social premium prices, advance payments to producers, and democratic co-operatives.[112] The social premium price was an additional price paid to a co-operative society to urge/encourage them to commit to social development within a community.

It was difficult for smallholder coffee producers to penetrate the external markets. It necessitated them to develop a trading network with coffee-trading partners. This became a nightmare because for many years they had been operating through the co-operative unions and the Tanzania Coffee Board. As a result, only a few co-operative societies were able to break the barriers. From oral accounts, it appears that the few AMCOS operating in the direct coffee export market got support from non-governmental organisations, including churches. For instance, KIMULI and Mahenge AMCOS were connected to the external coffee buyers through Fr. Lucas Komba of Utiri Catholic Church in Mbinga Diocese working as a co-operator of the Mbinga Diocese Coffee Project.[113] This demonstrated that network connections with coffee roasters were essential for a mere coffee producer to get connected to the external market. Fr. Lucas Komba was able to link them to the German companies where he had lived and worked as a Reverend Father.

[112] D. Jaffee, *Brewing Justice: Fair Trade Coffee, Sustainability, and Survival*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 2.

[113] Interview with Ernest Komba, KIMULI Agricultural Marketing Co-operative Society, Utiri Village, 22 December 2018; Interview with David Haule, Managing Director-Marketing, Mbinga Coffee Curing Company (MCCCO) Limited, 3 January 2019.

Another challenge in securing a direct external market was the growing need for organic coffee certification in order to get access to speciality coffee markets. The process of certification required money which, in most cases, was challenging to raise.[114] The certification was to be done every three years while auditing was conducted annually. A society could be de-certified if it violated the certification standards. In the Mbinga District, by 2015, there were only two Fairtrade Certified Agricultural Marketing societies, namely KIMULI and Mahenge. The third AMCOS was Nambawala which operated in the current Nyasa District.[115]

The attraction of direct export and its accompanying certification system was the promise of higher coffee prices and thus higher income for coffee producers. The heightened expectations created by this "promise" was, however, not without its challenges. On the side of the coffee producers, there were numerous concerns about being underpaid compared to what has been promised as one of the advantages of the Fairtrade trading system. The experience of coffee farmers was that there was no correlation between the price of the premium quality coffee sold as "direct export" and the price paid to farmers. Farmers complained of being underpaid compared with the high grade of the coffee produced. From Mahenge AMCOS, one of the coffee farmers complained, "I used to work hard and make sure I produce a premium coffee, but I was paid the same amount as others. We have been told that our coffee has been sold directly to Germany in dollars, but we get paid in peanut shillings."[116] Lack of homogeneity in coffee grades has forced the co-existence of both Fairtrade and conventional marketing systems in the certified co-operative societies. This has partly been due to the co-existence of both home-processed coffee and Central Pulpery Units (CPUs). It was estimated that by 2010, about 90% of Tanzanian coffee was home processed.[117] One of the reasons for the higher rate of home-processed coffee was the weighing system at the CPUs, where five

[114] Although it was difficult to get the previous certification fee costs, the current (2019–2021) costs show that the actual fees increased from £2 120 to £2 600 (additional of £515 in 2020). From a private conversation with one of the Fairtrade coordinators (Mbinga), 20 March 2020.
[115] Interview with David Haule, (MCCCO) Limited, 3 January 2019.
[116] Interview with Linus Mapunda (not his real name), Mahenge Village, 24 January 2020.
[117] URT, *Tanzania Coffee Industry Strategy 2011-2021*, (Amended version), (Tanzanian Coffee Board and Tanzania Coffee Association, 2010), 15.

kilograms of cherry were equated to one kilogram of parchment coffee.[118] Therefore, 250 kg of cherry coffee sold at the CPU was equated to a 50 kg coffee bag of parchment. This caused an outcry among coffee producers in the Mbinga District because, according to their own weighing practices, it should be 68 kg parchment – a difference of 18 kg.[119] To get the premium grade coffee, required more effort in both production and processing stages. It is undeniably true that a well-supervised CPU-processed coffee will be of high quality. Hence, most of the certified coffee buyers prefer a CPU-processed coffee over home-processed coffee. This does not, however, mean that the homemade pulped coffees were necessarily inferior to the CPU-processed coffee when properly prepared. These weighing discrepancies and perceptions about homemade coffees led to Fairtrade certified co-operative societies being perceived as a continuation of the exploitation of smallholder coffee producers as previously was the case with the exploitative co-operative cartels.

The low prices paid to coffee producers was one of the reasons for the decline in the time and capital that coffee producers invested in coffee production. This, in turn, resulted in both low productivity and poor quality. The practice of paying an average price to all coffee producers, irrespective of the coffee grades produced, was one of the obstacles in fulfilling the coffee buyers' demand for higher grade coffee. One of the coffee producers complained that fair trade was not fair enough to pay each one in accordance with the grade of coffee produced. He contended, "how can you call it fair trade while I produced the premium coffee which was collected by the co-operative officials for direct export only to be paid the same price as the one sold in the conventional market?"[120]

Studies in Latin America has shown that coffee producers benefit from Fairtrade price premium when they can sell the entire Fairtrade produced coffee to the Fairtrade market.[121] When part of the Fairtrade-certified coffee was marketed to the conventional market by the co-operative societies,

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[118] Interview with Victor Akulumuka, Agricultural Field Officer, Tanzania Coffee Institute of Research (TaCRI)-Ugano Sub-station Mbinga, 4 January 2019.
[119] Interview with Fidelis Mapunda, coffee Liquorer, CMS Limited- Mbinga, 8 January 2019.
[120] Interview with Zabron Ndunguru (not his real name), Mahenge Village, 24 January 2020.
[121] V. Omidvar and K. Giannakas, "The effects of fair trade on coffee growers: a framework and analysis", *Agricultural Economics*, 46, Suppl. (2015), 29–39.

the coffee producers were paid an average price. Since most of the Fairtrade certified co-operatives in the Mbinga District could not produce enough high-grade coffee from their CPUs, individual producers have been involved.[122] Unfortunately, they have been excluded from Fairtrade premium prices simply because they did not sell through the CPUs.[123]

Despite criticism from the coffee producers of the operation of direct export and the underpayments, archival sources revealed a different picture. The statistics of the 2012/13 to the 2015/16 coffee season, demonstrated that the coffee sold directly as Fairtrade-certified fetched higher prices than auction-sold coffee. The Fairtrade-certified coffee was offered in three price categories, namely Fairtrade regular price, minimum price, and Fairtrade social premium prices. While the minimum price aimed at protecting producers from market-price fluctuation, the social premium prices aimed to assist community development, such as school construction, road maintenance, water supply, and health-service improvement. Using Mahenge AMCOS as an example of the Fairtrade-certified co-operative societies, during the 2012/13 coffee season, a total of 38 400kg of clean (cured) coffee valued at $170 496 was sold. The Free on Board (FoB)[124] price was $222.00 per 50 kg compared to the regular Fairtrade price of $199.954, Fairtrade social premium price of $26.45, and Fairtrade minimum price of $185.186.[125] The average price for the mild Arabica coffee sold at the auction in Moshi was $156.27 per 50 kg, a difference of $43.684 from the Fairtrade regular price.[126]

However, the coffee producers at Mahenge AMCOS did not realise the Fairtrade price in two years, 2012/13 and 2013/14, due to the payments through a "pool system". In this system, all payments from coffee sold through auction and direct export were pooled together, and producers were paid

[122] Mahenge Agricultural Marketing Co-operative Societies (hereafter AMCOS) Limited, "Hoja za FLO" [FLO's Outlines]; Mahenge AMCOS, Minutes of the Co-operative Board, "kukiri kutekeleza hoja za FLO" [admitting to implementing FLO outlines], 28 February 2014.

[123] Interview with Zabron Ndunguru (not his real name), Mahenge Village, 24 January 2020.

[124] Free on Board (FoB) meant the coffee exporters (individual farmer, farmer groups, co-operatives, or private coffee buyers) were responsible for transport costs from the warehouses to the shipping ports. While Free on Transit (FoT) coffee exporters were not responsible for the transport cost from the warehouses to the shipping port.

[125] Mahenge Agricultural AMCOS Limited, Tax Invoice No.001, 25 April 2013; Mahenge AMCOS Limited, "Permit of Direct coffee export" Ref. No. TCB/QP/E.340, from TCB to Mahenge AMCOS, 20 February 2013.

[126] Tanzania Coffee Board Office-Moshi, "Coffee Sales and Average Prices from 1980/81 to 2018/19".

an average price. The price was TShs.4 000/- [$2.3/kg].[127] The AMCOS maintained the same producer price to the members for three years, regardless of the changes in sales price or the real exchange rate. For instance, in 2015/16, the Fairtrade regular price was $4.3/kg [TShs.8 600/- for the exchange rate of 1$ = TShs.2 000/-] while the producer price was $2/kg.[128] This was different from the CMS as a private coffee company working with certified farmer groups. Coffee producers were paid a pooled price that resulted from direct export only, and that ranged from TShs.4 800/- to TShs.5 200/- per kg [$2.4 to $2.6].[129] The low producer price created a sense of mistrust between co-operative members and officials to the extent that some decided to sell their coffee to private companies, while others withdrew from coffee production. Despite the complaints by coffee producers of being underpaid for direct export certified coffee, it was still a better option in terms of market prices compared to auction-sold coffee. For instance, in 2015/16, when the coffee industry experienced the lowest price compared to the previous seasons, the FLO-certified coffee price was $4.3/kg while the non-certified coffee price was $2.6/kg.[130]

On the other hand, DAE Limited worked with farmer groups on the marketing aspect by assisting them in certifying their coffee under the Rain Forest Alliance from 2012.[131] As a result, 26 farmers' groups from the Mbinga District and one from the Nyasa District received certification. Apart from working with certified coffee groups, DAE Limited was also involved with 22 non-certified coffee farmer groups.[132] In its efforts to improve coffee production and quality, the DAE Limited embarked on the construction of CPUs in various villages. In 2006, two CPUs were constructed in

[127] Interview with Pius Kinunda, Mahenge Village, 24 January 2020.
[128] Interview with Pius Kinunda, Mahenge Village, 24 January 2020.
[129] Interview with Suzo Komba, CMS Limited-Mbinga, 8 January 2019.
[130] Tanzania Coffee Board Office-Moshi, "Coffee sales and average prices from 1980/81 to 2018/19"; Mahenge AMCOS Limited, Coffee Sales from 2012/13 to 2015/16 coffee seasons.
[131] Rain Forest Alliance (RFA) was introduced in 1993 and supported by the United Nation Development Programme and Global Environmental Facility. It involved certification of both smallholder and estate coffee producers. It integrated agricultural production, environmental conservation and human development; it emphasis on the conservation of natural trees species as shade trees in coffee farms; R. Ruben and P. Hoebink (eds.), *Coffee certification in East Africa: Impact on Farmers, Families, and Cooperatives*, (Netherlands: Wageningen Academic Publishers, 2015), 29.
[132] Interview with Wendo Suday, DAE Limited, 27 December 2018.

Mundeki and Wukiro Villages. The number of CPUs increased to 60 in 2015. Therefore, the enterprise was selling to both auctions and as a direct exporter. The major coffee buyer was the Schluter SA Company based in Switzerland and the United Kingdom.[133] Figure 6 shows the amount of coffee sold through direct export, compared to the coffee sold at the auction from 2011/12 to 2015/16.

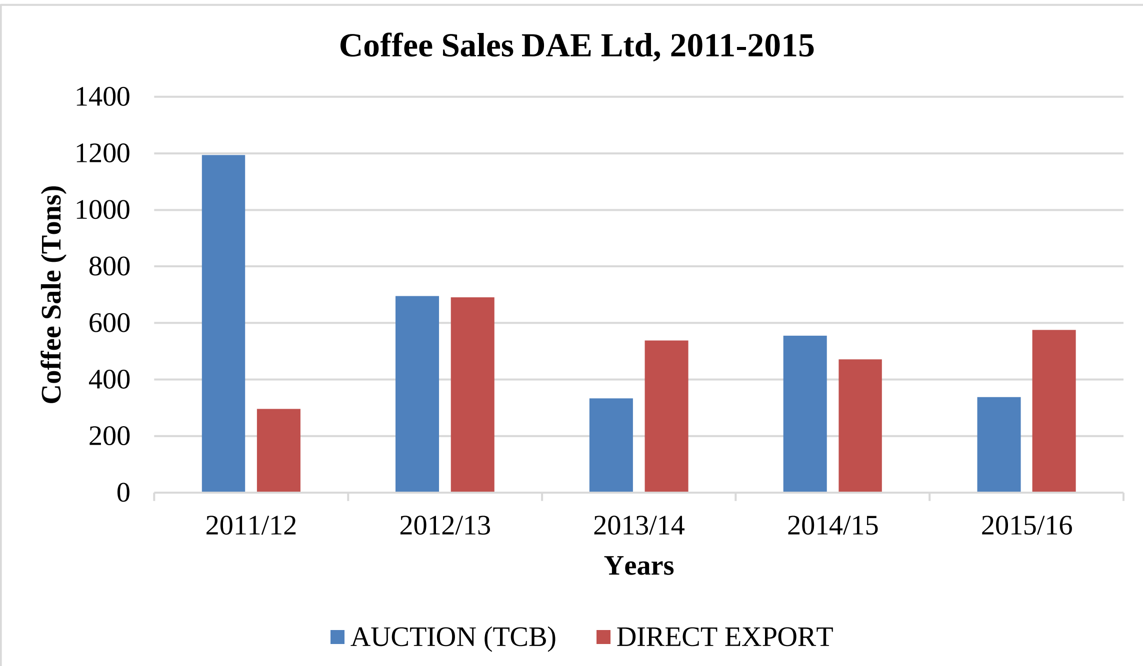


**Figure 6:** Coffee Sales DAE Limited, 2011–2015[134]

The figure shows the increasing volume of direct export from 2012 due to the adoption of coffee-certification schemes. The certification of farmer groups to the Rain Forest Alliance and Coffee and Farmer Equality (CAFE) standards in 2012 and 2013, respectively, increased the direct export

[133] Dan & Associates Enterprises Limited, "Coffee Sales, 2011-2015".
[134] *Ibid*.

coffee markets. On the other hand, this could be attributed to the increasing number of CPUs of which 28 out of 60 were supported by the CPT from 2012 to 2016.[135]

## 5.7. Mbinga Coffee Curing Company Limited (MCCCO) vs Private Coffee Enterprises, 1995–2015

The impact and dominance of the private coffee enterprises in the Mbinga District also manifested in other sectors of the coffee industry, such as the coffee curing sector. Most of the curing factories in Tanzania were owned jointly by the co-operative unions. Before 1995, the government, through the TCB, fully owned both the Mbozi and Mbinga coffee curing factories in Southern Tanzania. From 1995, coffee producers who contributed 70% for the construction of the factories owned 56.54% of the shares through 28 co-operative unions, while the government through the Tanzania Coffee Board owned 43.46%.[136] By 2015, in terms of shares, this translated into the co-operative unions owning 727 750 shares valued at TShs.727 750 220.20 ($352 250.83), while the government owned 559 321 shares valued at TShs.559 321 531.50 ($270 726.78).[137] The presence of the state in the co-operative-owned factory was an obstacle to free and fair competition in the coffee industry.

There was a direct link between the existence of the co-operative unions and the operation of the co-operative-owned coffee curing factories. The collapse of co-operative unions held dire consequences for the curing factories and threatened their collapse. The coffee curing companies had to diversify their functions within the coffee section, beyond their primary task of curing coffees, in order to survive in the free-market economy. The MCCCO Limited further diversified their functions after a decision made during the 1996/97 season, namely, to engage in coffee buying (cherry) from the smallholder producers in the 1997/98 season.[138] This initiative was expanded into

[135] Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, *Coffee and Prosperity A Perfect Blend: The Coffee Partnership for Coffee in Tanzania, Final Report*, (2017), 51.
[136] MCCCO, Taarifa ya Kampuni ya Kukoboa Kahawa Mbinga kwa Mkuu wa Mkoa wa Ruvuma Bilnith Mahenge [a Report of MCCCO Limited to the Ruvuma Regional Commissioner], 30 September 2016.
[137] *Ibid*.
[138] NRC, 589/CCD, MBICU (1989) Limited, Kumbukumbu ya kikao cha kamati ya bodi ya wakuregenzi wa kiwanda cha kahawa Mbinga, kuhusu mradi wa ununuzi wa kahawa ya maganda kilicho fanyika tarehe 31-01-1997 kwenye

the Lake Nyasa Coffee Traders (LANCOT) project covering both the Mbinga and Nyasa Districts. The initial objective of LANCOT was to raise more income for the company by buying and selling coffee at the auction in Moshi. The project came at a time when Soochack Bush Limited was constructing a private curing factory in the district.[139] They focused on the construction of ten coffee wet mills – generally known as CPUs between 1997 and 2002 – in Manzeye, Mbuji, Maganagana, Luwaita, Ilela, Mapera, Lukanzauti, Langiro, Mkoha, and Kipapa to improve coffee quality.[140] Among the private coffee buyers in the Mbinga District, Soochack was the only buyer who could pay coffee producers the second instalment when the price was good in the external markets. Agricultural inputs were distributed to the coffee producers on credit to be deducted during coffee sales. During its operation, they freely distributed coffee seedlings from the nurseries developed in every CPU to the coffee growers. However, Soochack factory operated for a two-year period (2001 and 2002) before transferring the ownership to LIMA (T) Limited that operated it to the 2014/15 season. Soochack ended their coffee-buying business following the suspension of the license of "foreign-owned" enterprises to buy coffee from producers in the 2002/03 season. This created an opportunity for a co-operative-owned factory to get more coffee to process while denying the majority of the smallholder coffee producers the opportunity to trade with a foreign-owned company such as Soochack.

Further product diversification followed in 2004 and 2007. In 2004, LANCOT subsidised the production of ground coffee under the brand name Mbuji.[141] In 2007, the first instant coffee was

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ukumbi wa MBICU hotel [Minutes of the meeting of the committee of directors of the MCCCO Limited on the Coffee-Buying Project, 31 January 1997 at MBICU hotel].

[139] Interview with Suzo Komba, Assistant Branch Manager and Coffee Producer, Coffee Management Services Limited (CMS), 8 January 2019. The curing factory was constructed between 1999 and 2002 later in 2003 was inherited by the LIMA Coffee Company Limited to 2013 and then the CMS up to date (2020).

[140] Interview with Angelus Kinunda, DAE Limited, Mbinga, 27 December 2018, an Agricultural Officer formerly working with Soochack Bush (T) Limited (2000-2003), LIMA (2003-2007), and from 2008 to date working for DAE Limited.

[141] The coffee culture in Mbinga was characterized by low consumption and mainly production for export. Most of the coffee producers linked coffee drinking with heart related diseases, and upper-class lifestyles. MCCCO had to embark on creating awareness among coffee producers on coffee consumption. Interview with David Haule, Marketing Manager, MCCCO Limited, Mbinga, 3 January 2019.

produced, namely Mbinga Cafe. Ground coffee (Mbinga Cafe) was processed by the MCCCO. The processing of the instant coffee was done by the Tanganyika Instant Coffee Company (TANICA) situated in the Kagera region, while the packaging took place in the Mbinga District.[142] Due to the lack of the machinery necessary for producing instant coffee, the MCCCO could not counter this instant coffee diversification. The construction of private coffee curing factories by private coffee-buying companies, therefore, posed a greater threat to the existence of the co-operative-owned factories.

In 2006/07, the MCCCO constructed a minor curing factory in Makambako (MCCCO LTD-Makambako Branch), equipped with staff, quarters and warehouses. The branch aimed to process coffee collected from Songea, Ludewa and Kilolo -Iringa. The operation turned out not to be cost-effective because the mentioned areas could not produce enough coffee. In 2016, the factory, warehouses and quarters were rented to Aviv (T) Limited who operated the coffee estate at Lipokela in the Songea District.[143]

Apart from coffee buying and curing, the MCCCO also participated in the Central Pulpery Unit operations at Ngaka, Kitumbalomo, Lituru, and Makumbukira under Fairtrade certification from 2011 to 2014. With the support of the MCCCO, these CPUs were able to participate in direct coffee export. Eighty per cent of the income went to the coffee producers, and 20% went to the MCCCO.[144] The project did not last long due to a failure to pay the certification fee in 2014/15, which marked the end of certification in those co-operative-owned CPUs. The participation of the MCCCO Limited in the marketing of coffee with the co-operative-owned CPUs created some tension between the smallholder coffee producers on the one hand and the MCCCO officials on the other. Coffee producers were complaining about the lack of transparency of the information regarding coffee sales, and one producer declared:

[142] *Ibid.*
[143] Interview with Festo Chang'a, the Finance & Administrative Manager, MCCCO Limited, Mbinga, 3 January 2019.
[144] *Ibid.*

> Those people [MCCCO officials] were not working for the interest of a smallholder producer as they claimed. In 2013, we did not get our second payment after the coffee export and we were told that our coffee was in poor quality full of defects to get money from the external coffee buyers.[145]

The evident tension manifested in open protest when the coffee producers from the Ngaka CPU blocked the Litembo road at Kindimba village for one of the MCCCO officials[146] and demanded an explanation as to why they had not been paid.

Despite these tensions and complaints by smallholder coffee producers and the declining percentage of the total annual coffee curing handled by MCCCO (as demonstrated in Figure **7**), the company remained vitally important in the Mbinga District despite the competition from other coffee curing companies. Due to the lack of consistent statistics from other curing companies, Figure 7 shows the MCCCO Limited coffee curing trend concerning coffee production in the Ruvuma region from 1997 to 2015.

[145] Interview with Astery Kapinga (not his real name), Kindimba village, 9 January 2019.
[146] *Ibid.*

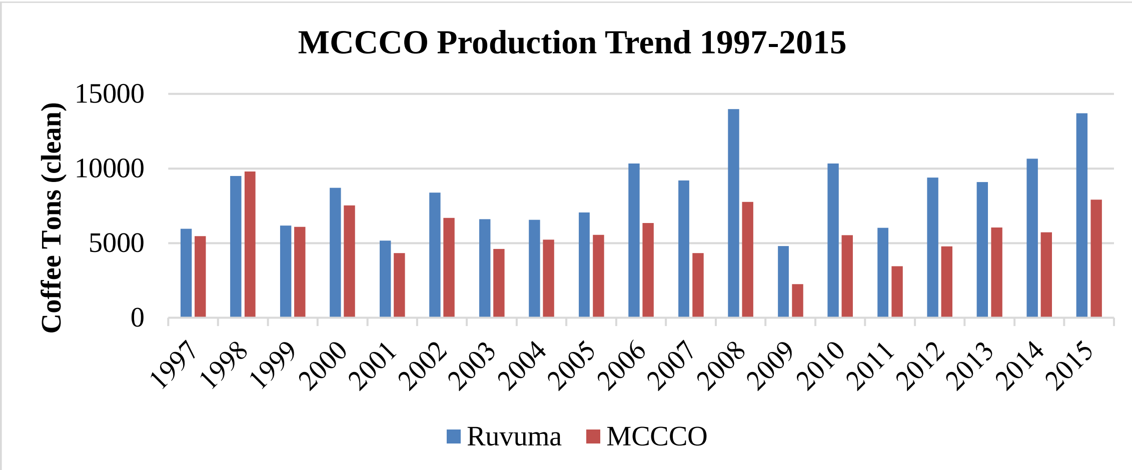


**Figure 7**: Coffee Curing Trend at MCCCO Limited, 1997–2015[147]

From the statistics in Figure 7, one sees that the coffee curing processes in the MCCCO decreased following the increasing numbers of private coffee curing companies. The Soochack Bush coffee curing factory started operation in 2000. The decline became alarming in 2009. One of the reasons was the establishment of the DAE Coffee Curing Factory to increase the number of coffee curing factories in the district to three. It secondly reflects the decline in coffee production following the 2008/09 coffee boom in Tanzania in which a total of 68 576.703 tons were recorded.[148] This created competition in coffee processing and saved time, hence coffee from Mbinga was able to reach the auction without delay. The DAE Coffee Curing Factory had the capacity of processing six tons of coffee per hour, but due to the competition and partly due to underproduction, the factory rarely reached that capacity.[149] Apart from the coffee curing factory, the enterprise also engaged in the coffee-roasting business producing "DAE instant and ground coffee" for the internal market.[150] To counter the underproduction of the factory, the enterprise had 35 hectares of coffee farms established in Linda village.[151]

[147] Data collected from Tanzania Coffee Board, Moshi, 2018 and MCCCO Limited, Mbinga, 2019.
[148] Tanzania Coffee Board Office-Moshi, "Coffee sale and Average Prices from 1980/81–2018/19".
[149] Interview with Alex Tweve, Manager-DAE Coffee Curing Factory, 27 December 2018.
[150] *Ibid*.
[151] Interview with Happy Komba, Director-DAE Limited, 27 December 2018.

State intervention was one of the challenges facing private enterprises in coffee marketing in Tanzania. The government, through the TCB, had the power to issue and suspend the coffee-buying licenses whenever they found it necessary. However, the state monopoly created an unpredictable licensing system. For instance, in the 2000/01 season, licenses of private traders were suspended in the Kagera region. The aim was to assist the co-operative unions to repay loans acquired from the CRDB Bank.[152] This caused a similar demand from all co-operative unions in the country, including the Mbinga District. Although it was implemented in the Kagera region for only two seasons (2000/01 and 2001/02), it created fear among the private coffee buyers at the domestic level. Uncertainty about their licenses made them wary of expanding their businesses and distributing agricultural inputs to the coffee producers on credit because of the apparent risk of losing their money. Aware of what happened in Kagera, the government took different measures in the Mbinga District in the 2002/03 coffee season by suspending the licenses of "foreign-owned" enterprises from buying coffee from producers. As a result, some of the enterprises limited their involvement to coffee processing, while others decided to leave the district and invest somewhere else. For instance, Soochack Bush (T) Limited ended their coffee buying businesses and sold the curing factory to LIMA Limited. Tchibo Estate (T) Limited that operated in the district for three years (1999–2002), decided to continue with estate-coffee production in Kilimanjaro and Kikuyu Kenya.[153] However, in 2005, the foreign-owned enterprises were licensed to participate in domestic coffee marketing.

On the other hand, the numbers of "locally-owned" enterprises were not economically viable compared to the "foreign-owned" enterprises.[154] The financial uncertainty created amongst traders undermined the long-term commitments and network development that created the conditions for

[152] J. Baffes, "Tanzania's Coffee Sector: Constraints and Challenges", 35; S. Ponte, "The Politics of Ownership".
[153] Interview with Suzo Komba, Assistant Branch Manager and Coffee Producer, CMS Limited (CMS), 8 January 2019. From 2003 to 2005, he was taken to supervise coffee estates in Moshi, then in Kikuyu-Kenya for two years.
[154] One of the conditions for the application of the coffee-buying license was for the applicant to have paid-up capital of not less than TShs.30 million; URT, *The Coffee Industry Act, (Cap 347), Regulations, 2013, Government Notice No. 385*.

the fly-by-night nature of coffee traders. As a result, most of the local enterprises became agents for foreign-owned enterprises. Although the number of private coffee enterprises in the Mbinga District increased from nine in 1994/95 to 30 in the 2015/16 season, the DAE Limited was the only private enterprise that had been able to maintain its involvement in coffee marketing over this period. A range of companies such as BAM Contractors (T) Limited, DAE Limited, LANCOT under the MCCCO, GOMEES, YODA Co. Limited, LUKITI Trading Company, Mhekela Trading Company, and IMAGE Co. Limited operated under these conditions. Most of the enterprises had no permanent premises/address as offices. As a result, it created chaos and confusion for coffee producers as they did not know whom to trust as most of these enterprises only appeared during the marketing seasons. From this experience, therefore, smallholder coffee producers found themselves in a dilemma. The marketing system did not guarantee their future coffee economy.

## 5.8. Conclusion

This chapter has explored the struggle and survival strategies deployed by the actors in the coffee industry in the Mbinga District from the 1990s to 2015. The struggle within co-operative unions to cope with the competition from private enterprises resulted in their decline. As a result, the smallholder coffee producers had developed marketing strategies by developing independent co-operative societies and farmer groups. As this chapter has argued, the coffee producers regarded the co-operative union as an exploitative intermediary. The formation of independent co-operatives and farmer groups was the strategy to improve coffee income by minimising deductions. The interventions of the NGOs and private enterprises made some of the smallholder coffee producers realise their potential by growing speciality coffee markets while most of the producers were marginalised. Instead of liberalisation levelling playing fields for all coffee actors, it turned to be a pitted and selective process.

The chapter adds to the debate on the role of the state in the coffee economy. It extends the debate focusing on the competition between co-operatives, smallholder coffee producers, and private coffee enterprises in the Mbinga District. While the existing literature shows the failure of a wholly liberalised market as due to state interventions through its regulatory bodies, this chapter shows that apart from regulating the coffee industry, the state was also a co-owner of the co-operatively owned coffee curing factories. The chapter used the "coffee statecraft" concept by Gavin Fridell[155] who explored the role of the state in the coffee industry during the coffee crisis but did not incorporate the private enterprises in the coffee-marketing system. Furthermore, this chapter has added to the contention of Stefano Ponte[156] who discussed the "politics of ownership" and how the state decisions to protect "local companies" in the domestic coffee market had made some private enterprises develop affiliated companies to maintain their coffee-buying licenses. The politics of ownership also turned some of the "local companies" into agents for the "foreign companies". Finally, this chapter concludes that, due to the limited transparency in financial operations and democratic participation in the coffee chains, the participation of private enterprises in the coffee industry does not lend itself to providing benefits to the smallholder coffee producers. Smallholder coffee farmers have remained passive participants in decision making in the marketing system. The lack of smallholders' voices left them to produce what they could not bargain for in both internal and external markets as long as the private enterprise remained the main actor

[155] G. Fridell, "Coffee statecraft: Rethinking the Global Coffee Crisis, 1998–2002", *New Political Economy,* 19, 3, (2014), 407-426.
[156] S. Ponte, "Politics of ownership".

# Chapter Six

## "Is Coffee a man's crop?": Women and Coffee Production in Mbinga District, Tanzania, c. 1920-2015.

### 6.1. Introduction

Traditionally, in most patriarchal African societies, the land is owned by men. As such, women have been considered as food producers for household consumption while men have been regarded as the breadwinners. Coffee production has been customarily considered as a "man's crop". Consequently, women's participation in smallholder coffee production has been given less attention in the current scholarship. Globally, women have been engaging in the coffee economy in the production, processing, and exporting in the context of paid and even unpaid labour. Women are estimated to provide 70% of labour in coffee production in the world.[1] Despite their roles in coffee production, women are, compared to men, often excluded when it comes to coffee proceedings and decision making. However, this chapter argues that customary patriarchal practices among Matengo coffee producers, and the colonial and the postcolonial states have shaped the roles of women in the production and marketing of coffee in the Mbinga District. It further argues that, notwithstanding the scale of production, the role of women in the coffee economy cannot be underestimated. Consequently, women's responses varied from compliance to ambivalence. This chapter explores the women's role in coffee production in the Mbinga District with a particular focus on production and marketing between the 1920s and 2015. The chapter does not involve a substantial theoretical debate on gender issues in economic development; rather it maps out the women's involvement in the coffee economy and their responses to the changes in the Mbinga District between 1920 and 2015. It uses archival sources and oral interviews. The study found that women's participation in the coffee economy has been shaped by historical forces ranging from the cultural norms and practices to colonially contrived historical circumstances. As a result, women

[1] International Trade Centre (ITC), "Women in Coffee", *International Trade Forum* 3&4, (2008), 32-33.

have been regarded as passive actors in the coffee economy throughout the colonial period and only became visible during the postcolonial period.

Furthermore, this chapter addresses the role of women in coffee production and marketing. It commences with a historiographical conversation on women's role in the coffee industry in Africa, with particular focus on Tanzania. Combining the seminal approaches by economist Gavin Fridell's "coffee statecraft" framework,[2] and anthropologist James Scott's "weapon of the weak",[3] this chapter examines the changes and continuities of the role of women in the Mbinga District over time. The following sections discuss the accessibility of agricultural education and coffee markets over an extensive period, focusing on the legal and cultural constraints on women's participation in the coffee market from 1920 to 2015, and discussing women's access to and participation in production, marketing and co-operative societies. It demonstrates women's 'coffeescapes' of resistance to the control of the coffee proceeds over varying social and political episodes.

### 6.2. Historical Overview of African Women in the Coffee Industry

Studies on African women farmers have attracted scholars from different disciplines, including anthropology, economics, history, gender and development studies. However, until the 1960s, African women were less visible in economic activities. Most of the studies (mostly by anthropologists) regarded women as wives and mothers who took care of the family. The roles of women were embedded in the description of kinship, marriage customs, fertility rituals and domestic labour. In agricultural aspects, women were associated with food production, preparation (cooking), storage and control.[4] Although these scholars show the women's participation in

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[2] G. Fridell, "Coffee Statecraft: Rethinking the Global Coffee Crisis, 1998 – 2002", *New Political Economy*, 19, 3, (2014), 407- 426.
[3] J.C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance,* (London, Yale University Press, 1985).
[4] A.I. Richards, *Hunger and Work in a Savage Tribe: A functional Study of Nutrition among the Southern Bantu,* (London: G. Routledge, 1932); A.R. Radcliffe-Brown & D. Forde, (eds.), *African Kinship and Marriage,* (London: Oxford University Press, 1950).

agricultural activities, their perspectives were dominated by the colonial bias regarding pre-colonial African societies as "savage".

From the 1970s, more scholars started to focus on women participation in economic activities, including agriculture, trade, arts, and industry. Most of them were influenced by Ester Boserup,[5] and her study on the role of women in economic activities. By analysing "female farming", she argued that women make a more significant contribution to African agriculture than men.[6] However, Boserup focused on economic separateness in which women were regarded as food-crop producers while men were the cash-crop producers. According to Boserup, women were more independent under the shifting cultivation system, while the transition to permanent agriculture caused the decline of women's participation in agriculture.[7] The decline was associated with the introduction of technology, such as the plough replacing the hand hoe. However, some scholars emerged as a critique to Boserup's work, specifically on the decline of women's status. For instance, Jane Guyer,[8] focusing on female farming and food production in southern Cameroon, shows the flexibility and resilience of women on migration and polygynous marriage in the 19th century, colonial agriculture, and the production for the urban market in postcolonial Africa. Candice Bradley (1990) associates technological innovation, such as ploughs and tractors, with the increasing weeding of the workload on women's side as it maximises the size of acreage per household.[9] Despite the criticism, Boserup's work has remained a crucial work on researching women's role in economic activities.

The idea of categorising crops into gendered terms as "women's or men's" crop has attracted scholarly debate from different disciplines. This chapter draws on the work of Paul Sillitoe,

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[5] E. Boserup, *Women's Role in Economic Development*, (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1970).
[6] E. Boserup, *Women's Role in Economic Development*, (with new Introduction by N. Kanji, Fei Tan and C. Toulman), (London: Earthscan, 2007), 4.
[7] E. Boserup, *Women's Role in Economic Development*, (1970), 32.
[8] J.I. Guyer, "Female Farming and the Evolution of Food Production Patterns Amongst the Beti of South-Central Cameroon", *Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 50, No. 4, (1980), 341-356.
[9] C. Bradley, "Women Weeding and the Plow: A Comparative Test of Boserup's Hypothesis", *African Urban Quarterly*, Vol. 5, No.3/4, (1990), 188-196.

anthropologist, who studied the division of crops by using gender categories of *wiy* (women) and *hae* (men) in the New Papua Guinea.[10] Sillitoe's work demonstrated different crops produced separately by either men or women and those produced by both in a Wola community of the highlands of New Papua Guinea. Men were producing "erect plant" crops such as banana and sugarcane that were regarded as strong, masculine and important. On the other hand, women's crops were "creeping", such as tobacco and hibiscus and regarded as weak and unimportant. Beans and maize were some of the gender-neutral crops attended by both men and women. Sweet potato was a creeping crop but was considered a man's crop because it formed the main/staple diet of the community. From this division, Sillitoe argued that "the *wiy/hae* status and its attendant considerations give added meaning and strength to sexual planting distinctions."[11] Since people cannot survive without sweet potatoes, it was evident that "women are the producers and men the transactors".[12] This chapter draws on the idea of masculinity and manhood to examine the role of women in coffee production in the Mbinga District. However, women have been portrayed as victims of the system because, despite their dominant role in production and participation in marketing, the perception still persists that coffee is a man's crop and domain. The practical reality, however, paints a different picture.

This chapter also draws on the work of Gisela Giesler,[13] a social scientist who questioned the validity of conceptualising cash and food-crop production along gender lines by using maize production in Eastern Zambia from the 1960s when the hybrid variety of maize was introduced. The two crops were produced side by side using family labour. Maize was used as both food and cash crop. Therefore, she argued that "what separated food crop from cash crop had in fact nothing to do with the nature of the crop or with gender division of labour, fields, or land, but with what

[10] P. Sillitoe, "The Gender of Crops in the Papua New Guinea Highlands", *Ethnology*, Vol. 20, No. 1, (Jan., 1981), 1-14.
[11] *Ibid*., 11.
[12] *Ibid*., 13.
[13] G. Geisler, "Silences Speak Louder Than Claims: Gender, Household, And Agricultural Development in Southern Africa", *World Development*, Vol. 21, No. 12, (1993).

appeared to be a gender division of control."[14] This was determined by the part of the crop appropriated by the head of the household (male). Giesler's analysis is useful to this chapter as the way of mapping out the women's role in coffee production and marketing with a specific focus on the control over the coffee proceeds. With this analysis, this chapter will explore the co-existence of both men and women as coffee producers in the Mbinga District. However, Giesler's study focuses on the neutral crop that can either be sold or consumed while this chapter will focus on coffee as mainly for export.

This chapter further draws on the work by Martina Padmanabhan, who investigated the relationship between the gender division of labour and access to the cultivation of crops in Northern Ghana.[15] In assigning a new crop to a specific gender, Padmanabhan used the cultural idea of a "proper meal" whereby women had to bring soup ingredients while men brought the staple food.[16] Staple food included maize and millet. The introduction of cash crops, such as improved cowpea and onion, created a need for the use of agrochemicals. Men secured the cowpea cultivation because of their cultural knowledge of medicine. Women were against chemical sprays due to their association with spiritual power and the danger of being accused in causing death so to be accused as witches.[17] Consequently, women were excluded, while men dominated the newly introduced crops. Padmanabhan's research, on negotiation between men and women over the new crops, focused on the producer's context by focusing on customs while neglecting external forces, such as the power of the state in promoting the gender division of labour for the newly introduced cash crops. Drawing from Padmanabhan's study, this chapter extends the debate by including other forces in the inclusion or the exclusion of women in a new cash crop.

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[14] *Ibid*., 1970.

[15] M.A. Padmanabhan, "The making and unmaking of gendered crops in northern Ghana", *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 28, (2007), 57–70.

[16] *Ibid.*, 61.

[17] *Ibid*., 65.

Furthermore, Alastair Orr et al.[18] has attributed the naming of the crop to the value of the crop to the market. In the eastern province of Zambia, cotton has been regarded as men's crop because of the high market price it fetched. On the other hand, groundnut was regarded as women's crop due to its low value. However, in 2007, the Eastern Province Farmer's Cooperative was formed to buy and sell groundnuts.[19] Men were invited to operate shelling machines. The machine increased the value of groundnuts. As a result, men developed an interest in groundnuts. The commercialisation of groundnuts created conflict over the control of the groundnuts, in other words, whether it was "women's crop" or "men's crop". In essence, it was the "gender division of control" for which they were fighting. This case study shows the limitation of naming a crop in a gendered way. The study was silent on the response of women when cotton fetched high prices. However, this chapter will show the women's resistance in the Mbinga District on the male dominance over the coffee proceeds in the 1990s.

Drawing from Sillitoe, Padmanabhan, Giesler and Alastair Orr et al., this chapter wants to go beyond the dichotomy of "men's and women's crop" since the naming of the crop depends on how a particular society interacts with the crop. For this case, the Mbinga District presents different cultural settings in which coffee has been produced. There was a cultural framework that allowed some women, albeit a few, to make inroads into carving their niches into the men's domain. These included polygynous marriages and honorary males.[20] Moreover, changing political economies also presented women with other opportunities, including the ability to resist male dominance. Therefore, the men's-crop-women's-crop argument must not be overstated.

Coffee production is a labour-intensive activity. It involves much manual labour, and its calendar runs throughout the year, so women play an equally significant role in this economy. Globally,

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[18] A. Orr et al., "What do we mean by women's crop? Commercialization, Gender and Power to name", *Journal of international Development*, 28, (2016), 919-937.

[19] *Ibid*., 922.

[20] Honorary males were women who were given the status of a man by performing activities believed to be man's activities. It started as a mockery to unmarried women who performed "man's tasks" being referred to as *dume jike* (male daughter) but with their independent economic power, they regained a respectful status. Interview with Josephina Komba, Kindimba Village, 9 January 2019.

women have been engaging in the coffee economy in production, processing, and exporting. In some cases, they have played an important role in political revolutions through associations and unions.[21] Also, they have been performing unpaid labour, and even when paid, they earned less than men. Despite their role in coffee production, women are often excluded when it comes to producing benefits and decision-making. Heather Fowler-Salamini's study in Veracruz, Mexico, shows how women were paid lower wages than men. Women were paid the average of fifty centavos per day, which was half as much as male workers earned at the turn of the 20th century.[22] Another example was in the coffee plantations in Ceylon (Sri Lanka) in 1850, where women workers were paid half the men's salary.[23]

Furthermore, Elizabeth Dore's study in Nicaragua explains how patriarchal authority was exercised through the debt-peonage system whereby cash was received in advance and in return, one had to work in coffee estates during the harvest season.[24] Through the debt-peonage system, men could use a wife and children as a peonage when signing up the contract with the coffee-estate owner. On the contrary, women were not allowed to receive cash and sign contracts without their husbands' permission.[25] However, Dore's study exclusively focused on the coffee estates where labourers were employed. This chapter focuses on smallholder coffee production within the family context and the different ways in which female labour was used. Although labour relations were similarly oppressive to women in Mbinga, they found a variety of ways to manoeuvre or even undermine the system.

The decline of the coffee economy in African coffee-producing countries in the 1980s and 1990s created gender conflict over economic control. Studies show that societies were experiencing

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[21] H. Fowler-Salamini, "Women Coffee Sorters Confronting the Mill Owners and the Veracruz Revolutionary State, 1915–1918", *Journal of Women's History*, 14, 1, (2002), 34-63.
[22] *Ibid*., 38.
[23] R. Kurian, "Labor, Race, and Gender on the Coffee plantations in Ceylon Sri Lanka, 1834–1880", W.G. Clarence-Smith and S. Topik, (eds.), *The Global Coffee Economy*, 181.
[24] E. Dore, "Patriarchy from above, Patriarchy from Below: Debt Peonage on Nicaragua Coffee Estates, 1870 – 1930", W.G. Clarence- Smith and S. Topik, (eds.), *The Global Coffee Economy*, 209-235.
[25] *Ibid*., 230.

changes in the role of women and men in coffee production and marketing. For instance, Patrick Mbataru[26] focused on Nyeri, Kenya and argues that "although the introduction of coffee made women's role in the domestic economy of coffee society redundant, it is their traditional expertise in production that women readily reformulated to support their families after the coffee economy declined in the 1990s."[27] With no money from coffee sales, men became unable to provide for the family. Women were able to obtain money from grain, garden and dairy farming and became "new men". Similarly, in the Santa region of Cameroon, coffee production, which was the primary source of family income, was the men's occupation.[28] However, the 1980s economic liberalisation affected some changes in the male dominance of cash crops by allowing women to own land (even by uprooting coffee trees due to low prices) and carry out the commercialisation of food crops. On the contrary, in Tanzania, in the Kagera region, men who were operating on the banana-coffee farms, started to produce horticultural products on land tilled formerly by women.[29] This chapter draws from these experiences in showing how women in the Mbinga District, despite their already referred to manoeuvring, failed to exert as much control and alter men's hold over the coffee economy despite the economic crisis.

Furthermore, this chapter draws from Margareth Msonganzila,[30] who focuses on the participation of women in co-operative societies in Northern Tanzania in the 1980s. The study examines whether women-only or mixed co-operatives were able to empower women and free them from their subordinated status. Evidence suggests that women preferred the women-only co-operatives to the integrated ones. However, women-only co-operatives were mainly in the activities that were traditionally regarded as "women's work", such as dairy farming, grain mills, and vegetable gardens. Although Msonganzila's study focuses on Northern Tanzania (Kilimanjaro region), it is

[26] P. Mbataru, "Women in the coffee society: the case of Nyeri, Kenya", *Etudes Rurales*, 180, (2007), 101-115.
[27] *Ibid*., 103.
[28] C.L. Forje, "Economic Crisis helps to 'demarginalize' women", *Development in Practice*, 8, 2, (1998), 212.
[29] A. Tibaijuka, "The cost of Differential Gender Roles in African agriculture: A Case Study of Smallholder banana-coffee farms in the Kagera region, Tanzania", *Journal of Agricultural Economics*, 45, 1, (1994), 69-81.
[30] M.R. Msonganzila, "Women and co-operatives in Tanzania: Separatism or Integration?", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 29, No. 44, (Oct.29, 1994), WS86-WS96.

useful to this chapter because it shows how the women-only co-operative model failed to empower women. This chapter draws from Msonganzila's work to examine women's participation in coffee co-operative societies in Southern Tanzania, where women-only co-operatives were non-existent between the 1920s and 2015.

African coffee-producing countries have recently participated in various "sustainable" coffee production programmes, including Fairtrade, Rain Forest Alliance, and Utz Certification, that put more emphasis on the empowerment of women. Eveline Dijkdrenth[31], Annamerie Groot Kormelinck,[32] and Felix Meir zu Selhausen[33] examined the participation of women in the coffee co-operatives in Kenya, Ethiopia, and Uganda, respectively. In these three countries, women faced challenges in becoming members of a co-operative since one of the criteria was that of owning land. Social and cultural norms have placed land ownership in a man's dominion, and this has contributed in cementing men's monopoly over the co-operatives. However, the three studies focus on the co-operative level and, more specifically, after the introduction of coffee-certification programmes. Thus, such studies have paid little attention to the historical involvement of women in coffee production in different historical periods. This study traces the historical forces that shaped women's role in the coffee economy in the Mbinga District.

Studies have shown that in the Mbinga District land is owned by men and the division of labour on both food and cash crop are harmoniously divided. The coffee cultivation supports the *ngolo* system to remain economically viable.[34] Nives Kinunda focused on the negotiation of women farmers'

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[31] E. Dijkdrenth, "Gender Equity Within Utz Certified Coffee Cooperatives in Eastern Province, Kenya", R. Ruben and P. Hoebink (eds.), *Coffee certification in East Africa: Impact on Farmers, Families, and Cooperatives*, (Netherlands: Wageningen Academic Publishers, 2015), 205-234.

[32] A.G. Kormelinck, "Back to Birthplace of the Bean: Women's Bargaining Position and trust in Ethiopian coffee co-operatives", R. Ruben and P. Hoebink (eds.), *Coffee Certification in East Africa*, 235-257.

[33] F.M. zu Selhausen, "What determines Women's participation in collective Action? Evidence from Western Ugandan Coffee Cooperative", *Feminist Economic*, 22, 1, (2016), 130-157.

[34] The *Ngolo* system is an indigenous cultivation method in the Matengo Highlands. It involves slashing grasses after which the dry shoots are gathered up in lines forming a grid on the field that is then covered with topsoil in a square "pit system". It is used for food-crop farming; J. Itani, "Evaluation of an Indigenous Farming system in the Matengo Highlands, Tanzania, and its sustainability", *African Study Monographs*, 19, 2, (1998), 67.

labour between women farmers, state, and society.[35] Although Kinunda's study shows the historical dynamism of women farmers' labour-power in the southern highlands of Tanzania in various historical epochs, it focuses more on women's general labour-power with little emphasis on cash crops. However, this chapter explores the role of women in coffee production with a specific focus on their involvement in production and marketing from the 1920s to 2015. It contributes to the literature on understanding women's role in the coffee industry that challenges the notion that coffee is a man's crop.

### 6.3. "*Kahawa ya kaka*!": Women, Expansion and Coffee, 1920s–1960

As mentioned in Chapter Two, in the late 19th century, Arabica coffee was introduced in the northern province by the European missionaries in the Kilimanjaro area (Kilema and Kibosho mission stations). The African chiefs were among the first coffee growers. The initial introducers of coffee farming used traditional leaders in persuading the people to accept this crop. Africans easily adopted cash-crop production due to the role that traditional leaders played. For instance, Sawaya Mawalla, a counsellor of the chief of Marangu, started coffee cultivation in 1900, and Joseph Merinyo, the son of the Chief of Moshi started coffee plantings in 1907.[36] The political leaders were among the first coffee producers in the Songea District in both Ungoni and Umatengo (current Mbinga District) in the 1920s. Examples in this regard are Nkosi Zulu of Ndirima who had 40 coffee trees in Ungoni in 1928/29; Nkosi Mbonani who had 40 coffee trees planted in 1928/29; Nduna Kapungu who had 36 coffee trees in 1928/29; Nduna Nassoro of Mkwera (20 coffee trees), and Chrisostomus Makita in Umatengo (550 coffee trees).[37] Chrisostomus Makita, the son of the chief of Umatengo, was the first African to cultivate coffee in the Matengo highlands in 1926/27.[38]

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[35] N. Kinunda, "Negotiating Womens' Labour: women farmers, state and society in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania, 1885–2000", PhD Dissertation, Goettingen University, (2019).

[36] J. Iliffe, "Agricultural change in Modern Tanganyika", *Historical Association of Tanzania*, 10, (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1971), 29.

[37] TNA, 504/9/8, Coffee, from District Agricultural Officer, Songea, to the Senior Agricultural Officer, South Eastern Circle, Lindi, 1935.

[38] Interview with Denis Ndunguru, Myangayanga village, 20 December 2018; He is the grandson of Chief Christostomus Makita.

Makita persuaded the court elders, his relatives, and schoolmates to venture into cash-crop coffee farming. Apart from political leaders, the returning migrant labourers were also among the earliest coffee growers in the Matengo highlands. Coffee seeds were first given to the leaders and influential people to demonstrate to the rest of the Africans. Evidently, men were the first coffee producers in the Mbinga District in this period. As a result, by 1929, the Mbinga District had eight coffee growers (men), of which six were in Myangayanga and two in Lipumba villages.[39]

By the 1930s, the Mbinga District experienced the expansion of coffee production. The colonial government, through the Department of Agriculture, initiated the "Grow More Crops Campaign" as a response to the impact of the Great Depression of the 1930s.[40] By 1935, the number of African men who had coffee trees increased to 230 men, and they had planted 17 551 coffee trees.[41] Archival sources reveal that only men received coffee seeds. At this stage, women formed part of the household workforce on the coffee farms since the men represented a household. The success of "selling" coffee production as a cash crop can be described, among others, to the portrayal of coffee as a man's crop that needed detailed and constant attention – something that could be given only by men. One of the conditions before the issue of coffee seeds or seedlings was that a new grower was supposed to be a permanent resident in the area and that the proposed site of both nursery and plantation had to be approved by the Department of Agriculture.[42] Consequently, women, by virtue of the fact that they were to be married, were not regarded as permanent residents and their participation in coffee farming was hindered. Women were expected to get married and join their husbands on their coffee farms. The establishment of a coffee farm by unmarried women was considered as wastage of resources. Women were stereotyped as being incapable of managing coffee farms. Conversely, boys were allowed to have their coffee plots adjacent to their fathers'

[39] TNA, 504/9/8, Coffee, from District Agricultural Officer, Songea, to the Senior Agricultural Officer, South Eastern Circle, Lindi, Coffee in Songea, 1935.
[40] TNA, H1/21527, Cooperation between Agricultural Department and Provincial Administration, from the Chief Secretary, Dar es Salaam, Ref. No. 13044/162, to all Provincial Commissioners, 21 November 1932.
[41] The 1935's coffee growers list shows they were all men. TNA, 504/9/8, Coffee, Coffee in Songea.
[42] Tanganyika Territory, *Department of Agriculture Annual Report of 1935*, (Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer,1936), 73.

coffee farms, even before the age of eighteen as training for adulthood. The reason was to assist them (boys) through *kahawa ya kaka* (brother's coffee) to get experience with coffee-production practices before the age of eighteen when they could become independent coffee producers.[43] Possession of a coffee farm was considered an important aspect for a man, before marriage, among the Matengo community in the Mbinga District. It was essential training for such young men for obtaining breadwinner status – one of the criteria of whether a man would be capable of taking care of his family.

However, the introduction of coffee led to the development of new social constructs among the Matengo people. Before the advent of the coffee economy, cattle were used for the bride price. To get cattle, one had to exchange items such as iron hoes and grains for cattle from the Nyasa lake shore. The introduction of coffee replaced the barter system with cash. Coffee was a means to or source of cash which elevated it the symbol for "manhood".[44]

The question of who should be given the coffee seeds, was also influenced by land ownership, access, and control. During the pre-colonial period, land, which is the major means of production, was owned by the clans and controlled by the clan heads. The head of a clan was the guardian of the people's land and gave permission for the exploitation of unused land. Individuals acquired land through inheritance which was passed along patrilineal lines. Following the Imperial Decree of November 1895, during the German colonial period, all land, whether occupied or not, was treated as owner-free crown land vested in the Empire.[45] The customary law of land ownership for Africans dominated the British colonial period.[46] The power to decide who and how to use land had made

[43] Interview with Pilmin Lupogo, Kindimba Village, 9 January 2019. He established his first coffee farm when he was 15 years of age next to his father's coffee farm in 1949 while his sisters were not allowed to have their coffee farms.

[44] Y. Komba, "The Impact of Coffee Production on the Socio – economic Status of the People of Mbinga District, 1950–1990", MA Thesis, University of Dar es Salaam, (2014), 97.

[45] United Republic of Tanzania (URT), *Report of The Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Land Matters, Vol.1, Land Policy and Land Tenure Structure*, (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1992), 8.

[46] During British colonial rule, under 1923 Land Ordinance, all lands, whether occupied or unoccupied were declared as "public lands". Governors were empowered to dispose of land either to native or non-native by way of grants of right of occupancy of up to 99 years since the indigenous population occupied land under customary law; The

men into becoming the owners of the economic crops, such as coffee. Marjorie Mbilinyi termed this male domination the "internal gender struggle". This term examines how men and women responded to the changes that were taking place in the political economy as they struggled over incomes, labour-power and decision-making in the society while trying to defend their integrity.[47] With the introduction of coffee in the Mbinga District, men gradually withdrew from food-crop production and concentrated on coffee production.

Women were considered food producers, not only in the Mbinga District, but also in other coffee-producing areas. In Bugufi, Ngara district, in the 1930s, men moved to Uganda as migrant labourers on coffee and cotton farms. Women had to take care of the coffee farms as well as producing food crops. The Agricultural Officers commented that "the large exodus of men from the district has thrown the burden of coffee work on the women, and this way adds to be difficult in the production of economic crops since it is unwise to allow such work interfere unduly with the all-important production of adequate food crops".[48] Despite being branded as part of the "men's crop", coffee farming inordinately made use of women's labour-power, especially as the migrant labour system moved the male population out of the villages as is demonstrated by this quotation.

In addition, colonial education, especially the impartation of agricultural knowledge and skills, cemented the exclusion of women from coffee production. In 1935, the Agricultural Department established coffee demonstration nurseries in the Mbinga District, placed under Native Authorities. Agricultural training in coffee-production practices was provided in both government and missionary schools. Gardens in which pupils learnt seed selection, planting, spacing, pruning, and other coffee-production practices were established at these schools. In the same year (1935), Roman Catholic missionaries established coffee nurseries at 12 schools and 200 seeds were issued to each

United Republic of Tanzania (URT), *Report of The Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Land Matters, Vol.1, Land Policy and Land Tenure Structure*, (1992), 13.

[47] M. Mbilinyi, "Analysing the history of agrarian struggles in Tanzania from a feminist perspective", *Review of African Political Economy*, 43, sup1, (2016), 118.

[48] TNA, 197/5/3/333, F.H. Brett, agricultural Assistant Ngara to Senior Agricultural officer Mwanza, 1 June 1937.

school.[49] These nurseries were subject to the Native Authority Rules and under the control of the Department of Agriculture. Most of the schools up to the late 1930s were more for boys than girls. One of the reasons was the conservative attitude of high-ranked church leaders towards education for girls. Abbot Gallus Steiger, for example, commented that girls should be instructed in practical skills for their future role as housewives and mothers.[50] Women domesticity was based on Victorian notions of family life and gender roles rooted under "civilised domesticity" in the second half of the 19th century. Elsewhere, missionaries and settlers in colonial Natal encouraged black African men to work on settler farms while women were used for domestic work.[51]

The problem with this method of training was that the number of girls enrolled in schools during the colonial period was low compared to boys. Therefore, the knowledge of how to cultivate coffee could not easily reach girls. Other difficulties with this method had to do with the lack of trained agricultural teachers. This caused insufficient planning and supervision of the school farms, and the syllabuses lacked flexibility. During the colonial period, only a few Africans in Tanganyika had access to education. This was confirmed by a breakdown of 1933 school-enrolment figures: 51% were Europeans, 49% Asians and only 1.84% Africans.[52] The situation was far worse for African girls, especially as these schools were primarily set up for sons of chiefs and headmen.[53] These were the students who eventually took up leading roles in coffee farming. For instance, Chrisostomus Makita, the son of the Matengo paramount chief, pioneered the introduction and expansion of coffee

[49] Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture 1935*, 73.
[50] L. Doerr, O.S.B., (ed.), *Peramiho 1898–1998 in the Service of the Missionary Church*, *Vol. I*, (Ndanda- Peramiho: Benedictine Publisher, 1998), 191.
[51] J. Martens, "'Civilised domesticity', Race and European attempts to regulate African marriage practices in colonial Natal, 1868–1875", *The History of the Family*, 14:4, (2009), 340-355.
[52] J. Listowel, *The Making of Tanganyika*, (London: Chatto and Windus, 1965), 113.
[53] Tanganyika, *Annual Report of the Provincial Commissioners on Native Administration for the year 1930*, (Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1931), 45-46. From 1946 to 1960, agricultural education was included in the primary and middle-school syllabuses with the aim of giving simple instruction and demonstration in agriculture; TNA, 504/P/P/D/SON, Agricultural Policy, "Middle School Farm and Primary School Shambas", a letter from the Director of Agriculture, Dar es Salaam, Ref. No. P/P/SP, to the Principal Agricultural Officer, Southern Province, Mtwara, 16 May 1957.

production in the Mbinga District. Makita was educated by Benedictine's missionary schools that enabled him to be trained as a colonial clerk.[54]

Education through co-operative societies engendered the exclusion of women from playing a decisive role in coffee farming. Archival sources show that women were less involved in the agricultural training. During the colonial period, men were able to acquire scholarships through their primary co-operative societies for co-operative studies within and outside the country. In April 1933, the Ngaka Coffee Co-operative Society sent two men, namely Hendrich Limka and Karistus Kayuni, to Moshi to be trained as an agricultural assistant and senior African instructor, respectively. The government provided a grant-in-aid of £90 for the one-year training.[55] They were trained on matters concerning coffee, such as the choice of land, seeds, preparation of nurseries, the recommended spacing between plants, lining out, holing, shade planting, compost pits, manuring, capping, topping, pruning and handling, insect and pest control and the timetable of seasonal work. They also learned about the work of African associations in the marketing of coffee. In 1954, Ngaka Coffee Co-operative Society paid Shs.2 500 (£125) to the KNCU Coffee School for Boys (June 1954/55).[56] They also sponsored one student from Mhagawa to attend the KNCU Coffee school in 1954/55 at the expense of Shs.1 200 (£60).[57]

Agricultural broadcasts and magazines emphasised modern farming of different crops in the late 1950 and early 1960s. The Department of Agriculture prepared agricultural talks in schools as a method of instruction. In 1956, two series of talks on agricultural methods at middle schools (one of six and the other of eight periods) were prepared for inclusion in school broadcasts prepared by

[54] J. Iliffe, "Agricultural change in Modern Tanganyika", *Historical Association of Tanzania*, 10, (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1971), 22.

[55] TNA, H5,11908/Vol. II, Coffee Growing by Natives: Songea District, from the chief Secretary, Dar es Salaam, to the Provincial Commissioner-Lindi, 30 January 1933.

[56] NRC, 532/265/D, Matengo Native Co-operative Union Limited, Ngaka Coffee Growers Co-operative Society Limited- income and expenditure 1954/55.

[57] NRC, 532/265/D, Matengo Native Co-operative Union Limited, Mhagawa Coffee Growers Society Limited Estimates 1954/55.

Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation.[58] They used an agricultural magazine known as *Ukulima wa kisasa* (modern agriculture) to disseminate this message. The magazine focused on simple success stories by describing the farmer and the profit he made from his farm. Also, the magazine was used for the publicity of the co-operative movement. The radio program was also employed to educate farmers. For instance, the program called *Maarifa ya Ukulima* (agricultural knowledge) was broadcasted initially once a week for half an hour and later reduced to a quarter of an hour twice in a week.[59] The program consisted of two parts: the first part comprised of news and interviews collected all over the country, and the second part was a serial play entitled *Mzee Simba* (Mr Lion) describing the day-to-day activities of the average farmer.[60]

One of the serial plays featured an Agricultural Officer and *Mzee Simba*, who visited Umatengo for a day trip. The script describes how *Mzee Simba* and the Agricultural Officer visited Mr Tobias, a coffee grower. The visitation enabled the Agricultural Officer to teach and advise Mr Tobias on good agricultural practices.[61] The survey, popularly known as the "Wilson Report", conducted by the colonial government to determine the impact of the program, found that about 76% of men between the age of 24 and 35 were interested in the radio program.[62] Women were less interested in the radio program, primarily because its broadcasting schedule clashed with their other activities. During the interview, one woman complained, "in my twenties (1950s) father used to listen *Maarifa ya Ukulima* while my mother and I were in the kitchen preparing the evening meal".[63] The composition of the characters excluded women, and as a result, the play was perceived as focusing on men's work and coffee considered as a man's crop. These broadcasts, the magazine, and the

[58] Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture for 1956, Part I*, (Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1957), 39.
[59] Tanganyika, *Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operative Development: Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture, 1960 Part I*, (Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1961), 21.
[60] *Ibid*.
[61] TNA, 504/P/PR/UKU, Agricultural Broadcasts: Maarifa ya ukulima, a play script from Agricultural Field Officer, Department of Agriculture, Songea, Ref. No. P/PR/BC, to The Director of Agriculture, Tanganyika Department of Agriculture, Dar es Salaam, "Maarifa ya Ukulima", 18 May 1959.
[62] Tanganyika, *Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operative Development: Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture, 1960 Part I*, (Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1961), 25-26.
[63] Interview with Josephina Komba, Kindimba Village, 9 January 2019.

schools through the way they disseminated their knowledge to men, portrayed coffee and its production in a gendered way.

### 6.4. "Whose coffee?" Women in Coffee Production in Mbinga District during the Colonial Period.

Coffee producers in the Mbinga District experienced the price falls during the 1930s due to low demand for coffee in the world markets barely a decade after the farming of the crop had been started. For instance, the coffee price in the Mbinga District declined from 53 cents per kilogram in 1936/37, and 50 cents in 1937/38 to 40 cents for Grade 1, and 36 cents for Grade 2 in 1938/39.[64] The declining income from coffee production called for crop diversification. The colonial government in 1938, through the Department of Agriculture, encouraged coffee growers to diversify their economy.[65] Low coffee prices reduced the men's capacity to make money. As a result, women were forced to compensate for the loss with various strategies. One of the strategies was the adoption of non-agricultural activities, including basketry, pottery, and selling local brews.

The economic depression and tax demands imposed by the colonial states forced people into the migrant labour economy in the northern, coastal, and eastern provinces. The majority of migrant labourers were men. Life was more difficult for women during the Great Depression. The wages paid to migrant labourers or the return from the agricultural produce was not enough to support the family life. For instance, wages for sisal workers went down from Shs.18/- to Shs.36/- before 1929, to Shs.10/- to Shs.12/- during the slump.[66] The increasing number of male absentees brought about an increased burden on women in the Matengo Highlands. The women had to continue growing food crops to feed themselves and their children. The upkeep of the family became difficult. The government was requested to assist in preventing men from being absent from their wives for a

[64] TNA, 155/CO-OP.27/II, Ngoni Matengo Co-operative Marketing Union Limited, NGOMAT Coffee Agency as of 31 March 1939.

[65] TNA, H5/19904, Marketing of Coffee, from the Chief Secretary to the government, Dar es Salaam, to all Provincial Commissioners, 3 March 1938.

[66] W. Rodney, "Political Economy of the Colonial Tanganyika, 1890–1930", in M.H.Y. Kaniki (ed.), *Tanzania under Colonial Rule*, (London: Longman, 1980), 149.

period longer than that agreed upon among the elders. The customary laws gave some sense of security to men over women. The laws guaranteed the return of the full bride price in case of a divorce.[67] Adultery and divorce cases were mainly handled by the council of elders, commonly known as *wajenga kaya*.[68]

Labour migration also accelerated marriage disruption in other areas where labour was recruited, such as in Ungoni (Songea) and Unyakyusa (Mbeya). Native authorities were responsible for dealing with the desertion problem using customary laws. In the Ngoni courts, the stipulation was three years as the maximum period for a woman to get a divorce from the deserted husband and eighteen months in the Nyakyusa courts.[69] The 1930s Great Depression increased both social and economic pressure on women. Socially, the society demanded them to remain faithful to their absent husbands, while economically, they were required to produce enough food for the survival of their family and to generate an income.

During the Second World War, the Tanganyika territory experienced a shortage of labour to the point which it became necessary to introduce conscription. The Secretary of the State gave the sanction to meet the labour requirements of the industries producing war priority crops, including sisal. The number of absent men in the Songea District (including the Matengo Highlands) during wartime (either for employment in the estates or military services) was about 23% of the taxpayers between the age of 18 and 38.[70] Most of the migrant labourers conscripted for the sisal estates were

[67] Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Reports of Provincial Commissioners on Native Administration for 1931*, (Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1932), 57; Interview with Edward Ndunguru, Myangayanga, 20 December 2018, the son of Matengo Sub-chief Magnus Ndunguru of Myangayanga under chief Makita (the 1940s); Magnus left his pregnant wife in 1938 for wage labour in European coffee estates in Arusha.

[68] Interview with Edward Ndunguru, Myangayanga Village, 20 December 2018. People in rural areas were forcibly administered by local authorities consisting of male chiefs, village leaders and household heads empowered to control movements of women and youth through a variety of administrative mechanisms. The punishment for the "runaway wives", parents or relatives of the bride was to return a full bride-price in case of a divorce; M. Mbilinyi, "'Runaway Wives' in Colonial Tanganyika", *International Journal of the Sociology of Law* 16 (1), (1988), 1–29.

[69] D.F. Bryceson, "The Proletarianization of Women in Tanzania", in M. Turshen, (ed.), *African Women: A Political Economy*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 58-59.

[70] Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Reports of Provincial Commissioners for the year 1943*, (Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1944), 62.

men. The report from the Labour Office in 1942, showed that there were 15 000 men and 3 000 women and children employed in the southern province, among which 13 000 men and 2 700 women and children were employed in the sisal estates.[71] Other labourers were recruited to work in the Union of South Africa and Rhodesia. For instance, in 1942, 1 292 men from the Lake Nyasa area went away to work in the Union of South Africa and Rhodesia.[72] From these figures, it shows that the majority of the migrant labourers were men. Women were not attracted to join migrant labour due to difficulties that emerged following the outbreak of the war. Transport services from the estates were difficult due to the shortage of vehicles. Migrant labourers were forced to walk for some weeks to their homes. Many of the returned labourers were observed to be suffering from the effect of a long journey.[73]

The demands for labourers increased in 1947 in sisal estates at Lindi and Mikindani in the southern province and outside the province. Attractions, such as free transport, were made available for voluntary labourers and their dependents. In most cases, the male members left their wives and children behind. The situation was severe in the districts. The figures show that the remaining female population was higher compared with that of their counterpart male population. For instance, in 1949, the male population in the Songea District was 32 675 compared with 50 385 females out of the total population of 154 514.[74] This also implied that over 40 per cent of the population in the district was absent.

From the 1950s to 1960, the number of migrant labourers from the Mbinga District declined due to the expansion of coffee production and price increases. The situation was the same in Songea (Ungoni) due to tobacco production. It became difficult to recruit labourers from these areas since they could make more money from coffee, tobacco, and wheat. The number of labourers working

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[71] Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Reports of Provincial Commissioners for the year 1942*, (Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1943), 57.
[72] *Ibid*., 58.
[73] Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Report of Provincial Commissioners on Native Administration for the year 1939*, (Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1940), 66.
[74] Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Report of the Provincial Commissioners for the year 1949*, (Dar es Salaam: The Government Press, 1950), 106.

outside the district was 1 036 (in the southern province), 3 975 (in other provinces), and 637 (in South Africa and Rhodesia).[75]

The absence of male coffee producers due to migrant labour and war conscriptions brought about some changes in the coffee industry, specifically in terms of the re-organisation of labour. Women assumed coffee-production responsibilities previously performed by men. They were able to challenge the historical male bias of looking at coffee as a man's crop regarding production aspects but failed to attain control over the marketing aspect. Some of the migrant labourers signed contracts for three to six months while the majority were freelancing, which allowed them to control the coffee harvest.[76] The absence of men overburdened women labourers who also had to respond to the needs of their family and other daily chores. The district experienced a move towards an unstable agricultural economy with more focus on coffee production at the expense of food crops. Local food shortage was experienced in 1949.[77] The coffee farms required constant maintenance and much attention. Despite the exclusion of women to own coffee farms, their labour-power was involved in most of the tasks. The following section describes those tasks.

### 6.4.1. Key Roles of Women in Coffee Production in Mbinga District

Coffee production, particularly Arabica, passed through various stages from nursery preparation to marketing. This chapter does not deal with other stages beyond marketing by the coffee producers through co-operative societies. Processes such as curing, roasting, or exportation are, therefore, excluded. Women played a central role in smallholder coffee production. This had been so in various coffee-producing countries, such as Latin America, Asia, and Africa. In some areas, the patriarchal social relations shaped the aspects of coffee production between men and women. For

[75] Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Report of the Provincial Commissioners for the year 1950*, (Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1952), 123.

[76] Interview with Edward Ndunguru, Myangayanga, 20 December 2018.

[77] TNA, H1/37192 Vol. II, Co-operative Development Annual Report, Tanganyika Territory, *Report on Co-operative Development for the Year 1949*, (Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1950), 2; Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Reports of Provincial Commissioners on Native Administration for 1950*, (Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1951), 113.

instance, in Latin America, men have the privilege of property ownership and income, while women are required to work in both the coffee fields and households.[78] Despite the labour they had exerted to coffee production, women had little or no power in decision-making in the household. Women's roles in coffee production were socially and technically separated from the roles of men. This was the case in Oaxaca and Chiapas Mexico.[79] Labour in coffee production in Oaxaca was based on gender, whereby men and women performed different tasks in coffee production. The women's role was confined to coffee picking, washing, drying, and selection. Men performed mechanised tasks, such as pulping and trucking.

The role of women in coffee production in the Mbinga District can be categorised into seven stages. The first stage was the preparation of the nurseries. The Department of Agriculture was responsible for the preparation of the nurseries in the 1920s. Coffee growers were instructed to select a place with a gentle slope of the ground, enough to prevent excessive retention of water, near an adequate supply of water, away from old coffee trees and not under the shade of trees.[80] In the Mbinga District, women's role in coffee production during the preparation of the coffee nurseries was confined to watering the seedlings while the clearing and planting of the coffee seeds in the nursery were performed by men. Men were trained in how to prepare the coffee nurseries, including seed selection, landscaping, and spacing under the supervision of the Department of Agriculture.[81] The second stage was the planting of coffee in the fields. The stage involved the clearing of the suitable land approved by the Department of Agriculture and preparing holes for coffee planting. During this stage, women were involved in digging holes under the supervision of the men to ensure the proper spacing and the size of the holes as recommended by the agricultural officers (2 feet × 2

[78] G. Fridell, *Fair Trade Coffee: The Prospects and Pitfalls of Market-Driven Social Justice*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 132.

[79] S. Lyon, J.A. Bezaury, and T. Mutersbaugh, "Gender Equity in Fairtrade-organic Coffee Producer Organization: Cases from Mesoamerica", *Geoforum,* 41, (2010), 94.

[80] The first coffee nursery was established by Christostomus Makita near Mhurusi River in 1927, following the first trial at his home garden at Myangayanga in 1926. Myangayanga was the first nursery to be established by Africans, following the Lipumba nursery established by the District Officer in 1922; Interview with Edward Ndunguru, Myangayanga village, 20 December 2018.

[81] Tanganyika Territory, *Department of Agriculture, Help to Coffee Growers, Leaflet No. 4*, (Dar es Salaam: The Government Central School, 1927).

feet).[82] For spacing, all trees were to be planted nine feet apart.[83] When the task involved the use of co-operation (*ngokela*), women participated in food preparation for the labourers. The third stage was the weeding of the coffee fields. Both men and women performed this task that was undertaken from January to April.

The fourth stage was pruning (including capping). This was the most challenging part of coffee production among smallholder coffee producers. Pruning had been regarded as "professional work" among smallholder coffee producers. During the 1930s to 1940s, most of the coffee producers thought that the more the branches were maintained, the more the yields. The Agricultural Department, through the Lyamungo Coffee Research Station, between 1930 and the 1940s, conducted an agronomic practice which included pruning methods. The most advised system was the single-stem capped method. Capping aimed to increase the flow of sap into lateral branches to make them strong. The generally advised height for capping included "knee-high, waist-high and breast-high".[84] The best period for pruning for the Matengo Highlands was after coffee flowering (December). In 1933, the Department of Agriculture recommended that pruning had to be done once a year after flowering.[85] Pruning was done with secateurs or sharp knives with which all unwanted branches were removed, including weak, dried, and multiple shoots. Only men were involved in pruning activity. During the interviews, some women admitted that pruning was the task that required the most skill, one which only men could perform well.[86] Pruning was, therefore, regarded as a demanding requiring knowledge and skill and was thus masculinised "men's work"

[82] Interview with Victor Akulumukwa, Ugano Sub-station, Tanzania Institute of Coffee Research (TaCRI), Mbinga, 3 and 4, January 2019. Victor is an Agricultural Research Officer. He has been working at Lyamungo Coffee Research Station in Kilimanjaro region as a Laboratory Assistant in the Plant Nutrition Department since 1985, and from 2004, at the Transfer of Technology Department at Ugano Sub-station, Mbinga.

[83] In the period between the 1930s and 1940s, the Lyamungo Coffee Research Station focused on agronomics, particularly on coffee spacing and fertiliser application. The spacing was calculated by using the formula of 2.74m×2.74m = 1300 coffee trees per hectare, commonly known as the "one acre 540 coffee trees" slogan; Interview with Deusdedit Kilambo, Lyamungo Director-Tanzania Coffee Research Institute (TaCRI), 12 November 2018.

[84] The slogan was commonly used to train coffee producers in the capping of the coffee trees; Interview with Deusdedit Kilambo, Lyamungo Director-Tanzania Coffee Research Institute (TaCRI), 12 November 2018.

[85] TNA, 504/9/8, Coffee, *Tangazo "Habari za kukata kahawa*" [coffee pruning].

[86] Interview with Xaveria Ndunguru, Myangayanga Village, 9 January 2019; Josephina Komba, Kindimba Village, 9 January 2019.

– a tendency that stemmed from the fact that co-operative societies tended to focus on training men. As a result, it has been regarded as men's work throughout the colonial period.

Pest and disease control were similarly classified as men's work. This was the fifth stage in coffee production. Men were trained in coffee-disease control through the co-operative meetings, demonstration farms and field visitations. In the period between the 1920s and 1960s, the common coffee diseases were stem borer, coffee leaf rust, antestia bugs, elegant green grasshoppers, green scale, white and black stem borers.[87] Coffee berry disease (CBD) became a threat to coffee production from the 1970s. The Department of Agriculture and the Coffee Research Station, Lyamungo, pioneered the control of coffee diseases, specifically with Arabica coffee. The training was given to co-operative society members (mainly men). The spraying pumps and agrochemicals were provided by the co-operative societies.[88] Pest and disease control were classified as men's work. Women participated in providing water for spraying while mixing the pesticides, but spraying was regarded as men's work. Some women complained about the heaviness of the sprayer tanks.[89]

The sixth stage was coffee harvesting. Harvesting initially had been done between June and December, unlike currently when the harvesting season starts as early as May and ends in November. The earlier coffee ripening in the Mbinga District has been attributed to climate change, particularly irregular rain seasons and global warming. Studies show that high temperatures accelerate the coffee fruit development and ripening.[90] The expansion of coffee production to the lower altitudes also exposed Arabica coffee to high temperatures compared to higher altitudes with cooler temperatures. Most of the smallholder coffee farmers used family labour for coffee picking. Casual labourers were used by well-off coffee producers, complementing the small-family labour size. Women and children were the most useful labourers during the picking process, a

[87] Interview with Deusdedit Kilambo, Lyamungo Tanzania Coffee Research Institute, 12 November 2018.
[88] Interview with Pilmin Lupogo, Kindimba Village, 9 January 2019.
[89] Interview with Josephina Komba, Kindimba Village, 9 January 2019.
[90] M.B.P. Camargo, "The Impact of Climatic Variability and Climate Change on Arabica Coffee Crop in Brazil", *Bragantia,* 69, 1, (2010), 239-47.

characteristic attributed by some scholars to the nimbleness of their fingers.[91] The frequent coffee picking turned women into coffee-picking masters. The cherry was pulped on the day of picking. During the early days of coffee production in the Matengo Highlands, people had no proper pulping machines. Women used mortar and pestle for coffee pulping. After the formation of the Ngaka Coffee Society in the 1930s, they were able to acquire Gordon's and Mackinnon's pulping machines through loans from the society. The loans were repaid via deductions from their coffee sales.[92] The coffee fermenting, washing, drying, and sorting was done by both men and women. The last stage was marketing, which consisted of the delivery of the coffee to the co-operative societies and the collection of the coffee payment. Although women were involved in most of the stages, after delivering the coffee at the co-operative society centre, men were the ones who collected the payments.[93] Table 19 summarises the participation of women in coffee production.

**Table 19:** Labour Division between Men and Women on Coffee Production[94]

| **Activity** | **Men** | **Women** |
|---|---|---|
| Preparation of coffee nurseries | ✓ | ✗ |
| Irrigating seedlings | ✓ | ✓ |
| Preparation of coffee fields | ✓ | ✓ |
| Planting of seedlings | ✓ | ✓ |
| Weeding | ✓ | ✓ |
| Mulching | ✓ | ✓ |
| Application of fertiliser and manure | ✓ | ✓ |
| Pruning | ✓ | ✗ |
| Pests and disease control | ✓ | ✗ |
| Harvesting | ✓ | ✓ |
| Pulping | ✓ | ✓ |
| Fermenting pulped coffee | ✓ | ✓ |

[91] D. Elson and R. Pearson, "Nimble Fingers Make Light Work: An Analysis of Women's Employment in Third World Export Manufacturing", *Feminist Review*, 8, (Spring 1981), 87-107.
[92] Interview with Edward Ndunguru, Myangayanga village, 9 January 2019.
[93] Interview with Josephina Komba, Kindimba Village, 9 January 2019.
[94] Designed by the author, January 2019.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Drying | ✔ | ✔ |
| Sorting and grading | ✔ | ✔ |
| Coffee delivery to the market centres | ✔ | ✔ |
| Coffee Selling | ✔ | ✔ |
| Payment collection | ✔ | ✗ |

The table shows that women participate in most of the coffee-production activities, except for what they termed as "professional" work or tasks, and the collection of money after selling the crop. As will be shown in the following section, women's unglamorous chores in the growing of coffee meant that they were side-lined in the collection of payments.

### 6.5. Women and Coffee Co-operative Societies in Mbinga District, 1930–1960

During the colonial period, coffee marketing in the Mbinga District could be divided into two phases. The first phase was from the 1920s to 1935. During this phase, the coffee was sold in the local markets dominated by the Indian traders and the Benedictine missionaries. It was a kind of unregulated market to the extent that no official records of the extent of production exist. From 1936 to 1960s, coffee marketing was guided by the Co-operative Societies Ordinance of 1932. Between 1936 and 1953, coffee from Mbinga was sold through the Ngaka Co-operative Society and the Ngoni-Matengo Marketing Co-operative Union Limited (NGOMAT).[95] These co-operatives were men-oriented. From 1954, the Matengo Native Co-operative Union (MANCU) was responsible for coffee marketing in the district. By 1960, there were 14 co-operative societies, with 7 122 members, affiliated to the MANCU.[96] The coffee growers collected their advanced payment on the delivery of coffee to the co-operative societies from the offices of the headquarters of the co-operatives. The remaining balance of payments was collected after the coffee auction sales were

[95] P.M. Redmond, "The NMCMU and Tobacco Production in Songea", *Tanzania Notes and Records*, 79 (1976), 65-98. Chapter Three of this thesis provides more details on NGOMAT.

[96] Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Report of the Provincial Commissioner for the year 1959*, (Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1960), 143.

conducted in Moshi and Nairobi. The co-operative society members sold their coffee and collected their payments according to their shareholder registers. Consequently, married women were only allowed to sell coffee in the name of their husbands (shareholders) but were not eligible to collect money from co-operative societies. The co-operative rules confined transactions to co-operative members only.

The decision regarding how to use the money was usually in the hands of men. Women had very little say over the income obtained from coffee sales. The men made decisions about the buying of household provisions, the establishment of new coffee farms or even whether to invest coffee proceeds on livestock. In some cases, men did not disclose the expenditure of the money to their wives as one female interviewee confirmed: "Before independence, we could not ask much about coffee money, what we wanted was fertilisers and pesticides to apply to our maize field".[97]

Furthermore, men's dominance in coffee production and marketing was echoed through the process of application for the registration of co-operative societies. The application forms were to be signed by ten people as required by the Co-operative Societies Ordinance of 1932.[98] Although the co-operative membership did not exclude women, the archival sources show that the application forms were signed by men only.[99] One of the former co-operative officials confirmed this male dominance by stating that, "in Ngaka, men were the ones who established coffee farms in the 1920s and later in the 1930s became the founders of the first co-operative society in the district."[100] Consequently, coffee co-operative societies became man's dominion. This was confirmed by women's voices: "… during the colonial period, coffee co-operative societies were men's affairs. Women did not attend

[97] Interview with Maria Ndunguru, Myangayanga Village, 9 January 2019.
[98] TNA, H1/19595/Vol. II, Co-operative Societies Ordinance, The Co-operative Societies Ordinance of 1932, Section 6 and Section 8, appears at the bottom of every application form No. 1 for the registration of Co-operative Societies.
[99] NRC, 230/646/ Public, Lituru Coffee Growers Co-operative Society Limited, Co-op. Form No.1, Application for Registration, 28 August 1959; NRC, 331/719, Kitumbalomo Coffee Growers Co-operative Limited, Co-op. Form No.1, Application for Registration, from Kitumbalomo Coffee Growers Co-operative Society Limited to the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, 21 July 1960, and all other Co-operative Societies in the Mbinga District during the colonial period, the application forms were signed by men only.
[100] Interview with Pilmin Lupogo, Kindimba village, 9 January 2019.

the meetings, and when they attended, they did not give their views. It was considered as stubbornness and disrespect for a woman to speak in front of men".[101]

Most complaints and critiques had been directed at the Co-operative Societies Ordinance which consists of the co-operative law, rules or regulations governing the application of the law, and the by-laws of the co-operative societies. For instance, the by-laws of the Lituru Coffee Growers Limited state that "every member of the society must be a native of good character bona fide agricultural producer ordinarily resident in the Lituru area or the owner of a plantation situated therein."[102] While there was no formal or direct discrimination against admitting women as members, informal procedures had a hampering effect. The customary laws and cultural norms of property ownership disqualified becoming members of the co-operative societies. This made things worse for married women as the coffee farms belonged to the head of the household, who were men. The few women who owned coffee farms, owned it by inheritance, following the death of their husbands. However, traditionally in the Matengo community, when the head of the household died, the coffee farm was divided among the male children during a family meeting. In the absence of male children, their coffee farms were given to a male relative assigned to take care of the members of the family of the deceased. However, things were not always accepted by the family of the deceased. In some cases, the coffee farms were sold to one of the relatives or any of the coffee producers. One woman testified that "when my parents passed on, my uncles started to fight over coffee farms. To calm the situation, I had to persuade my husband to buy it. The money was divided among the family members."[103] In a similar context of a family with only female children, one of the women coffee producers testified how she ended up cultivating coffee by saying that her "father had three female children. Two had married and passed on. I was the only one who remained to carry on the linages." [104] This shows that, in the absence of a son, female children could become

[101] Interview with Josephina Komba, Kindimba Village, 9 January 2019. She is 84 years old, a member of Ngaka Co-operative Society, a Co-operative with its origin in the 1930s.
[102] NRC, 230/646/Public, Lituru Coffee Growers Co-operative Limited, By-Laws of The Lituru Coffee Growers Co-operative Society Limited, registered on 28 July 1959.
[103] Interview with Judith Mapunda, Longa Village, 4 January 2020.
[104] Interview with Adelina Komba, Longa Village, 11 January 2019.

"male daughters", a concept developed by Amadiume in her study of the Igbo society in Nigeria.[105] The unmarried daughters (in the absence of a son) in the Matengo Highlands were able to create a coffee dynasty on their father's land. They had both power of income control and decision-making on matters pertaining to coffee production.

Moreover, in case of the death of a male member of the co-operative society, the shares or interests of the deceased were transferred to the nominated person. In the Mbinga District, especially among the Matengo, the nominees were mainly sons of the deceased. The Co-operative Societies Ordinance of 1932, section 23 states:

> … on the death of a member a registered society may transfer the shares or interest of the deceased member to the person nominated in accordance with the rules made in his behalf, or if there is no person nominated to such person as may appear to the committee to be the legal personal representative of the deceased member or pay to such nominee or legal representative as the case may be a sum representing the value of such member's share or interest as ascertained in accordance with the rules or by-laws.[106]

Even where women had been nominated as the next of kin, that did not guarantee their membership into co-operative societies as stipulated in the Co-operative Societies Rule of 1932, section 15. It stated that "a nominee may become a member only if admitted by the members of the committee".[107] A former member of a co-operative committee confirmed that "it was very rare for a committee to admit a widow as a member unless there was no grown-up male child or a relative".[108]

Consequently, the restriction of women's participation in co-operative societies denied them the opportunity to participate in decisions affecting the socio-economic development of the community.

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[105] I. Amadiume, *Male Daughter, Female Husbands: Gender and Sex in an African Society*, (London: 1987).
[106] TNA, H1/19595 Vol. II, Co-operative Societies Ordinance, The Co-operative Societies Ordinance of 1932.
[107] TNA, H1/19595 Vol. II, Co-operative Societies Ordinance, Tanganyika territory, The Co-operative Societies Ordinance, 1932 (No. 7 of 1932): The Co-operative Societies Rules of 1932, Rule 15.
[108] Interview with Pilmin Lupogo, Kindimba Village, 9 January 2019; Interview with Otmar Mbepera, Longa Village, 11 January 2019.

For instance, section 14 of the Co-operative Societies Ordinance of 1932 states that "each member of the co-operative society shall have one vote only as a member in the affairs of the society".[109] The section excluded the possibility of having two votes from one family since most of the families were male-headed households. As a result, men became the dominant members and shareholders in the co-operative societies in the Mbinga District. This denied women the opportunity of making decisions in the co-operative meetings since they had no vote. Colonial co-operative societies did little or nothing to incorporate women on aspects of membership, leadership, and sharing of the proceeds.

### 6.6. Women in Co-operative Societies in Post-colonial Tanzania

After the independence of Tanzania in 1961, the country embarked on a socialist policy based on the Ujamaa philosophy. The legal restriction and the customary discrimination on women's participation in co-operative societies prevailed even during the postcolonial period. The Co-operative Societies Ordinance of 1932 was amended in 1963 and revised in 1968 following the recommendations by the Special Presidential Committee of Enquiry of 1966. The committee recommended changes to the by-laws of the societies to suit the socialist policy. However, the report was silent on women's membership in co-operatives.

The Ujamaa policy aimed at making people live together, work communally and share the proceeds equally. As already debated in Chapter Four, coffee-growing areas, including the Mbinga District, operated under co-operative villages. In this kind of village, coffee producers continued to work on their farms and sold their coffee through co-operative societies. Although the Ujamaa policy was based on equality, the culturally-based discrimination on women's participation in coffee co-operatives continued. This was despite the recognition by president Nyerere, of the crucial role of women's labour. His call for gender equality was an important condition for successful socialist transformation reiterated:

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[109] TNA, H1/19595 Vol. II, Co-operative Societies Ordinance, The Co-operative Societies Ordinance of 1932, Section 14.

> The truth is that in the villages, women work very hard. At times they work for 12 or 14 hours a day. They even work on Sundays and public holidays. Women who live in the villages work harder than anybody else in Tanzania. But men who live in villages (and some women in towns) are on leave for half of their life.[110]…if we want our country to make full and quick progress now, it is essential that our women live on terms of full equality with their fellow citizens who are men.[111]

However, the implementation of the Ujamaa policy failed to change the gendered and discriminative practices in the co-operative movements.

The implementation of "Operation *Vijiji*" between 1973 and 1976, and the Ujamaa Act of 1975, led to a distribution of land in newly established villages based on the household in which the heads were mainly men. In an exceptional case, women (mostly widows) were given land in newly established villages. For instance, in Ilela village, people from the Mhekela area were given new land while maintaining their old land. The old land was later subjected to food crops (maize and cassava) that were mainly cultivated by women. Therefore, due to the increased distance from the new villages to the old food-crop farms, the "Operation" further disadvantaged women.[112]

Despite the UN dedication of the period 1975–1985 as the decade of women, there were no substantial changes to women's co-operative membership. The newly enacted Co-operative Societies Act No. 14 of 1982 continued to include land ownership as one of the membership criteria. As a result, it excluded women from co-operative society membership. Although co-operative societies were transformed to be multipurpose societies, women in rural areas could not register their women-only co-operatives. The Act prohibited the operation of other rural co-operative societies within a village as it stated that "no other society [was] to operate within a village."[113] This meant that men continued to dominate leadership positions in the co-operatives. The low number of female co-operative members also made most women unable to compete with men. As one

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[110] J.K. Nyerere, *Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism*, (Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1968), 30.
[111] *Ibid*., 109.
[112] Interview with Emiliana Lupogo, Ilela village, 21 January 2019.
[113] URT, *The Co-operative Societies Act No. 14, 1982*, (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1982), 18; (section 22 &23).

woman commented, “no one rejected my membership, but I never wanted to be a leader of the co-operative as we [women] were few in number in the 1980s”.[114]

Following the economic crisis in the 1980s, Tanzania had to adopt the Structural Adjustment Programs to reform its economy. As discussed in Chapter Five, the coffee sector was reformed in the 1990s. Since then, a slow process unfolded that removed statutory barriers to women’s participation and attempted to challenge culturally embedded attitudes that inhibited them from participation. The Co-operative Societies Act No. 15 of 1991 revised the membership criteria by making it open and voluntary as Section 22 states “(2) (i) membership of co-operative society is open and voluntary to all those who can make use of its services (ii) the control of society is democratic, and each member or delegate has one vote in their various meetings properly formed.”[115] Although the Act did not mention gender issues, the stipulation on being open and voluntary encouraged women to become members of the co-operative societies. This is also supported by archival evidence that shows the presence of women as members of the co-operative societies in the wake of the legislation. The SILO Rural Primary Co-operative Society had 17 women out of 190 members in 1993.[116] Attendance in general meetings remained a big challenge to women. Most of the co-operative meetings were attended by men and where women attended, their numbers were low. For instance, in the Kilangajuu Co-operative Society’s meeting in March 1993, out of 103 attendees, there was only one woman (Oliva Balanzi)[117] whom later was revealed as a widow.

The Co-operative Societies Amendment Act of 1997, for the first time, addressed the issue of gender directly. Section 10 (a) of the 1997 amendment states “co-operatives are voluntary organisations open to all persons able to use their services without gender, social, racial, political or religious

[114] Interview with Josephina Komba, Kindimba Village, 9 January 2019.
[115] URT, *The Co-operative Societies Act No. 15 of 1991*, (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1991), 19.
[116] NRC, 213/RVR 196, SILO Rural Primary Co-operative Society Limited, 1993.
[117] NRC, 319/RVR 175, Kilangajuu Agricultural Marketing Co-operative Society Limited, “Mkutano mkuu wa wanachama” [co-operative members’ general meeting], 30 April 1993.

discrimination".[118] This aligned with one of the statements of the 1997 Co-operative Development Policy, namely that "the government will encourage women participation in co-operatives by removing inhibiting traditional laws, customs values, and other constraints."[119] This was the first co-operative policy in independent Tanzania to recognise and acknowledge the traditional and customary challenges for women's participation in co-operatives openly.

In 1999, the discriminatory customary laws on land ownership were challenged by the passing of the Village Land Act No.5 of 1999, that permitted widows to inherit land. Section 36 of the Act regulates the regranting of a surrendered customary right of occupancy.[120] It placed the widows and widowers as the first person legally permitted to inherit land before other dependents. It enabled women to inherit their husband's land. This changed the traditional inheritance stipulations of land laws that placed the male children or male relatives of the deceased to inherit land. This process was applied to coffee farms as well. The 1999 Land Act came as a relief to widows and female children since they could now legally inherit the land that could put them in a better position to become co-operative members.

The recognition by the government of the cultural and legal marginalisation of women's participation in co-operatives, specifically in terms of economic power-sharing, gave them the status of a disadvantaged group similar to the disabled and the youth. For that reason, the Co-operative Reforms and Modernisation Program of 2005 was aimed at ensuring a greater role to women in co-operative activities by giving them "equality" with their male counterparts. Among the measures taken was creating a conducive environment to enable women to become members, developing and implementing gender sensitisation and awareness programs, and encouraging women to form women co-operatives.[121]

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[118] URT, *The Co-operative Societies Amendment Act of 1997*, (Dar es salaam: Government Printer, 1997), 89.
[119] URT, *The Co-operative Development Policy*, 1997, (Dar es Salaam: Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operative, 1997), 7.
[120] URT, *The Village Land Act No. 5 of 1999*, (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1999), 182 -184.
[121] URT, *The Cooperative Reforms and Modernization Program, CRMP: 2005-2015*, (April 2005), 41- 42.

Apart from customary and legal constraints, men's and women's attitudes toward coffee production contributed to the low participation of women in the co-operative societies. As stated before, coffee was regarded as a man's crop – a perception that also dominated in the Mbinga District. Coffee was one of the crops that has been associated with cultural and ideological traits. As it was with tea as a national beverage to the English identity in the 19th century, [122] so coffee was associated with men's identity. Women were not willing to participate in the study about coffee production referring to men as the owners of the crops. As one commented, "how can you ask a woman about coffee? You should ask them about maize and beans for family consumption. They know nothing about coffee."[123] Women have been accustomed to economic and social subordination and discouragement to associate themselves with coffee co-operative societies. Consequently, some women have adopted passive means to participate in the co-operatives. The stereotype on women's incapacity to produce coffee was also noted among married women and widows.

The masculine attitude attached to the coffee-production tasks has caused widows to complain about the decline of coffee outputs from their farms following the death of their husbands. Angelina, a widow and a mother to five children, lost her husband in 2008. Since then, it has been difficult for her to take care of the coffee farms. Consequently, the farm has been infested with white stem borer that affected coffee production. She then joined a women credit and savings group called *Amani na Upendo* (peace and love) to sustain the family livelihood. The group has 30 women – the majority being widows. Through the group, a member deposits TShs.10 000 (*c*. $ 4.3) as entry fee. Membership entitled women access to a loan of TShs.10 000 at an interest rate of 25%.[124] Since coffee-disease management has been regarded as men's work, the absence of a man in a family could lead to the decline of coffee outputs. This was observed among widows, divorced, and unmarried women. In many cases, for married women who had a coffee farm, it was rather symbolic than practical ownership. Their husbands continued providing coffee-maintenance practices, such

[122] J.E. Fromer, "Deeply Indebted to the Tea-Plant", Representations of English National Identity in Victorian Histories of Tea", *Victorian Literature and Culture*, Vol. 36, No. 2, (2008), 531-547.
[123] Interview with Edgar Ndunguru, Myangayanga, 9 January 2019.
[124] Interview with Angelina Kinunda, Likwela Village, 10 January 2019.

as pruning, spraying and fertiliser application. In the household, men have also continued to be the only shareholding members of co-operative societies. As a member of a co-operative society, men were able to get agricultural inputs on credit. As a result, coffee from women's farms was sold in the husband's name. In one of the interviews, a coffee producer explained, "I bought a coffee farm from someone who migrated from this village [Kindimba] to Kitanda village in 2000. I gave it to my wife, but I am the one taking care of all inputs. We sell it as a family coffee while providing her with the proceeds from her farm."[125] His wife responded: "Most of men allow their wives to own a coffee farm when they noticed signs of women withdrawal from the coffee production. For that reason, they will keep the co-operative membership for themselves."[126] This indicated that married women only had a slim chance of becoming a member of the co-operative societies despite owning coffee farms.

A different dynamic seemed to exist in a polygamous family. Married women considered coffee as economic security for their children in case of the death of one of the parents. Co-wives, therefore, attached increasing importance to owning a coffee farm and co-operative society shares. Judith was married in 1994 as a second wife in a coffee-producing family. After having her children, she decided to establish her coffee farm with the support of her husband. In 2013, she had 1 057 coffee trees. Before 2013, she never attended any co-operative society meetings. Having considered the age gap with her husband, she decided to register co-operative membership of Longa Agricultural Marketing Co-operative Society. She motivated as follows: "I am still young (46 years) compared with my husband (71 years). My children would like to have the property of their own. I joined the co-operative for the sake of my children".[127] From this, it was clear that reproductive capacity shaped the involvement of women in the coffee industry.

Apart from customary and legal constraints, some women in most of the coffee producing countries also lacked time to participate in co-operative societies. Studies in Latin America and Uganda show

[125] Interview with Pilmin Lupogo and his wife Emilia Komba, Kindimba Village, 9 January 2019.
[126] Interview with Emilia Komba, Kindimba Village, 9 January 2019.
[127] Interview with Judith Mapunda, Longa Village, 4 January 2020.

how a lack of time prevented women from participating in coffee organisations.[128] This was also the case in Mbinga. As mentioned before, coffee production is tedious work that requires care throughout the year, as shown in

Table **20**. The coffee producers also produced other crops for consumption, such as maize, cassava, wheat and beans. Women participated in both coffee and food crops and at the same time, took care of their household chores. This overburdened their agricultural life. The geographical characteristics of the Mbinga District as a mountainous area limits the use of mechanised implements like tractors for tilling and harvesting crops. As a result, they rely on hand hoeing for cultivation. Hard back-breaking work peaked during coffee-harvesting seasons from June to November. During the same period, women were also required to harvest beans (June), maize (July and August), and wheat (September and October). The working burden caused women to consider participation in the co-operatives as an extra, third burden.

**Table 20:** Coffee Annual Management Calendar[129]

| **Month** | **January** | **February** | **March** | **April** | **May** | **June** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Activity | Planting | Planting | Planting | Weeding | Pruning | Harvesting |
| | Weeding and mulching | Weeding | Weeding | Preparations for harvest | Harvesting | |
| | Applying fertiliser | Applying fertiliser | Applying fertiliser | Applying fertiliser | Mulching | |
| | Control leaf miner, antestia, stem borer, | Control coffee leaf rust and CBD | Control coffee leaf rust and CBD | Control antestia bugs, coffee leaf rust, and CBD | | |

[128] S. Lyon, T. Mutersbaugh, and H. Worthen, "The Triple burden: the impact of time poverty on women's participation in coffee producer organizational governance in Mexico", *Agricultural Human Values*, 34, (2006), 317-331; F.M. zu Selhausen. "What determines women's participation in collective Action? Evidence from a western Ugandan Coffee Cooperative", *Feminist Economics*, 22, 2, (2015), 130-157.

[129] Tanzania Coffee Research Institute (TaCRI) Office-Lyamungu, 2018.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | coffee leaf rust, and CBD | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| **Month** | **July** | **August** | **September** | **October** | **November** | **December** |
| **Activity** | Harvesting | Harvesting | Harvesting | Harvesting | Applying fertiliser and manure | Planting |
| | Pruning | Pruning | Pruning | Pruning | Control of coffee leaf rust and CBD | Control of CBD and stem borer |
| | Irrigation | Preparing field for planting | Preparing field for planting | Control antestia | | Weeding |
| | Preparing manure | Preparing to compose holes | Preparing holes for planting | Preparing holes for planting | | |
| | | Preparing manure | | Applying manure | | |
| | | | | Prepare coffee-seedling nursery | | |

Some women, however, overcame these constraints and were able to participate in coffee production and co-operative societies actively. Adelina and Josephina, both unmarried women, are examples in this regard. Adelina was born in a family of three female children in 1955. At the age of 22 years, she was married, but her father asked her to divorce since he had no male child to take care of the coffee farms and the family property at large. From 1984, Adelina has been managing approximately 5 000 coffee trees.[130] As a member of Longa Co-operative Society, she has been attending all co-operative meetings and agricultural training offered by the Tanzania Coffee Research Institute (TaCRI)-Ugano Sub-Station. She continued selling her coffee though co-operatives, even after the introduction of the free-market system in the 1994/95 season. As discussed in Chapter Five, in the 1995/96 coffee season, Adelina was the only woman out of eight coffee producers who went to court demanding their payments for coffee sales when the MBICU was in a deep financial crisis.[131] With the coffee farms, Adelina was able to exercise power over coffee production and income. From her coffee income, Adelina was able to pay tuition fees for her son up to university level.

On the other hand, Josephina is from a family with both male and female children. She never married and had no children. Her father gave her land on which she planted 3 500 coffee trees since 1967.[132] She has been a member of the Ngaka Co-operative Society even after the collapse of the MBICU in the late 1990s. The reason was the availability of agricultural inputs on credit to be deducted in the second payment. As she says, "although private coffee buyers had cash at hand, I prefer selling my coffee to Ngaka where I have been a member for more than fifty years. I can get inputs by credit, agricultural extension services and sense of co-operation with my fellow old men."[133] Here, Josephina expresses the sense of togetherness in co-operative societies. She considers coffee as her "husband" to depend on as it provides an income for her.

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[130] Interview with Adelina Komba, Longa Village, 11 January 2019.

[131] NRC, 589/CCD, Mbinga Co-operative Union (1989) Limited, a letter from Mbinga Agricultural Co-operative Union (1993) Limited, Ref. No. MBICU/C/3/16/200, to Attorney General, "kukamatwa kwa magari na mali ya chama kikuu cha ushirika Mbinga na Mahakama" [the Court holding of Vehicles and Properties of MBICU], 23 February 1997.

[132] Interview with Josephina Komba, Kindimba Village, 9 January 2019.

[133] *Ibid*.

## 6.7. "*Mbinga mbinguni*" Women and the Coffee Free-market System, 1994–2015

### 6.7.1. Women's "Coffeescapes" of Resistance

From the 1994/95 coffee season, the coffee-marketing structure changed to free marketing. This was a result of the amendment of the Coffee Marketing Board Act of 1984 in August 1993. These changes also impacted on the gender dynamics in Mbinga and solicited reactions from women. As mentioned in Chapter Five, the Mbinga District experienced an influx of private coffee enterprises in 1994/95. The presence of many marketing options in the district created the situation commonly referred to as *Mbinga mbinguni* [Mbinga is Heaven]. *Mbinga mbinguni* was used metaphorically, giving it different meanings among different groups of people. In other words, what *Mbinga mbinguni* meant to coffee traders and businesspeople was different for men, women or the youth. For the coffee traders and business community, *Mbinga mbinguni* meant the place to make more profits generated by the coffee industry. For the youth, *Mbinga mbinguni* meant the ability to get money even without engaging in the coffee production. The presence of private coffee buyers enabled most of the youth to be employed as agents in buying coffee from producers. On the other hand, *Mbinga mbinguni* was used as a warning to the youth and general public of the high prevalence of HIV/AIDS in the 1990s in the Ruvuma region, the Mbinga District having the most cases. The increasing numbers of the diagnosed cases from 45 in 1987, when the first cases were reported in the region, to 2 512 in 1996.[134]

[134] United Republic of Tanzania (URT), *Ruvuma Socio-economic Profile,* (Dar es Salaam: The planning Commission & Ruvuma Regional Commissioner's Office, 1997), 116.

**Table 21:** HIV/AIDS Prevalence by 1996 in Ruvuma Region.[135]

| **District** | **Number of AID Cases Diagnosed** | **Reported deaths** | **Rate of AIDS per 100 000 population** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mbinga | 1 055 | 633 | 297 |
| Songea Urban | 454 | 272 | 414 |
| Songea Rural | 712 | 427 | 212 |
| Tunduru | 291 | 175 | 131 |
| Total | 2 512 | 1 507 | 245 |

For men, *Mbinga mbinguni* meant the ability to sell their coffee to private buyers and to receive immediate payment on delivery. The high prices of the time created high income among coffee producers. Apart from the general economic improvement, some men took advantage of the increased income to have more wives and to engage in extra expenditure without their wives' consent. People witnessed the escalation of marital conflicts, including divorce, during this period. Evidence from wives confirmed this trend. Maria was one of the victims of free trade in the 1990s:

> My husband collected money from the co-operative society headquarter and hide some in our house. He used to take some amount to spend in town without my knowledge. One day I found the remaining amount and then hid it somewhere else. I was attacked and threatened with divorce. I showed him the money but refused to hand over to him until when he agreed to open a joint account at National Microfinance Bank (NMB) Mbinga Branch.[136]

Maria was representative of women who resisted men's dominance in income control. She was able to offer sound advice on how to spend the coffee proceeds.

The presence of private coffee buyers also created opportunities for women who were not members of the co-operative societies to sell their coffee. The opportunities did not go unchallenged, particularly by men. The free-market system became a threat to men who claimed to own the coffee proceeds alone. Men complained about the ongoing coffee theft at a family level. The theft occurred

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[135] *Ibid.*

[136] Interview with Maria Ndunguru, Myangayanga, 9 January 2019. She was later divorced. She inherited 100 coffee trees from her father.

on two levels: the first level was during coffee picking and the second level was during the drying stage. Women were the main suspects. To women, this was a way of protesting the labour exploitation by men in coffee production and sharing the proceeds. Women used the free market to sell coffee to private buyers clandestinely. During coffee picking, women used to hide some amount of coffee at an easily recognised point to the collector. Signs like big trees, fruit trees, or big stones were used to direct the coffee collectors. Most of the collectors were agents of private coffee buyers (for both cherry and parchment coffee), and Central Pulpery Units (CPUs) – operators for cherry coffee only.[137] The collection was done in the late evening or even at midnight. In some instances, intermediaries were involved during the theft process. In a rare incident, the parchment coffee was even exchanged with intermediaries in buckets in kitchens or at the water fetching points so that no one would become suspicious. The use of gendered geographical coffee landscapes enabled women to challenge male power over coffee. It was from these landscapes the researcher developed the term "coffeescapes", and because these "coffeescapes" were used to resist male dominance in coffee economy, hence "coffeescapes of resistance". When coffee was collected by coffee-buying agents, the parties in the exchange usually knew each other. When intermediaries were used, the first participants usually did not know the final buying agents. The first actor did not know the weight of the stolen coffee. They, therefore, accepted any amount of money given by the final actor (agent) directly or through intermediaries. In some instances, the intermediaries might not pay the first actor. One of the women involved in this theft network narrates, "I used to sell my coffee through Neema (not her real name) for many years. One day I gave her about ten kilograms. She never gave me the payment. I couldn't complain since it was a stolen coffee from my husband. I decided to use coffee-buying agents".[138] While the first actors were women, other actors were both women and men. During the interviews, most of the male coffee producers complained about coffee theft that occurred from the 1994/95 to the 2015/16 coffee seasons.[139] Women were not satisfied

[137] Interview with Edgar Ndunguru, Myangayanga, 9 January 2019.
[138] Interview with Blandina Mbunda (not her real name), Mahenge Village, 12 January 2020.
[139] The free-market coffee system was dominant from the 1994/95 to the 2017/18 coffee season before the reinstatement of co-operative societies as the only channel in 2018/2019.

with the outputs obtained from their labour contribution to coffee production. Women's resistance over men's power to control coffee proceeds, have created the situation which the researcher termed "women's coffeescapes of resistance". This consisted of the use of gendered geographical spaces and landscapes, such as water points, kitchens, trees, rocks and gendered tasks, such as coffee picking and washing. However, such gendered coffee struggles reveal that women were participating in a weak position. A sociological study by Roser Manzanera-Ruiz et al. [140] in Northern Tanzania shows the theft occurred during the coffee-washing and drying process and was exclusively by women. However, both areas (Northern Tanzania and the Mbinga District) show that the unequal distribution and division of income from coffee sales was the major reason for coffee theft.

Apart from stealing coffee during coffee harvest, women also withdrew their labour from coffee farms and directed their energy into food crops. The withdrawal was a means of protesting against the men's use of income from coffee farms. One of the coffee producers commented, "when I spend most of the income in agricultural inputs, I noticed my wives turn their back on coffee production. Although they did not tell me, most of the time they were in maize and wheat farms."[141] The extent of withdrawal in the coffee industry varied from partial to complete withdrawal. It was partial when women spent more time on food-crop production than on coffee, and a withdrawal when they stopped attending coffee farms. Women's labour was essential for coffee production, although mostly unrecognised.

Furthermore, the tendency of men to collect money from money lenders, commonly known as *Magoma*, escalated the women's labour withdrawal and coffee stealing. Following the removal of agricultural inputs, subsidies and the collapse of the Mbinga Co-operative Union (MBICU) in the late 1990s, the coffee producers failed to procure enough agro-inputs to maintain coffee production. The illegal money lenders (mostly businessmen) took advantage of the situation to lend money to

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[140] R. Manzanera- Ruiz, C. Lizárraga, and R. Mwaipopo, "Gender inequality, processes of adoption, and Female Local Initiatives in Cash Crop Production in Northern Tanzania", *Rural Sociology*, 81 (2), (2006), 143-171.
[141] Interview with Otmar Mbepera, Longa Village, 11 January 2020.

them and collect coffee during harvesting time. When money was borrowed without the knowledge of their wives, women became reticent to continue working on the coffee farms in the next coffee season, knowing that the products will be collected by money lenders. In some cases, these illegal creditors visited the coffee farms of the debtors with their workers to harvest the coffee themselves. One woman complained, saying "after tedious work for the whole season my husband brought a truck accompanied by a businessman [mentioning his name] to collect coffee just to be told 'I owe him'".[142] In scenarios like this, women were discouraged from offering their labour in coffee farms; instead, they directed their labour to food crops where they had more control over the rewards.

The resistance by the women from Mbinga was not unique, and studies show that women's withdrawal from cash crops indeed harmed the production outputs. Dorthe Von Bülow and Anne Sørensen,[143] show how women's withdrawal in tea-contract farming in Kericho, Kenya, led to the decline in tea production in the 1980s. The study by Marjorie Mbilinyi[144] shows the impact on the household when women and children collectively withdrew from tea-picking labour because the husband did not pay them wages. Unlike what happened in Rungwe tea farming, women in the Mbinga District did not use collective resistance; instead, they applied what James Scott named "weapons of the weak".

#### 6.7.2. "A Changing Wave": Coffee Initiatives and Women Participation

From the late 1990s to 2015, the Mbinga District, like any other coffee-producing area in Tanzania, experienced an increasing awareness among women of their role in coffee production. The period was dominated by the implementation of coffee initiative programs. Following the fourth international women conference in Beijing, governments, donors, and NGOs adopted the gender equality agenda into various developmental projects. In reaction, the Tanzania Coffee Industry

[142] Interview with Mama Sisi [not her real name], Mbinga, 13 January 2019.
[143] D. Von Bülow and A. Sørensen, "Gender and Contract Farming: Growing Tea in Kenya", in Turshen, M. (ed.), *African Women: A Political Economy*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 77.
[144] M. Mbilinyi, "Analysing the History of Agrarian Struggle in Tanzania from Feminist Perspective", *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol.43, No. S1, (2016), 115-129.

adopted a gender-equity strategy to promote coffee production and markets, including sustainable coffees. This was one of the strategies in the Tanzania Coffee Development Strategy 2011/2021. The aim was to improve gender equity and participation of women at all levels of the coffee value chain.[145]

One of the programs was a collaboration between TechnoServe and Farmer Groups as mentioned in Chapter Four. From 1998, TechnoServe collaborated with KILICAFE that originated in Kilimanjaro to improve coffee processing and to create links with markets. Women's participation in coffee production and marketing received little attention. In 2008, Technoserve was funded by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation to implement the coffee Initiative Program in East Africa. In addition to the coffee processing and marketing, the coffee initiative focused on increasing production at the farm level. This was the level where women were the important participants, though unrecognised. A two-year agronomy training (field training or *shamba darasa*) was introduced in 2009. Women's participation in these courses were less than those of men due to the belief that "coffee is man's crop".[146] Gender-awareness perspectives were incorporated in the recruitment of women to participate in agronomy training as participants and trainers in order to turn this around. By the end of 2012, women comprised 40% of farmer trainers and 38% of coffee initiative staff throughout East Africa.[147]

From 2012 to 2016, the Tanzania coffee industry implemented the Coffee Partnership for Tanzania (CPT). The CPT aimed at empowering both male and female coffee farmers, a sustainable increase in coffee production, and improving the livelihood of the coffee farmers in Tanzania. More about the CPT was explained in previous chapters. The focus here is on how the project contributed to women's participation in the coffee industry in the Mbinga District.

[145] URT, *Tanzania Coffee Industry Strategy 2011-2021*, (Amended version), (Tanzanian Coffee Board and Tanzania Coffee Association, 2010), 27.
[146] TechnoServe, *Lessons Learned: the Coffee Initiative 2008 to 2011*, (TechnoServe, 2013), 27.
[147] *Ibid*., 32.

Apart from attending agronomy training, women were encouraged to attend training sessions on harvesting, primary processing, and pest and disease identification. One of the project-trainers testified that "women were more attentive to coffee harvest; they only pick matured cherries. They were good coffee sorters in Central Pulpery Units (CPUs) in improving quality."[148] Dan and Associate Enterprise Limited (DAE Limited) in the Mbinga District insisted on women's participation in training to improve coffee quality processed in the CPUs. As a result, by 2014/2015, women's attendance increased to 28% and coffee quality increased with a coffee cupping score of 77%, while in the 2015/16 season the attendance increased to 51% with the coffee cupping score at 87%.[149] To encourage more women's participation, DAE Limited recruited female trainers to motivate their fellow women to participate. Village leaders were also consulted to sensitise them to the importance of women engaging in coffee production. Women were consulted to suggest the appropriate time for them to participate in order to solve the issue of the limited time women had to engage in coffee production.[150]

Women became leaders in Farmer Groups during the CPT implementation in the Mbinga District. For instance, in ten successful groups under the DAE Limited, eight were led by women in which six were mixed, and two were women-only groups. The Amkeni women group was formed in November 2015 in Mkinga Village. This was the first women-only group engaging in coffee production in the district. Being committed to improving their incomes, they started to participate in saving schemes by monthly contributions. The saving schemes enabled the group to open a group bank account at the Rural Development Bank (CRDB), Mbinga branch, in 2016, with a total of Tshs.4.7million ($2 000).[151] Farmer Groups under the Coffee Management Services (CMS) also noted improvement in women's participation in leadership positions. Although the CMS had no

[148] Interview with Wendo Suday, a former TechnoServe Project coordinator and current Project Manager-DAE Limited, 27 December 2018.

[149] The coffee cupping score was obtained from coffee tasting based on various categories such as aroma, acidity, fragrance, body and balance. The points of scores ranged from 6 to 10 to each category. The sum of the score is what is termed as coffee cupping score; Interview with Isaya Tweve, DAE Limited, 27 December 2018.

[150] Interview with Wendo Suday, Project Manager-DAE Limited, 27 December 2018.

[151] Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, *Coffee and Prosperity a Perfect Blend: The Coffee Partnership for Coffee in Tanzania*, *Final Report*, (2017), 37.

women-only groups, women were able to lead some of the groups successfully. For instance, Akiba Nyasa Matengo Farmer Group in Kingirikiti village was one of the most reckoned groups lead by women. Denisia Mbunga, a coffee farmer in her own right, who owned approximately 5 000 coffee trees, was a chairperson of the group.[152]

Coffee certification schemes, such as the Rain Forest Alliance (RFA) and Fairtrade, required coffee producers to comply with a certain standard, including non-discrimination, equal pay for equal jobs and encouraging women participation in co-operatives. Studies in Mesoamerica show women's participation in certified coffee production has increased their access to income, land, and co-operatives.[153] The increase has been linked to the increase of women coffee operators. This was caused by the decreasing number of male coffee producers due to immigration from rural to highly paid urban labour. This implies that women will only benefit from coffee certification if they have direct control of the coffee income and participation in decision making processes on all levels.

Several studies show how women have increased their incomes through Fairtrade-certified economic activities that traditionally are owned by women. The Shea butter in Burkina Faso,[154] and handicrafts in Bangladesh,[155] are some of the many examples that show the increased income for women. However, despite the efforts to encourage women's participation in the coffee industry, their roles still have been mostly confined to labour. Except for the independent coffee producer (unmarried and widows), married women are too dependent on their husbands for coffee-input supply and coffee-farm management. This was the same in leadership positions in coffee-farmer groups or co-operative societies. One of the male co-operative society leaders commented that "the women came into a leadership position as a requirement of Fairtrade and RFA. They are three in a

[152] Interview with Denisia Mbunga, Mbinga urban, 8 January 2019.
[153] S. Lyon, J.A. Bezaury, & T. Mutersbaugh, "Gender equity in Fairtrade-organic coffee producer organizations: cases from Mesoamerica", *Geoforum*, 41, (2010), 93-103.
[154] D. Greig, "Shea butter: connecting rural Burkinabé women to the international market through Fair Trade", *Development in Practice*, Vol.16, No.5, (2006), 465-75.
[155] A. Redfern, and P. Snedker, "Creating Market opportunities for small enterprises: Experiences of FairTrade movement", SEED Working Paper No. 30, (International Labour Organization, Geneva, 2002).

committee of ten people."[156] With the utilisation of premium prices of coffee, women have also been able to benefit through the improvement of health centres, water supply, and infrastructures, such as roads and education services. This has been the case in Mahenge AMCOS and Kimuli AMCOS in the Mbinga District.

## 6.8. Conclusion

The role of women in coffee production in the Mbinga District during both the colonial and postcolonial period was shaped by historical forces. The patriarchal farming and land-tenure system among the coffee producers had excluded women from participating actively in coffee marketing and enjoying the fruits of their labour. The colonial state also cemented the patriarchal domination in coffee production and marketing, particularly through the migrant labour economy and co-operative societies. The patriarchal nature of coffee production made men dominate the industry. Consequently, women had remained as passive actors in the smallholder's coffee economy throughout the colonial period.

The postcolonial state has continued to exercise patriarchal control over the coffee sector through a co-operative marketing system. The introduction of the coffee free market in the 1990s has made women exercise the power they have been denied for years. Research has proved that opportunities to "steal and sale' demonstrated the inequalities of income control and distribution between men and women in the Mbinga District. Although coffee has been regarded as "men's crop", the participation of women in various stages of its production has proved otherwise. This was confirmed by independent women coffee producers. However, the international and national initiatives of closing the gender gap between men and women in the coffee sector in the Mbinga District have been impeded by land contestation in the Matengo Highland (the coffee-growing area) that has left women with little option to open new coffee farmlands of their own. Therefore, this chapter has argued that, notwithstanding the scale of production, the role of women in the coffee

[156] Interview with Ernest Komba, Chairman KIMULI Agricultural Marketing Co-operative Society, 22 December 2018.

economy cannot be underestimated. The chapter has contributed to the literature on understanding agrarian changes, specifically on gendered crops, including coffee, by mapping the women's participation in the coffee industry and demonstrating their resistance to their subjected position.

# Chapter Seven

## Conclusion

This thesis has researched the socio-economic history of coffee production in the Mbinga District, Southern Tanzania. It has examined the foundation, development, fortunes, and socio-economic impact on the smallholder coffee producer between 1920 and 2015. It has traced the role of the colonial state on the introduction and development of coffee production in the district from the 1920s to 1945. Secondly, it has explored the co-operative movements and its dynamic relationship with and broader impact on the smallholder coffee producers in the district, particularly from the 1930s to 1976. It has also explored the influence of the postcolonial state on the coffee industry under Ujamaa ideology from 1962 to 1990. It has examined the competition between private coffee enterprises and co-operative unions and societies and their impact on the smallholder coffee producers. Finally, it has assessed the role of women in coffee production in the district between the 1920s and 2015.

The thesis contributes to the historiography on agrarian change, gender and the coffee industry by integrating aspects of economics, ecology, politics, and society. This study has attempted to fill the existing gap in economic and agrarian studies on the coffee industry in Tanzania which, to date has only focused on the emergence of African peasants, their protest to the colonial state and the unequal relationship between state, estate, and peasants in North and North-Western Tanzania[1] while paying

[1] G. Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: Underdevelopment and Uncaptured Peasantry*, (Nairobi: Heinemann Education Books, 1980), 11-12; K.R. Curtis, "Smaller is Better: A Consensus of Peasants and Bureaucrats in colonial Tanganyika", in W.G. Clarence-Smith and S. Topik, (eds.*), The Global Coffee Economy*, 322; K.R. Curtis, "Cooperation and Cooptation: The Struggle for Market Control in the Bukoba District of Colonial Tanganyika", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 25, 3 (1992), 505-538; B. Weiss, *Sacred Trees, Bitter Harvests: Globalizing Coffee in Northwest Tanzania*, (Portsmouth NH: Heinemann, 2003); A. Coulson, "Agricultural Policies in Mainland Tanzania, 1946–76", *Review of African Political Economy*, 4 (10), (1977), 74-100.

little attention to the smallholder African coffee producers in the Mbinga District, Southern Tanzania.

The thesis has argued that the colonial state in the foundations of the coffee industry, the formation of the Ngaka Coffee Co-operative in the 1930s, the strained relationship between the NGOMAT and the Ngaka Coffee Co-operative Society between 1939 and 1945, the merging and eventual dissolution of the co-operative movements in 1976, the postcolonial state policies, including Ujamaa and villagisation, between the 1960s and 1980s, the coffee free-market system in the 1990s and mid-2010s have influenced the socio-economic livelihood of smallholder coffee producers in Southern Tanzania. The thesis has engaged both colonial and postcolonial historiography in Tanzania. Unlike the existing studies that largely focused on either the colonial or postcolonial period, this thesis has confirmed the historical continuity and integrated the aspect of gender in the study of the production and marketing of coffee in colonial and postcolonial Tanzania.

Furthermore, this thesis extends the debate on the management of co-operative marketing in the liberalised economy. The co-operative section under the Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operative Development has been the most problematic and difficult section regarding agricultural development in Tanzania. Problems like corruption, misappropriations and embezzlement of the co-operative property and farmers' crop proceeds have been haunting the co-operative sector. These problems have made co-operative movements prone to frequent staff changes, as well as changes in the marketing structure. Therefore, by examining the coffee industry within the agricultural sector, this thesis contributes to the historiography of agrarian change in Tanzania regarding coffee production and marketing. The thesis adds to the existing historiography, such as produced by Kenneth Curtis,[2] Susan Rogers[3] Andrea Eckert.[4]

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[2] K.R. Curtis, "Co-operation and Cooptation: The struggle for market control in the Bukoba district of colonial Tanganyika".

[3] S.G. Rogers, 'The Kilimanjaro Native Planters Association: Administrative Responses to Chagga Initiatives in the 1920's', *Transafrican Journal of History*, Vol. 4, No. 1/2, (1974), 94-114.

[4] A. Eckert, 'Useful Instruments of Participation? Local Government and Cooperatives in Tanzania, 1940s to 1970s', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 1, (2007), 97-118.

To demonstrate the fortunes of coffee production in the Mbinga District, this thesis engaged with the approaches of "coffee statecraft" by Gavin Fridell[5] and "weapons of the weak" by James Scott[6]. "Coffee statecraft" was useful in examining the role of the colonial state in introducing and developing the coffee industry in the district amid the initial failure by traders and missionaries. Indigenous people in the Mbinga District, on the other hand, played an important role in introducing and developing the coffee industry. According to the coffee statecraft approach, state and market are inseparable as it is the state that formulates regulations and manages and regulates the marketing system. In the Mbinga District the state has been regulating coffee marketing since the 1930s through co-operatives and coffee boards. The postcolonial state had been regulating the coffee-marketing system even during the free-market period in the 1990s. On the other hand, the "weapons of the weak" approach has been useful in assessing the responses of the smallholder coffee producers to the state and marketing system throughout the study period. Therefore, this thesis explored the fortunes of the coffee industry of Tanzania, using the Mbinga District as a case study. The study shows the transition from low production of fewer than five tons in the early 1930s to more than 10 000 tons in 2015, from one coffee co-operative society (Ngaka) in 1934 to more than 45 in the 1990s.

In tracing the role of the state in the introduction of coffee in the Mbinga District, this thesis demonstrates that the introduction of coffee in the 1920s in the district was an attempt of the colonial state to generate state revenue by reducing tax defaulters and promoting the production of export crops. Chapter Two has shown that, while in the northern and north-western parts of Tanzania commercial coffee production during the late 19$^{th}$ and early 20$^{th}$ centuries was started earlier by missionaries, European planters and a few Africans, coffee production started much later in the Mbinga District. The early attempts to introduce a cash-crop economy by the German colonial state was confined to the coastal areas while the southern part of the country was earmarked as a labour

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[5] G. Fridell, "Coffee Statecraft: Rethinking the Global Coffee Crisis, 1998 – 2002", *New Political Economy*, 19, 3, (2014), 407- 426

[6] J.C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, (London, Yale University Press, 1985).

reserve for the sisal plantations and coffee estates in the northern province. The few experiments conducted by the colonial government, such as cotton and sisal production along the shore of Lake Nyasa were abandoned. Missionaries and traders were among the earlier people who participated in the introduction of cash crops in the district.

The British colonial attitude towards smallholder Arabica coffee producers in the 1920s was to discourage peasant coffee producers in favour of the settler farmers. However, in the 1930s, the Great Depression forced the colonial state to change attitudes towards promoting the production of more export crops. Through the “Grow more crops” campaign, the Department of Agriculture was able to expand the production of Arabica in the 1930s. This thesis showed that by 1933, the Department of Agriculture collaborated with the Matengo Native Authority and passed rules and regulations to guide the expansion of Arabica coffee production. As a result, by 1935, coffee production had grown in terms of the number of growers as well as coffee trees. This thesis, however, has shown that the coffee industry faced the challenge of a decline in the demand on the world markets. With the Ottawa Agreement in 1932, the UK was able to secure markets for the Empire coffee through the preferential tariff treatments among commonwealth nations. In the colonies, the Department of Agriculture, in co-operation with the Native Matengo Authorities revised the 1933 coffee rules in 1938 to prevent the withdrawal of smallholder coffee producers from the coffee production, following the decline of the prices of coffee in the late 1930s.

The thesis has explored the state control over peasant production by forming the Coffee Control Board in the 1940s. There were centralisation and colonial state monopoly of the coffee-marketing system during the Second World War. This study found that, through these actions, the state was not only supervising coffee production but also acted as an instrument of political reproduction by promoting the domination of European companies in the coffee-marketing system. The state control was extended to food crops through the introduction of the minimum acreage in 1942 to promote both food and cash-crop production in the Mbinga District. The colonial state continued to use coffee boards and co-operatives to control coffee production and marketing in the post-war period.

On the marketing of coffee, this thesis has shown that the colonial state exercised its control of peasant production through the Ordinance of the Co-operative Societies of 1932. The Ngaka Coffee Co-operative Society was formed to market Matengo coffee. The government placed Ngaka Coffee Co-operative Society under the NGOMAT from 1936. Between 1936 and 1947, the Ngaka Coffee Co-operative Society made several unsuccessful attempts to register. Under the auspices of the NGOMAT, the relationship with the Ngaka Coffee Co-operative Society was strained. As a result, the NGOMAT refused to handle coffee marketing between 1942 and 1945. The delay of registration and the strained relationship with the NGOMAT discouraged coffee producers from producing and from using the co-operative marketing system.

To reverse the situation, however, the thesis has shown the growth of the co-operative movements in the post-war period in the Mbinga District. The expansion of coffee production in the 1950s enabled the formation of more coffee co-operative societies under the Matengo Native Co-operative Union (MANCU). However, co-operative societies faced the challenge of logistics, corruption and the lack of skilled human resources. The thesis has also shown an increase in protest against the co-operative union and societies in the late 1950s and 1960s. The coffee industry also faced an increase of anti-co-operative movements in the Mbinga District. Some of the co-operative societies protested against the co-operative union. The thesis has also shown the increasing number of the co-operatives with poor financial management and how that burdened coffee producers. Consequently, the Tanzanian government dissolved all the co-operatives in 1976.

Moreover, this thesis has shown the influence of the postcolonial state on the coffee industry, particularly the implementation of Ujamaa and villagisation policies between 1960 and the 1980s, through the coffee authority of Tanzania, 1977–1983, and the reinstatement of co-operative movements from 1984 to 1990. Chapter Four demonstrated the responses of the coffee producers to the state interventions, specifically on the implementations of Ujamaa and villagisation in the Mbinga District. It has argued that the trajectory of the coffee industry between the 1960s and 1990 in the Mbinga District was mainly shaped by the postcolonial state's interventions in agricultural production and marketing and that this had a socio-economic impact on the smallholder coffee producers in the district. The idea of a dual residence, for example, was developed by coffee producers to retain coffee as their means of income.

The European Economic Community (EEC) grant and the coffee growers levy were responsible for the expansion of the coffee industry in the Mbinga District between the late 1970s and late 1980s.[7] This thesis has verified the increase of the coffee cultivation areas and coffee tonnage. Unfortunately, the economic crisis from the late 1970s and the early 1980s forced the state to abandon its socialist principles by accepting the Structural Adjustment Programs as stipulated by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. In reviving the coffee economy, the Tanzanian government reinstated the co-operative movements in 1983. The Mbinga Co-operative Union (MBICU) under the Ruvuma Co-operative Union operated between 1984 and 1989. The newly established co-operatives failed to operate as economically viable co-operatives due to persistence of fraud, theft, debts and the general economic hardships Tanzania experienced in the 1980s. From 1989 onwards, the MBICU started to operate independently in the Mbinga District.

From the 1980s, Tanzania embarked on economic reforms in most of its economic sectors. In the agricultural sector, it started with food crops in the late 1980s. In the 1990s, the focus was on "traditional export crops", such as tobacco, cashew nuts, cotton and coffee. As part of these reforms, a free-market coffee system was implemented from 1994/95. Private enterprises were permitted to participate in buying coffee from the coffee producers. In exploring the role of private coffee enterprises in the coffee industry, this thesis has demonstrated the transition from the state-monopoly coffee marketing system to the coffee free-market system in the 1990s. As this thesis has argued in Chapter Five, the transition from a strict state-controlled marketing system under co-operative societies to co-existence with private enterprises in the coffee industry did not lead to free and fair competition but rather entrenched hegemonic and exploitative practices at the expense of smallholder coffee producers. As this thesis has shown, the Mbinga Co-operative Union collapsed

[7] URT, "Tanzania Coffee Development Programme for 1982–83", Project No.5100.31.50.010; URT, "Tanzania Coffee Development Programme Phase II, 1985-86".

as a result of administrative mismanagement and the failure to compete with the private coffee enterprises. The vacuum created by the demise of the MBICU has made coffee farmers organize into farm groups for the marketing of the coffee. This thesis has demonstrated that the state, through "coffee statecraft", had been controlling the coffee market despite the transition to the coffee free-market system.

This thesis explored the role played by women in coffee production and marketing over an extensive period in Tanzania and Mbinga in particular. It demonstrated the complexity of defining a crop based on gender. As this thesis discussed in Chapter Six, women have been participating in most of the activities in coffee production, but most of them have been excluded from the control of the coffee proceeds. The legal and cultural constraints on women's participation in the coffee market have side-lined women in most of the decision-making bodies. Hence, coffee primarily remained a man's domain. This thesis goes against the current scholarship on gendered crops who emphasise separateness and place women in the weaker position. In proving the complexity of "women's and men's crop" categorisations, this thesis has applied the "coffee statecraft" approach by political economist Gavin Fridell[8] to demonstrate the role of the state and its apparatus in shaping women's role in the coffee industry. By analysing the resistance of women over male dominance in the Mbinga District, this thesis has applied the "weapon of the weak" approach of anthropologist James Scott.[9] This thesis argued that, notwithstanding the scale of production, the role of women in the coffee economy cannot be underestimated. It has demonstrated resistance in terms as "coffeescapes" of resistance against oppressive and exploitative male dominance in the coffee industry. This study makes a meaningful contribution to the current debate on the attempts by the International Coffee Organization (ICO) to bridge the gender gap in the coffee industry.

In terms of possible future research, there is still room to engage with the control of coffee pests and diseases and the pesticides usage and how these practices evolved. In Chapter Two, this thesis

[8] G. Fridell, "Coffee Statecraft: Rethinking the Global Coffee Crisis, 1998 – 2002".
[9] J.C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*.

demonstrated the perceptions of the settler farmers to African smallholder coffee producers on the spread of coffee pests and diseases from African farms to the white settlers in the northern province. Coffee diseases had been used as a tool to discourage Africans to produce Arabica coffee in the 1920s. The Tanzania Coffee Research Institute propagated new varieties of coffee with the focus on productivity, climatic resilience and disease-resistant strains. However, more research has to be done on the indigenous understanding of coffee pests and diseases, focusing on the cultural practices in managing coffee diseases. Exploring the use of traditional remedies in controlling diseases and the circumstances that force them to resist the use of agrochemicals and favour the traditional remedies, need further exploration. This can bring new insights and a deeper understanding of the relationship between smallholder coffee producers and the authorities pertaining to pesticides usages over time.

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