

Agro-Industrial Tobacco Production and Farmers in Igboho, Oyo-North Division, Oyo State, Nigeria

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Theoretical Framework

The paper attempts to analyse the social organization of agro-industrial tobacco production sponsored by the Nigeria Tobacco Company (NTC) in the Oyo-North division as it affects the Socio-economic lives of farmers in Igboho. A number of studies have addressed themselves to the issue of tobacco farming.

Earlier, Kranendonk (1968) reveals the rural changes brought about by the introduction of commercial tobacco farming under the auspices of the Nigerian Tobacco Company into the Oyo-North division. Akiwowo and Basu (1969) also address themselves to the adoption of new farming ideas and practices by farmers in the Oyo-North division following the introduction of commercial tobacco farming into the area. In these studies and others, see also the work of Kolawole (1975), no attention was given to the way in which the social organization of flue-cured tobacco production affects the lives of the farmers. To a large extent however, the social organizations of agricultural systems determine how changes in the technologies of production and the adoption of new farming practices affect the lives of farmers and the social structures of their communities. The objective of this paper therefore, is to analyse the social organization of flue-cured tobacco production as it affects the lives of the tobacco producers.

Place of Study and Sampling procedure

The place of study is Igboho community. The choice of Igboho as the place of study was influenced by its temporal and financial feasibility of the location. Virtually all the communities in the Oyo-North division grow flue-cured tobacco under the auspices of the Nigerian Tobacco Company. However, because of the poor state of the roads in the Oyo-North division and the financial resources available to, it was not possible to cover all the tobacco producing communities in the division. Nonetheless, because the

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social and administrative organization of flue-cured tobacco production in these communities are basically the same and because the socio-economic structure of these communities are also similar, it was felt, that a survey adequately carried out in a selected community can be generalised for all the others.

In addition, my being from Igboho made it more convenient to conduct the survey in the community. Moreover, over the years, Igboho has grown to be one of the important flue-cured tobacco producing communities in the Oyo-North division. See Table I Below for tobacco production in Igboho vis-a-vis the rest of the Oyo-North division between 1977 and 1981.

Selection of Sample

The study was conducted between March 1982 and July 1983. Prior to the investigation, the tobacco farmers had been organized by NTC into twenty barn-sitres with the population of the tobacco farmers in each of the barn-sites ranging from between one tobacco farmer family unit to twenty-one tobacco farmer family units. The total number of the tobacco farmer family units was one hundred and forty.

The purposive accidental random sample method was employed to get the sample of tobacco farmers studied. The purposive accidental sampling technique was the convenient and economical method through which the farmers could be reached for the survey. The labour-intensive and time-demanding nature of the flue-cured tobacco production process would not allow for easy access to the farmers on the farms and at the barn-sites. Bad market situations for some of the farmers also made some farmers to be unfavourably disposed to the survey even at the leaf-buying centre. Nonetheless, the sample of farmers for the survey was conducted at the leaf-buying centre during tobacco buying sessions. It was possible and easier to get some of the farmers who were waiting for their turn to sell bales of cured tobacco leaves to the Nigerian Tobacco Company. In all fifty tobacco farmers constituted the sample studied.

The primary technique of data collection was by means of interviews held with the tobacco farmers and officials of both the NTC and the flue-cured Tobacco farmers Association in the community. Structured interviews by means of questionnaires drawn in Yoruba language were held with the tobacco farmers. The questionnaires were designed to tap information on the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the farmers prior to and after the introduction of commercial tobacco farming into the community. Unstructured interviews were held with officials of the NTC and those of the flue-cured tobacco farmers association in the town. These interviews sought information on the history, problems and prospects of flue-cured tobacco production in the community; the flue-cured tobacco production process and the social organization of production in the community.

The present author grew up in Igboho and for some years worked as a farm hand in the production of flue-cured tobacco. This experience, coupled with the visits and discussions held with the tobacco farmers at their barn-sites and farms during the period of the field work, provided intimate understanding of the activities of the farmers and their farm hands.

The Pre-existing Socio-Economic Structure of Igboho

Igboho is one of the Yoruba communities lying within the Guinea-Savannah grassland of the Oyo-North division in Oyo State, Nigeria. By the 1963 census figures in Nigeria, Igboho had a population of over 50,000. Today, the community is one of the fast growing agrarian communities in the Oyo-North division.

The socio-economic structure of Igboho community is similar to that of other agnate Yoruba societies in the Savannah area of Yoruba land. Prior to the introduction of commercial tobacco farming into the community in the 1950s, foodcrop farming was the dominant economic activity. The domestic family units served as the main source of agricultural labour on the farms. Land was communally owned and it was held in trust for the people by senior and sub-quarter chiefs. Simple tools such as hoes and cutlasses were used on the farms. Task allocation to members of the households on the farms was based on age and sex. Men and their grown-up male children performed the heavy task of bush clearing, making of ridges and weeding of the farms. Women and their daughters assisted in the planting and harvesting of foodcrops. They also processed and organized the sale of farm products.

Men earned the major income realised from the sale of farm products. They used the income so realised to purchase farm tools and to fulfil some of their domestic socio-economic responsibilities and to acquire assets such as independent dwelling houses, wives, motor-cycles and buses, that would enhance their socio-economic well-being. However, because there was a limited sphere for the circulation of agricultural products in the community (virtually all the farmers grew the same type of foodcrops to meet their subsistence needs) the farmers earned limited income from the produce of their foodcrop farms to fulfil their domestic socio-economic responsibilities and to acquire assets that would enhance their socio-economic well-being.

The poor economy of the community at the time, led to the increasing marginalization of a large proportion of the adult farming population. These marginalized sectors of the population increasingly left the town to seek their fortunes in neighbouring West African Countries such as Ghana, Cote-d'Ivoire and Niger Republic. Some of them settled in cash crop growing communities in Ife and Ijebu divisions of Yorubaland. The introduction of commercial flue-cured tobacco production into the community under the auspices of the Nigerian Tobacco Company was therefore a significant development.

The Nigerian Tobacco Company and Commercial Tobacco Production in Nigeria

Agro-industrial tobacco production was introduced into Nigeria by the British-American tobacco company in the early 1930s, because of the desire to develop a potentially large demand for the products of the company (Kilby 1969). The company in 1933 established a pilot cigarette factory at Oshogo and about the same time invited American tobacco specialists to survey the former Western region for potential tobacco production of both flue-cured and air-cured tobacco (Akiwowo and Basu 1969). The area between Iseyin and Saki in the Oyo-North division of the former Western Nigeria was selected for flue-cured tobacco production (Kranendonk 1983). The company built its first flue-cured tobacco curing barns along with the requisite handling sheds in Okaka and Ago-Are in 1940 when it became necessary to blend locally produced cigarettes and cure locally produced tobacco leaves to improve their quality. While the company initially undertook the curing of the tobacco leaves by itself, peasant farmers (uncontracted) were left to grow, harvest and sell uncured tobacco leaves to the company.

In 1959, the British-American tobacco company incorporated as the Nigerian tobacco company (NTC) recognized that it was in the country to manufacture cigarette and not to produce tobacco and therefore began to entrust contracted smallholder farmers of the Oyo-North area with the various aspects of flue-cured tobacco production (Kilby 1969). For this purpose, the NTC organized groups of farmers in the communities of the Oyo-North division into business groups or agricultural co-operatives called flue-cured tobacco producers association. The company also took on the responsibility of providing extension services and credit facilities to the farmers in the form of agricultural inputs and cash loans to build tobacco curing barns and to clear land for tobacco production. This formal handing over of the processes of flue-cured tobacco production and the granting of loans to the contracted smallholder farmers, marked the formal integration of the farmers into the tobacco production programme.

The farmers in Igboho first adopted commercial flue-cured tobacco production in the 1950s when the Nigerian Tobacco Company expanded the flue-cured tobacco producing area from beyond Saki in the North to just West of Abeokuta in the South (Kranendonk 1968). At the time of the introduction of commercial flue-cured tobacco production into the community, a group of farmers organised themselves and got registered as the "Binu-Konu" flue-cured tobacco producers association with the NTC. The Adoption of commercial flue-cured tobacco production by the people which was slow in the beginning, received a boost in the 1970s, when a large number of the indigenes of the community repatriated from Ghana, settled down in the community and went into flue-cured tobacco production.

Social Organization of Tobacco Production

Within the social organization of tobacco production there is a vertical concentration of the labour of the farmers in the production process. When tobacco farmers family units are about to start producing commercial flue-cured tobacco, the NTC advances capital loans to them to build curing barns. These loans which are interest free, are repayable over a ten year period. Annually, the company also provides credit facilities (the sum of which value is repayable within the crop year) to the farmers in the form of agricultural inputs such as fertilizers, insecticides and the ploughing of tobacco fields. The farmers on their part, independently handle the preparation of land on which tobacco is to be produced; the organization of labour for production and the sale of cured tobacco is left to NTC.

At the beginning of every year, the NTC in conjunction with representatives of the flue-cured tobacco farmers associations in the Oyo-North division and the Federal Government of Nigeria establish prices to be paid on grades of cured tobacco leaves. The NTC, however specifies the acres of tobacco farms to be cultivated by each farm family unit; it also provides extension services to the tobacco farmers on the farms and organize market sessions for the purchase of cured tobacco leaves from the farmers. The representatives of NTC in the community also organize for the transportation of bales of cured tobacco leaves from the leaf buying centre to the processing centres. This structure of agro-industrial tobacco production process has implications for the socio-economic lives of the farmers.

To examine the impact of agro-industrial tobacco production on the socio-economic lives of the farmers, there is the need to examine (a) the extent to which the farmers have control over their conditions of production and the products of their labour; (b) the annual earnings of the farmers from the tobacco production programme; (c) the ability of the farmers to fulfil their socio-economic obligations; (d) the ability of the farmers to acquire goods that would enhance their social standing or position in the community.

Findings and Discussions

A. Socio-Economic and Demographic Characteristics of the Tobacco Farmers

The age distribution of the tobacco farmers interviewed revealed that over fifty percent (50%) of them are 40 years old and above. Fifty-six percent of them are polygynously married at the time of the survey compared to only thirty-four percent of them who had two or more wives before they went into tobacco farming. It is believed is that increased cash earnings in tobacco farming has enabled the farmers to marry additional wives thereby enhancing their social status in the community as well as and augmenting labour on the farms.

Moreover, fifty-six percent of the farmers had lived outside Igboho community. Most of them left Igboho to settle down in neighbouring West African countries such as Ghana, Republic of Benin, Burkina Faso and Cote-d'Ivoire. Fifty-eight percent of the farmers also responded that they would have left Igboho but for the introduction of tobacco farming into the community. These findings reveal the high degree of marginalization in the community prior to the introduction of commercial tobacco farming and the amelioration of the situation with this new development.

The occupation of the tobacco farmers prior to their adoption of commercial tobacco production showed that, a larger proportion of them, fifty-two percent, were engaged in non-agricultural activities such as traders, brick-layers, tailors, shoe-makers, drivers and barbers, while forty-eight percent of them were in foodcrop farming. This finding further confirms the view that a large proportion of the tobacco farmers in the community at the time of the study constitute returnees who were undertaking above types of non-agricultural activities in places outside Igboho and who returned as a result of the 1969 "alien quit order" in Ghana. The desire to earn higher income in tobacco farming was the major motivation for the adoption of commercial tobacco production. The similarity of the technology used in foodcrop farming and flue-cured tobacco production and the fact that the cultivation of tobacco by the people did not alter the agricultural land use pattern in the community further encouraged the farmers to adopt the cultivation of flue-cured tobacco.

Virtually all the tobacco farmers engaged hired male and female labourers in the production of flue-cured tobacco. Generally, family labour is inadequate for the labour required in flue-cured tobacco production. The farmers therefore have to hire labour to complement family labour. The male labourers who were non-indigenous to the community were employed for the performance of heavy tasks such as the cutting of cords and the curing of tobacco leaves. Female labourers on the other hand who were mostly indigenous were employed for the watering of tobacco seedlings at the nursery, the growing and harvesting of tobacco leaves. As well as the sorting and stringing of tobacco leaves. While the male labourers were paid immediately after the performance of the tasks assigned to them, female labourers were paid at the end of every tobacco growing season when NTC makes payment to the farmers for the tobacco leaves sold to it.

Wage rates to the hired male labourers depend very much on the type of work assigned to them and there is some uniformity in the rates of payment to the labourers for the jobs among the farmers. Payments to the hired female labourers are graduated according to their ages, with better wages going to the older female labourers. This practice is also uniform among the farmers.

B. The Socio-Economic Condition and Status of Smallholder Tobacco Farmers.

In the analysis and discussion of the socio-economic conditions of the tobacco farmers, the relationship between the farmers and the NTC on the one hand and the relationship between members of the domestic units of production, particularly husbands and wives on the other, is crucial. It enables us to examine the extent to which the tobacco farmers and their wives could acquire resources to meet their socio-economic financial responsibilities.

The socio-economic condition of agricultural producers generally, rests on their ability to exercise control over their conditions of production and the products of their labour. The alienation and exploitation of the labour and resources of agricultural producers would therefore result from their loss of control over their conditions of production and the products of their labour, to capital (Williams 1980; Bernstein 1979). In the commercial flue-cured tobacco production programme, it is NTC that decides the quantity or acres of tobacco to be cultivated by the farmers and it largely determines the prices for different grades of cured tobacco leaves. The condition of production for the contracted smallholder peasant farmers, where their objects and conditions of production is determined by NTC, is deleterious to their socio-economic well-being (Bernstein 1979; Buch-Hansen and Kieler 1983). It precariously ties and subordinates the socio-economic condition of the peasants to the dynamics and vagaries of the market for flue-cured tobacco and the conditions of production dictated by the NTC. The participation of the Federal government in the tobacco production programme first, as a shareholder in the NTC and secondly, its representation in the determination of prices for grades of tobacco leaves further makes the precarious condition of the farmers irredeemable and reveals a conspiracy between the NTC and the Federal government to exploit the peasants.

The impact of the adoption of commercial tobacco production on the relationship between members of the domestic units of production, particularly husbands and wives is quite revealing. In the pre-existing traditional agricultural division of labour process, a relationship of mutual dependence existed between the direct producers particularly, husbands and wives (Babalola 1984, Afonja 1981, Fadipe 1970, Mullings 1976). Agro-industrial tobacco production on the other hand, has led to a complete subordination of the economic role and position of wives to those of their husbands. Within the labour process in commercial tobacco production, wives who assist their husbands do not organize the sale of tobacco leaves as is the case in food-crop farming where women organize the sale of farm produce. As a result of this, the wives of the tobacco farmers could not earn profits from the proceeds of the sales of flue-cured tobacco. The highly labour-intensive nature of commercial tobacco farming and the generally

high mobilization of the labour of women for work on their husbands farms, ensures the retention of the labour of wives in their husbands domestic units. This development limits the ability of the wives of the peasant farmers to earn incomes independently of their husbands both in/and out of the tobacco farms. Most of the wives depend on their husbands for the money with which to fulfil some of their domestic financial responsibilities. (Babalola 1984).

C. Farm Incomes

The major motivating factor in the adoption of commercial tobacco production by the farmers was the desire to earn higher cash income with which to fulfil their domestic financial responsibilities and to acquire goods that would enhance or improve their socio-economic well-being.

As shown in Table II below, the tobacco farmers have an average annual earning of about Naira 1,000 between 1977 and 1981. These earnings are higher than the average annual income for rural households in Nigeria for some years within the same period (Federal Office of Statistics 1979, 1980/81). Nonetheless, the cost of production for the peasants - particularly annual deductions that the NTC makes from their earnings for the loans advanced to them as farm inputs, and for the initial construction of tobacco curing barns; the wages that the farmers pay to hired labourers (both male and female) engaged in tobacco production and the compensation to members of their domestic units of production, particularly wives, significantly reduces the net income of the farmers thereby placing the farmers in a condition of production that can be described as one of "simple reproduction squeeze" - a situation where there is increasing cost of production/decreasing returns to labour (Bernstein 1979).

D. Tobacco Farmers and Their Socio-Economic Obligations

Important obligations attached to the position of household heads in the community include the ability to feed their households well, establish their wives in trades and provide education for their children. The socio-economic status of the farmers as household heads is enhanced by their ability to own independent houses, own buses or motor-cycles, to be polygamously married and until recently to be able to organize lavish ceremonies at the burial of their aged parents.

All the tobacco farmers interviewed indicated that they have been able to feed their households well. They all owned farms which provided food crops for household needs.

Meanwhile, a larger proportion of the tobacco farmers wives possessed independent trades. There is however no strong relationship between the adoption of tobacco farming by the farmers and the possession of independent trades by their wives because, a large proportion of the wives of the farmers had possessed independent trades before their husbands went into tobacco farming. Moreover, as revealed earlier in the discussion of the

impact of agro-industrial tobacco production on the socio-economic position of the wives of the farmers, the highly labour-intensive nature of tobacco production and the high institutionalization of the labour of women on their husbands' farms, seldom allow the wives of the farmers to visit their trades to develop them and to earn incomes independently of their husbands. This development, has made the economic position and role of the wives of the tobacco farmers to be a subject of the already precarious economic position of their husbands in tobacco farming.

Generally, there is a large school attendance of children and young members of the community. The situation, has been a common phenomenon in the community since the 1950s, when free primary education was introduced into the former Western Nigeria. The tuition-free education programme which the Oyo State government embarked upon between 1979 and 1983 further accelerated this development for the whole community. Save for the free education programmes, the highly labour-intensive nature of tobacco farming and the situation of "simple reproduction squeeze" faced by the farmers, would have compelled the farmers to engage their children in tobacco production rather than send them to schools. Infact during peak periods in tobacco production, school children assist on the farms.

In addition to feeding their households well, a substantial proportion of the farmers interviewed (90 percent) own motorcycles, 10 percent own commercial buses, 55 percent have built or nearly finished building independent houses, 56 percent are polygamously married, while 20 percent had carried out the burial ceremonies of one or both of their dead aged parents. All of the farmers responded that they consume beverages, such as bournvita and milk, blood tonics and pain relieving drugs, such as panadol and phensic on regular bases at the barn-sites and in their homes. Only 10 percent of the tobacco farmers who comprised the category of farmers that had spent relatively fewer years (maximum of two years) in tobacco farming had nothing of significance to show for their involvement in tobacco production.

All the same, these goods acquired by the farmers have been found to be necessities or part of the overhead social cost in tobacco production. Motorcycles owned by the farmers, are more like beasts of burden than objects of pleasure ride to the farmers. The farmers require motorcycles to ride to their distant farms and barn-sites located at the outskirts of the town and to transport bales of cured tobacco leaves from the barn-sites to the NTC leaf buying centres. Indigenous members of the community who engaged in relatively less laborious agricultural and non-agricultural enterprise, enjoy more pleasure rides on the motorcycles than tobacco farmers. Moreover, the energy sapping and laborious nature of flue-cured tobacco production have made it imperative for the farmers to consume blood tonics, beverages and pain relieving drugs, if they are to survive the hazards of the tobacco curing process. The laborious nature of tobacco

production also makes the acquisition of numerous wives by the farmers a necessity for the augmentation of labour in production than just a status symbols. Thus, the widespread ownership of motorcycle by the farmers, their consumption of seemingly exotic goods and the acquisition of wives by the farmers constituted more of an overhead social costs in tobacco production than "objects" for the improvement or enhancement of their socio-economic status.

In summary, findings from the tobacco farmers interviewed revealed that a large proportion of them had lived outside Nigeria and that many of them would have left Igboho to seek their fortune elsewhere but for the introduction of tobacco farming into the community. The large proportion of the tobacco farmers who had stayed outside Igboho community were engaged full-time in non-agricultural work. On their return to Igboho, the desire to earn higher income was the major motivation for their adoption of commercial tobacco farming.

The higher income earned by the farmers in tobacco farming enabled them to marry additional wives to enhance their social status in the community and also to augment labour on the farms. The inadequacy of family labour to meet production requirement in flue-cured tobacco production compels them to employ hired labourers on the farms and at the barn-sites. However, it is revealed that within the tobacco production programme, it is the NTC and not the farmers (household heads) who decides the quantity or acres of tobacco to be cultivated by the farmers; the prices for different grades of tobacco and the company is also the sole buyer of the crop from the farmers. This condition of production for the contracted tobacco farmers, it is maintained, is deleterious to their socio-economic well-being. The reason being that it precariously ties and subordinates the socio-economic condition of the peasants to the dynamics and vagaries of the market for flue-cured tobacco and the conditions of production stipulated by the NTC.

Empirically it is revealed that, the involvement of women in the new organization of production sponsored by the Nigerian Tobacco Company restricts their capacity to earn income, independently of their husbands and this subordinates them to the whims and caprices of the latter. Even though tobacco farmers earn higher than the average rural annual income, their overhead cost wipes off this advantage. The farmers for instance cannot subsist exclusively on income from their tobacco sales. Hence, they had to subsidize their income from tobacco production by cultivating their own food. In addition, because the income from tobacco is not spent on locally produced goods but only manufactured goods and exotic foods and drugs, its overall effect on the local economy is very limited. The data from the tobacco farmers also show that costs of tobacco production increase while returns decrease. The farmers are therefore caught up in a "simple reproduction squeeze". This means that none of them could operate

independent of the NTC because they lack the resource base to purchase all the inputs and services with their own capital. This process ensures perpetual dependency and restricts the bargaining power of the producer at the level of marketing/pricing.

Lastly, that even though the farmers generally are able to feed themselves and purchase motorcycles, marry more wives, build houses and purchase exotic foods, this was not so much the result of increased well being-brought by tobacco production. They are all necessary requirements for engaging in tobacco production with its need for labour, good health and transportation facilities. It is therefore argued that, in agricultural relations of production where farmers do not have control over their conditions of production and the products of their labour, their socio-economic lives would become marginalized. This marginalization process arises from the inability of farmers to control the process and object of their production.

Conclusion

The penetration of the rural economies of Third World societies by agribusiness concerns has often been seen as a salubrious development particularly, because of the low capital base in these societies (Bush-Hansen and Kieler 1983). The NTC method of contract farming in particular, is hailed as a viable way of socially organizing agricultural production and promoting the well-being of farmers in Nigeria (NTC annual report 1975). It is however evident that scholars who hail the NTC method of contract farming as a viable way to transform the lives and economies of rural Nigeria are more concerned with enumerating the amount of credits in terms of agricultural inputs and cash loans granted to the farmers by the Nigerian Tobacco Company and the material benefits that has accrued to the farmers as a result of their adoption of tobacco farming under the auspices of the TNC, to the neglect of the effect of the subordination of the socio-economic condition of the farmers to the control of the NTC. In the present study, it is revealed that the subordination of the socio-economic condition of the farmers to the control of NTC precariously ties the well-being of the farmers to the dynamics and vagaries of the market for flue-cured tobacco and the conditions of production stipulated by the NTC.

Moreover, the concern of the defenders of the NTC contract system with the enumeration of the material benefits that has accrued to the farmers as a result of their adoption of tobacco farming fails to examine the overall effect of the new acquired taste on the local economy, particularly, the undermining of indigenous craft and industries. As shown in the study, the tobacco farmers studied spent their income on imported manufactured goods and exotic foods and drugs. Thus, the effect of the increased cash earnings from tobacco farming on the local economy is very negligible. The call here therefore is an appeal to researchers on the agricultural economies of rural Third World societies to always analyse the structures and processes of agricultural production systems and indicate how these production

systems affect the lives of people and the structures of their communities. Mere enumeration of material benefits accruing to farmers as a result of their adoption of new farming techniques can be deceptive.

Theoretically, the present study reveals that in agricultural relations of production where farmers do not have control over their conditions of production and the products of their labour, their socio-economic lives would become marginalized. This position is a revision of an earlier belief that

"in the present circumstance of Third World societies with low capital and managerial resources, the injection of capital into their agricultural economies would help to develop the forces of production by giving them access to modern techniques of production, thereby increasing productivity but more importantly, by securing for them an adequately developed sphere of circulation whereby the farmers are assured of a market and regular payment" (Buch-Hansen and Kieler (1983).

Capital is certainly crucial to agricultural development in Third World societies. The problematic however is how capital can be injected into these rural economies without it undermining the socio-economic lives of the people and the structures of their societies. Significantly, since it has been amply demonstrated that smallholder farmers can be better managers of themselves, the recommendation here is also

"a radical rejection of (agricultural) development through the exploitation and subjection of producers whether in the name of socialism or liberalism and a commitment to the emanation of labour, the creation of conditions which enable people to produce freely in co-operation with one another, rather than under the direction of capital and the state" (Williams 1980).

For the specific case of the flue-cured tobacco farmers, there is the need for the Federal Government of Nigeria to abandon its present conspiratory position against the farmers in favour of the NTC and the invigoration of the activities of the Flue-Cured Tobacco Farmers Association particularly in matters of the pricing of flue-cured tobacco, vis-a-vis the monopsonist/monopolistic practice of the NTC.

Table 1: 1. Tobacco Production in Igboho Vis-a-Vis - The Rest of Oyo-North Division (1977-1981)

| Years | Total Tobacco Production(Kg) In Oyo-North | Total Tobacco Production(Kg) in Igboho | Total Earnings Naira in Oyo-North | Total Earnings Naira in Igboho |
|-------|---|--|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1977 | 2,007,842 | 472,134 | 2,554,644.10 | 630,209.29 |
| 1978 | 2,096,400 | 806,660 | 2,724,843.75 | 1,045,409.95 |
| 1979 | 2,350,000 | 610,016 | 3,407,500.00 | 851,725.00 |
| 1980 | 2,649,924 | 721,239 | 3,853,454.60 | 1,011,603.40 |
| 1981 | 1,802,319 | 479,788 | 2,485,088.45 | 635,726.00 |
| | 10,976,503 | 3,080,837 | 15,025,531.00 | 4,174,673.00 |

Information collected from NTC divisional head quarters, Isehyin, Oyo-North.

Table II - Tobacco production and money earned in Igboho 1977-1981

| Years | Number of Farmers | Total hectares- | Total production (Kg) | Total Earnings (Naira) | Average Earnings (naira) |
|-----------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1970-1976 | RECO | RDS | NOT | AVAILABLE | |
| 1977 | 556 | 554 | 472,134 | 630,209.29 | 1,133.47 |
| 1978 | 687 | 970 | 806,660 | 1,045,409.95 | 1,521.70 |
| 1979 | 654 | 816 | 601,016 | 851,725.00 | 1,302.33 |
| 1980 | 680 | 925 | 721,239 | 1,011,603.40 | 1,487.65 |
| 1981 | 668 | 820 | 479,788 | 635,726.00 | 951.69 |

Data collected from NTC divisional Head-Quarters, Iseyin.

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Résumé

Cet article traite des effets socio-économiques de la structure du processus de production agro-industrielle du tabac sur les producteurs de tabac de la communauté Igboho.

L'étude effectuée sur un échantillon aléatoire de cinquante producteurs, dans un but bien précis, révèle d'une part dans le cadre de cette structure que la vie sociale et économique des producteurs est si tributaire de la dynamique du marché du tabac, de ses aléas et des conditions de production préconisées par la NTC (Société Nigériane de Tabac) en accord avec le gouvernement fédéral nigérian que cela en est plutôt dangereux. Elle révèle d'autre part dans le cadre de la structure du programme de production du tabac que ces producteurs n'ont pas réussi à améliorer sensiblement leur bien-être socio-économique dans la mesure où ils se sont retrouvés pris dans l'étau de la "reproduction simple". Ce fait est très révélateur en ce sens qu'il indique que lorsque les producteurs ne maîtrisent ni les conditions dans lesquelles ils produisent ni le produit de leur labeur, dans des rapports de production agricoles, les aspects sociaux et économiques de leur vie en pâtissent.

L'article se termine sur une recommandation qui écarte le développement agricole quelle que soit sa forme, socialiste ou libérale donc exploitant et dominant les producteurs. Il convient d'y substituer plutôt un engagement à émanciper la main-d'oeuvre et ce, en instituant des conditions telles que les producteurs puissent produire en toute liberté dans un climat de collaboration et non pas sous l'empire du Capital et de l'Etat.