Research Report No. 83

Charles David Smith

Did Colonialism Capture the Peasantry?

A Case Study of the Kagera District, Tanzania

Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala 1989
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Montreal, 1988
Charles David Smith
INTRODUCTION

Goran Hyden’s challenging and thought-provoking analysis of the problems of “underdevelopment and an uncaptured peasantry”, to use his (1980) sub-title, is at the center of a very important debate on development in Africa—see Kasfir (1986), Cliffe (1987) and Williams (1987). In responding to his critics Hyden (1986 and 1987) has given a greater precision to his thesis that the African farmer is an “uncaptured peasant” who operates according to the “laws of subsistence” or a “consumption imperative”, following the logic of the “primordial realm” set in the “economy of affection”. Although Hyden is not arguing that the African peasantry engages in a pure form of subsistence economy, he does conceptualize the subsistence component as the dominant element in the peasant mode of production.

Hyden may be correct when, citing Braudel, he asserts that the African peasant remains in a “vast world of self-sufficiency” (1986: 690), that “subsistence needs and savings (for future production requirements as well as ceremonial functions) take precedence over surplus value” (1986:689), that African peasants “do not mind obtaining goods from the market-place but these are not acquired with a view to overturning existing social relations and forms of production” (1986:691) or more generally, that “Africa is only at the first gate on the road to capitalism” (1986:695). Nevertheless there is an important silence in Hyden’s argument, which is usually expressed as an ambivalence. For example, when Hyden states that “the peasant household does not really depend for its own reproduction on the contributions by members of another social class” (1983:6), that “peasants prioritize those exchanges that take place within local boundaries” (1987:663), or that the colonial system did little to transform the “basic characteristics of peasant production” (1986:681) what these qualifiers mask is the concept of socially necessary labour requisite to the production of use values and exchange values that can provide a socially acceptable standard of living.

This paper examines a particular peasant economy and society (Kagera region, Tanzania, during the British colonial period) and describes new basic needs which were added to what smallholders themselves considered as an acceptable standard of living. Hyden’s statement that there is “no necessary link between the organization of production at the micro level and the structure of the social formation at the macro level” (1986:686) seems to gloss over the replacement of indigenously-made products by new consumer goods which usually were imported into the “peasant mode of production”. The socially
acceptable standard of living by the 1920s began to necessitate goods (such as clothes, school uniforms, pens, papers, corrugated iron roof-sheets, flour, sugar, meat, salt, soap, matches, etc.) and services (such as taxes, school fees, medical expenses) all of which were imported from the national/international social formation into the "peasant mode of production". For the well-to-do (petty capitalist farmers in Hyden's terminology) many luxury goods were also available.

The thesis of this report is that fundamental changes took place in six related areas central to smallholder production. These are: 1) food security and consumer goods; 2) changed relations of production on the smallholder plot; 3) customary law and land tenure; 4) wage labour; 5) social differentiation; 6) the long term price elasticity of coffee production. In some respects the question of a captured or uncaptured peasantry may be like arguing whether the glass is halfempty or half-full; but if Hyden is to convince us that the smallholder enterprise minimizes risks (for example, by avoiding innovative farming techniques perceived to be a threat to the subsistence base) then we must be very clear about what such subsistence entails and how much of it is in fact imported from outside the "economy of affection".
FOOD SECURITY AND SOCIO-eALLY NECESSARY CONSUMPTION

During the colonial period the region was called Bukoba district after the site of its administrative and trading center. In the 1890s, in Bukoba as elsewhere in Tanzania, indigenous people were forced to pay hut taxes. These were paid in labour, corve'e, or in cash obtained from plantation labour or cash crops. The Germans were able to implement these measures for two reasons. The first was the breakdown of the local economy because of diseases, pathogens and ecological disasters such as: smallpox, cholera, jiggers, rinderpest, locusts, etc.; see Smith (1985), Kjekshus (1977), and Bryceson (1979). The second reason was that local resistance—which sometimes ignited nation-wide revolt, eg. Abushiri's revolt in 1891, the Maji Maji revolt of 1905—was put down militarily, using German officers and Somali, Zulu, and other African mercenaries.

In Bukoba, hut tax can be seen as a coercive sanction pushing farmers to enter the modern economy since they not only entered the market as consumers, but they were forced to pay taxes and buy certain goods and services. Colonial rule significantly altered the reproduction of the peasantry. The most evident and perhaps far-reaching change was at the level of the production of food and the necessities of everyday life. Kjekshus (1977) portrays the early twentieth century in Tanzania as a time of drastic decline in food production following the depopulation caused by newly introduced non-indigenous diseases and destructive colonial wars. As cash needs fostered the commoditization of a cash crop, good land formerly devoted to food cultivation was planted with coffee. Coffee was grown in small squares interplanted with other crops, leaving less land available for food crops. Bukoba thus became a net importer of food during the colonial period. In 1943 the Provincial Commissioner stated that the practice of coffee cultivation in the banana groves had reduced food production to one-half its former level.

Along with this fundamental change came the palliative of famine relief distributed by the German and British colonial authorities. Prior to colonialism, a proportion of the food paid to the king as rent was stored away to be used for famine relief. Kjekshus (1977:140) documents the decline in local grain supplies in the 1890s. Ngaiza (1980) demonstrates how indigenous techniques devised by the royal clan to dry and store plantain (the local staple food) were no longer used, therefore there were no dry bananas available as a means of ensuring food security in years when the harvest was poor. As famine relief responsibilities were taken over by the colonial government a self-perpetuating cycle was created whereby the local populace was now dependent upon relief administered by the very agencies which had created the need for it.
By Hyden's own evidence famine relief could be applied selectively to control peasant labour power (for example, in the Handeni district):

Because of peasant default in growing cassava, the British decided in 1949 that famine relief should only be supplied to those who had no means of producing on their own because of age, sickness or any other unexpected incapacity. All other persons were expected to pay in cash or supply labour free to compensate for the costs of famine relief. (Hyden, 1980:61)

The continued extension of commodity relations and the need of cash for famine relief was a fundamental change which took place in the reproduction of social/material life during the colonial period. Other new wants and needs were created: the need for consumer goods no longer produced indigenously, the need for capital goods by the new group of capital-using farmers (the kulaks), and unproductive luxury consumption by the now enriched feudal aristocracy.

The peasant farmer used the incomes generated from coffee production to buy imported commodities and new services. Among the basket of consumer goods (mentioned by 20 Haya farmers interviewed in 1983 about the colonial period) were: cloth, beads, shoes, kerosene, household and farm utensils, cooking fat, meat, fish, rice, blankets, corrugated iron sheets and building materials, bicycles, sewing machines, radios, and watches. Cloth, beads, and shoes were mentioned by virtually all respondents while the other goods might occasionally have to be purchased. Presumably, consumer durables such as bicycles or radios were a once in a lifetime luxury. But it is significant that essential items such as cloth, fish, meat and rice made up a large part of the consumer basket (Smith, 1985). In a study which I carried out in Bushagara village in 1987 I found that 96 per cent of the random sample lived in houses constructed with metal roofsheets which many of them had purchased in the 1950s (Smith, 1987). Of all the current purchase items mentioned only fish, from Lake Victoria, was produced locally. The services paid for in cash by present day households were: medical expenses, transportation costs, school fees for the children, and taxes.

How was the cash generated to pay for these expenses during the colonial period? Data from my 1983 interviews and secondary sources indicates that coffee growing was the primary mode of earning money. Few employment opportunities existed and possible options, such as, working as a houseboy or other type of servant for Europeans, missionaries, or Asians, working as a shop assistant for Asian merchants, and petty trading, were not highly regarded and were not generally available.

Between the beginning of the 1920s and the 1950s the Haya increased coffee production sixfold in response to relatively high prices, generating greater real incomes and availability of consumption goods. Haarer (1956:63) reported:
During the coffee boom, the Bahaya put their profits into stone built houses with corrugated iron roofs, bicycles and greater purchases of piece goods. The general standard of living also rose, and larger purchases of meat, fish, sugar, etc. became customary, and bottled beer began to be imported. More money was also spent on education.

It is significant that most meat sales took place at the time of the coffee harvest. With the high coffee prices of the 1950s, and stabilized production, a relatively high standard of living was possible, but this affluence was dependent on the production of coffee and high producer prices, i.e. market supply and demand. By 1954 producers’ income was over 250 pounds sterling per family. In 1954 coffee revenues in the district were over 4,000,000 pounds sterling. In the same year the consumption of only eight imported commodities reached almost 2,000,000 pounds sterling (see Table 1).

Table 1. The value of import of the most important consumer goods
(1000 pounds sterling)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Piece goods</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corrugated iron</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cigarettes</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imported rations</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattle for slaughter</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European beer</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bicycles (5,000)</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radios (4,000)</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Tanganyika Provincial Commissioners, 1954:61

It should be stressed that cloth, food, plus roof-sheets made up 70 per cent of these imports, (excluding beer and cigarettes which were not entirely a luxury good since many lower status farmers also indulged in their use whenever they had some cash available). It is significant that every one of these items had not been required, or at least the need had been filled by an indigenous substitute, before colonialism. Another way to view imports is to stress that 1/3 of the Haya’s revenues (almost nothing except coffee was indigenously produced for export) went into foreign luxuries. In addition the Provincial Commissioners believed that a significant amount of cash was being hoarded.

Do these figures support or refute Hyden’s argument? The obvious luxuries (cigarettes, beer, bicycles, radios) make up less than 1/3 of the total. Some piece goods, iron and beef cattle could be for luxury use but it seems likely that most of these were now required for a socially acceptable standard of living (as were other services such as school and medical fees). It seems reasonable to conclude that the peasant’s reproduction required entering the market not merely as consumers of occa-
sional luxury goods but more importantly as consumers of exchange values necessary for an acceptable standard of living. The Haya farmer was not proletarianized but the natural economy (cf. Rosa Luxemburg) had been transformed. I believe that the substitution of banana trees for coffee trees was central to this process. In the Provincial Commissioner’s report (1943:31) G.F. Webster noted how coffee plantings on the banana shambas had reduced subsistence food crops to one half their former level. This explains why it was necessary to introduce a “grow more food campaign”, as even the British expressed a concern about the Haya propensity to threaten their own food security by using coffee incomes to buy food.
CHANGED SMALLHOLDER RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION

From 1891 (the inception of German colonial rule) through the British period the Haya peasantry became important commercial coffee growers producing 60 per cent of Tanganyika's coffee by volume prior to Independence (see Table 2). The 1920s coffee boom was the direct result of contact with outside agencies, encouraged directly by the colonial state, by missionaries and by white settlers. Ample evidence exists of changes in the forces of production. Since commercial coffee growing did not exist before colonialism, it is axiomatic that the amount of harvest and post harvest labour devoted to coffee changed drastically. But even the actual processes changed: prior to the 1890s, peasants picked green berries and prepared them as coffee balls, Jarvis (1939) while after 1890, coffee was harvested for export. Peasants learned new techniques from missionaries, settlers, colonial agricultural extension staff, and each other and they also purchased some of their capital goods (hoes for instance) outside of the familial/communal sphere.

Some coffee was grown in the region before colonization, but the extent and methods of its cultivation changed dramatically after the missionaries introduced new coffee arabica cultivars. The intensification of robusta plantings as well as the introduction and extension of arabica (often in totally new stands) was a measure of response to the push and pull of market forces and cash needs. Prior to colonization, the only mode of reproducing coffee plants was vegetative propagation in which the kings strictly controlled the supply of cuttings. In 1900 Emin Pasha abolished the royal monopoly and established seed beds to establish generative propagation from seeds to replace vegetative propagation from cuttings (Friedrich, 1968:177). Missionaries introduced new strains of coffee (technically called cultivars or varieties). Coffea arabica, a milder, more highly priced species of coffee was brought in by German missionaries in 1896 (Waters, 1972; Iliffe, 1979; Matheson and Bovill, 1950). The French Fathers of the St. Austin Mission introduced Bourbon coffee, from the island of Reunion. The Catholic Fathers of Morogoro introduced the Nyasaland cultivar to Tanganyika and later Blue Mountain coffee (Krug,1968:151). In Bukoba, Bourbon and Kent were the two dominant, arabica cultivars.

In my own study (Smith, 1985) 20 peasants who had operated coffee farms during the colonial period prior to 1961, all reported encouragement from settler farms in the villages of Ibara, Mugera, and Kashasa. All respondents obtained arabica seedlings, free of charge, from settler farms which were subsidized by the colonial government. Reproductive propagation meant that new nursery techniques were adopted; sometimes seeds were closely planted in germinating beds and then transferred to nurseries, sometimes they were directly planted in nur-
series 6 inches apart. The former process was preferred for its element of selection but involved more time and labour. The peasants whom I interviewed started their seeds in nurseries and then transplanted their seedlings in the shamba after 9–20 months. When the coffee seedlings were planted in the fields it was necessary to dig deep enough holes setting the taproot in its natural position. This was done exclusively by males, while the ground was wet, during the long rains (March to May). In short, obtaining seedlings, building nurseries and germinating beds, sprouting seeds and planting seedlings were all tasks directly related to commoditization of coffee. The techniques and many of the materials and supplies came from sources external to the peasant’s “cellular economic structure”. Outside agencies were also instrumental in changing the structure of organized activity.

The harvest is labour intensive since all ripe berries must be picked within a couple of weeks and coffee cherry on the same tree does not all ripen at the same time (cf. Matheson, 1950; Boesen et al, 1977, for further details). Peasants also picked some green berries, which they cooked to make chewing coffee for domestic use. After the harvest, the peasant selected the best coffee and then dried the coffee berries on mats or sometimes on elevated platforms of split cane on which matting was placed. Since harvesting took place after the dry season began, the crop could be protected from occasional rains using straw mats. With better quality arabica coffee, a barbecue or area laid with brick or concrete might be used. During the colonial period hulling the coffee was usually done on the farm (today it is controlled by the cooperative and all hulling is centralized at the Bukop plant in Bukoba town). In the past fermenting, drying and hulling was undertaken on the farm, creating more peasant labour and an inferior product (Matheson, 1950:243) as the coffee cherry produced was frequently a source of complaints.

All peasants interviewed reported that they themselves did the initial coffee processing: decortication—removal of the red thick pulpy outside skins—drying, grading and placement of the dried coffee (in cherry or parchment form) into burlap sacks. For the Haya, like all coffee producers, the harvest and post-harvest periods were a time of intensive activity. The entire family labour pool, and often hired labour, concentrated their energy on coffee production for about two months of the year. Coffee beans must be picked within a few days of ripening and since all the beans on the same tree do not ripen at the same time it is necessary to go back to each tree several times. The labour demands of the new coffee production were extensive especially for males who now did little farm work other than coffee related tasks. This seems to contradict Hyden’s assertion of subsistence production cycles where cash crops did not “conflict with the demands of existing production cycles” (Hyden, 1980:48).
Male control of the new cash crop enterprise, resulted in an intensification and prolongation of women's work as food producers and domestic labourers. As men became coffee growers they spent most of their working day doing coffee-related chores: planting in the nurseries, transplanting, pruning, and harvesting. Thus more of the routine farm labour was shifted to women who grew the food crops and did all the childcare and housework. A village study carried out in post-colonial times noted that women worked many more hours than men. The average labour expenditure was 1,829 working hours per man per year and 3,067 “man-hours” for women (Rald and Rald, 1975: 6, 11, 25, 29). This differential resulted from the fact that women did all the cooking, housecleaning, gathering firewood, and carrying water, along with the child rearing and supervision—as children shared in the domestic labour from the age of about 4 or 5 onwards. Women also took sole responsibility for cultivating all crops outside the banana shambas and did all the weeding of the core plot (a time-consuming and tedious job) as well as all facets of bean cultivation—beans mixed with plantain is the staple diet.
Table 2. Coffee Production and Revenues – Bukoba and Tanganyika

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Bukoba Output In Tons</th>
<th>Bukoba Avg. Price Sterling</th>
<th>Bukoba Revenue Sterling</th>
<th>Tanganyika Total Prod. Tons</th>
<th>Tanganyika Total Revenue Sterling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>2,899</td>
<td>39.1</td>
<td>113,387</td>
<td>4,271</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>2,562</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>116,678</td>
<td>4,047</td>
<td>204,987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>3,608</td>
<td>64.9</td>
<td>234,026</td>
<td>5,261</td>
<td>352,529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>4,150</td>
<td>77.3</td>
<td>320,745</td>
<td>6,009</td>
<td>481,055</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>4,650</td>
<td>69.7</td>
<td>324,094</td>
<td>6,539</td>
<td>495,199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>3,943</td>
<td>54.7</td>
<td>215,845</td>
<td>6,595</td>
<td>463,420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>7,832</td>
<td>61.1</td>
<td>478,311</td>
<td>10,431</td>
<td>739,657</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>6,794</td>
<td>58.9</td>
<td>400,011</td>
<td>8,857</td>
<td>588,871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>7,369</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>194,012</td>
<td>11,547</td>
<td>387,040</td>
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<td>1931</td>
<td>6,586</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>133,261</td>
<td>9,251</td>
<td>247,037</td>
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<td>1932</td>
<td>7,107</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>264,785</td>
<td>11,362</td>
<td>463,597</td>
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<td>1933</td>
<td>7,922</td>
<td>28.7</td>
<td>227,006</td>
<td>12,718</td>
<td>429,523</td>
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<td>1934</td>
<td>10,231</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>329,682</td>
<td>14,766</td>
<td>595,237</td>
</tr>
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<td>1935</td>
<td>10,985</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>249,645</td>
<td>–</td>
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<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>6,504</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>161,204</td>
<td>12,320</td>
<td>609,691</td>
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<td>1937</td>
<td>3,540</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>270,797</td>
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<td>1938</td>
<td>8,295</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>167,890</td>
<td>16,170</td>
<td>742,904</td>
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<td>1939</td>
<td>12,028</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>247,677</td>
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<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>7,787</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>160,000</td>
<td>17,490</td>
<td>664,975</td>
</tr>
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<td>1941</td>
<td>6,976</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>180,000</td>
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<td>–</td>
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<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>8,111</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>263,678</td>
<td>16,610</td>
<td>656,695</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>7,265</td>
<td>44.5</td>
<td>323,583</td>
<td>10,898</td>
<td>553,741</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>6,095</td>
<td>43.5</td>
<td>265,584</td>
<td>15,561</td>
<td>852,332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>8,105</td>
<td>52.4</td>
<td>424,377</td>
<td>14,441</td>
<td>896,301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>4,358</td>
<td>54.4</td>
<td>237,175</td>
<td>10,021</td>
<td>675,580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>9,533</td>
<td>62.2</td>
<td>592,953</td>
<td>13,858</td>
<td>976,741</td>
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<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>5,768</td>
<td>66.1</td>
<td>38,059</td>
<td>11,259</td>
<td>897,068</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>7,470</td>
<td>89.3</td>
<td>667,017</td>
<td>16,560</td>
<td>1,821,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>11,451</td>
<td>122.6</td>
<td>1,404,135</td>
<td>16,500</td>
<td>4,125,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>11,665</td>
<td>136.2</td>
<td>1,589,000</td>
<td>17,500</td>
<td>4,400,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>9,278</td>
<td>365.0</td>
<td>3,386,000</td>
<td>18,300</td>
<td>4,715,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>11,000</td>
<td>309.0</td>
<td>3,400,000</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>10,187</td>
<td>402.0</td>
<td>4,077,000</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources various years:
1. TNA; J.H. Allsop “Bukoba Coffee Exports”
   —Tanganyika Territory—
2. Annual Reports
3. Provincial Commissioners' Annual Reports
4. Trade Reports
5. Blue Books
7. Trade and Information Report
CUSTOMARY LAW AND LAND TENURE

At first sight it appears as though the preservation of customary law relating to land tenures is conclusive evidence of the uncaptured peasant view. The British realized that there was little potential to create a coffee plantation economy run by settlers in densely populated Northwest Tanganyika far from the Nairobi/Mombasa coffee auctions. By the 1950s in the “Lake Province” (which included the Sukuma lands near Mwanza) there were only 117 European and Asian settler holdings which controlled 18,000 hectares (contrasted with 183,000 hectares of alienated land in the Kilimanjaro region and 254,000 hectares in the Tanga region). Rather than promoting an impractical settlement policy the British opted for “Indirect Rule” and in the 1940s the administration commissioned sociologists Hans Cory and Marilyn Hartnoll to codify the customary law, to be applied by native courts under control of the royal clan.

But as Chanock (1985) Glazier (1985) and Mackenzie (1988) have shown, the institutionalization of customary land law often leads to a process of change based on a reinterpretation and manipulation of “customary” rights by those who stand to reap the greatest benefits from the system. In Hayaland there were three main consequences of the use and codification of customary law: 1) a land-grab by the ruling Bahinda landlord clan 2) an extension of new and hybrid forms of land tenure and 3) an increase in land claims and litigation and a refusal to adhere to many customary forms of exploitation.

In the precolonial Haya kingdoms, the distribution of land was based on a complex system of customary law. Haya society was stratified into two castes: a higher Hinda royal/landlord class and a lower Iru commoner peasant class. The Hinda controlled large plots of land from which they derived rights to labour and produce rent. During the colonial period a class of richer peasants developed who accumulated larger amounts of land both from copyhold purchase allowed by the colonialists, and by obtaining land under traditional feudal tenures. When a market for coffee developed, Kings and larger landholders opened all available land, planting coffee. Cory and Hartnoll (1971:279 and 149) report that during the era of coffee plantations:

-land which up till that time had not been cultivated, was planted with coffee wherever it would grow,
-about 50 years ago when coffee became recognized as an economic crop, the chiefs took over large areas of land capable of coffee bearing, or deserted banana plantations, and put them under coffee. The work of preparing and planting these areas was done as nsika (forced labour) by the chief’s subjects.
Another way that the traditional rulers sometimes acquired land was to falsify claims when the Germans and later the British attempted to register all feudal (nyarubanja) estates. In 1919 D.L. Baines, a British administrator, attempted to compile a register of all nyarubanja holdings and tenants. Some administrators estimate as many as 5000 holdings were added to this register. The Mukama (king) of Kianja is reputed to have been collecting 674 pounds stg. per annum from his tenants many of whom had reputedly been considered freeholders (see Provincial Commissioners Annual Reports).

The need for constant monitoring and revision of customary law also testifies to the corrupt land-grabbing tendency of the chiefs to exploit the codification of “custom” by the British: examples are the compilation of a second register in 1921, attempts to fix rents in 1922, Nyarubanja Rules passed in 1929, amended in 1938, revised in 1941, and the 1956 Nyarubanja Amendment Rules.

Another result of the change to a codified land tenure based on custom was the development of a new type of land tenure arrangement—biteme-squatters. A squatter, unlike the traditional feudal tenant, could be evicted at will by the landlord. The squatter family lost some feudal protection but gained access to improved arable land—a scarce resource in Hayaland.

In the 1890s, at the time of the first German residency, there were both the new, and older squatter tenancies and the latter must have predated the colonial period:

Squatter holdings probably originate for one of the following reasons: either a man inherits more land than he can use himself and therefore allows other people to occupy the extra parts as squatters, or a nyarubanja landlord prefers to replace the tenant of a vacant tenancy with a squatter instead of installing a new tenant.

Squatters are often minor heirs who found their share of the inheritance insufficient for their needs and appealed to the owner of a large plantation to let them have enough land from which to make a living, preferring to work in a plantation already under cultivation than to apply for an allocation of land and work it up from the beginning ... a squatter who has to leave his plantation usually prefers to become a squatter again rather than start a plantation of his own...

Owing to the belief that a plantation must be inhabited to prosper squatters were encouraged to live in these plantations which were known as biteme. (Cory and Hartnell, 1971:146–149).

All of the above indicate the willingness of the more powerful Hayas to exploit their fellow tribesmen. Yet why was it thought that a plantation must be inhabited to prosper? At first glance, this would indicate that nyarubanja holders were acting on the dictates of custom rather than trying to increase profits, but in fact the landlords favoured occupied land because of the rent from both squatters and tenants in the form of food, beer, bananas, coffee cherry, and labour on the landlord’s plantation. Squatters also enhanced the prestige of the landlord by having more retainers at hand. The men could be drafted as soldier/policemen
to enforce rent/tax exactions and men and women could extend the
domain of the landlord or chief.

There were two basic differences between squatters and tenants.
Squatters were accorded a higher social status than tenants:

The landlord regarded, and today regards his tenants as his people or underlings,
whereas the owner of a kibanja who allocates a portion of his land to another man as
his squatter looks upon the latter as his partner in a contract, his junior partner
certainly, but nevertheless his social equal. (Cory and Hartnoll, 1971:147).

There was a trade-off made for this social status. A squatter could be
expelled from his land at the landlord’s wish. The squatter thus lost the
security of customary tenure. A movement toward increasing squatter
tenancies on a large scale, as noted in the previous quotations, would
seem to indicate a transitional phase in which feudal customs were
giving way to capitalistic tenures.

Another interesting point concerns why the squatters, if dispossessed
for whatever reason, wanted to become squatters elsewhere. This can
only be partly explained by the already mentioned social status. The
squatter could have become a “free commoner” taking up land as his
birthright. Yet, most probably, this would be uncleared land, that had
reverted to a “state of nature”. It was not necessarily land per se but im-
proved land that was economically valuable. Arable land was improved
by organizing human labour and integrating cattle production in order
to enhance natural fertility. Soil upgrading public works were funda-
mental to Haya relations of production. The squatter would forego the
social security of the traditional order—guaranteed access to land,
security of tenure and customary rent—in exchange for a contractual
type of arrangement under which shares of cash crops were “defined’
between the two partners” (Cory and Hartnoll, 1971:147). The contract
did not absolve the squatter of all the old patriarchal clauses, such as
acting as a messenger (idem) But the squatter gained access to land he
would not have to clear, and did not have to invest a large quantity of
labour in building up the topsoil with mulches, amendments, and
fertilizer. If he opted to take over unused land and improve it using
only his own resources (including access to sub-clan cattle manure),
then he would have to sacrifice a period of about ten years of optimum
productivity and profit, see Friedrich (1968: 188–189) who states that
“this build-up of soil fertility is the more marked the older the home-
stead”.

Thus, to reiterate the main points: Squatter tenancies increased at the
time that coffee began to be commoditized. The advantage of squatters,
for landlords, was that they reduced wage labour costs on the one hand,
and feudal customary protection accorded to tenants on the other. From
the point of view of the squatter, not being a tenant (or serf), increased
one’s social status; more importantly, even a squatter entitled to un-
improved land as a freeholder, would prefer to work improved land as
a squatter. This would allow immediate profits and meant the avoidance of ten years of arduous "capital improvement". The proliferation of squatter tenancies illustrates a crucial point: improved, arable land necessary to peasant reproduction was not a free good (as Hyden's model often presupposes). A squatter was willing to forego traditional rights and freedoms for access to arable land and the "free" peasantry was becoming more land conscious.

The nyarubanja system (the bulwark of royal Hinda power) was under siege from the new social relations of production. Nyarubanja tenures became the subject of intense conflict, due to the intensification of feudal exploitation: the landlords tried to exploit the batwara or tenants as unpaid wage labourers during coffee harvest time. This was doubly onerous to peasants since they had their own coffee to harvest. Tenants, once legally freed (under statute) from the threat of eviction stopped working for landlords. Iliiffe (1979:283) succinctly sums up official correspondences and records:

In 1925, the British freed tenants from tributary labour but forbade owners to evict those who did not work for them. Tenants promptly refused to work and nyarubanja owners protested vociferously. Four years later, the governor imposed a settlement, the owner was to pay (sic) government between five and twenty shillings each year and receive a share of his tenants' banana and coffee, but no free labour was to be demanded and no new nyarubanja created. The settlement improved the lot of tenants but conflict between them and landlords festered throughout British rule.

Land hunger is also reflected in the increasing criminal and civil litigation. The rising rate of arson throughout the colonial period was the result of attempts to attack landlords and, in other cases, to dispossess fellow commoners. Throughout the 1930s and the 1940s an increase in crime and houseburning is reported in Tanganyika Provincial Commissioner's Reports (TPC, 1935:48; TPC,1941:22). The latter report includes a scheme for the communities to be responsible for rebuilding houses.

Civil law cases focused primarily on land issues. In 1936 (TPC, 1936:33) reports that "in most kingdoms no more land is available for expansion". By 1938 one sees the first evidence of foreclosures on mortgages leading to complete landlessness, Tanganyika Provincial Commissioners, 1938:30-31. By 1950 it is noted that "in the present inflation serious fragmentation of coffee shambas continues fast", Tanganyika Provincial Commissioners, 1950:69. By 1952, 40 per cent of all civil suits involved land claims (Provincial Commissioners 1952:11). Similarly, in 1953:

High coffee prices led to increased demand for land and more civil suits. A local move to repudiate nyarubanja tenancy is significant in connection with current problems of land tenure reform. Tanganyika Provincial Commissioners, 1953:51.
WAGE LABOUR

As the theory of the peasant mode of production predicts, there was little "proletarianization" in the sense of total dispossession of the Haya from the land. Two factors shielded the Haya from the onset of the process of proletarianization: one was the conjuncture of world market and political forces, the other was the presence of cheap migrant labour. As I have argued in an earlier work (Smith, 1985), capitalism did not develop in the Bukoba region primarily because the global system of capitalist relations did not encourage indigenous capital accumulation. The colonialists, at times skillfully, manipulated indigenous class contradictions to impede the development of an indigenous capitalist class.

The impoverishment of a neighbouring region (Rwanda–Burundi) ensured a supply of cheap labour willing to work for subsistence. The effect of this labour influx was that wealthier Haya landlords could hire abundant labour during the harvest. This worked to the advantage of these landlords who could not expropriate peasant land and create capitalist latifundia-style plantations because they did not have the necessary political/military power or capital. Few Asians tried to operate coffee plantations, and those few who did generated hostility from Haya planters; as in one case in which an Asian-owned plantation was expropriated without compensation after independence (personal communication from Gulambas Visram).

Smallholders used migrant labour as a buffer against royal landholders: because they could pay migrants in the form of subsistence goods or low piece work rates, the Haya smallholders were able to pay their own rents at a relatively low opportunity cost, at least in years of high coffee prices. The migrant worker reserve helped prevent the possibility of enclosures, since the social costs would be high relative to migrant wages and the larger landholders would have no incentive to invest capital—the pre-condition to evicting tenants or squatters.

By the 1920s coffee boom, there was an unmet demand for wage labour, unlike the situation at the turn of the century, when the need for farm workers was so limited that it could be filled by the small number of landless younger sons who had not yet gained access to another plot through marriage or escheat redistribution. In that earlier period it was only the larger nyarubanja holders (royals with few exceptions) who could hire or needed to hire poor squatters, who were "paid" in subsistence and a small share of the coffee which they sold back to the Asian merchant at a fraction of its value (Fairclough, n.d. T.N.A. file 1418). By the 1920s, as coffee production took off and prices rose, richer peasants and even some middle peasants began using hired hands. With the increase in coffee prices and greatly expanded produc-
tion, coffee revenues rose sharply. In this bull market there were fewer squatters or tenants who would not be willing to assert their birthright to land. The labour and other costs of clearing and improving new land were offset by a greater incentive to extend plantations and reap profits from coffee. At harvest-time, when more labour was required, less labour was now locally available, so the Haya turned to hiring bashuti, migrant labourers from overpopulated and impoverished surrounding areas (mostly from Rwanda and Burundi, although a few came from Kigoma, Ngura or Karagwe).

By the end of the decade 20,000 or so bashuti were seasonally employed, some living as squatters in the banana groves (Iliffe, 1979:282). The going wage rate on large plantations was a meager four shillings per month. Often, wage workers would be fed by the wives of their employers. Their duties included picking coffee, carrying it to buying centers and even carrying their employer to church on Sundays. Permanent wage labourers cultivated the land, did the weeding, peeled bananas and cut firewood. Middle peasants, who could not afford to hire permanent workers, might still benefit from the labour-pool since some migrants worked for middle peasants after earning a cash wage. In exchange for this late afternoon work, they would receive payment in kind in the form of lodging and food (beans, bananas, beer or cassava) (Haarer, 1956:141; Miyo, 1975; Fairclough n.d. TNA/1418/53; Iliffe, 1979:282).

Some middle peasants paid migrant labourers on a piece-work basis. Pickers filled large tins with ripe coffee berries and were paid by the tin. According to my respondents, the rates quoted varied between 2 cents and 20 cents per tin. Wages depended on the expected prices that the peasant would receive and the available supply of migrant labour (relative to the amount needed). Workers were paid at the end of the day and they would work for whoever needed them on a given day.

In years of low prices less cash would be available to the larger employers. Thus they would hire fewer wage labourers. Therefore one can also assume that fewer labourers would be available to assist middle peasants in exchange for food or shelter. How then did the coffee get harvested when less wage labour was available? The family itself represents a reserve of labour. Whether or not it was fully exploited tended to be largely a function of prices. In times of need, the sexual division of labour, in which the men did all the coffee-related chores, would break down and women and children would be put to work. As Haarer, 1956:140 points out, “even if low prices stopped all hiring, it is doubtful this would much reduce production”. For the middle peasant, one must note a reserve of family labour that could be super-exploited (up to the point of physical exhaustion) to harvest most of the crop. Wage labour allowed for a marginal increase in coffee harvested but was only an economic possibility if expected selling prices were high. In
some ways these practices corroborate Hyden’s peasant risk minimization hypothesis but there are two additional points which temper this conclusion: 1) peasants depended on the outside agency of prices to determine their hiring needs 2) a class of petty capitalist farmers was emerging which habitually required wage labour as part of its normal operation.

The demand for bashuti became more pronounced as the colonial period progressed. The peasant farmer, in years of bad harvests, produced fewer subsistence goods with which to ‘pay’ labourers. In years of low prices, he could exploit his own and his family’s labour to a greater extent but landlords, especially the larger ones, required more labour than even the large extended family could provide. Larger farmers had little option but to hire cheap migrant wage labour. Thus, capitalist relations of production intensified as: 1) feudal holders became, by necessity, more capitalist and 2) richer peasants accumulated capital. Most informants reported that at first they did not hire wage workers, but as their coffee production and incomes increased, they were able to do so.

Coffee beans had to be harvested while ripe, so that migrant labourers could only work about two weeks per farm, the time allowed for optimum picking of the crop. Therefore their Bukoba-based work only lasted a month or two. Harvesting took place in the dry season, i.e. June and July. Migrants stayed for the harvest season and left, although a few stayed around for several years. Since the peak migrations to Buganda were in April and May, migrants may have worked in Hayaland on the way back from Uganda. In Hayaland itself the work done later in the day for payment in kind must be considered as a sort of wage equivalent. I assume that this ‘moonlighting’ on smaller farms provided them with at least enough food to build themselves up physically. The provision of banana beer would also provide some entertainment and diversion. One must also assume that some food might be obtained, e.g. dry grains such as rice or maize, that could be stockpiled for the return journey.

Reproduction of wage labour took place in impoverished areas, such as Rwanda, outside of the Haya kingdoms. One can speculate that two types of compulsion lay behind migration to Bukoba. The first (more obvious and well documented) is that the labourers needed cash in order to pay taxes and protect their own small holding at home. Married men would separate from their families and single men hoping to obtain land or a bride price would migrate during the harvest. Richards, 1951:64, points out that few migrants were women. In Uganda, the male/female ratio among migrant workers was 5 to 1. Richards, 1951: 260 also quotes two statistical studies of Rwanda and Burundi emigrants in Buganda. Some of the most common stated reasons to leaving were: the need for money to pay taxes 29.5 per cent, to earn money for domestic use 27 per cent, and payment of bride wealth 6.5 per cent.
Another unstated reason for migration was the exchange rate differential existing between the devalued Belgian Franc and Sterling. Sterling currencies would realize a high premium in impoverished Rwanda.

Some other stated reasons for migration included beatings by landlords at home, forced labour in swamps, and other unpopular, arduous, and low paid work (Powersland, 1951:31). At least migrant labourers in Bukoba were fed and might take home some food; also they might have been en route to or from Buganda where wages were higher. During times of famine, in the migrants’ homes, one might expect whole families to migrate. Yet, according to my informants, this was the rare exception in any given year. One can assume that the irregular man-made and natural disasters in surrounding areas would greatly augment both the numbers of migrants and the cheapness of their labour power. This was, of course, another variable affecting the extent of Haya labour hiring practices.

Victims of famines wanted to escape starvation. The 1936 Government of Uganda Territory, Annual Report of the Medical Department describes these migrants as “half starved and debilitated”. In the two surveys mentioned, 6 per cent were off to rejoin relatives. The Nile hydrometer considered 1922 and 1928 to be drought years (Herring, 1979:48). In 1928, a record famine year, 58,000 persons fled Rwanda and entered Uganda.
PEASANT DIFFERENTIATION

The availability of cheap migrant labour may have tempered the process of proletarianization of the Haya but it intensified differentiation of the peasantry into at least embryonic social classes. Under a pure ‘peasant economy’ differentiation would occur only by family size under the assumptions of Chayanov’s rule, but the formation of a class of ‘petty capitalist farmers’ implies a challenge to the peasant mode of production.

The large number of coffee growers obscures the extent of their inequality. The richest fraction of the indigenous farmers grew as much as 3 tons of coffee per family unit (Northcote, 1936: TNA/ 215/1410). Many of the richer African farmers also acted as traders: Northcote reports that there were as many as 5–7,000 Africans engaged in petty trade “most of whom” also grew coffee (see also Northwest to DA, January 1929, TNA 215/71/A/50). The reported 5–7,000 traders is merely an estimate, since only 682 Africans were substantial enough traders to obtain a license (Tanganyika Provincial Commissioners, 1937:27). The core of the larger growers and traders were instrumental in establishing co-operative societies.

By the 1950s there existed a core of approximately 8000 wealthy Haya grower/traders who produced an average of 1/2 ton each, accounting for approximately 1/4 of the coffee harvest. This figure is arrived at by using Haarer’s (1956) estimate that the richest 10 per cent of the productive population controlled 23 per cent of the land. Usually these were the most fertile parcels so that coffee production may even have exceeded one quarter of the total. (The poorest 60 per cent of Haya farmers controlled only 37 per cent of the land). I estimate that among the top ten per cent, there was an elite (less than 0.5 per cent of all growers) who produced the upper limit of coffee and also engaged in other enterprises. Most of these were licensed African traders and most probably NGA members as well.

Many of the rich peasants derived an income from sources other than coffee, including civil service jobs, shops, transport, hulling and other businesses. As the informants in my sample note, the rich peasant was often a middleman buying from the smallholder and selling to the Asian merchant, but many also worked as clerks, teachers, lawyers, etc.. Some of them were recruited from ‘royal’ lineages, yet there was an important structural difference between the rich peasants (kulaks) and the royal nyarubanja landholders. Some kulaks enjoyed the initial advantages of being landholders but they parlayed these into skills necessary for capital accumulation. Unlike the feudal ruling class, the hallmark of the kulak was accumulation rather than largesse. Their incomes were spent on improvement of their land, lorries, hullers
additional land, and education. Thus they were not as tied up as the traditional rulers in the older forms of exploitation characterizing the previous "economy of affection".

The main impediment to African capital accumulation was a conscious policy by colonial administrators, with the support of the Kings, to restrict petty capitalism. The Haya royals exploited tenants and squatters using the nyarubanja system, and looked upon this exploitation as an ascribed right. The 'royal' would only turn to migrant (or other) wage labour to the extent that he was forced to do so by colonial restrictions. Commoner nyarubanja holders had no choice but to hire temporary workers and perhaps a few permanent labourers.

Capitalist farmers were more progressive in the sense that they used fertilizer, insecticide, innovative agricultural techniques and diversified their interests. Although most rich peasants became richer by buying more land and producing more coffee. This was because of: the dearth of alternative investment opportunities, exclusion by European and Asian interests, the social status accorded to agriculture, and good business sense in sticking with investments in an area where they had expertise and experience. The overall effect of the creation of a class of rich peasants was to increase the shortage of land available to poor and middle status farmers and to increase land fragmentation as well as to intensify labour on the average smallholding.
ELASTICITY OF COFFEE PRODUCTION IN THE SHORT AND LONG TERM

The thesis of the uncaptured peasantry assumes that the peasant family producers made their farm production decisions on the basis of "moral obligations" originating in the "private realm" (Hyden, 1980:27). A closer examination of some actual peasant producers (both as individuals and as an aggregate) gives a different picture. Peasants made long-term production decisions involving planting more coffee trees on the basis of prices. The sustained high prices of the 1920s and 1950s led to two drives to grow more coffee.

The Haya's socially acceptable standard of living necessitated a certain amount of cash income. Since coffee production was the only viable source of this income, peasants followed two basic strategies to gear income to the pull of consumer purchases. If producer-real-prices were high over a sustained period (the twenties and fifties boom) peasants would invest capital and plant more trees. In other periods peasants would try to cut labour and control costs within the confines of ecological constraints.

Peasant coffee production depended primarily in the short-term on the amount harvested per tree. I believe that as a general rule, climate and ecological factors (including labour migration caused by famines in neighbouring areas) explained short-term variation in production, while long-term changes (coffee booms) were the result of price incentives.

During the 1921–1954 period, relative prices of Bukoba's coffee harvest (total revenue divided by total output) varied from a 1931 and 1938 low of 20.2 shillings per cwt. to a 1954 high of 407 shillings per cwt., a differential of almost 20 times, but these were not the prices that farmers were paid. Those informants who could remember (none kept written records) recalled being paid prices in the 1940s, ranging from 9 to 27 shillings per cwt., a differential of less than 3 times. As might be expected (keeping in mind Chayanov's assertion that peasants vary output more than a capitalist enterprise) output differentials on smallholder farms followed the pattern of producer prices, not total revenues. The official output differential in total production varied no more than three times between 1925 and 1955, but the output figures (table 1) did follow sustained price rises showing an increase of 2.6 between 1922 and 1928, and the 1950–1955 average was almost double that of the five previous years. By the 1950s prices were much higher than previously, but this indicates inflation as well as increases in real incomes. Until the mid 1940s producer cash incomes averaged only 100 shillings or less per annum; by 1959 they had risen to over 250 pounds sterling, or fifty times, mainly because of high prices and co-operatives (Tanganyika Provincial Commissioners, 1945 and 1959).
Although information is incomplete, it is clear that the middleman, not the farmer, was the main beneficiary of short-term world market price increases. For the 1940s and 1950s, when my respondents were operating their farms, the ratio reported between the lowest producer prices and the lowest export prices was 1:3, whilst the ratio of the highest producer prices to the highest export prices was 1:15. In years of low prices, the merchant middleman would earn only a very small profit. (In 1940, for example, when the export price was 32 shillings/cwt and the producers’ price 9 shillings/cwt and transport costs and taxes relatively fixed, the middleman would probably only make 2 or 3 shillings/cwt.) In years of high prices the middlemen realized a windfall. In 1952, when the export price of a cwt of coffee was 208 shillings and the producers’ price 108 shillings (Tanganyika Provincial Commissioners, 1952) the middlemen (in this case the BNCU) obtained a profit of about 70 shillings per cwt. after transport costs. Differentials between producer and market prices meant that the farmers had little access to savings. This is not the same as risk minimization per se.

Similarly, credit was not available to the middle peasantry. My informants all indicated that they did not receive any cash advances to finance production. Only the larger peasant/middleman were able to borrow money. When cash was necessary at the beginning of a production cycle it was obtained from past savings, otherwise wage labour was not employed or paid in kind, as one informant put it:

Money was very scarce ... so we used to employ family labour and pay the hired labour in terms of goods.

An other stated:

There was no need of money at the beginning ... but later as coffee increased we started financing production from past saving.

In periods of sustained price rises (such as the 1920s and 1950s) peasants were willing to undertake production measures involving cash outlays. But even during the 1930s and 1940s when prices remained relatively low and surplus prestation relatively high, peasants needed to grow cash crops to supplement subsistence and offset feudal rent exactions—so they could not “exit” from coffee production.

Peasant motivations

The motivations behind producer decisions is a key issue in a discussion of elasticity, as well as a central tenet in Hyden’s analysis. He argues that if prices are high or productivity increases, peasants will increase their leisure rather than try to produce more surplus. Was this the case in Hayaland where colonial officials frequently complained of drunk-
enness and laziness? Complaints about lack of enterprise among the Haya abound. In 1935 C. McMahon, Provincial Commissioner, noted that the coffee trees were in bad shape. In 1936 he stressed that the Haya should improve cultivation to obtain higher yields. One year later, the P.C., G.F. Webster would state:

...the banana supplies them with both their staple diet and their beer, the latter of which they drink in excessive qualities ... coffee, which is grown among the bananas, is their cash crop and since neither the banana nor the coffee tree require much labour to maintain, the people have acquired a very indolent habit of life. (TPC, 1937)

In 1943 the situation was considered somewhat improved but the same complaints were voiced:

Cultivation of the coffee plots generally were maintained at a reasonable standard, special attention being given to improvement of the soil. A mulching campaign was undertaken ... and results can be said to be satisfactory ... Care of the coffee tree was not what it might be, but instructions in regeneration and care of the tree continued to be given and progress reported. (TPC, 1943)

In 1947 R. de Z. Hall echoed McMahon’s complaint of 10 years earlier:

The African coffee growers in Bukoba, with a few exceptions, have always expected their crop to look after itself and have been unwilling to undertake recommended methods of coffee culture and pest control. (TPC, 1947)

In 1933 a Veterinary Report had stated the same arguments in even stronger terms (TNA). Even by the early 1950s the same type of complaints were being voiced:

The Buhaya take little interest in the regeneration of new coffee wood and the control of pests, though attention of these could almost double the yield in a season. (TPC, 1953)

The same report repeated the 1941 complaint that the Haya should pay more attention to tree maintenance and to preventing the depletion of soil fertility. In a later FAO report on world coffee production makes similar comments, Krug (1968) noted that: “production could be doubled in five years merely by pruning, spraying and better picking.” (To help achieve this the BNCU and Native Council had subsidized pruning as of 1949).

If taken at face value, these quotations support Hyden’s view of a risk minimizing peasantry who avoid the labour costs of modernizing production, but they can also be interpreted in another way. The frequency of complaints of laziness in colonial reports was greater in the 1930s and 1940s when consumer goods prices were relatively high and coffee prices relatively low. Therefore it is possible that conjunctural factors (rather than peasant laziness) can explain peasant agricultural practices.
Output, the World Market and Peasant Production

During the colonial period Bukoba peasantry produced coffee for export: an average of 60.7 per cent of Tanganyika’s total production in the 27 years for which Bukoba and national figures were available. Exports varied from year to year (see Table 1). To accurately gauge the Haya market response one would need to know: the exact number of trees planted year by year, the production per tree (in terms of coffee harvested), the level of stocks carried over from previous production, the amount of produce that was rejected before export occurred, and the amount of coffee smuggled into Uganda. Unfortunately, none of these precise figures are available, nevertheless, I believe that the overall trends can be established reasonably clearly from the information that is available.

Increased production in the twenties was the result of a combination of factors. The 1920s was a period of rapid expansion of coffee production. Augmentation from a 1920 figure of 1,269 tons to a decade high of 7,832 tons, in 1928, occurred more or less continuously. The average revenue for the decade was 55 shillings per cwt., a level not to be surpassed until the 1950s (see Table 1). In the twenties the feudal ruling class and richer commoners increased production as much as possible aided by the availability of cheap migrant labour, especially during the major famines in Rwanda–Burundi in 1922, 1923 and 1928.

In the 1930s rent and tax exactions, a world depression and rejections of exports due to poor quality combined to depress Haya incomes, especially between 1930 and 1933. Average coffee revenues throughout the decade dropped to a level of 26 shillings per cwt. But production still increased significantly over the 1920’s peaks, especially after 1934 when quality control mechanisms had been established and enforced. Production reached record highs in 1934, 1935 and again in 1939. The two years of lowest production, 1936 and 1938, can be explained by climatic conditions—too much rain in the former year and near drought in the latter year (Tanganyika Provincial Commissioners, 1936 and 1938). The conclusion which must be drawn from this decade is that the peasant producer was forced to increase production or at least impelled to do so to maintain their standard of living. The conjuncture of low prices, record production, heavy taxes, dissatisfaction with merchants, and frequent complaints about agricultural technique indicate self exploitation of the peasantry to increase production within a framework of what appears as compulsion; despite low real prices peasants did not all exit from the market, in fact the reverse was true, they increased coffee production in order to maintain their existing standard of living which now depended on cash expenditures.

The 1940s is a relatively complicated decade. Coffee prices rose continuously throughout the decade but production did not follow a pattern
which was immediately clear. The lowest production year, 1946, can be at least partly explained by drought conditions (this year was almost 3,000 tons below the decade average). The years 1941 and 1944 were also below the decade mean. Two reasons help explain this:

1) the fact that consumer goods were not available because of the war and that imports, even at controlled prices, were "ruinously expensive" given the average cash income of 92 shillings per capita (Tanganyika Provincial Commissioners, 1945: 34).

2) conscription and forced labour demands of the war significantly reduced the adult male labour force, taking them off the farms.

Yet these factors still present an anomaly, since one must explain production levels above the decade average in 1942, 1943 and 1945, also war years. This can be explained by two factors: favourable climatic conditions in those years, and drawing upon reserves of family labour—significantly not diverted to food crops.

In the last years of the forties and into the fifties, prices rose to all time highs. Yet official production did not surpass the figures of the depressed thirties. Several factors will help explain this. The Haya had reached an equilibrium point where new plantings would threaten their subsistence. Food shortages reported in 1946 already demonstrated this. (Free-stand coffee plantings would, as noted, have required a massive dispossession of the middle peasantry). As Hyden correctly points out there was no social base for a total transformation of the smallholder farming system.

Nevertheless some major changes in the farm system had occurred, including the depletion of soil fertility combined with an intensification of coffee production in the form of frequent picking of unripe cherry, improper drying, and "hulling wet cherry in primitive wooden hand-hullers" (Tanganyika Provincial Commissioners, 1954: 64). These agricultural factors must be explained by one and one half decades of low prices which did not offer an incentive or even an opportunity for most peasant producers to lay out cash needed for capital improvements. Even improvements possible with only a labour input would usually have required additional hiring. In a period of consistently low producer prices such investments seemed completely irrational to the Haya, who correctly perceived that there was little to gain. But in the 1950s, during a time of sustained price rises, the Haya promptly increased their production by replacing trees and more rigorous harvesting.

As we examine the composition of this output we must consider 'on the farm' and regional factors. These are: the number of trees planted, output per tree, carryovers, and smuggling.

In Bukoba district as a whole, no exact count was kept of the number of coffee trees, but certain indications do exist. In 1937, the Senior Agricultural Officer, T.S. Jarvis, estimated that the Bukoba district contained
three and one half million trees (Jarvis, 1937, TNA). Taking export figures for that year gives a mean production per tree of about two kilos. The figure for the number of trees is undoubtedly an underestimate since most encyclopedias state that a mature coffee tree (at its peak between ten and fifteen years) produces about this much hulled coffee cherry per year. (Remember that Bukoba production did not take place under optimum conditions and that there was quite a high level of rejection of poor quality coffee cherry). Since Friedrich (1968:161) measured an average annual production of 1.6 pounds of peeled coffee per tree (in his study of 120 farms) therefore Jarvis' figure probably only counts about one-half the number of trees (see table 1). If the estimate of 92,000 (the number of growers cited, Tanganyika, Provincial Commissioners, 1955), is correct, then at that time when annual exports were about 11,000 tons, the average farmer would be growing roughly 240 trees on about one hectare of land (using the Friedrich,1968:191 average tree density of 93 trees per acre). The early 1920s were a period of peak planting; Armitage–Smith (1932) estimated that the Haya had planted a total of about two million coffee trees by 1922. By the time these trees matured six years later Haya production reached about 9,000 tons (or almost 3/4 the FAO quotas for Bukoba set in the 1950s and still adhered to). This means that by 1930 there were between six million and twelve million trees.

Tree plantings came from at least four different sources. Until the 1940s, seedlings were obtained mainly from missionaries, settler plantations, and the farmer's own stock. But by the mid 1950s the Co-operative Unions were supplying all the better quality replacements and new plantings at a rate of 800,000 seedlings per year (Tanganyika Provincial Commissioners, 1954 and 1959). Since all available arable was now being cultivated, one can assume that the Haya were now replacing worn out coffee trees at a rapid rate to improve production for a boom market. These tree plantings clearly indicate a necessary link between peasant agriculture and outside agencies.

There is no consistently precise information on carryovers but hypotheses can be made. I assume that carryovers were insignificant in most years. In 1929 total East African coffee stocks stood at only 1116 tons (East Africa, 1929 Vol. 5). In 1938 the P.C. reported a carryover of 1225 tons for export or about 10 per cent of the year's crop (Tanganyika, Provincial Commissioners, 1938). This was not held by peasants but in the godowns of the larger merchants. In 1954 the co-operative union is reported to have lost 300,000 pounds stg, because of the spoilage of approximately 1,000 tons of its stocks. (Spoilage was common due to dampness, pests, and inadequate drying). This again represents about 10 per cent of the crop. This figure was obviously a ceiling above which the risks of spoilage would not merit holding back exports whatever the
price. I believe that because of spoilage risks usually less than 5 per cent of export was taken from past stocks.

Another factor affecting production of export is spoilage or carryovers on the peasant plots. Carryovers are assumed to be more or less insignificant phenomena because of the risks, in this case to the peasant, of rejection of poor quality production (few farmers even today have storehouses and given the average regional rainfall of 2,000 mm. few farmers could have prevented rapid spoilage of stocks). After the 1929 to 1933 period, frequent complaints brought down prices and necessitated stricter controls. By law, peasants were required to burn their unsold stocks, to prevent contamination.

During the late forties and fifties smuggling seems to have increased. If the highest reported estimate of 1/3 of the crop is taken seriously, then presumably by 1950, production may actually have been 1/3 higher than earlier production peaks. Replacement plantings and better production techniques, in response to higher prices, most likely indicate that the official export figures were under-representations. Smuggling was an avoidance of the state but it does indicate a responsiveness to international markets.

Smuggling seems to have been relatively unimportant up until the late 1940s and 1950s—when higher prices in Uganda and alleged corruption and mismanagement in the co-operative movement created conditions under which 10–30 per cent of the crop may have passed through illicit channels. This is evidenced by statements in the Provincial Commissioners Reports noting "heavy" or "appreciable" losses and the need for effective action. "An appreciable amount of the crop continued to be lost through smuggling. To check this, in the absence of an effective legal remedy, reliance is placed on an improved initial price and earlier second payment." (Tanganyika Provincial Commissioners, 1952:62). "The greatest problem is that of smuggling, which led to heavy losses of levy income." (Tanganyika Provincial Commissioners, 1953:69). Or the statement (Tanganyika Provincial Commissioners, 1955:58) that near the Ugandan border "smuggling has been both profitable and easy."

This evidence corroborates my hypothesis of increased production in the 1950s. Official levels had only reached the official peaks of the 1920s and 1930s, but if we assume that smuggling added 10–20 per cent, this would indicate a significant augmentation of productive capacity.

The level of smuggling need not imply an uncaptured peasantry. Even the most advanced capitalist states cannot prevent the operation of an "informal economy". I believe that coffee smuggling indicates that peasants were in fact very well integrated into a market economy. If the peasants felt the co-ops were not offering a competitive producer price they looked in a capitalist fashion for a better deal elsewhere. It was the high prices of the 1950s and the gap between the Tanganyikan and
Ugandan or Kenyan prices that made smuggling an attractive option. Lower prices would not allow peasants to pay the "extra transport costs" that smuggling requires.

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SUMMARY

I have not demonstrated that British colonialism "captured" the Haya peasantry. My argument is more modest; I believe that I have demonstrated that new stresses were introduced into the "primordial realm". A process had begun which did not radically transform productive technology but did significantly change social relations of production in the six ways discussed in this paper. The reproduction of the peasantry beyond survival was not possible without a linkage to agencies outside the peasant mode of production. Coffee production had decreased the possibilities of subsistence without recourse to the market by taking improved arable land out of the subsistence sphere and introducing required cash expenses (such as taxes) and at least certain commodities into the realm of the socially acceptable standard of living.
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This research report argues that during the colonial period the socially acceptable standard of living of the smallholder was fundamentally altered. The operation of the smallhold farm unit changed primarily in six areas. These are: 1) food security and consumer goods; 2) changed relations of production on the smallholder plot; 3) customary law and land tenure; 4) wage labour; 5) social differentiation; 6) the long term price elasticity of coffee production.

Smallholders were not completely "captured" and proletarianized but neither did they correspond to Hyden's version of an "uncaptured peasantry". This is primarily because they now required certain goods and services from outside the peasant mode of production as a necessary link in their social reproduction.

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