

Investigation on Contributions of Cooperative Unions towards Improvement of Peasant Welfare in Magu and Kwimba District Mwanza Region from 1920s to 2000s

Lemeri Navuri*

Mwenge Catholic University, P O BOX-1226 Moshi, Tanzania

DOI: [10.36348/jaep.2020.v04i04.006](https://doi.org/10.36348/jaep.2020.v04i04.006)

| Received: 02.04.2020 | Accepted: 18.04.2020 | Published: 30.04.2020

*Corresponding author: Lemeri Navuri

Abstract

This study aimed at investigating the contributions of cooperative unions towards improvement of peasants' welfare in Magu and Kwimba districts Mwanza region from 1920s – 2000s. The study has two specific objectives: to identify the benefits of cooperative unions in Mwanza region in Kwimba and Magu district; to identify the challenges of cooperative unions to peasants; in Kwimba and Magu districts. The data for this study were collected from 51 respondents who included 40 peasants, 6 village cooperative union leaders, 2 cotton ginneries managers 1 Regional administrative officer and 2 Nyanza Cooperative Union leaders. Methodology of this study drew on qualitative approach based on different methods of data collection such as interview, questionnaire, focus group discussion and documentary review. The study revealed that, cooperative unions in Mwanza region benefited greatly the peasants including struggling and finally attainment of independence in Tanganyika in collaboration with elite class, provision of education to peasants and supplying of agricultural inputs to peasants. However cooperative unions in Mwanza region from 1920s to 2000s are facing various challenges which include privatization policy under globalization which has left peasants frustrated without a special organization to chain their problems. Currently, Private companies have dominated the peasant market for their agricultural produce without granting them subsidy. The study recommended that, the government should grant peasants with subsidies and prepare an enabling environment for peasants to acquire inputs on reasonable credit. Nyanza cooperative union and other cooperative unions in Tanzania should be re- established and introduce farm class for peasants. Further studies should be conducted to reveal the contribution of private companies towards improving peasant's welfare in today's world of globalization.

Keywords: Cooperative, Cooperative union, Peasants, Welfare.

Copyright @ 2020: This is an open-access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution license which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium for non-commercial use (NonCommercial, or CC-BY-NC) provided the original author and sources are credited.

INTRODUCTION

Existence of humankind is associated with production in order to earn a living. The habit of living by agriculture, growing food instead of hunting game and gathering wild plants began from the Neolithic [1]. In due regard, people could settle at one place for quite long a period, make permanent villages, and collect a good deal of their wondering in search for game and wild plants [2]. When Bantu cultivators occupied Western Tanzania, no doubt over a period of centuries, they seemed to spread out fairly widely. Current traditions indicate that there has long been much movement from one area to another in face of invasion or search for new land to hunt or cultivate [3].

Burns and Collins [4] comments that Egypt comfortably situated in the fertile Nile Valley easily

adopted wheat, barley and peas from the Fertile Crescent about 4000 Before Christ Era (BC), 4,000 years after there were staples in the Middle East to add to their indigenous cultivation. Evidence shows that, domestication of wild plants in Egypt and Ethiopia created a sedentary, agricultural society that prospered on arrival of cereals, goats and sheep from Southwest Asia [4]. July [5] explains that, as cultivation was introduced, early people could look beyond immediate production toward ultimate objectives. People could accumulate and preserve food for future consumption, utilizing freed time for some other purpose than subsistence [5].

Ogutu and colleagues [6] reveals that traditional African agriculture was geared towards subsistence and not towards commercialization. Ingle [7] argues that before Germans came to Tanganyika in

the 19th century, the population, which was largely Bantu, had contacts with Greeks, Chinese, Arabs and Portuguese. The foreigners made no attempt to change traditional behavior or agricultural patterns [7]. The principal form was subsistence agriculture, which entailed using a plot of land for a few seasons and then shifted to new and often virgin land once soil fertility was depleted [7]. Such type of crop production continued up to arrival of colonialist in Tanganyika and changed it.

During the German colonial rule, three of the following most productive areas of modern Tanzania began to export commercial crops: Sukumaland located in northwestern Tanzania on or near southern shores of Lake Victoria (Figure 3.1); Buhaya located in northwestern Tanzania bordering Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi [8]; and Kilimanjaro located in the Northeastern part of mainland Tanzania [9]. Cotton industry in Sukumaland began in the 1900s when a settler established himself in Nela Chiefdom and arranged a share cropping scheme with local headmen [10]. Young Wasukuma settled on their land, received free seed, cultivated cotton and sold cotton very cheaply. In addition, around 1906 Wasukuma were tired of such a profitable system [10]. Instead, the government began to encourage and often compelled people to grow cotton as a peasant crop. Nasa Chiefdom was the first to benefit, and then as one Sukuma remembered that, "other Chiefdoms seeing the profit in it began to demand seeds as well, and 163,334 pounds of raw cotton were exported through Mwanza during 1911" [10].

Ingle [7] reports that World War I (1914 – 1918) brought German rule to an end and led to establishment of the British colonial regime. Mwikikagile [11] argues that British took over what became Tanganyika following German defeat in World War I. According to Nguni [12] during the British administration there was little emphasis on rural development because events outside the territory shaped the policy such as effects of the World War I, the Great Depression of 1930s and World War II. Since the colonies were meant to produce raw materials, the main emphasized sectors were mining and agriculture.

After colonial conquest, African land was expropriated. For example in Tanganyika, the 1923 Land Ordinance placed all unoccupied land and land occupied by Africans under British crown. That meant if any piece of land was needed for building a road, a school or sinking a mine, the Africans had to be kicked off [12].

Thus, British colonial system from 1950 encouraged agricultural system through special development schemes so as to increase productivity of peasant farmers [7]. Rodney [13] argues that a peasant growing cash crops or collecting produce had his labor

exploited by a long chain of individuals, starting with local businessmen. In every part of colonial Africa, the depression years followed the same pattern [13]. Again, in Sukumaland, price of cotton dropped in 1930 from 50 cents to 10 cents per pound [13]. But peasants worked for large many hours to produce a given crop, and the price of the product was that of those long hours of labor. In that way, primary produce from Africa always received low prices. In due regard, buyer and user of raw materials were involved in massive exploitation of peasants [13].

Excessive exploitation of peasants provoked profit and exploitation as Mwijage [14] argues that African peasants, workers and elites expressed their grievances during the depression in many ways. Peasants formed Cooperative Unions so as to get rid of middlemen in the marketing boards of cash crops. For instance, in 1924 Bukoba Co-operative Union was renamed Bukoba Native Growers Association and the Kilimanjaro Native Planters Association was established in 1925 [15]. Victoria Federation of Co-operative Unions was established in Usukuma between 1950 and 1955 [16] and Usambara Native Coffee Growers Association was established in 1931 [17].

Apart from fighting against the middlemen, low prices for their produce and land alienation, co-operative unions played a vital role in struggling for independence in Africa and Tanzania, in particular. The most important Cooperative Union, the Victoria Federation of Cooperative Unions, registered in Mwanza in 1952 under the leadership of Paul Bomani who had previously been the secretary of Mwanza African Traders Cooperative Society a group of traders in Mwanza town [18]. Thus, Cooperative Unions were to become instruments in the struggle for national Independence [18].

Since independence in many parts of Africa, government and public Cooperative Unions have been intervening in agricultural development along modern capitalists and a few along socialist lines, government controlled Cooperative Unions which mushroomed everywhere in the country [19]. In Tanzania, for example, during post-Independence, peasant societies in which farmers worked for themselves and their families were helped and protected from exploitation by co-operative marketing arrangement [20].

In order to do away with peasants' grievances in post Independent Tanzania, Arusha Declaration was adopted in 5th February 1967 by the National Executive Council (NEC) of TANU in Arusha [21]. According to Havnevik [21], the Declaration guided the country to build a socialist society. Also rural development outlined the process of building socialism in rural areas and more importantly formation of *ujamaa* villages where people could live together and cooperate mutually in agricultural production as the backbone of

Tanzanians development [21]. Nyerere [22] argues that villagilization sometimes was accompanied by laws to regulate agricultural practices and other aspects of rural life.

Nyerere [22] comments on *ujamaa* village that all advantages of traditional African democracy, social security and human dignity *ujamaa* villages were to grow through self-reliant activities and would be created by people themselves and maintained by them. Thus, the government role would only to help people succeed for works and their decision.

When implementation of villagilization was finalized in 1976, the government banned Cooperative Unions [21]. Insits, an agricultural marketing system was established in which each registered village acted as a primary society while crop authorities were given sole responsibility for crop purchases, processing and sales [21]. However, having witnessed agricultural production in 1980s accompanied by extreme scarcity of goods and services, people were involved in corruption, racketeering and sabotaging of government distribution system [21].

Aiming at solving peasants' grievances, Havnevik [21] argues that in 1980s, Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) designed by the World Bank were introduced mainly to a recipient governments in the third world by employing mechanisms of aid coordination. Havnevik [21] further argues that there was pain experienced by Tanzania when the Nordic Countries (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden) in November 1984 closed the door for the country's strategy of relying on more sympathetic likeminded countries for expansion of development assistance.

In 1986, the government re – established Cooperative Unions and in early 1990s, government allowed foreign investments and privatization of parastatals through official signing of SAP conditions so as to get rid of her economic predicaments [23].

SAPs included a series of elements with some of the following: producer price reforms, removal of subsidies, internal and external trade liberalization new foreign exchange usually including severe devaluation, introduction of cost sharing for state supplied services, privatization and contradiction as well as restructuring of government institutions [23].

Therefore, with implementation of SAP, Cooperative Unions faced competitions from private owned companies in dealing with crop marketing [23]. In spite of presence of many Cooperative Unions in Tanzania, which increased after independence, agricultural stakeholders lamented badly on their operations. Even peasants in Mwanza region have their own Cooperative Union Nyanza Cooperative Union

(NCU), which does not quench their thirsty of meeting peasants' welfare including fair agricultural prices and provision of inputs during this age of globalization.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

Main Objective

The main objective of the study was to find out benefits and challenges of Cooperative Unions towards improvements of peasants' welfare in Kwimba and Magu Districts, Mwanza region from 1920s to 2000s.

Specific Objectives

The study had the following specific objectives:

1. To identify benefits of Cooperative Unions to peasants in Kwimba and Magu Districts
2. To identify the challenges facing Cooperative Unions in Kwimba and Magu Districts

Research Questions

This study was guided by the following research questions:

1. What are the benefits of Cooperative Unions in Kwimba and Magu Districts?
2. What are the challenges of Cooperative Unions to peasants of Kwimba and Magu Districts?

Statement of the Problem

In responding to colonial economy, African peasants decided to form their associations aiming at addressing peasants' discontents such as low wages, low prices for cash crops grown by Africans, land alienation and forced cash crop cultivation [24]. During 1950s, a great stride toward in the establishment of African Cooperative Unions took place [23]. Havnevik [21] argues that Cooperative Unions were also to become instruments in the struggle for national independence. For example VFCU joined TANU to struggle for national independence in Tanganyika. After independence, there was a Cooperative Union in almost every region of Tanzania so as to protect peasants' rights [25]. However, with adoption of SAP in early 1990s the government of Tanzania allowed foreign investments and privatization of parastatals with the aim of solving economic problems such as corruption, low agricultural prices and shortage of inputs to peasants through Cooperative Unions [23]. With introduction of Privatization and Trade Liberalization, Cooperative Unions still operate among peasants of Tanzania [23]. Therefore, this study aimed at investigating contributions of Cooperative Unions towards improvements of peasants' welfare in Kwimba and Magu Districts, Mwanza region from 1920s to 2000s.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Theoretical Grounding

This study was guided by Postmodern Paradigm on social institution Theory. According to Kendall [26], Postmodern Paradigm is based on the assumption that rapid social change that occurs as

societies move from modern to postmodern (or postindustrial) conditions has a harmful effect on people. Also, one evident change is a significant decline in the influence of social institutions such as family, religion, and education on people's lives. Those who live in postmodern societies typically pursue individual freedom and do not want structural constraints that are imposed by social institutions [26]. In addition, collective ties that once bound people together become weakened, placing people at higher levels of risk-probabilities of physical harm due to given technological or other processes than in the past [26]. According to postmodern theory, there is a relationship between risk and the class structure. But also, wealth accumulates at the top and risk at the bottom such that social inequality and class differences increase as people in the lower economic tiers are exposed to increasing level of personal risk. In turn, produce depression, fear and ambivalence [26]. In connection to Postmodern paradigm, it was revealed from the study that peasants in Magu and Kwimba districts in 2000s are no longer benefiting from their Cooperative Union (NCU), because of getting low prices on agricultural produce which they produce, poor storage of the produced agricultural products and getting inputs at high prices. Also it was observed that Cooperative Union leaders benefits greatly through corruption and embezzlement leaving peasants hopelessly. With regard to postmodern paradigm, wealth in the age of privatization is centralized in the hands of few individuals' mainly union leaders leaving majority peasants occupying lower economic ties that consequently make them frustrate

EMPIRICAL STUDIES

The Concept of Cooperative Unions

This part presents the concept of Cooperative Unions. The Cooperative Unions had background from colonial rule as described in the foregoing:

Cooperative unions were peasant associations formed during colonial rule for the purpose of addressing farmers' grievances such as low wages, low prices for cash crop grown by Africans, land alienation and forced cash crop cultivation [24]. Omari [27] argued that Africans resisted all means of oppression and exploitation which impinged on their rights such as taxation and forced labor. Also Omari [27] argued that first it was difficult for the government to make Africans produce cash crops in order to solve this problem but missionaries collaborated with the colonial state in persuading Africans to produce cash crops.

The missionaries taught their converts that Christianity and production of cash crops were inseparable, but the tactic did not yield the required quantities of cash crops [27]. Thus the colonial state resorted to use force to break self-sufficiency of the African economies. African chiefs and headmen were ordered to force the Africans to produce cash crops.

Seeds or seedlings were distributed and planting was supervised and many cases, large farms were established whereby villagers had to work in them without being paid for a given number of days per week [27].

Ogot [16] in his studies reported that, farmers were better organized for tribal politics, also output of crops and wealth of the country increased rapidly for example, in 1945, Tanganyika produced 7632 tons of raw cotton; in 1952, 14332 tons, and 1960, 34,789 tons [16]. Furthermore, in 1945, coffee export earned Pound Sterling (£) 896,000; in 1950, £ 3,471,000; in 1955, £ 6905, 000. Such prosperity led to growth of cooperative movement [16].

Also it was argued that cash crop peasants never had any capital of their own. They existed from one crop to another, depending on harvest and good prices such that any bad harvest or fall in prices caused the peasants to borrow in order to find money to pay taxes and buy certain necessities [13]. As security, they mortgaged their future crops to moneylenders in the middlemen category [13]. Non-payment of debts could lead to their farms being taken away by the moneylenders. The rate of interest on loans was always fantastically high amounting to that is known as usury [13].

Reasons for Emergence of Cooperative Unions in Africa and Tanzania

This sub - section presents various reasons for emergence of Cooperative Unions in Africa and Tanzania. As argued by various scholars, formation of Kikuyu Association in Nairobi Kenya in 1920, which became Young Kikuyu Association, was primarily against payment of low wages to Africans and low prices for primary commodities [24]. Kuyela [15] argued that in Tanzania, Cooperative Unions were formed by peasants to replace Indian middlemen in buying cash crops produced by African peasants. Also, middlemen were exploitative and provided a good link between rural peasants and the colonial state by promoting colonial production. Cooperative Unions helped peasants in selling their crops at reasonable prices and ensured that all farmers got a conducive environment of producing cash crops [15].

In Kilimanjaro, peasants needed to cooperate in order to prevent crop disease, facilitate marketing, and generally advance their group interests [28]. Usambara Native Coffee Growers Association was formed in 1931 aimed at building stores, buying sprays and insecticides, and negotiating on overall prices at which individual growers sold to a single buyer [17]. Meru and Arusha coffee farmers organized rather earlier in the late 1920s, where the main function was to improve the quality of the crop and coordinate marketing [17].

Kimambo and Temu [10] argue that Shambaa coffee farmers organized in 1932 and elected a committee to negotiate price with local buyers. Also then built a store house, weighed each member's crop, and paid an appropriate portion of the total sale price (Kimambo and Temu [10]).

Challenges Confronting Cooperative Unions

Problems facing agricultural sector include chronic lack of demand, falling prices and out flow of capital [29]. Peasants do not invest in improved production methods because they cannot afford while the surplus is being drained away from them and because there are, in any case, a few opportunities for mechanization as long as land is subdivided into very small holdings [30]. Africans suffered most from exclusive trade with the 'mother country' in cases where the mother country was backward. African peasants in Portuguese colonies got lower prices for their crops and paid more for their imported items [13]. With regard to all peasant cash crops, Marketing Boards made purchases at figures that were below world market prices [13]. Rodney [13] further pointed that.

"Through the introduction of Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) conditionality in post-independence Africa and Tanzania in particular, the government have allowed foreign investments, privatization of all parastatals and trade liberalization. Peasants are disadvantaged because the villagers are poorly serviced by infrastructures and therefore markets to their produce are likely not to reach the markets."

Relationship between postcolonial states and their former colonial masters is more or less exploitative. Evidence shows that the 1990s demonstrate that Tanzania was transformed into a dumping place for the used goods and services from other countries [21]. Mihanjo [23] argued that socioeconomy is growing even more dependent to the world of capitalist system operating in the context of globalization and because of poverty; African domestic markets could not provide markets for local industries. Mihanjo [23] added that incorporation into the world capitalist system leads to development in some areas and to 'development of underdevelopment' elsewhere. Development of underdevelopment occurs because the world capitalist system is characterized by a metropolis-satellite structure [23]. Furthermore, the metropolis exploits the satellite, so that surplus is concentrated in the metropolis and the satellite is directly impoverished and cut off from the potential investment funds so that its growth is slowed down [23].

Ingle [7] reported that although rural development was complicated with harsh natural conditions, the central point of resistance increasingly appeared to be intractability of the peasant farmer. While many others also stressed the need for rural development, Tanzania, in the Arusha Declaration of

1967, was the first African nation to officially dedicate her primary development effort to that task [7]. Also, currently in the economic domain, Africa's worst evils are the risk of economic dependency, on one side, and the peril of economic decay on the other [30]. Additionally, leaders found that the peasant farmer was notably more responsible to the admonishments of his/her own kind to produce more, to use new techniques and to work more than he/she had been to those of the colonial office [30].

Similarly, Tanzania shares with the rest of African countries dominance of agricultural sector while most of new African nations accepted the importance of the rural sector whereby their early development plans stressed for rural development [7]. However, in some areas, a different stand was taken by the government as shown by Mabula [31] when he argued that, "...youth in Geita region have been asked to use the arable land and good valleys available for self-employment in agriculture sector..." By so doing, they can overcome their economic problems and bring about development rather than think that agriculture is special for old people living in rural areas.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research Design

This study used qualitative research approach and a case study strategy. The case study allowed an investigation to retain holistic and meaningful characteristics of realized events such as individual life cycle, organization and managerial process of Cooperative Unions toward improving peasants' welfare in Kwimba and Magu districts, Mwanza Region.

Sample and Sample Sampling

This study involved eighty peasants, six village cooperative union leaders, two cotton ginnery managers, two Nyanza Cooperative Union leaders and one regional Cooperative Union leader. All respondents were involved in the study because they were direct stakeholders of Cooperative Unions and they were regarded to have the relevant information required by the study.

Sampling procedures employed in this study included probability and non-probability sampling. From probability procedures, simple random sampling was used to get wards in the study area. All names of the wards were written on pieces of paper and placed them into a box. Thereafter, the box was shaken and four pieces of paper were picked ready for knowing the ward to be investigated.

On the side of non-probability sampling procedures, the researcher used purposive sampling in getting respondents with titles (positions) such as village Cooperative Union leaders, cotton ginnery managers and Nyanza Cooperative Union leaders.

Snow ball sampling procedure was employed to get the peasants through their homestead after being identified by village leaders. Also snow ball sampling procedure helped the researcher to get old peasants who were also former VFCU or NCU members.

DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS METHODS

Data collection methods used under the study included observation, interview, questionnaires, and focus group discussion. Secondary data included already published information such as books, journals, magazines, newspapers, publications from central government and associations as well as reports.

This study used both semi- structured and unstructured interviews in getting data from the key respondents such as peasants, and village cooperative union leaders. Semi – structured interview helped the researcher to rectify the questions where then were not clearly understood by the respondents by making them clear. This study used open- ended questions by distributing them in advance and later on obtained data from respondents such as Regional Cooperative Union leaders and cotton ginnery leaders. The open- ended question enabled respondents to answer freely without interference from the researcher's bias. This study used four FGDs one from each administrative ward

consisting 8 to 10 respondents. Documentary review was employed printed materials pertaining to Cooperative Unions from Mwanza Region Library, Zonal Archives Office in Mwanza, Nyanza Cooperative Union offices and Assistant Registrar of Cooperatives in Mwanza region. For the purpose of checking validity and reliability of research tools, the researcher conducted a pilot test at Bulale village in Nyamagana District, Mwanza region. Also the study used multiple data collection instruments such as questionnaire, Interview and Documentary Review. Qualitative data were organized and arranged in thematic areas. Then they were subjected to content analysis.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

This section presents the results and discussion which includes respondents' profile; people's perceptions on Cooperative Unions and roles of Cooperative Unions to peasants.

Respondents' Profile

The analyzed profile of respondents of Magu and Kwimba Districts was based on sex, age and work experience. This study involved ninety one respondents covering various categories as presented in Table 1.

Table-1: Distribution of Respondents by Sex

Categories of Respondents	Sex			
	Male	Percentage	Female	Percentage
Peasants	42	46	38	43
Village Cooperative Leaders	4	4	2	2
Cotton Ginnery Managers	2	2	0	0
NCU Leaders	1	1	1	1
Regional cooperative leaders	1	1	0	0
Total	50	54	41	46

Source: Field data (2019)

Table 1 shows respondents by sex composition. First, 50 percent male and 46 percent female respondents were involved in the study. Second, 46 percent and 43 percent of respondents were male and female peasants. Third, the study revealed that 4 percent were male and two female village Cooperative Union leaders whereby 2 percent of the respondents were male cotton ginnery managers. Fourth, 1 percent male and 1 percent female respondents were NCU leaders and 1 percent composed of male regional

Cooperative Union leader. Moreover, all respondents argued for existence of Cooperative Unions in their residential areas. However, respondents were fairly represented in terms of sex in the study area (Table 1 Distribution of Respondents by Sex

Age of Respondents

The age of respondents was categorized into five age intervals as shown in Table 2

Table-2: Age analysis of respondents

Age interval	Number of respondents	Percentage
20-29	0	0
30-39	20	22
40-49	30	33
50-59	31	34
60 and above	10	11
Total	91	100

Source: Field Data (2019)

Table 2 shows that 34 percent of respondents were aged between 50 and 59 years old whereby 11 percent comprised respondents with 60 years and above. The findings in Table 2 reveals that 33 percent of respondents were aged 40 and 49 years old and 22 percent had the age between 30 and 39 years. However,

age category between 20 and 29 years was not involved in the study.

Work Experience of Respondents

Respondents were categorized in terms of members experience in Cooperative Unions as shown in Table 3.

Table-3: Membership Experience of Respondents

Work experience in cooperative unions	Number of respondents	Percentage
Nil	20	22
1-10	11	12
11-20	15	17
21 and above	45	49
Total	91	100

Source: Field data (2019)

Table 3 shows that 49 percent of respondents had work experience between 21 and above years, while 22 percent had no experience in Cooperative Unions. Also, Table 3 reveals that 17 percent of respondents had work experience in Cooperative Unions ranging from 11 to 20 years and 12 percent had Cooperative Unions experience of 1 and 10 years. Table 3 shows that respondents with experience and no experience in Cooperative Unions were involved in the study. With that mixture, the researcher obtained relevant information in relation to contribution of Cooperative Unions toward improvements of peasants' welfare.

Benefits from Cooperative Unions

Furthermore, the study sought to identify various benefits realized from Cooperative Unions in Magu and Kwimba districts from 1920s to 2000s. There was the following trend: formation of Cooperative Society in 1920s, Victoria Federation of Cooperative Union in 1950s, Tanzania Cotton Authority in 1960s and 1970s as well as Nyanza Cooperative Union [20] Limited. Peasants in Magu and Kwimba districts got benefits as presented by respondents and academicians in the foregoing with regard to two different historical phases:

Benefits from Cooperative Unions from 1920s to 1950s during Colonial Era

Peasants expressed their discontents such as low prices, taxation, and destocking and forced cotton production through TANU that had established nationalist feelings in Tanzania. One respondent argued, through interviews on 14th March, 2019 at Sumve in Kwimba, district that by 1950s peasants' discontents were at climax. After the Second World War colonial rulers forced cotton growing scheme that was established in Sukumaland accompanied with double taxation and destocking scheme. As such measures of which annoyed peasants. Similarly, in order to get rid of such grievances, peasants joined TANU movement to oppose British colonial rule by strikes and riots, which led to attainment of political

independence in Tanganyika in 1961. In relation to support of TANU leaders by peasants in the struggle and ultimately attainment of independence Ogotu and Kenyanchui [6] argued that usefulness of the Tanganyika African Association (TAA) was very limited to be able to serve the whole of Tanganyika. Political progress of the 1940s and 1950s used a better organized body to safeguard the political aspirations of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) evolved from the TAA in 1954 [6]. Under the leadership of Julius Nyerere, the party expanded rapidly particularly among the peasants. In connection to peasants' contribution towards nationalism, Kimambo and Temu [10] put that it was unavoidable for TANU to continue struggling for independence without the base from peasants.

Another respondent, through questionnaire, asserted that Cooperative Unions managed to provide education to peasants. He went on noting that it should be understood that cotton farming was new to Sukumaland. Thus, Victoria Federation of Cooperative Unions was necessary in providing education to peasants on how to deal with land preparation, sowing, sorting, spraying, applying fertilizers, picking, storing and selling cotton. In the beginning, peasants were reluctant to grow cotton for lack of knowledge on its significance. When VFCU provided education to peasants, cotton was grown thoroughly in Sukumaland.

Peasants' associations acted as training schools for African leaders who later on led political struggles. They increased awareness and consciousness among the colonized people [24]. The Colonial government through Cooperative Unions opened some special agricultural schools for teaching Africans about modern agricultural methods like selection of better seeds, better seasons for cultivation, mechanization, irrigation, and use of fertilizers and application of pesticides as well as insecticides [15]. According to Kuyela [15], the main aim of special agricultural schools was to prepare Africans to be chief producers of cash crops. Examples of schools were Nyakato agricultural school in

Mwanza, Tanga agricultural school in Tanga and Ukiliguru agricultural school in Mwanza. Moreover, another respondent, through interviews held on March, 2019 described the benefit of Cooperative Unions during colonial period was that of a link between the colonial government and peasants. The respondent clarified that Cooperative Union in Sukumaland was a true link between peasants and the colonial government. For instance, problems that confronted peasants such as low crop prices, heavy taxation and shortage of inputs were channeled to the colonial government through Cooperative Union. The colonial government also assisted peasants in securing better cotton prices, reduction of forced taxation and constant supply of inputs such as fertilizers and insecticides through the union.

Relating to that argument, through FGD at Bujashi 18th March, 2019, it was presented that it was for an individual peasant to express his/her grievances and be listened to by the colonial government and only Cooperative Union spoke loudly on peasants' grievances. It was revealed that Cooperative Unions made possible for establishment of both processing and manufacturing industries in Sukumaland. They built Nyambiti ginnery in Kwimba, NASA ginnery in Busega district and Magu ginnery in Magu district.

It was also presented by respondents that the Cooperative Unions greatly helped in provision of employment to Africans. During one FGD held on 16th March 2019 at Nyambiti, respondents said that many people got self-employment in privately owned cotton farms and the union employees such as drivers, agricultural extension officers, ginnery managers, ginnery cashiers, primary society cashiers as well as watchmen in various established sections. Also, through such employment opportunities Africans could earn their daily needs easily because of incomes they obtained from their works.

Benefits of Cooperative Unions to Peasants from 1960s to 2000s

After attainment of political independence to Tanganyika (mainland Tanzania) in 1961, Cooperative Unions enhanced on what were achieved during colonial era by the farmers' Cooperative Unions. Central benefits of Nyanza Cooperative Union to peasants of Kwimba and Magu district were realized. There was provision of the second payment to peasants as subsidies after their first sale of cotton in a year (Interview with respondent on 15th March, 2019). The respondent argued that NCU [20] Limited by 1990s provided peasants with second payment as motivation to produce more cotton on the next season and payments were done for half of first the payment of actual cotton sales.

Also, a respondent (Interview with respondent on 15th March, 2019) said that the second payment enabled peasants to have initial capital for the beginning of new farming season because peasants had no tendency of saving money in banking system due to their geographical position. One peasant said that, "We were encouraged to keep on growing cotton on every farming season and each family completed to produce more cotton in a year aiming at acquiring a relatively huge amount of money as second payment." Provision of incentives to farmers by the colonial state encouraged colonial production in Africa as Kuyela [15] argued that,

"The role of the colonial state in African colonies had great influence in African colonies which had great influence in the establishment of colonial agriculture in colonies. Colonial state supported settlers and plantation farm owners by giving loans, agricultural tools, insecticides and pesticides. Colonial state ensured ready market for their crops and provided transport services."

NCU (1984) Limited in Mwanza region provided social services to peasants (Interview with the respondent on 18th March, 2019). The respondent commented that Cooperative Union in Mwanza region provided peasants with reasonable social services such as roads construction, rural cooperative union shops, education through elaborate secondary schools, means of transport such as lorries, garages and storage facilities. Through such significant services peasants saw Cooperative Union as part and parcel of their lives. Another respondent, through questionnaire, commented that, NCU (1984) Limited established garages especially in cotton ginning centers and headquarters in Mwanza for repairing vehicles and equipping people with mechanical knowledge. Rural cooperative shops were initiated to enable at least each village have access in industrial commodities needed on day today human life such as salt, sugar, soap, kerosene, cooking oil, clothes and shoes, which were very rare in rural areas.

Through FGD held at Kisesa in Magu district, respondents argued that NCU helped in expansion of education in rural areas by constructing or adapting former colonial middle schools to secondary schools. Then established NCU secondary schools commonly known as *shule za wakulima* (meaning peasants' schools) where children of peasants got access to secondary education. In addition, respondents added by giving examples of established peasants' schools that included Nyamilama, Kinango and Talo secondary schools in Kwimba and Nasa, Ng'wanangi, Kabita and Badugu secondary schools in Magu district. In support of this view, one respondent commented through interview held at Bujashi – Magu on 20 March, 2019 that it was '*shule za wakulima*' that brought about revolution in education to many peasants' children in

rural areas by 1990s because NCU used to smash a certain percent of each cotton producer during cotton selling so as to get money for operating such schools.

The same respondent (Bujashi – Magu on 20 March 2019) said that, “personally thanks much to NCU (1984) Limited for establishing secondary schools in Sukumaland and we previously used to engage in crops production and animals keeping only by marginalizing formal education. Also, with establishment of ‘*Wakulima*’ secondary schools, two of my children got opportunities of joining for their further studies. Similarly, today one is a doctor and another is a teacher. Both have built very beautiful houses for me through their salaries. Currently, my agricultural piece of land is exhausted, producing very minimal yields that cannot meet my daily needs. With my children’s salaries, my wife and I sleep in a modern house and get a certain amount of money every month from our beloved children who have opened bank account for us.”

The quotation proves that peasants benefited a lot in terms of education from their Cooperative Unions. During interview with other respondents on 21st March, 2019 at Bujashi in Magu district, one respondent disclosed that NCU managed to provide better prices for cotton and free provision of seeds to peasants. Another respondent through interview held on 14th March at Sumve in Kwimba district commented that prices of cotton kept on increasing year after year because of stability of NCU top officials who looked for good cotton prices abroad. Also NCU made sure that cotton seeds were distributed to peasants through their primary cooperative societies freely. Furthermore, cotton seeds were enough and whoever was interested in cultivating cotton she/ he got seeds without any payment and high prices for cotton raw materials and free provision of seeds encouraged peasants to keep on producing cotton annually (interview with other respondents on 21st March, 2019 at Bujashi – Magu).

NCU (1984) Limited helped to provide agricultural inputs by loans (FGD held at Nyambiti-Kwimba, March 17th, 2019). Respondents commented that NCU (1984) Limited supplied with agricultural inputs on loans to be paid after selling cotton. Inputs included pesticides, fertilizers and sprayers. Thus, NCU was friendly to peasants. Cooperative Unions led creation of unity and solidarity among peasants (interview with respondent at Bujashi- Magu 21st March, 2019). It was further revealed that by 1980s and early 1990s, peasants cultivated together not only on cotton farms but also on other agricultural crops such as paddy, maize and cassava through peer force units called ‘*malika*’ (meaning youth groups based on age- set). But, although they used simple tools such as hand hoes, farming activities were simplified through an established tendency of working together. In such farming activities were done on rotation among

members of ‘*malika*’ or neighboring families such that human dignity and respect grew among peasants because no one was isolated in terms of property ownership. Thus, ‘*ujamaa*’ villages through socialism cemented unity among peasants in Sukumaland under an umbrella of Nyanza Cooperative Union (Bujashi-Magu 21st March, 2019).

The same respondent concluded by saying that, “until now, elements of cooperation are prevailing among Wasukuma.” Moreover, the study revealed that Cooperative Union in Mwanza region cemented unity among peasants who benefited greatly from cotton cultivation. It reached a point where cotton was referred to as white gold or in Kiswahili it was called ‘*dhahabu nyeupe*’ because it used to enrich peasants after selling it at reasonable prices under the supervision of NCU.

Challenges of Cooperative Unions

The last objective of this study was to identify challenges of cooperative unions facing peasants of Magu and Kwimba districts from 1920s to 2000s. Challenges facing Cooperative Unions in Magu and Kwimba districts were categorized into two phases by the respondents as follows:

Challenges of Cooperative Unions during Colonial Era from 1920s to 1950s

Various challenges that faced Cooperative Unions during colonial era in Magu and Kwimba districts were identified by all respondents through FGD, interview and questionnaire as well as historians. The following were identified challenges: low prices for cotton raw materials as purchased by both Indian and European merchants. They led to creation of poverty among African peasants in Sukumaland (FGD held, March 2019 in Magu and Kwimba). In addition, Shillington [28] comments that small scale peasant farmers still dominated cash-crop production in much of Tropic Africa. Cotton was as well as low priced and labor intensive and was usually only produced under pressure from Europeans. In an effort to satisfy demands of French textile industry, peasant production of cotton was made compulsory in certain parts of Ubanguichari (Central Africa republic), Upper Volta (Burkina Faso), Soudan (Mali) and Niger.

Also, Shillington [28] describes that in the Djazira plains of Sudan between the Blue Nile and White Nile, the British government sponsored a vast irrigation scheme to promote peasant production of cotton in the area. African tenants of the scheme, however, lost access to other pieces of land for growing food and only received 40 percent of profits from their cotton [28]. Thus, successful cash crop production did not necessarily mean wide spread rural development. In connection to that, marketing was in the hands of a small number of large European merchants companies and they ensured that low prices paid to African producers were maintained at the lowest possible level

[28]. If higher prices were obtained in Europe, the merchants kept the difference as extra profit for themselves. Shillington [28] further argued that the same merchants controlled sale of manufactured goods imported from Europe. When prices rose in Europe, the increase was immediately passed on to African buyers [28].

Like what Shillington reports, one respondent through interview on 22nd March, 2019 said that during colonial period, African peasants in Magu and Kwimba were paid less for cotton they produced. But at the same time, they paid more for what they bought from European or Indian merchants. Therefore, the study revealed that low price for cotton was a great challenge to peasants that compelled Wasukuma to form Cooperative Unions. Heavy taxation to peasants in terms of head tax and livestock tax greatly hindered operation of Cooperative Unions in Sukumaland. A respondent through interview at Kisesa-Magu argued that although peasants in Sukumaland were forced to grow cotton by British colonial government, what peasants got from selling cotton was also taken by colonial government in form of either head tax or livestock tax. The formed peasants Cooperative Unions were also legally required to pay tax. Peasants were exploited at every stage of development during colonial rule. Hence there was failure to have enough source of income to liberate peasants' economy.

With regard to taxation, Shillington [28] comments that colonial authorities almost universally imposed a head- tax upon all adult men usually, about £ 1 a year or its equivalent. The purpose of the tax was twofold: to pay for colonial administration and force all adult men into the cash economy, in particular, to work for low wages for European colonists [28]. Also, it was a deliberate attempt to break rural self- sufficiency and was no longer enough for a communist to feed clothe and house it. Cash had to be paid regardless of a family income [28].

Oppositions from colonial government affected operation of Cooperative Unions in Sukumaland (interview with the respondent, March 16th, 2019 at Sumve – Kwimba). Another respondent commented that when Victoria Federation of Cooperative Union leaders such as Paul Bomani and Bhoke Munanka became in front line championing for rights of peasants during colonial regime, they were threatened and sometimes arrested with other members. In addition, some peasants who joined nationalist struggles were arrested and tortured. As a result, Cooperative Unions were forced to adhere to demands of colonialists. By so doing, its operation deteriorated in the later 1950s (interview with the respondent, March 16th, 2019 at Sumve – Kwimba).

Another respondent replied through interview on 23rd March, 2019 that TANU under Nyerere in the struggle for independence in Tanganyika was helped, to

a great extent, by the VFCU peasant members who were against colonial heavy taxation and cotton growing scheme in Sukumaland after the Second World War. Thus, peasants' efforts to liberate themselves through VFCU were frustrated frequently by the British colonial government. Poor infrastructure limited operation of peasants' Cooperative Unions in Magu and Kwimba districts during colonial rule (FGD with respondents Nyambiti- Kwimba, 17th March, 2019). Respondents argued that not all cotton producing areas were accessible to infrastructures such as roads and railways. There were only very limited numbers of roads that were poorly constructed and only one railway line passed across Kwimba district during colonial era. Absence of enough infrastructures such as roads and railways made difficult for peasants living in remote areas to transport their cotton raw materials to market centers. Thus, some peasants lost their cotton through catching fire and rotting because of poor storage for lack of means for reaching market areas at the right time.

Also, shortage of infrastructures made difficult for peasants to obtain inputs such as fertilizers, sprayers and pesticides including seeds on time (FGD with respondents Nyambiti- Kwimba, 17th March, 2019). The respondent concluded that cotton growing was only effective in areas where the colonial government had established infrastructures compared to open areas. The study revealed that during colonial period in Tanganyika and after the Second World War, cotton cultivation was compulsory in Sukumaland.

Challenges of Co-Operative Unions from 1960s to 2000s during Post Independence

Contrary to their expectation of enjoying fruits of Cooperative Unions after attaining political independence, peasants encountered numerous challenges through TCA and the latest formed Cooperative Union- NCU (1984) to present (Respondent through interview, questionnaire and FGD March, 2019). In laying foundation of the respondents' views, Shillington [28] argued that.

“Nyerere's vision of future Tanzania was of prosperous, self- reliant and classless society. He called it African socialism ...Tanzania socialism was to be based on local resources rather than imported, high technology industrialization. The country's main banks and foreign owned capitalist companies were to be nationalized, that is taken over by the state on behalf of the people. A leadership wide banned political leaders from accumulating private wealth. The main emphasis of government was to be upon rural development, leading to self-reliance. Thus, Nyerere proposed the gathering together of Tanzanian's mass of small remote rural settlements into large, more effective villagers this would make it easier for the government to provide better roads and rural markets, combined with agricultural advice and improved technology, as well as better water, health and education facilities.”

Thus, such statement gave hope to peasants of Tanzania including those in Magu and Kwimba districts but their new independent government did not bear fruits through Cooperative Unions put together peasants (Respondents through FGD March, 24th 2019, Bujashi:-Magu). Challenges of Cooperative Unions in Magu and Kwimba after independence include the following: destruction of properties caused by forced ujamaa villages which made peasants poor and frustrated as it was proceeded by banning their Cooperative Union of VFCU in the late 1960s and early 1970s (FGD with respondents, March 2019 at Bajashi- Magu). The respondents added that peasants became frustrated because there was no proper organization, which could speak for their rights since the government turned against them by abolishing VFCU with introduction of Tanzania Cotton Authority under state influence.

Shillington [28] argues that compulsory villagisation controlled by urban bureaucrats was sometimes oppressive and often inefficient. Peasants were sometimes moved before roads, markets, and

public welfare facilities in new villages were ready and there followed severe rural shortages of basic commodities such as paraffin, soap and sugar. Also, production levels on communal lands in ujamaa villages were noticeably higher than overall peasants' production previously. Some families had been moved off good land on to poorer [28]. Respondents through FGD argued that government interference in peasants' welfare in 1970s to a great extent, affected Cooperative Unions operation.

With regard to cotton stores and ginneries constructed by NCU, one respondent through interviews in March 2019 at Kisesa village commented that all cotton stores and ginneries constructed by NCU are out of operations. Nothing is within them and many stores and ginneries have remained settlements of thugs, birds and bats. Also there are functionless vehicles that in the past were used to transport cotton from to ginneries for processing but now they are just on stones, neither government nor NCU cares about them.



Fig-1: Dilapidated NCU cotton ginnery
Source: Research Field (April 2019)



Fig-2: Dilapidated NCU cotton stores
Source: Research field (April 2019)



Fig-3: Depreciated NCU vehicle
Source: Research field (April 2019)

Therefore, NCU assets have been depreciated as shown on Figures 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3, stolen and NCU pays watchmen who are guarding infrastructures and assets that are out of use.

In 1990s, adoption of free market economy by Tanzania had a bearing on hindering effectiveness of Cooperative Unions mainly in Magu and Kwimba districts (Interview with respondents, March, 2019). Through questionnaire, one respondent noted that when the government allowed free market economy in 1994. Then Nyanza Cooperative Union greatly failed to assist peasants as it was the case before. Conditionalities of free market economy chiefly based on free decision on what to produce, where to sell and individual freedom of obtaining inputs. All allowed an influx of private foreign companies in buying cotton from peasants. Due to fluctuation of cotton prices, peasants are discouraged from producing cotton and switched on other crops such as rice instead. Cotton production and quality declined to over 50 percent in Magu and Kwimba. Therefore, NCU became powerless in cotton purchasing because it had to enter into stiff competition with private companies in buying cotton. Only 6 to 10 percent of total cotton production is purchased by NCU and the rest is bought by private companies.

In concurring with what respondents noted based on free trade, Makune in Raia Mwema Newspaper on 16 October 2013 argued that with the coming of trade liberalization, cotton production and selling had no proper supervision. The government withdrew and every peasant struggled for his/her own, Cooperative Unions were frustrated and peasants remained orphans without any organization to demand for their rights. With that fact, the respondents argued that nowadays NCU is less favored by peasants of Magu and Kwimba compared to the time before trade liberalization in Tanzania.

Shillington [28] comments that on a national scale, Tanzania in the 1980s remained one of the poorest countries in Africa. It had huge foreign debts,

and still dependent upon exporting agricultural raw materials- coffee, cotton, sisal at prices controlled outside Africa; in exchange for increasingly expensive manufactured import. Running out of foreign exchange, Tanzania had to turn the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank for emergency foreign exchange and for further loans to help pay the interests on loans which were already too large to pay off [28]. Access to IFM and World Bank funds have been tied to certain sets of pre-conditions known as Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) [28]. Shillington [28] further comments that SAPs conditionality includes trade liberalization, capital controls, devaluation of currency, privatization, and redundancy of workers and cut off government expenditure on essential social services has affected much peasant production as most of the them have lost hope since they are not provided with necessary things.

Another respondent noted that currently, NCU has proved more failure than before in implementing the essential needs of its members such as good cotton prices, free provision of seeds, inputs on loan and second payment. Nowadays, peasants are supposed to buy inputs such as fertilizers, sprayers and pesticides on cash from private firms or companies. Also they buy cotton seeds and selling cotton raw materials to any company that shows relatively fair prices. In connection to interview dated 20th March 2019 a respondent argued that currently, cotton price has been too low to sustain peasants' needs and cotton farming is a loss work and previously peasants cultivated while knowing price of their cotton. This implied that payment of low prices on cotton has discouraged peasants from establishing their Cooperative Unions and sometimes the low prices are not given on time. Also, he recommended that, cultivation of cotton nowadays is like dramatizing such that one cannot move ahead in terms of life because of fake fertilizer and some been outdated and also some cotton seed not germinating. Most of peasant has decided to cultivate paddy and sunflower instead of cotton (Interview, 20th March: 2019).

Another respondent argued, through interview on 18th March, 2019, that NCU was suffering from shortage of funds to implement its chief objectives such as collection of cotton from peasants, and seeking for markets abroad. It was also revealed by the same respondent that NCU (1984) Limited depends upon loans from financial institutions such as Cooperative and Rural Development Bank (CRDB) and aid from the central government through the Ministry of Food and Cooperatives.

NCU (1984) Limited is also faced with challenges of debts. Response through questionnaire March, 2019) it noted that because of economic hardship, NCU has failed to develop itself. On top of that, it is owed a lot loans from banks. Workers and other servants a total amount 5,600,000,000/= Tanzanian shillings and she concluded by saying that in 2010 – 2011 NCU got about 3,000,000,000/= from CRDB bank for operating day today functions. Another respondent noted through questionnaire that NCU fixed assets have been confiscated because of debts. They concluded that new industry era for cotton oil mills found at Igogo- Mwanza with the capacity of producing 10,000 liters of oil per day and confiscation of NCU asserts was reached and made when NCU failed to repay its debts on time caused by bankrupts.

A respondent said that NCU (1984) Limited was seriously faced with bad leadership, corruption and theft. Bad conducts of the union workers associated with selfishness increased corruption and embezzlement of the NCU's fixed assets and funds. Peasants have been marginalized by tendency of NCU workers to accumulate wealth privately. Similarly, respondents through FGD held at Sumve March, 15th 2019 said that the government as failure to deal with suspects of the NCU's property embezzlement has chiefly discouraged peasants from paying much attention to their cooperatives. Other respondents reached the point of wanting colonialists back who could insist for peasants to produce more and grant them with seeds free of charge.

The respondent noted that the government does not give effective support to NCU because the funds set to assist Cooperative Unions are not significantly enough to accumulate requirements of peasants. Also it had failed to investigate and supervise in courts all NCU workers with evidence of running the assets of peasants union. In addition, peasants are left alone in rural areas with very minimal government support as agricultural extension officers also keep on staying in offices without insisting on effectiveness of Cooperative Unions. Thus, peasants are like orphans of independence are only enjoyed by politicians and educated people employed either in public or private sectors (Response from the respondent by questionnaire).

It revealed that peasants of Magu and Kwimba districts were left by the government in terms of subsidies and grants giving. Still peasants are cultivating by using simple tools such as hand hoes, leading to low yields in whatever they grow. It was said that NCU used to favor Sukuma people in terms of employment opportunities rather than considering qualifications. As a result, less knowledgeable personal based on cooperative principles and operation caused NCU to remain more in theories than practical because production was not highly emphasized.

Adding to the challenges of NCU (1984) Limited, some respondents explained low level of education to many Cooperative Union workers and members as a hindrance factor. Most cooperative members and workers did not and do not understand in detail on the main objectives of NCU as well as their rights and responsibilities. Also, peasant on one hand, think that NCU is not theirs but the government property, while NCU workers especially at the headquarters consider the union as their personal property that is the reason they have been using it in the way seemed good for them.

With regard to all those challenges, most respondents openly said that they had no interest of NCU. They concluded by saying that in today's world of globalization, collective operations like that of NCU are less preferred because each person is dominated by the spirit of self-accumulation of capital and enrichment. Thus, Cooperative Union was taken as a way to widen poverty among rural dwellers especially peasants who eventually enriched non producing NCU officials. On the other side, a few respondents advocated for perpetuation of Nyanza Cooperative Union since its foundation has been aiming at assisting peasants to liberate economically and socially. The advocates of NCU defended themselves that most peasants living in rural areas are poor who cannot manage to buy agricultural inputs, which are already very expensive today. The interest of this second group was the government to intervene in assisting the NCU so that peasants can be provided with seeds freely and supply inputs on loans as well as return second payments to peasants. In further connection to contradicting views given out by respondents, it is impossible for the government to do away with globalization elements such as trade liberalization and privatization. The world is dynamic towards better life. Hence, the government on the other side of the coin can play its part by assisting peasants in the course of their production and selling of their products as it does in dealing with workers issue in improving wages and working conditions

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary of the Findings

Benefits of Cooperative Unions

The study revealed that from 1920s to 2000s, the formed Cooperative Unions in Kwimba and Magu districts greatly benefited peasants. The benefits realized from Cooperative Unions in Kwimba and Magu districts included attainment of political independence of Tanganyika in 1961 had a bearing of peasants' involvement, provision of education to peasants on better methods of farming, establishment of industries such as ginneries and provision of employment opportunities. Other benefits of Cooperative Unions were expansion of education in rural areas by constructing secondary schools, provision of better cotton prices, provision of free cotton seeds, provision of inputs on minimal credits to be paid after cotton selling, after selling their cotton peasants were able to build bicycle, radio and most of the youth got dowry and married, Sukuma people bought new cloth, peasants also got money which managed them to take their children to school, majority of the Sukuma people benefited by abandoning the tradition houses and built corrugated houses and also there was creation of national unity as well as solidarity among the peasants.

Challenges of Cooperative Unions

The study revealed that Victoria Federation of Cooperative Unions and Nyanza Cooperative Union were faced with several challenges in Magu and Kwimba districts from 1920s to 2000s.

During 1920s to 1950s, the challenges of Cooperative Unions in the study area were low prices for cotton raw materials as purchased by Indian and European merchants, which led to creation of poverty among peasants. Also there was opposition from the colonial government by arresting and detaining Cooperative Union leaders and members who were in the front line against colonial rule. Furthermore, poor infrastructures in rural areas made transportation of cotton difficult from producers to destination.

Also, the study revealed that from 1960s to 2000s, various challenges confronted the Cooperative Unions mainly NCU in Magu and Kwimba districts. The challenges of Nyanza Cooperative Union included forced villagization policy that destroyed peasants' properties. Such move frustrated hopes of peasants for enjoying fruits of independence. Thus, the government interfered peasants' interests.

Adoption of free market economy by the government of Tanzania in 1990s hindered effectiveness of NCU because free private companies and individual firms dominated cotton buying as well as supply of inputs on cash. Other challenges of NCU included failure of the NCU to meet demands of its members, lack of capital to implement its objectives,

debts and lack of government support to both NCU and peasants.

Moreover, a bad administration especial dishonest leader in the cooperative unions, corruption and theft of NCU asserts which frustrated peasants to continue favoring NCU. NCU leaders enriched themselves and left peasants swimming in the pool of poverty hopelessly. Additionally, nepotism based on ethnicity favoring Sukuma people instead of people other groups ethnic in Nyanza Cooperative Union headquarters and its branches led to ineffectiveness to serve people properly. NCU officials as well as peasants were also affected by the problem of low education level in implementing NCU objectives. The study revealed that through such challenges, more respondents saw no significance of NCU in this world of globalization, where privatization has taken room. A few respondents advocated for of NCU under assistance of the central government of Tanzania to enable peasants have a proper organization for passing through their demands and rights just as how workers have been doing in their trade unions.

CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of research findings, the following conclusions were made: First, during colonial era, Cooperative Unions were formed for the purpose of liberating peasants from colonial exploitation and oppression. Thus, Cooperative Unions such as VFCU formed in Lake Zone fought against low prices for peasant cash crops mainly cotton. After independence in Tanzania, Cooperatives Unions in Magu and Kwimba Districts commonly called NCU (1984) Limited was formed fundamentally as a tool to improve peasants' welfare such as better cotton marketing, provision of agricultural education and free provision of seeds as well as inputs like fertilizers and insecticides on affordable loans.

Second, Cooperative Unions had fundamental roles to play to peasants with regard to both colonial and post-independence periods. During colonial era, Cooperative Unions in Magu and Kwimba Districts basically VFCU intended to replace Indian middlemen and European merchants in buying cotton. Later on VFCU was used to join TANU nationalists in fighting for independence in Tanganyika. However, post-independence era, NCU (1984) Limited was formed so as to facilitate cotton production, construction of cotton stores, ginneries and roads as well as provision of inputs through loans to peasants.

Third, Cooperative Unions starting from VFCU and later on NCU (1984) Limited had a lot of benefits to peasants such as organizing nationalist struggles and ultimately, attainment of political independence in Tanganyika in 1961. Also NCU (1984) limited assisted peasants in getting reasonable cotton prices, proper cotton weighing scales, of second pay,

provision of education through construction of secondary schools and supply of inputs at affordable costs.

Lastly, Cooperative Unions in Magu and Kwimba Districts are not effectively operating because of various challenges such as corruption, lack of enough funds, depreciation of NCU assets and adoption of privatization policy. Privatization has connectivism and widened individualism. Hence, private companies have begun buying cotton from peasants at less beneficial prices. Seed supplied by individual companies are no longer of high quality. Peasants are forced to buy inputs in cash. All those challenges have discouraged peasants from growing cotton. Thus, NCU is not as strong as before, leaving peasants frustrated by poverty without a proper organization to claim for their rights.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on research findings, the following recommendations are made:

The government should ensure sustainable development of Nyanza Cooperative Union (1984) Limited by providing enough subsidies and increase budget on Cooperative Unions so that peasants can get inputs on loans and at cheap prices such as fertilizers seeds and insecticides.

The government should take legal actions against all Nyanza Cooperative Union leaders who have used the cooperative property for private gains. The Government should provide second payment to peasants so as to have the spirit of rejuvenating Cooperative Unions and increase production. The government should check tendency of private companies who exploit peasants by purchasing their agricultural raw materials at lower prices so as to promote peasants' interests.

The government should appoint on every Cooperative Union, a farmer as a representative of other farmers in the parliament like other organizations to ensure sustainable development of Cooperative Unions; Nyanza Cooperative Union leaders should avoid using cooperative properties for private gains and peasants should be assisted by NCU in all production.

Nyanza Cooperative Union should provide agricultural education on every village through establishment of farm classes.

Nyanza Cooperative Union should train primary society leaders on Cooperative Unions in order to improve Cooperative Union development and its members;

Peasants should identify and take legal action to all NCU leaders or private companies who exploit peasants through false weighing scales and buy their agricultural produce on credit;

Peasants should not be rigid and instead, they have to be dynamic according to development of science and technology for Cooperative Unions' development.

Recommendations for Further Studies

Based on study findings, the following areas are suggested for further studies:

This study was conducted in Sukumaland. Given the geographical size, heterogeneity of Cooperative Unions and sample involved, it was practically impossible to generate findings for the whole country. Thus, there is a need for similar studies to be conducted in other different Cooperative Unions found in other regions of Tanzania.

REFERENCES

1. Davidson, B. (1977). *A History of West Africa 1000 – 1800*. London, Longman Group Limited.
2. Davidson, B. (1977). *Modern Africa*. London: Longman Group Limited..
3. Robert, A. (1970). *Tanzania before 1900*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House
4. Collins, R. O., & Burns, J. M. (2007). *A history of sub-Saharan Africa* (Vol. 371). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
5. July, R. W. (1992). *A History of the African People* Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers.
6. Ogutu, M.A., & Kenyanchui, S.S. (1997). *Introduction to African History*. Nairobi: Nairobi University Press.
7. Ingle, C.R. (1972). *From Rural to State in Tanzania: The Politics and Rural Development*. London: Cornell University Press.
8. Ndembiwike, J. (2006). *Tanzania: The Land and its People*. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: New Africa Press
9. Malocho, W.(1998). "The United Republic of Tanzania: Kilimanjaro Region Socio – Economic Profile." The Planning Commission Dar es Salaam and Regional Commissioner's Office Kilimanjaro.
10. Kimambo, I. N., & Temu A. J. (1969). *A History of Tanzania*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House
11. Mwikikagile, G. (2006). *Tanzania Under Mwalim Nyerere: Reflections on an African Statesman*. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: New African Press
12. Nguni S. G. (2006). "Colonial Economy" In Tanzania Institute of Education, *Major issues in African History*. Dar es Salaam: Dar es Salaam University Press
13. Rodney, W. (1972). *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Nairobi: East Africa Educational.
14. Mwijage, K.F.J. (2004). *Major Event in African History*. Morogoro –Tanzania: Salvatorian Institute of Philosophy and Theology.
15. Kuyela, E. J. (2011). *Advanced Learner's History*. Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press Limited.

16. Ogot, B.A. (1975). *Zamani: A Survey of East African History*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House Limited.
17. Illife, J. (1979). *A Modern History of Tanganyika*. London: Cambridge University Press.
18. Coulson, A. (1982). *Tanzania: A Political Economy*. Clarendon: Oxford.
19. Owusu, M. (1999). "Agriculture and rural development since 1935" In Mazrui A.A: *General History of Africa: Africa since 1935*. Oxford: James Currey Limited Volume VIII
20. Nyerere, J.K. (1968). *Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism*. Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press.
21. Havnevic, K.J. (1993). *Tanzania: The Limits to Development From Above*. Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers.
22. Nyerere, J.K. (1968). "Socialism and Rural Development". In Nyerere (1968): *Ujamaa- Essays on Socialism*. Dar es Salaam, 106- 144
23. Mihanjo, E. (2005). *Contemporary History of Tanzania: Colonial Conquest to Market Economy 1890s to 1990s*. Dar es Salaam: Dar es Salaam University Press
24. Maluka, S. O. (2008). *History for Secondary School*, Dar es Salaam: Nyambari Nyangwine Publishers.
25. Itono, R. Majira. (2013). *The Policy for Peasants' Crops to be enacted*. Dar es Salaam: ISSN 0856 - 5086 No. 7049 Volume II/ 5149, April 24th, 2013.
26. Kendall, D. (2009). *Sociology in Our Times: Essentials*. United States of America: Wards worth
27. Omari, B. (2005). "Colonial Conquest and African Response" In Tanzania Institute of Education, *Major Issues in African History*. Dar es Salaam: Dar es Salaam University Press; 34 - 47
28. Shillington, K. (1995). *History of Africa*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Limited House Revised Edition
29. Mazrui, A.A. (1999). *General History of Africa since 1935*. Oxford: James Currey Limited Volume VIII.
30. Brewer, A. (2011). *Marxist Theories of Imperialism: A Critical Survey*. London: Oxford University Press Limited.
31. Mabula, P. (2013). *Youth are required to participate in Agriculture*. Dar es Salaam: 7049 Volume II/ 5149, April 24th 2013.