



# The Power of Tobacco

Discipline, Power and Knowledge –  
A Decision to Grow a Controversial Crop

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Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

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## **Abstract**

The Tobacco industry finds itself in a vulnerable position as various international bodies lobby to curb its growth and consumption due to health, environmental and social concerns. Using Foucault's theories of discipline, power and knowledge alongside with symbolic interactionism I conduct a study of tobacco growers and how communication motivates them to grow tobacco, cut down or grow trees, use child labour and become contract growers. I analyse the ways in which common symbols are used to gain access to information and the ways in which the stakeholders use power and knowledge to motivate action. The study takes place in Zimbabwe and focuses on flue-cured tobacco growers. If the tobacco industry is in danger there is a need for them to take steps to diversify away from growing tobacco. I investigate if there have been any steps taken towards diversification and if not, what forces are at play that keep the grower strung to this crop. Furthermore the growth of tobacco has been associated with activities such as the use of child labour and deforestation so I take a look at how communication has an effect in preventing or encouraging such activities. Lastly this paper identifies and suggests ways in which stakeholders can be more effective in their communication with the tobacco growers through analysing communication that I perceive to be efficient and effective.

## **Acknowledgements**

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# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Background

Firm action has been taken against farming tobacco and the consumption of cigarettes due to the awareness of its health risks and environmental concerns such as deforestation, tobacco's environmental impact and harsh labour conditions, particularly accounts of child labour. This raises concern for individuals whose livelihoods depend on the growth of tobacco particularly those who live in developing countries.

Various steps have been taken by international organisations to try to unite countries to take action to reduce the supply and demand of tobacco. An example and in my view the biggest step has been the WHO Framework Convention for Tobacco Control that opened up for signature in June 2003. According to WHO (2005, p V) the WHO FCTC represents a paradigm shift in developing a regulatory strategy to address addictive substances. In contrast to previous drug control treaties, the WHO FCTC asserts the importance of demand reduction strategies as well as supply issues. The framework has led to countries, particularly in developed ones, banning smoking in public areas, increasing tax on cigarettes, etc. For instance in Sweden a box of cigarettes can be purchased for an average of US\$7 and above while in Zimbabwe one can purchase a box for an average of US\$2 or even less.

According to the World Bank (1999, xi) 500 million people will eventually be killed through tobacco use by 2020 and by 2030 tobacco is expected to account for about 10 million deaths worldwide. This knowledge has understandably been a cause of concern leading to action to try to stop the production and consumption of tobacco and its products. Unfortunately this is not an easy task to take on and cannot simply be done through waving a wand and signing agreements as many livelihoods, economies and social behaviours depend on the production and consumption of tobacco.

My research focus will be on Zimbabwean flue cured tobacco growers. Zimbabwe earns seven times more than maize, twenty two more times than cotton and sixty more times than sorghum growing tobacco (Okhoya & Mutume: 2004, p4). It is one of the countries that is largely dependent on tobacco and that would be most affected if the product were to be banned.

Many questions come up when looking at this scenario but I would like to focus on a micro level. With so many stakeholders and processes involved in the production of tobacco this paper considers the farmer who decides to grow the primary product. With a significant number of stakeholders interacting with the farmer and trying to influence him there are underlying factors and forces at work that motivate the farmer to act. Hence the theoretical section of my paper will look at what underlying phenomena is at work when a grower makes a decision to act based on the communication he/she has had with a stakeholder. For this reason I use a theoretical framework based on Foucault and symbolic interaction.

There are a number of reasons that motivate one to produce or consume tobacco. Some of these factors are agents who work in between the chains using various mechanisms to ensure that at the end of the day tobacco is produced. But they do this neither by force or holding a gun to the farmer's head. I believe their achievements are made through the prominent power of communication. In my analysis I therefore analyse the communication I observed that contextualizes the growers' activities in growing tobacco. Afterwards I then discuss my results in view of the theoretical framework I would have earlier looked at. To sum up in my conclusion I point out how I perceived communication to motivate the grower's actions and why other stakeholders have been unsuccessful in their endeavours to do so.

## 1.2 Problem Description

Zimbabwe is one of the world's largest producers and exporters of tobacco. It is the largest producer of tobacco in Africa and the 4<sup>th</sup> largest producer of flue-cured tobacco in the world after China, Brazil and the United States (FAO, 2003). With at least 5% of the population employed in the tobacco industry it is evident that the growth of tobacco plays a large role in sustaining the livelihoods of numerous individuals (Keyser, 2002, p13).

Dating back from 1973, 1519 growers were recorded and sold a total of over 67,000,000 kg in year 2000, 8537 growers were recorded and sold the highest amount of tobacco recorded yet of almost 237,000,000 kg (TIMB, 2009, pg13). In 2010 however the number of growers had almost doubled with 51 685 farmers producing over 123,000,000 kg (Table 13, progress of FCT industry).

From the information above and from the graph (fig 1) below we can see that although there has been an inconsistency in the production of tobacco due to economical and political factors the number of tobacco growers has increased by 50,166 growers from 1973 to 2010. Consequently if the tobacco industry is under serious threat then it is in the best interests for tobacco growers who are dependent on the crop to find other income generating activities and diversify from growing tobacco. Laws are being passed that will affect the livelihoods of growers. Insight into whether they know about them or not would assist in making change more effective as they are at the beginning of the production line and as their dependency on the crop places them in a vulnerable position.

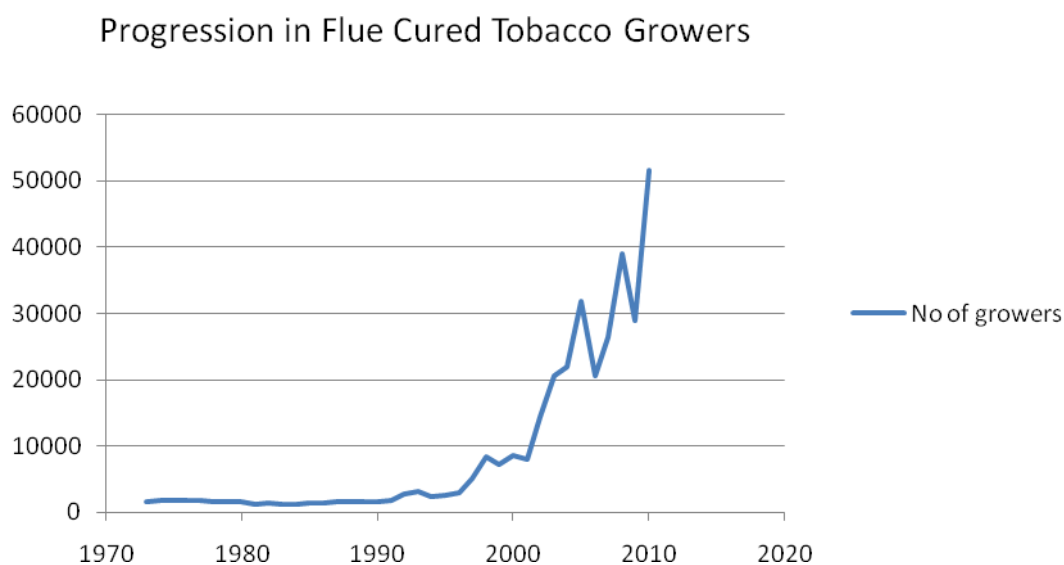


Fig 1. Progression in Flue Cured Tobacco Growers.

Notwithstanding tobacco will also be the cause of 500 million deaths by 2020 and already causes 4 million deaths annually (World Bank, 1999, xi, WHOFTCT, 2005). Furthermore the growth of tobacco has been a large cause of deforestation. It has also been linked to many counts of child labour and this is a problem as children may stop going to school in order to work and can also be exposed to the dangerous chemicals that are involved in the production of tobacco.

The problems associated with the growth of tobacco are however not all hazardous and gloomy. The growth of tobacco also provides a significant amount of employment, foreign investment and foreign currency to a country that is striving to reboot its economy. Most commercial tobacco growers also provide food and education for their employees as well as accommodation. There is a pride and a proved sustainability in the tobacco industry. What then is one to do when they are told that their pride and source of daily bread is the cause of annihilation of life?

### **1.3 Scope and Objectives**

This study will focus on what motivates the grower to act in particular ways. With a number of stakeholders trying to influence the grower to act in a certain way I am interested in seeing in what ways communication with them motivates the farmer to act. There are many people who the grower encounters on a day to day basis but I analyse those who I identified to be prime stakeholders in the growth of tobacco during my study. The actors are listed below:

- Auction Floors
- Family, friends and neighbours
- Merchants
- Banks
- Government
- TIMB
- EMA and Forestry Commission
- Labourers
- Zimbabwe Tobacco Association

The actions I chose to focus on, as the grower makes many actions in his life that are of no concern to my study, where those such as the growing or cutting down of trees, the choice to be on contract with merchants, the decision to grow tobacco or other crops and decisions to do with labour.

An important aspect I acknowledge is that there are a number of stakeholders who are unknown to me who influence the grower. My main aim was however to investigate how the stakeholders I identified influence the farmers actions through communication. However it may stand that these stakeholders are not the most prominent actors influencing a farmer when he/she makes a decision. Furthermore there are of course other factors that influence the farmer's actions that are not a result of communication or are a result of communication that I did not become aware of.

### **1.4 Research Focus**

My research focus is to explore how tobacco farmer's actions in Zimbabwe are motivated through the communication they have with different stakeholders.



## 2. Theoretical Framework

In order to understand how the grower's actions are motivated through the communication he/she has with different stakeholders I shall use Foucault's concepts of power, knowledge and discipline together with various ideas of symbolic interaction.

If power is in operation in almost every existential relationship a matter of concern could be why Foucault is relevant for this study. One could study how power, knowledge and discipline operate with maize or wheat growers. Yet what brings me to apply Foucault here is that I feel that this was a simple and safe way to analyse the effects of knowledge, power and discipline when they threaten the lives of individuals in a non violent way but still lead to a miserable ending. Unlike power used repressively by dictator or rebel groups causing civil wars this is a micro level analysis of how tobacco growers produce a primary product that is responsible for harming people. It is also a product that could one day be obsolete and therefore growers could find themselves stripped of their livelihood means (World Bank 1999, pxi). I choose to use symbolic interaction as a supporting theory for as power operates between any two individuals so does the interpretation of signs and symbols which enable actors to communicate, understand and act towards each other and themselves.

### 2.1 Foucault - Discipline, Knowledge and Power

According to Townley (1993, p520) power is relational and becomes apparent when it is exercised. Furthermore because of this relational aspect, power is not associated with a particular institution, but with practices, techniques, and procedures. Power is employed at all levels, and through many dimensions. *"Power is exercised by virtue of things being known and people being seen"* (Foucault: 1980, p154).

Power is therefore dynamic and is different depending on the situation. Any individual can possess power and it does not only lie in the hands of institutions such as the government. Foucault's proposition was that in modern society there is no locus of power that dictates social order, rather power functions in capillary form through decentred networks of institutions and apparatuses. The second was that there is no outside power, such that the subjects over which it rules are constituted by the functioning of power itself (Hardt 2010, p152). As often believed power is not always repressive but can also be productive as Foucault (1977, p194) wrote:

*"We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it "excludes," it "represses," it "censors," it "abstracts," it "masks," it "conceals." In fact, power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production."* (Townley 1993, p521-522).

In my study we will see how Foucault's notion of power and knowledge are relevant by the ways in which actors use the knowledge they have to make other actors act in a particular way. Both knowledge and power are acquired through the communication that takes place between growers and different stakeholders and it is apparently used by all parties to enable the other to act. The individual who power is exercised on therefore also accumulates knowledge that enables them to act. In order to acquire knowledge and in turn use it, interaction and communication has to take place. Through this interaction norms and practices have been developed to form a complex system and network that enables the production of tobacco and the buying and selling of tobacco.

When looking at the role and function of stakeholders such as TIMB, banks and merchants,

Foucault's idea of governmentality comes into play. In my paper I will discuss how TIMB and merchant companies collect data and make rules and regulations in order to govern various stakeholders. According to Townley (1993 p520):

*“Governmentality is a neologism derived from a combination of government and rationality. Government is understood to be not simply political institutions but in a broader sense “the conduct of conduct: a form of activity aiming to shape, guide or affect the conduct of some person or persons” (Gordon 1991, p2). Rationality is the idea that before something can be governed or managed, it must first be known. It is the acknowledgement that government is intrinsically dependent upon particular ways of knowing. Programs of government, for example, require vocabularies, ways of representing that which is to be governed, ways of ordering populations (i.e., mechanisms for the supervision and administration of individuals and groups). Rationality is dependent upon specific knowledges and techniques of rendering something knowable and, as a result, governable.”*

I would like to portray, by using Foucault, how the communication that takes place between the different stakeholders is an exercise that takes place in order to gain knowledge and exercise power. Farmers are classified into various groups such as A1, A2, commercial, communal and semi-commercial growers depending on the amount of land they own and the amount of tobacco they produce. They are categorized and recognised for the average price they manage to attain and the quality of tobacco they produce all this giving rise to hierarchies in the system. Hierarchies exist in other areas which I will point out in my study and these play an important role in the way communication takes place. According to Foucault, knowledge and power cannot be separated; he states that it is not possible for power to be exercised without knowledge, it is impossible for knowledge not to engender power ( [Foucault, 1980,p52] in Townley: 1993, p521). Power therefore produces individuals who know what is and has been exerted on them.

In *Discipline and Punish* Foucault addresses the subject of discipline and discusses docile bodies and the correct means of training. He traces the roots of discipline and control to institutions such as prisons, barracks and monasteries as well as them being fabricated in schools and hospitals. Discipline produces subjected and practised bodies, 'docile' bodies (Foucault 1995, p138). It is a way of controlling the body without having to use force or violence. Individuals are constantly watched, punished and rewarded for their actions. A key point of Foucault's discussion is that of observation. Individuals are constantly observed from everywhere and they are aware of it even though they may not know where the observer watches from. The awareness that one is being observed serves as a form of power in itself as it has the ability to make individuals act in the desired manner. Analyses and data are collected making the observer gain premium knowledge about the individuals and allowing him to control them. Individuals are controlled by controlling the space and time in which they operate. Such as the times they have to wake up, eat, be at work, sign in and register for activities and so on. Timetables are therefore an exemplary useful tool as they allow for the control of the space and time one finds themselves in and therefore control of the body. The first of the great operations of discipline is therefore the constitution of 'tableaux vivants', which transform confused, useless or dangerous multitudes into ordered multiplicities, in the eighteenth century; the table was both a technique of power and the procedure of knowledge (Foucault 1995, p148).

Discipline involves ranking individuals and examining them which produces hierarchies. In organizing 'cells ', 'places' and 'ranks', the disciplines create complex places that are at once architectural, functional and hierarchical (Foucault 1995, p148).

Foucault (1995, p187) suggests that *“Disciplinary power is exercised through its invisibility; at the same time it imposes on those whom it subjects a principle of compulsory visibility. The visibility of*

*subjects assures the hold of the power that is exercised over them. The examination is the technique by which power, instead of emitting signs of its potency, instead of imposing its mark on its subjects, holds them in a mechanism of objectification. The examination is the ceremony of this objectification”.*

In my field work and analysis I look for the ways in which the control of time and space are used to regulate the grower's activities. I study the ways in which the grower is observed and how and if this has an effect on him/her. I analyse how bodies of knowledge are formed through data collection and communication and how these affect the farmer's decisions to cut trees, stay on contract and other actions such as the like. Furthermore I discuss how hierarchies are visible and how some of these relationships manifest as a result of activities that simulate the examination.

Not all activities that are brought out in my study can be explained using Foucault as he is complicated to apply and and largely centred on specific examples such as prisons and sexuality. I find that the concepts that I take from him give the best academic window to look through and understand what is taking place in this delicate situation in Zimbabwe with tobacco growers. A complex network and institution has been developed where stakeholders are constantly observed and recorded and where knowledge and power are used using communication as a tool. People are both subjected and objectified during communication but they feel comfortable in this communication as they have learnt and trust in the ability they have to use the bit of power they have to get what they want. This I believe is what brings about the motivation the grower has to act in particular ways.

## **2.2 Symbolic Interaction**

I will use symbolic interaction together with Foucault as I feel that in order for the growers to be motivated to act in a certain way they must first be able to understand and interpret the communication that takes place with the various stakeholders.

According to Herbert Blumer (1986, p78) the term symbolic interaction refers to the peculiar and distinctive character of interaction as it takes place between human beings. The peculiarity consists in the fact that human beings interpret or define each other's actions instead of merely reacting to each other's actions. Their response is not made directly to the actions of one another but instead is based on the meaning which they attach to such actions. Thus human interaction is mediated by the use of symbols, by interpretation, or by ascertaining the meaning of one another's actions.

Symbolic interaction is vital to this study because of two points:

- Through the communication with stakeholders from various cultures and societies the farmer is enabled to share and create symbols with the stakeholders. This in turn enables the farmer to interpret the actions of the other, attach a meaning to them and then act according to his interpretation. Action is therefore a result of a conscious process (Ritzer 2010, p31). Without the ability to interpret symbols brought forward there is a difficulty in motivating the farmer to act in a particular way.
- It illustrates the importance different types of interaction have during communication for the human being such as face to face interaction, speaking on the phone or through written messages.

According to Mead (Ritzer 2010, p58) the most primitive form of interaction involves gestures movements by one party that serve as a stimuli to another party. Though we like to think of

ourselves as creatures of the tongue, communication between people is largely rooted in conversations of gestures. We converse in public contexts through our faces and gazes and body language, through mostly subconscious gestures of communication and enticement, and not simply through our verbal utterances (Birdwhistell 1970; Dawin [1872] 1988, Hall 1959, 1967, 1983 in Halton 2004, p89). Sensing the other through the limits of interaction, one can sense what one can or cannot get away with, what type of relationship exists between the acting units and hence what action to make (Halton 2004, p101).

In my study I will discuss how the growers place a greater value in face to face interaction and constant communication with stakeholders. This is because they grow to have a better understanding and ability to interpret the symbols they share with the stakeholders. They gain a trust in the communication hence they become more lenient in their speech as they try to influence the other to act. The other simultaneously gains knowledge that will assist in his pursuit to make the one he speaks to act in the manner he desires. It's not simply the words spoken that are of value but being able to see someone while talking to them the stakeholders are able to interpret the others gestures be it a frown or a laugh. This is unlike other means of communication the growers encounter such as pamphlets, magazines and messages heard through hearsay.

Some research has subscribed to the idea that communication is primarily about social influence, not information exchange (Pollick and de Waal, 2007; the idea was first put forward by Dawkins and Krebs, 1978; Krebs and Dawkins, 1984 in Reich, 2010, p4). In any of his countless acts the individual is designating different objects to himself, giving them meaning, judging their suitability to his action, and making decisions on the basis of judgement. The human pieces together and guides his action by taking account of different things and interpreting their significance for his prospective action (Blumer 1986, p80, 81). Before the individual acts he therefore defines the situation and takes the role of the other. Taking the role of the other enables better communication as one tries to take the perspective of those they communicate with by using their symbolic framework and by getting a better view of how the other defines the situation (Charon 2007, p106). Taking the role of the other more effectively is done when the actor is more familiar with the situation or the co-actor he interacts with. We will therefore see that communication and actions are made more flawlessly between stakeholders the farmer often interacts with, for example between the large scale farmers and the merchants.

We often take the role of what Mead describes as the significant other, those closest to us such as our family and friends and that of the general other, those who make up our society. Anselm Strauss (Charon 2007, p110) points out that taking the role of the others in a situation must access these others in terms of 1) their general intent 2) their actions towards themselves 3) their actions and feelings toward us and our actions. Through previous interaction people develop and acquire common understandings or definitions of how to act in this or that situation (Blumer 1986, p86).

According to Blumer (1986, p87) from the standpoint of symbolic interaction, social organisation is a framework inside of which acting units develop their actions. Structural features such as "culture", "social systems", "social stratification", or "social roles" set conditions for their actions but do not determine their action. This illustrates how the network that has formed with the tobacco industry already sets conditions of the farmer's actions but does not determine them. An acting unit will know how to better act in situations that have been presented to them previously rather than new ones as they already know the symbols associated with the scenario. Issues such as tobacco being banned, or restriction on the use and production of tobacco and tobacco costing the lives of people are not issues the average grower is too familiar with and the symbols to interpret this do not exist in their social structure. Following this I found that most growers could not take the role of the other when presented with such a topic. Rather what is communicated to them is a thriving industry that provides them with security. This would be different on the other hand if the growers were told that

tobacco causes AIDS or Cholera, topics that they can identify with to a greater extent as they can identify with the symbols connected to these issues.

### 3. Methodology

For my research I used an ethnographic approach and reflexive methodology. I chose ethnography as I wanted to understand the livelihood strategies of tobacco farmers, how they are affected by international and local discourse and how the farmers respond to it. According to naturalism in order to understand people's behaviour we must use an approach that gives us access to the meaning that guides the behaviour (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995, p8). I did a cross sectional study to maximise the limited time I had in the field. My research mainly required time analysing the livelihood strategies of flue cured tobacco farmers, researching what other income generating activities they engaged in. I was also interested in knowing how and if interaction with international organisations takes place, how they communicate with the government and tobacco merchants and what type of information and assistance they get from these agents. Most importantly I looked at how they used the information they received from the stakeholders and if they had a perception that there was a risk to their livelihoods and those of others.

Due to the sensitive political situation in Zimbabwe and the sensitivity of land issues, it is very difficult to gain access to farmers and stakeholders involved in land use so I consider myself very fortunate to have found a reliable and safe gatekeeper. Gatekeepers are actors with control over key sources and avenues of opportunity (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995, p34). Presenting myself as a student also gave me the opportunity to quickly become an insider. However I must add that due to the fact that my gate keeper was from a merchant company I did access confidential and inside information which I may not have otherwise had access to. On the other hand the information I received from farmers may have been biased due to my connection. Above and beyond what may not be taken away from the study is the opportunity I had to observe and witness authentic communication between stakeholders, authentic except from the fact that I was present of course.

My choice to include reflexive methodology in my studies was so that I can reflect on the material I collected and the way I interpret what I saw. In reflexivity different attention is paid to the way different kinds of linguistic, social, political and theoretical elements are woven together in the process of knowledge development, during which empirical material is constructed, interpreted and written (Alvesson & Skoldberg 2000, p5). Reflection can, in the context of empirical research, be defined as the interpretation of interpretation and the launching of critical self-exploration of one's own interpretations of empirical material (including its construction) (Alvesson & Skoldberg 2000, p6). A clear distinction, although difficult, needs to be made between the ways the farmers and other actors viewed situations from the way I view them. This is difficult as I only have myself to make this distinction. Reflexivity involves reflecting on the way in which research is carried out and understanding how processes of doing research shapes the outcomes (Hardy et al: 2001). During my research I went in with a set ideology of the problems that I would discover, this is evident through the interview questions I had prepared beforehand. However as my research progressed using reflexivity, I had to redesign the questions I addressed to the interviewees as some were irrelevant. Furthermore for my analysis I have created categories which I will use to analyse my data such as *Diversification*, *How about the risks and Deforestation*. These categories are not pre-existent but are a formulation from my own understanding and reflexivity of what the predominant actions were in the study. Unfortunately at the end of interpretation and reflection, which make up the components of the reflective approach, I have had to include only the data that is necessary to portray my results and simultaneously try to be ethically correct (Alvesson & Skoldberg 2000, p8).

During my time in the field I used participant observation, semi structured interviews and field notes. I interviewed 19 growers from different tobacco growing regions and towns. Of these, 6 were small-scale growers, 1 was a previous tobacco grower who had his land taken away during the land redistribution and 12 were large scale commercial farmers. My key contact group or gate keepers were from a merchant company called Mashonaland Tobacco Company. I had the opportunity

through them to observe their interaction with individual farmers and farm managers, take part in a focus group meeting in Bingaguru near Rusape. Approximately 40 small holder farmers were present at this meeting. Furthermore I also got the opportunity to go to the tobacco auction floors and witness the process of tobacco being auctioned for those who are non-contacted growers and bought from those who are contracted. Throughout these events I conducted semi-structured interviews with growers, personnel from the Tobacco Industry and Marketing Board and MTC employees. In addition to this I also had an unstructured interview with the Zimbabwe Tobacco Association's agricultural manager.

In summary my field work took place between the end of January and during the month of February. Some of my interviews were conducted on farms during farm visits with the merchants so I had to share my interview time with their business procedure. A smaller number of interviews took place at the tobacco auction floor where I could not be viewed as connected to the merchant company and where I did not have to share my time with their procedure. At the auction floor I interviewed a number of small-scale farmers and representatives from TIMB. Lastly one semi-structured interview was held at ZTA.

Throughout my field work participant observation took place. Extra information will also be used in my research material that I sourced in the form of documents from TIMB and MTC.

### 3.1 Interview Respondents and locations

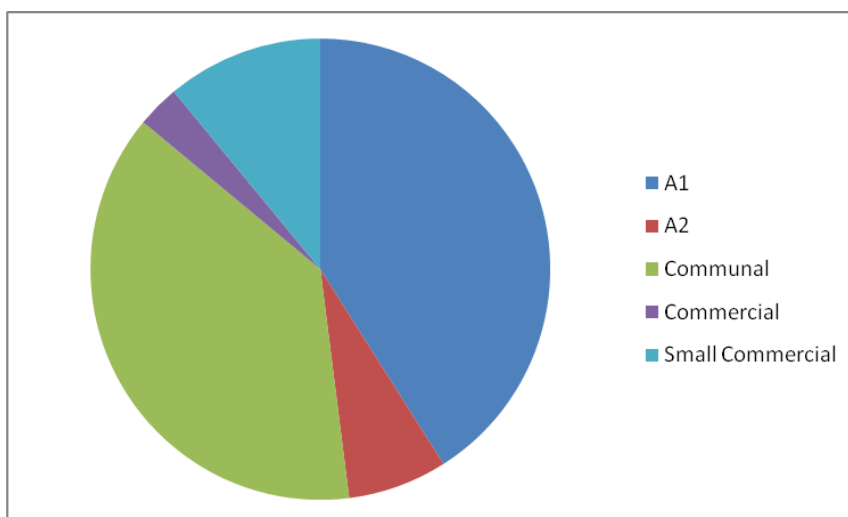
#### Growers

*Locations: primarily Mashonaland East and Mashonaland Central Province.*

12 large-scale growers were interviewed of these I spoke to 4 farm managers as the farm owners were not present, 6 small scale growers and 1 retired tobacco grower who had his farm taken away during land redistribution.

I constantly change between the term grower and farmer to refer to those who grow tobacco but to correct this they should all be referred to as growers unless they have identified themselves as farmers which most of those I interviewed did. In the tobacco industry's and TIMB literature the term grower is used where as in the Zimbabwean media the term farmer is often used. According to TIMB (Preparatory meeting for 2011) the split of the registered tobacco growers is as follows, with small scale sector making up 79% of the total growers:

A1	A2	Communal	Commercial	Small Commercial
41%	7%	38%	3%	11%



For the purpose of my studies I split the growers in to two groups:

Small Scale	1 ha – 15 ha
Large Scale	Above 15 ha

The growers may either be contracted or uncontracted. Contracted growers are those who have signed contracts with merchants or producing companies that have vertically integrated.

### **Merchants**

*Location: Harare*

My key gatekeeper came from Mashonaland Tobacco Company and this is the company I travelled to the majority of my interviews with. There are 12 existing merchant companies in Zimbabwe and their main function is to buy and sell tobacco.

### **Tobacco Industry Marketing Board**

*Location: Main offices in Harare but decentralised.*

It is a parastatal and regulatory board that markets tobacco.

### **Zimbabwe Tobacco Association**

*Location: Harare*

An association that has voluntary membership for tobacco growers who pay a membership fee. Their key function is to lobby and advocate for the use of tobacco and assist its members with valid information related to tobacco.

### **Tobacco Sales Floor**

*Location: Harare*

An auction floor responsible for handling the growers cured and stacked tobacco once they pay a fee and are responsible for making sure that the grower's tobacco is sold and that he receives his payment. It was here that I managed to observe the final process the grower has with their tobacco and to interview a few growers, TIMB officials and to see the interaction between merchants, growers, TIMB and the sales floors.

However apart from the stakeholders I interviewed other stakeholders came up from observation during interviews who affect the growers. These are:

- Banks
- Neighbours and friends
- Agricultural Extension Services (AREX)
- FAO
- Pannar seeds
- Environmental Management Agency and Forestry Commission



## 4. Analysis – Communication Involved in Tobacco Production

### 4.1 Communication

I shall now go on to make an analysis of the communication that takes place with the grower and different stakeholders. I have formulated various categories as noted briefly in the methodology. These categories have been derived from my own understanding after processing and making an analysis of a much longer text of my findings. I believe that the actions I look at most reflect how communication influences them. Additionally using Foucault and symbolic interaction as an eyeglass, categories such as *growing tobacco*, *how about the risks*, *diversification and labour* have been formulated to illustrate the knowledge and discipline the growers have, how it has come about and some aspects of symbolic interaction. The interconnection of these categories will be discussed and be more apparent in the discussion section of my paper. I have subdivided this communication into sections of action I think the communication predominantly motivates. These are: *Growing tobacco* where I will look at why the farmer decides to grow tobacco or keep growing tobacco. *Why stay on contract* where I look at how communication motivates the grower to stay on contract or want to be contracted if they are not. In *Diversification* I take a look at what other income generating activities the grower has, is, and would like to be involved in and why they choose to engage in these other activities. In *How about the risks* I discuss what risks the grower is aware of that are involved in the growing of tobacco and what he feels about them. *Labour* takes a look at the type of labour the grower decides to use and why, *Deforestation* will look at what motivates the grower to cut or grow trees or to take part in neither. *The watchful eye* will focus on how growers are supervised, observed, communicated with, recorded and if they themselves partake in any observations. *Relationships* will look at the type of relationships that have formed between the grower and stakeholders and how this affects their decision making. Lastly *Analogies and metaphors* will look at the various *analogies and metaphors* that come up during the study that the grower relates to and understands and that are shared amongst various stakeholders. Some examples I will choose to use in one section could also be suitable for other sections too. I use the term grower to denote to the growers I interviewed and grower A, grower B to indicate a quotation from a different grower.

#### 4.1.1 Growing Tobacco

There are a number of reasons why one would choose to grow tobacco, for some it is a side activity that the growers do as a hobby and for others it's as their main livelihood strategy. Tobacco is a labour intensive crop meaning a lot of time, effort and funds go into growing it. Below I will share some of the reasons I gathered for growing tobacco.

##### *Security, stability and predictability*

Tobacco apparently pays better than most crops and one does not have to wait long before they are paid. A number of small holder growers have been able to buy houses, cars, mini buses, water pumps, maize mills, etc. with their profits.

**Grower:**       *“The money we get from it is enough to survive the whole year and we will also invest in fertiliser, chemicals and other inputs.”*

Out of the 10 villages in the Bingaruru area only one man is said not to farm tobacco due to religious reasons. All the growers grow maize for their own consumption, some also grow ground nuts and sorghum for alcohol and food alongside their tobacco. A grower I interviewed who is a non contracted grower had previously been growing cotton and this was her first year growing tobacco. She planned to increase the amount of hectares of tobacco and eventually phase out cotton due to

the success she had experienced with her crop.

During an interview with TIMB I asked the following question:

**Interviewer:** *“Why do you think people choose to grow tobacco and is there anything else that you think could be another option instead of tobacco?”*

**TIMB:** *“From observation tobacco pays the most in Zimbabwe. Maybe paprika had almost the same drive. There is an assurance that tobacco will be bought. After your tobacco is sold you get your money. Unlike other crops where you may have to wait for a long period of time to get paid.”*

His view was that tobacco is a superior crop to others.

Another grower also grew seed maize that he received from Pannar Seed who he is also contracted with. His statement was that Pannar seed does contract growers to grow seed maize and he received US\$650 for a tonne and one could grow 5t/ha. Whereas with tobacco one can yield more than 1t/ha and get an average of US\$2/kg which converts to US\$2000/t.

### *Interest*

A high percentage of the commercial farmers I spoke to have a vast amount of knowledge about agriculture and an education in it. If not their managers have this education and vast knowledge. Their tobacco is generally cleaner and there is not much need to tell them what they can do to improve methods and about rules and regulations. They are innovative using original and creative techniques to stack their tobacco and potholing systems to save water in their fields. They invest in producing the best tobacco by investing in advanced barns and workshops. There are different models of barns such as the rocket barn, modro and tunnel. The larger the quantity and quality tobacco a grower produces the more he can expect in loans and support and the more respect he gains.

A small-scale grower I spoke to showed me two new barns he had recently built to increase the efficiency in the curing process of tobacco leaves. Although his barns were at a rudimentary level it was evident that he was eager to improve the production process of his tobacco. Others however have been noted by the local advisor as splurging their money in night clubs in the capital city until they have no money left.

### *Importance (economy & other crops)*

Commercial growers are aware of how important tobacco is to the Zimbabwean economy and therefore how important they are.

**Grower:** *“This is a commercial crop and it is not up to my standard this year. So many outside factors but what they do not realise is that it is hurting Zimbabwe.”*

There is a general consensus that tobacco is the best crop to grow due to the sandy soils and due to the fact that it pays more than other crops. Wheat could possibly bring in a good income but it is expensive to fertilise and irrigate. Although most commercial growers keep some live stock such as pigs and cattle and also grow maize mostly for their own consumption an impression is given that although they enjoy growing tobacco, say that it is tradition and that it brings in the most money, tobacco is their only choice and resort. Tobacco is also widely thought of as necessary so that a grower can rotate it with other crops.

### *Tradition*

It is considered a tradition and a hobby to grow tobacco by many of the farmers. Farmers say they enjoy growing tobacco and some expressed how they enjoyed watching the plant grow. Except for a few hiccups such as problems with labour and electricity they genuinely enjoy and want to continue

growing tobacco. A number of commercial farmers I interviewed had been raised on farms that grew tobacco and some had been growing tobacco for 20-30 years.

The representative from ZTA, like most stakeholders interviewed, viewed tobacco as being vital for the economy and citizens as it employs numerous people and as it is a traditional Zimbabwean crop that the country cannot escape from growing due to the climate and soils.

From the growers I interviewed two growers smoke, one just started smoking again after 2 years due to stress and another had quit and decided to eat more instead. This portrays how the growers do not grow tobacco due to their interest in its products such as cigarettes and snus but due to their interest in the growth of the crop itself.

#### **4.1.2 Why Stay on Contract**

As a tobacco grower there is an opportunity to be contracted with merchants or companies that have vertically integrated such as British American Tobacco. There are many growers who are not on contract and who would like to be but one has to be selected to be on contract and cannot just sign up. Furthermore there are also those who have been on contract and are not any more as well as there are some growers who have no interest to become contract growers. Here I analyse some thoughts and processes involved in contract growing.

As a contracted grower one is guaranteed of having their tobacco bought by the merchant company they are on contract with. The merchants cannot buy tobacco from the grower at a lower price than he has bought it for at the auction floors from uncontracted growers. After buying the contacted growers tobacco the merchant takes back the loan he had given the grower. The loan would have been given in the form of money, wood or coal, fertilizer, chemicals, hessian and paper.

During a focus group meeting with merchants from MTC and small-holder contract farmers 8 MTC representatives came with samples of different tobacco to show the growers and explain to them what would lead to them getting a good price for their tobacco and what wouldn't. Issues such as the careful handling of tobacco were discussed, for instance non tobacco related material - which is material such as metal, rubber, plastic, etc. - was one topic touched on. The growers were told that these could be found in their tobacco if they were negligent and that it could cause cancer and affect someone overseas when they are smoking the cigarette.

They appreciate the visits from the buyers because they find out more about the type of tobacco that will be profitable. The growers also brought along samples of tobacco they had grown for the season to show the buyers and got feedback about the quality of tobacco they were growing. They asked many questions to know what was expected from them and representatives from MTC coming from different departments answered their questions.

The small-scale growers have high expectations of the merchants because they feel that the merchants need them or have a lot of money to supply them with. They expect to get their loans of approximately US\$1700 (which they cannot get from the bank), they get their wood delivered to them, they get picked up and transported together with their tobacco to the city and after they sell their tobacco they are taken to the bank where they can collect their money. As all other contract growers they also expect to receive high prices for their tobacco even if it is of low quality so that they can pay back their loans.

A grower I interviewed would have liked to be on contract one day but with the amount of tobacco she grows at the moment she is satisfied not being on contract as she can afford to fund her own

activities.

**Grower A:** *“Non-contract is easy because you do not have any debt”.*

**Grower B:** *“People like contract because they learn about how to get the best crop, how to plant trees. You see good results. I had left but decided to come back because my crop was good and I learnt a lot. The buyers come to tell us what they want”.*

Although they may have disagreements with the contractors when it comes to the payment of their loans and how much they get for their tobacco the growers know where their support comes from and who they can trust. They know that no matter what price they may get for their tobacco or how poor their crop may be they are still guaranteed to have it bought and they are still most likely guaranteed to have funding for the next tobacco season.

**Grower A:** *“It's good to see the buyers. Agronomist are the ones that usually come”.*

**Grower B:** *“MTC listens to my problems and chip in here and there. They understand me and I understand them”.*

*“Low prices would discourage me from continuing and we can't service our loans”.*

*“I carried on with them because they supported me”.*

**Grower C:** *“Nothing would make me leave contract because contract does a lot”.*

There also seems to be very few other places growers can turn to for support as the Government has slowed down in its agricultural assistance. The banks have their own difficulties and are sometimes short of money. They also need collateral in order to give growers loans which most of them lack.

**Grower D:** *“Contract is a necessary evil, the bank wants security with contract it's a partnership. With contract you pay 9% interest and 20% at the banks.”*

I would therefore conclude that the main reasons to stay on contract are security; knowing that one will have inputs and that one's tobacco will be bought, the knowledge gained; it is more profitable than going to the banks that have high interest rates and also need collateral and growers enjoy the relationships with merchants. According to TIMB (2009, pg4) contract sales accounted for 73% of the total mass of tobacco sold in 2009.

With regards to the merchants they opt for contract growing as it guarantees a better quality of tobacco and a definite supply of tobacco as it had decreased over the years. Lastly as quoted by a merchant: *“There is a high risk to get tobacco from where you do not know. On contract you give them the right chemicals and make sure the tobacco is right”.*

#### **4.1.3 Diversification**

I found that most growers were not motivated to diversify from farming at all, when I asked them what they would do if tobacco stopped being profitable most said they would find something else to grow. Of all the farmers I interviewed one stayed in the city and had a job there. All farmers grew other crops aside from tobacco. The small scale farmers tended to grow crops such as maize, sorghum and groundnuts for their own consumption. On the other hand many large scale farmers grew maize for their labourers or to feed pigs. Two of the large-scale farmers had a large amount of pigs and seemed satisfied with their profits however the largest amount of their land was dedicated to tobacco and they seemed less passionate about their other farm activities. Farmers also had cows, chickens, goats and other livestock. One woman also grew beans and peas for export. Although all commercial farmers complained about not having electricity due to ZESA, the electricity company, and the fact that they had to use a generator which was expensive, none of them had any plans to

stop or reduce the amount of tobacco they grew. All farmers on the other hand had plans or wished to increase the land they allot for tobacco and one grower had even gone on to rent different portions of land from nearby farmers aside from the portion he had already. In turn he grew tobacco for them on a portion of their land.

#### **4.1.4 How About the Risks?**

The risks involved in the tobacco industry not only include the harm that tobacco causes to the body but also fiscal risks. A lot of money is invested into the growth of the product to ensure that a quality product is attained.

The main problems the merchants encounter with many of the small-scale farmers is that their tobacco is usually not of superior quality. Very few small-holder growers produce a high quality of tobacco. The problem is caused because contracted small holders get enough tobacco and inputs for one hectare but they decide to stretch out their resources and grow more than one hectare or sell some of their fertiliser and chemicals to their neighbours affecting the quality of their tobacco. With the extra hectares of tobacco they grow they side market it, which is they take it to the auction floors with a different grower number (identity) which is illegal. They do this to avoid paying off their loans as the money they owe has to be paid back if they use their original grower number. Moreover there is a possibility of being caught out if they take more tobacco than they could have grown on 1 ha to the merchants. Some contract growers have therefore had their contracts taken away due to failure to pay back loans.

The harm that tobacco may cause to people who choose to smoke is not something that is much thought about by small-scale growers. They are however told by the merchants about the harm the wrong use of chemicals and materials due to their negligence may cause and they are aware of it but the harm of tobacco itself to other people is usually far from mind.

More of the commercial growers are aware of the dangers of smoking and tobacco and a few have some idea about how smoking bans and stricter regulations are being placed. However not a lot of information reaches them and they evidently do not go out actively searching for any information about the tobacco industry being in danger. Rather the case in Zimbabwe is much the opposite as one can see large billboards advertising cigarettes as you drive down the main roads. They feel secure and know that if they grow the crop it will be sold. Most feel that smokers are clearly warned that smoking is hazardous to health and that there are worse things in life than smoking cigarettes or sniffing tobacco.



Fig 3. Billboards advertising cigarettes along a main road in Harare, Zimbabwe.

- Grower A:** *"We think about the consequences but how are we to survive. As long as they are growing in other countries we will still grow".*
- Grower B:** *"There are more evils in the world than tobacco. We have to grow it because of infertile soils. Maize used to be grown after tobacco, everything depends on tobacco<sup>1</sup>".*
- Grower C:** *"We see what chemicals they put in. It's clearly written that smoking is dangerous and hazardous to health and it is the individuals' choice to choose to smoke. I produce 3 million boxes of cigarettes. I don't make people smoke".*

The ZTA was convinced that the tobacco industry would not be fizzled out in the country because of the support that the government gives the industry as well as the amount of people who are dependent on the crop and who have invested in it. Like some farmers the ZTA representative believed that there are not too many other options due to the hot climate and the sandy soils. When I asked him how he feels about tobacco's negative effects he responded:

*"People are dying of worse things like HIV and Aids in Zimbabwe, so we can't be worried about tobacco. Tobacco is a choice, that is one thing we say in the industry. People choose to smoke and there are warnings. One thing we can do is regulate the chemicals we use and control them and make sure that the correct ones are used but we will not stop growing tobacco. We promote it. If we diversify to something else how do we know that it will bring in a good amount of income? And by the time they find out it will be too late and people will die of hunger."*

#### 4.1.5 Labour

The tobacco industry has been connected with the use of child labour. From the farm visits I made I observed many women working with their infants on their back or children running around and playing while their mothers worked I did not however see any children working. Nevertheless when conducting interviews one small-scale farmer mentioned that children worked during their school holidays. The growers are aware that they should not use child labour but they only adhere to these rules as they are told about the strict international laws. A retired grower I interviewed had once hired children to work on his farm and in return they learnt on the school he ran on his farm. He was proud of this as he stated that today some of them were teachers, headmasters and pilots and without that education they would not have managed to be where they are. Many merchants and growers believe that it is cultural for the children to work on the farms as they too have to learn the skills in preparation for if they take over the farming activities.

Many growers faced problems with labour. There were complaints about workers not showing up for work due to political meetings they have to attend and men not showing up due to hangovers. The most common reason is due to *Maricho*. During the season when the farmers are grading and reaping settlers pay labourers \$5 a day for two weeks to work for them. This encourages the full time workers to call in sick and go work for settlers and this affects the growers as the tobacco must be processed with care at this time. The growers try their best to encourage their workers to work hard and efficiently and most provide food, education, accommodation and bonuses for their labourers. They also try communicate with them as best as they can and I found that most of the white commercial farmers could speak Shona and so could better communicate with their workers.

**Grower A:** *"The workers are earning a lot of money but they do not want to work. For 2 weeks settlers pay double their wage."*

Most growers also had a preference for women workers as they miss work less and are said to be

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1 *Maize would grow on the back bone of tobacco by sucking up the nutrients from the residue.*

good at grading and de-suckering the tobacco.

**Grower B:** *“Women keep jobs, they are good at grading, suckering. Men are difficult to work with.”*

#### 4.1.6 Deforestation - To Cut or Grow Trees

Zimbabwean tobacco is highly valued as people come from all over the world to buy its flavoured tobacco. The reason it has this good flavour is due to the fact that it is flue-cured tobacco. The leaf is taken from the fields where it is placed in a barn and exposed to heat without smoke for a long period of time. Unfortunately this heat has to come from somewhere which has led to the growth of tobacco to cause deforestation. Although some growers use coal from Hwange colliery many use wood and this is not always sourced in the correct manner.

A number of the small-scale growers admitted to cutting down trees. This was for reasons owing to the fact that some felt that there were a lot of trees in the area and that the trees would not finish. There were reasons such as the wood lot being delivered to them late and that the wood that had been delivered got wet because of the rain making it unsuitable to use.

**Local advisor:** *“Farmers used to cut down wood illegally but then the government has been trying to stop this. There has been illegal cutting of trees because the wood they got from MTC got wet”.*

**Non contract grower:** *“There are lots of trees; they will not finish with us small farmers”.*

**Grower A:** *“The firewood from the company came late October, November. Cars sink in the roads. Cars cannot bring firewood. I won't let my crop rot because firewood was late, I will make a plan”.*

**Grower B:** *“They should come before rains around early October. But some came in December. People have already started reaping”.*

There are a number of reasons the growers give for cutting trees. Firstly what matters the most is making sure that they have fuel to cure their tobacco before their tobacco is spoilt. Whether they are on contract or not they are all aware that it is illegal to cut down trees. The growers take into consideration what it would cost them to buy their own firewood or coal from their own pockets and find that it is better to cut down trees. Being on contract is supposed to ensure that there is less deforestation caused by tobacco farming as contractors provide fuel for the growers. It may be so that the small-scale farmers get less deliveries of wood due to their bad roads and long distance from the city. Although the growers plant trees as required by their contracts they convey the impression not to fully be aware of the value and consequences of cutting them down except for the fact that they may get a fine of \$300 per tree from the EMA (The Zimbabwean 2011).

**Grower A:** *“People cut down trees. Environmental groups speak to Sabuku (head of village) and that does not help as he is first and foremost one of the villagers”.*

**Grower B:** *“We want coal from Hwange. Coal is cheaper than wood”.*

**Grower C:** *“We want coal instead of wood, cutting trees also wastes time and it is illegal”.*

The growers are taught to plant and grow trees by agronomists, one has planted 2000 gum trees this year. None of the contract growers want to cut down trees, but resort to it as something they have to do.

Most commercial farmers I spoke to have a stable and good supply of wood, coal or both. Some had

complaints about the quality of the coal they received saying that it contained too much dust which meant that they were paying a lot of money for coal they would not be able to use. One farmer used wooden cubes and stated that it was a more efficient and an energy saving way to cure his tobacco rather than using logs. With cubes of 1m<sup>2</sup> he could use four or five to do a complete cure. Most commercial growers were aware that if they needed to cut down trees they first had to get in touch with the forestry commission who would survey the area and then give them the licence to do so or advice them not to.

More importance is placed to trees by those who have taken time to grow them. One farmer did cut down trees that had been planted by the previous owner. All large-scale farmers agreed it was good to plant trees although they did not give a reason for it and those that did cut down trees mostly had to do it as they were getting in the way of the pivot for irrigation. The Tobacco Research Institute hands out seeds for trees after one buys tobacco but not all growers chose to grow trees. This is sometimes because their land may be limited.

**Grower A:** *“It's good to plant trees.”*

**Grower B:** *“Where we did clear trees we got a permit from the Forestry Commission who told us how to do it.”*

#### **4.1.7 The Watchful Eye**

There are a number of ways in which different stakeholders keep an eye on other actors. Whether it be through official data collection or through word of mouth, stakeholders find ways to know what is going on within the industry as well as to distribute information.

The growers were eager to know about how other farmers were doing and were excited and anxious about the start of the buying season. They asked the merchants about how their neighbours were doing and the merchants gladly told them about the progress or misfortunes of the other growers he had visited.

Both the Merchants and TIMB collect information about the growers. The merchants collect information to do with their contract growers so that they can predict what the season has in store for them. TIMB collects information and statistics and distributes it to some of the stakeholders. TIMB also distributes important rules and regulates the industry.

Before my study I assumed that it was compulsory to join ZTA, however there are a number of associations, ZTA being one of the bigger ones. Some growers thought that it is compulsory to join ZTA or some form of association but stated that they had not received any information from them or any help.

**Grower:** *“We have not joined ZTA or any other association. It is something for small scale farmers to join.”*

Although some growers stated that the ZTA was compulsory to be a part of, the ZTA has 5000 members. When asked what the function of ZTA was Mr Mlambo replied: *“To lobby and advocate for the use and growth of tobacco”*.

The ZTA advocates for tobacco by writing papers, signing the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (WHO FCTC), and attending meetings and conferences.

*“What ZTA does is that we advocate for the growth of tobacco and it is not just tobacco growers*



*who depend on it. Buyers, associations, merchants 'aaaah' there are too many people employed in it."*

The ZTA also distributes information to growers through pamphlets and magazines. The magazines are quite informative containing vital information the growers need to know and that may be of interest such as flue-cured season statistics, advice on growing trees and information about deadlines. Farmers in each district are picked so that they can distribute the information with their motorbikes or cars.

The ZTA representative was in the view that they do a lot to help their growers compared to other associations:

*"There are other associations but they do not do anything they just take people's money and do not hand out information. We do, we help with how to take care of crops, we get information from the tobacco research institute about hybrids and such".*

The government has been active in the form of the Environmental Management Agency and Forestry Commission who have made sure people know it is illegal to cut down trees. The government has also made sure that economic conditions are suitable for tobacco trade by ensuring a low tax on tobacco and a well controlled trading environment controlled by TIMB. Nonetheless growers did not discuss them at length during interviews.

One grower I interviewed stated that besides the merchants the only other people to come see them was the Agricultural Extension Services.

**Grower:** *"AREX just to ask what you are doing. They do not give advice or help".*

Interviewing a representative of TIMB at the tobacco sales floors he explained the final process that the growers have with their tobacco. The growers register with a floor of their choice where they will sell their tobacco. After booking the tobacco is in the hands of the floor.

TIMB offices are being opened up in every province, Mvuri, Marondera, Rusape, Chinoyi, where there are agronomists and a technical officer where growers can register. In the past agronomists could be trained on attachment then start working but now they require all agronomists to have a degree in agriculture. Registration right now is at Mboka house in Harare the capital and costs \$10. There is a \$10 fine for being late.

*"Most people are late because they do not have money not because they do not have knowledge."*

TIMB can perform random checks for chemicals, like ODT in the tobacco. All tobacco may be destroyed if prohibited chemicals are found. They can also check the tobacco for non-tobacco related materials. TIMB appears to be a neutral player in the industry. They have no need to try gain trust or build close relationships to the merchants or the growers. They associate with all stakeholders evolved in tobacco and monitor them. Due to the power they have to reprimand any stakeholder out of line they presumably do not want to lose their power by establishing a friendship or partnership relationship with stakeholders. TIMB has now decentralised its offices to make it easier for the growers to register and to make sure they have agronomists near them.

#### **4.1.8 Relationships**

During my field work I observed many different types of relationships between stakeholders, those of camaraderie, indifference, loathing and friendship. I will briefly present a few cases below.

### *Merchants*

Firstly the perception I got from the farm visits that the merchants make to the growers was that they are not supposed to bring in any disputes. Growers and farmers leave those aside until they get to the auction floors and warehouses where they discuss the price of the tobacco and debt. The buyers come from far and come in peace to view their investment and to also hear the quires and problems their growers maybe facing. The buyer does not say anything negative or discouraging to the grower during the visits but instead motivates them and gives them a picture of what to expect from the oncoming sales.

Some growers prepare big breakfasts and lunches for the buyers, offer them refreshments and give them some of their farm products such as onions and meat which the buyers accept. Growers take time to walk around and show them their farms and what improvements and disasters have struck them. The good relationship between the merchants and growers can be exemplified through Brain (80 years old) who lost his farm and is now employed by MTC as an extension worker.

A lot of the growers talk about what other merchant companies are doing for their growers but either because of their loans or because they feel the need to be loyal they have not left MTC. There is dependency with the commercial farmers as with the small-holder farmers although we find that perhaps because the commercial farmers know they bring in a lot of tobacco and that the dependency is two way they see it more as a partnership. They phrase themselves differently when asking for something from the merchants and they are also received differently. They do not view the commercial grower as being dependent on them but rather as their duty to make sure that their grower has all their supplies. When buyers arrived at one growers farm:

**MTC:**               *”Ndisu tinokupai mabasa, tino tenga tobacco yengu” - We are the ones who give you jobs we buy your tobacco.*

**Grower:**           *”Ndimi mukutikwadza” - You are the ones hurting us.*

He points to the coal that is almost finished. The delivery has not yet been made.

A conflict arose between one MTC buyer and the growers during the focus group meeting at Bingaguru with the small-scale growers. The growers wanted the merchants to provide them with transport from the bank in the city back to their farms after the sale of their tobacco in the city. The Merchants had however made what they considered an exceptional action by providing them with transport from their farms to the sales floors in the city and from there to the bank. The growers however wanted more.

**Grower:**           *“We feel like you do not care about us when you dump us at the bank”.*

**MTC:**               *“Our core business is to buy, process and sell tobacco we have diversified from it” in a annoyed tone. “This is a contract a two way relationship, we can't do everything for you”.*

Another merchant however interrupted with more gentle words as the growers had started to look bewildered by the confrontation.

Although both small-scale and large-scale commercial growers both get loans from the merchants the amount of knowledge and tobacco produced by the grower seems to determine the relationship, hierarchy and communication between the grower and the merchant.

### *The Local Advisor*

The agronomist and extension worker, who is the local advisor, has a function to assist the small scale farmers in Bingaguru in the growing of their tobacco. There is more regular monitoring of the

small-scale farmers than there is of commercial farmers. This is due to the fact that most of them still do not have enough skills and knowledge on how to grow tobacco. The local advisor works together with another extension worker and they had a total of 300 farmers in 2010 and 219 in 2011 to watch over.

The advisor is also a farmer and has 2 ha that he uses for demonstration to the small scale farmers he is in charge of. He teaches them how to use the fertilizer and chemicals, how to de-sucker the tobacco and other processes until it is ready for sale. Additionally he teaches them and encourages them to plant trees. He has a strong bond to the growers as he lives among them and has more frequent contact with them. He understands why they cut down trees illegally which appeared to be more prevalent amongst the small holder growers. He also knows how they spend their money stating that some have managed to buy cars and homes while others can use a bulk of their money at a night club called Octopus in the capital city after getting paid. He enjoys his job and has been side contracted by the FAO to promote zero tillage planting of maize. The FAO also give growers free seed maize to grow through Mr Officer.

My analysis of the local advisor was that he loves his job and he sees himself as a farmer and as one of the people from the area although he is not originally from there. His communication with the growers is genuine and more frequent so they have a camaraderie enabling him to develop more trust and acquire information from them such as their illegal activities.

**Grower:** *“The extension officers from the government do not do much, they come around sometimes, aaaah the local advisor is the one who is always here, he comes by a lot to make sure we are doing things well”.*

#### *Regional Representative*

The small-scale growers undoubtedly did not have a good relationship with the regional representative of Rusape, Bingaguru who did not show up for the meeting although he was responsible for inviting everyone gathered. According to the participants of the meeting there were issues such as him having taken money from them at the beginning of the year, a sum of \$200 that he claimed was to open bank accounts for them. He also had not managed to give all the growers the money they needed for labour so some of them had not been able to hire helpers for grading and curing. Most of the growers did not understand why he acted in the manner he had and simply showed displeasure with him even in the way they said his name.

**Grower:** *“He can't work with people”.*

#### *Banks*

Although encouraged to open bank accounts the growers are adamant about not doing so as they say the bank charges are high. For every \$50 taken out, the banks charge \$3. This is a problem as the growers then have to travel to the city to get their money from sold tobacco and run a risk of being robbed. They also felt that the banks did not treat them appropriately as farmers are told to stand aside till late before being served.

#### *Neighbours*

There is a sense of responsibility between neighbours and friends. They help each other when they have a shortage of barns and teach new growers about how to grow tobacco. The commercial growers keep a watchful eye over the smaller growers. This is also done as a form of security so that the grower may have people to help him/her if he runs into political trouble or to avoid having his land taken away due to their neighbours being spiteful or jealous.

Through contacts and ties one can also encourage the actions of another. One grower told the buyers

that they should appreciate him as he was the one who had encouraged his friends (who happen to be the two biggest growers the merchants have contracted) to join MTC and to stay with MTC. He consistently brought this topic up and may have felt that it should have given him some form of power.

#### 4.1.9 Analogies and Metaphors

Some analogies and metaphors came up in my study that I felt that the stakeholders could all relate to and were in agreement with. I feel that these illustrate the symbols they have begun to share with each other that give meaning to their activities. One new tobacco farmer had just signed to be on contract. Their relationship was described as being at the 'dating stage' as he did not need anything from the merchants yet. He was in high demand with many merchant companies or at least he portrayed that, because he had sponsored his tobacco with his own money.

Buyer referring to new tobacco grower: *“This is described as the dating stage. He does not need anything yet”*.

Some growers felt that tobacco could be thought of as a child due to the fact that you watch it grow and closely take care of it for more than nine months.

**Merchant:** *“Tobacco is like a child you take care of it for 9-10 months so you always feel that your crop is good even when it isn't”*.

Metaphors were used when speaking to emphasise their points and to increase understanding, one merchant said:

*“Tobacco is like a beautiful girl, no matter how beautiful she is if boys do not see her beauty and pursue her she loses value and the ugly girl who all the boys hit on and think is beautiful increases in value”*.

This was used to explain the change in the type of tobacco in demand. The Chinese are the biggest buyers of tobacco and although the type of tobacco they buy is not considered the best tobacco by tobacco growers it pays the most as it is in demand. Likewise the statement also reflects on the fact that growing tobacco is mainly a male dominated activity as the merchant uses analogies that men can relate to best.

**Merchant:** *“Tobacco is like a women she needs to be clean and dressed well, would you be attracted to her if she was dirty and dressed badly? It's the same with your tobacco, make sure your sacks are clean and well sewn”*.

The growers also refer to the merchants warehouse where they take their tobacco when its ready for sale by the head buyers name “KwaSmith” (e.g. *“When we get to Mr Smith's he will give us low prices \$1,20, \$1,30 how can I avoid that?”*).

Lastly one common feeling that I got from all the stakeholders I interviewed was that an important examination was approaching. The growers were nervous and anticipating what their average price would be for the year as well as what it was the year before. There was great pride in those who had attained a high average price similar to a student who had attained a high GPA. The merchants went about giving last minute pointers to the growers and TIMB sent out the rules and venues for the year. On the auction floors the growers waited aside restlessly as their tobacco was judged and bought while the TIMB arbitrators were present at every sale like strict adjudicators during the final examinations.

## 5. Discussion / Results

From my analysis it can be seen that the grower has a number of different stakeholders he/she communicates with directly or indirectly, regularly and not as often. All this communication however, motivates the grower to act in certain ways. To say that this communication motivates does not mean that it forces or guarantees that the grower will act in a particular way but that it gives the farmer a motive or incite about the action they should make. I will now go on to discuss my findings and shed light on my thoughts about how communication with different stakeholders motivates the grower to act and where Foucault and symbolic interaction tie into my study.

Growing tobacco is mainly attributed to tradition, enjoyment, security, lack of choice as the soils are sandy and do not allow for much of a choice with regards to other crops that may be grown. Despite this the government and other stakeholders have created a secure environment that the farmer feels safe and at home operating in. This enables a grower to feel confident about the decision to grow tobacco and more of it than any other crop. Out there, in the rest of the world, particularly in the west there is panic and action being taken to curb the growth of the tobacco industry. In contrast in Zimbabwe there are billboards lining the city streets advertising cigarettes regardless of the fact that only 1% of the tobacco grown in the country actually stays in the country. I believe that this sends a message to the growers and potential growers that there is a thriving tobacco industry.

From observation there is a sound and growing tobacco industry in Zimbabwe with a well established and ever improving network. It strongly resembles a boarding school or barracks and the institutions Foucault makes reference to. A system where you are well observed and regulated so that you are always productive yet you still feel safe as you know that you are the centre of the system and that it would cease to exist without you. Simultaneously there are rules that must be observed, a code of conduct in which you know and observe hierarchies from the headmaster or lieutenant and those holding higher ranks than you. At the end of each year there is a big examination that determines whether one goes to the next level or not. Relating my experience during the field work to a boarding school scenario led me further to one of the great connoisseurs of institutions, Foucault.

Ultimately the government through subsidiaries such as TIMB, the Tobacco Research Institute, AREX and the Environmental Management Agency have the tools to collect information about all stakeholders. TIMB's mission statement being - we will timely mobilise and distribute requisite resources, develop and operate efficient orderly marketing and information systems which satisfy the expectations of all stakeholders (TIMB 2009, p2). They are decentralised in all areas and make sure that there is constant communication with the grower in which his activities are recorded and monitored through registration and statistics taken by extension workers. They also distribute information to the growers. During interviews the growers however seldom mentioned the parastatals. I find this is because of the position of authority the government is in which allows it to get by without having to develop close ties with the growers. With the information collected certain rules are then formulated that the grower is well aware of. Such rules are those such as when to register and fines for cutting down trees.

What emanates from this constant watching and regulation is what Foucault terms as docile bodies. The growers' actions are closely watched not only by parastatals but by the merchants too. Although they are not forced into acting enough information has been collected about them to know their needs and demands and these are in turn supplied to them. Below is an approximate time line of the events that take place in a grower's year relating to tobacco.

	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr
Buying Seed and Registration												
Preparation of Land												
Sowing												
Sowing of Late Crop												
Reaping												
Curing & Grading												
Regional Directors and Agronomist Visit												
Buyers visit												
Auction Floors Open												
Registration of Grower Number Deadline												

Fig 4. Approximate Events in the Life of Grower X

From the table (fig 4) above we can see that there is constant monitoring and observation of the grower. Analyses and data collection make the observer have premium knowledge about the grower allowing them to control the growers. According to Foucault (1995, pg148) the 'tableaux vivants' transforms confused, useless or dangerous multitudes into ordered multiplicities, in the eighteenth century, the table was both a technique of power and the procedure of knowledge. The grower without being chased after knows when he is to accomplish certain tasks, he knows when to sow and when to reap, when to register and when to plant trees although he may choose not to do so.

During communication the grower also gains knowledge that he can exert. The grower can choose to cheat the system and get a second grower number which is against the law but allows him to sell his tobacco with different identities and escape from paying loans. The grower can also find ways to cut down trees without the government identifying him. For instance if he lives in a village where the head chief has been assigned to look out for illegal tree cutting he can use this to his advantage as the chief would not report him as they have close ties.

The table (fig 4) above also illustrates how the growers are organised and know what they should be doing during each month. There is no time of the year when they are not involved in tobacco. There is governmentality utilized here as knowledge is used to organise growers. Rationality is dependent upon specific knowledges and techniques of rendering something knowable and, as a result, governable (Townley1993, p520).

Foucault believed that power does not always have to be repressive, excluding or negative (Townley 1993, p521-522). The growers feel that they are involved in a system where they have a choice and indeed they do. They do not sense communication with stakeholders as being repressive but instead either state while referring to the merchants that they care and understand them and when referring to AREX that they just come collect information and do not assist them.

**Grower:** *“People like contract because they learn about how to get the best crop, how to plant trees. You see good results. I had left but decided to come back because my crop was good and I learnt a lot. The buyers come to tell us what they want”.*

Undoubtedly there are hierarchies in the system that come about in different ways. Those who produce large amounts and good quality tobacco are more respected than those who don't by merchants and other tobacco growers. Buyers are well respected and there is a difference in the way they talk to small-scale farmers and the way they talk with large scale farmers. The small-scale growers tend to humble themselves before the merchants as exemplified during the meeting at Bingaguru. They chose to sit on the ground under a tree, men on one side and women on the other, while the merchants stood in front of them and spoke. Whereas with the large-scale growers they all stood up and one could sense equality and more of a partnership in the way they spoke. The

hierarchy comes about due to various reasons such as culture but also due to the ranking system and classification of growers. The growers are classified according to the type and size of land they have. Ranking also comes into play at the auction floors which I associate with the *exam*. Here the growers gain recognition if they manage to bring good tobacco to the auction floors and attain a high average price. The growers themselves are aware of this ranking as most small-scale growers prefer to go to one auction floor rather than another as they feel that they will fit in at an auction floor that has more small-scale growers.

Power is exercised at all levels hence it is not just the government and the merchants exercising it. The growers too exercise power as they have gained knowledge through communication about what privileges their hierarchies and ranks entitle them to and what they can get away with. In the scenario where the small-scale growers were cutting down trees after much discussion it started emerging that the reasons they were doing it was to get coal instead of firewood and to get it on time. Many stated that cutting down trees took time and that the wood came late and got wet due to rain. Furthermore due to the fact that small-scale growers know that the probability of the EMA coming to their farms is low they cut down trees when they feel they have to. Although the village chief has authority to report and watch over them his loyalty firstly lays with the growers as he is one of them, illustrating the importance of communication between neighbours. The growers also tried to source out transportation from the merchants and used manipulative words like “we feel that you are dumping us”. Although this made one of the merchants feel that they were being too dependent on them the growers manage to get the merchants to do more for them as they are viewed to be higher up the hierarchy as compared to the commercial growers who would not get such favours done for them as they see themselves as equals or at times even more important. Communication between actors therefore enables one to know what they can or cannot get away with as the more the actors communicate the greater their ability to take the role of the other.

The type of communication determined the relationship the grower has with different stakeholders and their views on certain subjects. The growers felt that the merchants cared about them and that they could trust them as the merchants made more of an effort than anyone else to come out to see them in the remote areas they dwell. The growers showed companionship to the merchants by offering them food and refreshments and by taking them around their farm. They spoke about their families and other issues that were not to do with tobacco. This builds a bond between them in which the merchants become one of the significant others. Significantly this is more so with the local advisor who is an extension worker and lives amongst the growers. They trusted him and shared a greater amount of information with him. During face to face interaction the grower is able to see gestures made during communication, to analyse the tone of voice and to make a sincere placement of what type of relationship he has with the one he speaks to.

Growing tobacco becomes more than about growing a crop, but about being a part of a community where individuals share the similar goals and values. The local advisor knew how to talk to them as he can take the role of the other, he could teach them about planting trees and how to take care of their tobacco and do it in a way in which they valued what they learnt. Because of the regular visits symbols are also shared and the merchants are able to speak in the form of metaphors and give analogies that the growers understand. Because of these shared symbols the growers feel that they can speak and come to an understanding with the merchants. They therefore laugh at the jokes made about tobacco being like a woman and about being at the dating stage of their relationship.

These close knit relationships encourage the grower to keep on growing tobacco and to grow trees because these actions have become part of their society and symbols they can understand. Regular visits and face to face communication does not however guarantee a remedy of understanding or of companionship as demonstrated by the small-scale growers dislike for their regional manager. The growers like to be listened to as well as being taught and assisted. Because communication is about

social influence humans in different cultures tend to value opportunities for speaking higher than opportunities for listening: *"People compete to say things"* (Miller (2000) and Scott-Phillips (2006) in Reich 2010, p5).

On the contrary there is communication that comes from the FAO and the WHO FCTC that aims to make the growers to stop growing tobacco and move on to other crops. I feel that their communication has lacked an effect in the fact that they are not physically present in the growers' lives and that they do not communicate directly to the grower. Instead they have numerous meetings and conferences amongst members and feel that they can implement their desires by signing treaties and by subcontracting employed contract workers to spread their word. The growers want to be listened to and feel that they are participants in decision making, that they are important people in a system. The grower consequentially does not share any signs and symbols with these stakeholders and cannot relate to communication that gives across negative connotations of the growth of tobacco. The growers sound ruthless in their replies when they state that they do not make people smoke and that tobacco is a choice. Of course as this is what has been communicated to them and the knowledge they have gained has established individuals who are tobacco growers firstly and not advocates for tobacco consumption. Accordingly it is the exercise of power that brings about the emergence of objects of knowledge, bodies of transformation and the possible subjects that constitute themselves around them (Foucault in Barker, 1998, p27). Like a boarding school that is tightly fenced and secure so is the tobacco sector in Zimbabwe. The growers mostly get informed about the best ways to grow tobacco, growing trees, cautiousness about the labour they use, basically information to protect the industry. The government and merchants do all they can to make sure that the tobacco sector cannot be targeted for deforestation and child labour by informing their growers continuously on these issues. Simultaneously there are associations such as the ZTA who lobby and advocate for the growth of tobacco and who further reassure the growers that they are safe. That is not to ignore the inefficiency that exists within the ZTA who send out magazines through other growers.

In short growers feel through the communication they have with the closest stakeholders involved or 'insiders' that tobacco is a superior crop and part of their tradition.



## 6. Conclusion

The closer and more frequent the communication takes place the more knowledge gained and the more one has the ability to exercise power and make an individual act in a particular way. Through observation, recording of information and regulating the time and space that the grower is in, some stakeholders gain enough knowledge to motivate the actions of the farmer. This is only possible with stakeholders who are actively present in the growers' lives and those who constantly communicate with them. They share symbols with the grower such that when they talk about various subjects they can both relate to them. The growers consequently feel that they know the merchants, TIMB and AREX, and that they can trust them and trust in their communication as they share the same symbols and are therefore able to take the role of the other. Trusting in the communication does not necessarily mean that they will act in the desired manner. For instance guarantee that they will not cut down trees or use child labour but it at least means that they will be willing to communicate with those they trust about why they make certain actions.

From a perspective that views the growers as being constantly observed and as docile bodies, that is they act as they are supposed to and when they are meant to, it would take great effort to incept their actions and to persuade them to stop growing tobacco. It would take a great amount of time for communication and training such as that the soldier gets in the army so that the farmer would become disciplined in another activity. It would also be done with great difficulty as the growth of tobacco is centred around traditions and love for the activity. The first step however for institutions such as WHO and FAO would be to not take a top down approach into trying to implement their laws but to start first with familiarizing themselves with the grower, listening to them and gaining knowledge from the grower. Only then can one have the power to know what affects them. Organisations such the FAO try to encourage the growing of seed maize but choose to ride off the backs of extension workers who work for merchant companies because they have a stronger network with the farmers. The key I found to effective communication was decentralisation which enables closer contact with the growers to influence or support them more. The growers in Zimbabwe know who cares for their well being and unless a tried and trusted option comes up that can do for them what tobacco does and provide the same friendship and camaraderie that tobacco does it will be a while before farmers choose to stop growing tobacco.

The most important influencing factors for the growers were constant communication, security and knowledge. They receive these from their neighbours, contractors and extension workers. It is these people who encourage them to grow trees, use the right chemicals and teach them what they know about growing tobacco. Organisations such as the Tobacco Research Board who sell the tobacco seed do their part too by giving them a bag of seeds to plant trees but it is the actual work of the extension workers that motivates them to sow the seeds.

In the time being conditions of labour are being improved as well as an intensive reforestation programme. Although not all individuals participate in it there is now general awareness of the value of trees and a sense of pride amongst some in the amount of trees they have managed to plant. Growers have alternative food sources such as maize and ground nuts but most have however set tobacco as the main income generating activity. This still brings a need for concern as more than 70% of the tobacco growers are small-scale growers. If there does happen to be an effective threat to the industry their livelihood strategy would be endangered as they invest almost all they have in the growth of tobacco. In the time being the production of tobacco is at a high and with the labour problems and economic difficulties the growth of tobacco is supplying jobs, accommodation, food and education to many.

It would be beneficial if programmes could be started to increase the awareness of the grower about the risks of growing tobacco as this is a topic few are well versed on or care for as death caused by

tobacco use is not a predominant problem in the studied area. The question that would then come up would be if the new found knowledge to the dangers of their product would stop them from having a pride in being producers of Zimbabwean flavour tobacco.

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## Appendix

### Acronyms

AREX	Agricultural Extension Services
EMA	Environmental Management Agency
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation
FCT	Flue Cured Tobacco
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
MTC	Mashonaland Tobacco Company
TIMB	Tobacco Industry and Marketing Board
TSF	Tobacco Sales Floor
WHO	World Health Organisation
WHO FCTC	World Health Organisation Frame Work Convention on Tobacco Control
ZESA	Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority
ZTA	Zimbabwe Tobacco Association

### List of words/phrases:

Grower	A person who by himself or by his agents grow tobacco.
Flue Cured Tobacco	Tobacco also known as Virginia is tobacco of a type cured under artificial atmospheric conditions by a process of regulating the heat and ventilation without allowing smoke or fumes from the fuel to come in contact with the same results.
Clean Tobacco	Normally free of dirt and other foreign matter. Can also be used to describe any tobacco that has no blemish.
Cured Tobacco	Tobacco dried of its sap by either natural atmospheric condition or artificial process.
Diseased Tobacco	Tobacco with evidence of field- and/or curing disease.
Foreign Matter	Any extraneous substance or material whether organic or inorganic which is not tobacco.
Grade	A description of any type of tobacco according to plant position (group), quality, colour, and where necessary style factor and/or extra factor.
Sucker	Leaf from a shoot coming from the stem base of a tobacco plant or from leaf axil.
Auction floor	Premises for the sale (auction) of tobacco.
Contracted Grower	Contracted growers are those who have signed contracts with merchants or producing companies that have vertically integrated. On contract the company ensures that you have all inputs you may need such as fertilizer, chemicals, wood, coal and money for labour. In addition they send out agronomists or extension workers to help advise them and teach them about how to care for their tobacco. Each region that has tobacco growers also has a regional director employed by the merchant company who is responsible for the constant running and lookout of the tobacco growers and any new growers who could be suitable to contract. Occasionally when it's off season for the buyers and sellers from the merchant companies (the season between when they buy and sell tobacco and before auction floors open around January to early February) the buyers go out

	<p>and visit their growers to see how preparation is going for sales, to take down statistics such as expected yield.</p> <p>On contract a grower is guaranteed of having their tobacco sold. The merchants try to ensure that their growers get a good price for their tobacco so that they can pay their loans back to the merchants. The growers also do not have to go through the hassle of going to the auction floors with their tobacco; rather they go straight to the merchant's warehouse where a price matrix determined by the auction floor prices determines the price of their tobacco. The merchants by rule do not buy the tobacco from contracted growers at a lower price than they bought it for at the auction floors from the non-contracted growers.</p>
Dollarization	Replacement of the Zimbabwean dollar with other currencies particularly the USD.
Firms/Processing or producing companies	E.g. British American Tobacco, Imperial, China National Tobacco, etc.
Merchants / Buyer	A person who buys unmanufactured tobacco. They may also choose to contract growers.
Vertical Integration	When a company expands its business into areas that are at different points of the same production path. Some manufacturing companies have expanded into being buyers of tobacco.

**TABLE 13: PROGRESS OF THE FLUE-CURED TOBACCO INDUSTRY**

YEAR	GROWERS	AREA (HA)	MASS SOLD (KG)	GROSS VALUE (ZW \$)	AVERAGE PRICE		YIELD (KG/HA)
					(ZWC/KG)	(USC/KG)	
2010	51 685	67 054	123,503,681			279.22	1 842
2009	29 018	62 737	58 570 652			297.86	934
2008	35,094	61 622	48,775,178			321.26	792
2007	26 412	54 551	73,039,015			232.00	1 339
2006	20,565	58,808	55,466,689	19,527,108,198	0.35	199.66	943
2005	31,761	57,511	73,376,990	1,666,410,523	22.71	161.04	1300
2004	21,882	44,025	68,901,129	593,537,303	861.43	199.70	1565
2003	20,513	49,571	81,806,414	147,508,194	180.31	225.39	1673
2002	14,353	74,295	165,835,001	59,576,224	35.93	226.66	2,213
2001	7,937	76,017	202,535,209	35,371,686	17.46	174.64*	2,664
2000	8,537	84,857	236,946,295	19,266,709	8.13	168.94	2,792
1999	7,194	84,762	192,145,383	12,726,314	6.62	174.11	2,267
1998	8,334	91,905	215,913,864	7,501,393	3.47	172.46	2,349
1997	5,101	90,630	171,542,696	4,976,043	2.90	233.24	1,893
1996	2,921	81,231	201,550,527	5,848,818	2.90	294.24	2,481
1995	2,525	74,550	198,751,924	3,584,710	1.80	212.13	2,666
1994	2,338	67,416	169,218,196	2,335,875	1.38	172.56	2,510
1993	2,999	82,900	218,370,345	1,752,685	0.80	123.77	2,634
1992	2,604	80,070	201,161,921	1,630,161	0.81	162.05	2,512
1991	1,746	66,927	170,149,851	1,969,134	1.16		2,542
1990	1,493	59,425	133,866,041	868,180	0.65		2,253
1989	1,448	57,660	129,960,308	558,459	0.43		2,254
1988	1,486	59,178	119,912,584	471,837	0.39		2,026
1987	1,519	63,536	127,996,176	278,938	0.22		2,015
1986	1,426	57,349	114,304,117	358,206	0.31		1,993
1985	1,296	52,464	105,555,569	283,394	0.27		2,012
1984	1,186	50,486	119,636,157	247,119	0.21		2,370
1983	1,155	46,622	94,295,739	177,798	0.12		2,023
1982	1,257	46,427	89,387,652	149,563	0.17		1,925
1981	1,145	38,099	67,356,019	123,774	0.18		1,768
1980	1,547	64,310	122,571,366	97,437	0.08		1,906
1979	1,556	59,631	111,686,415	92,023	0.08		1,873
1978	1,612	54,939	82,968,508	81,994	0.10		1,510
1977	1,638	56,993	83,373,667	61,085	0.07		1,463
1976	1,696	66,290	110,533,041	76,046	0.07		1,667
1975	1,731	65,834	83,919,914	57,736	0.07		1,275
1974	1,642	56,562	71,600,741	56,056	0.08		1,266
1973	1,519	45,201	67,979,630	37,130	0.05		1,504