RE-PEASANTIZATION UNDER FAST TRACK LAND REFORM: IMPLICATIONS FOR LIVELIHOOD AND LANDSCAPE CHANGE, SANYATI DISTRICT, ZIMBABWE

by

EASTHER CHIGUMIRA

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Student: Easther Chigumira

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This dissertation has been accepted and approved in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in the Department of Geography by:

Dr. Peter Walker	Chairperson
Dr. Alexander Murphy	Core Member
Dr. Shaul Cohen	Core Member
Dr. Janis Weeks	Institutional Representative

and

Kimberly Andrews Espy	Vice President for Research and Innovation; Dean of the Graduate School

Original approval signatures are on file with the University of Oregon Graduate School.

Degree awarded June 2014

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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

Easther Chigumira

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Title: Re-peasantization under Fast Track Land Reform: Implications for Livelihood and Landscape Change, Sanyati District, Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe's Fast Track land and agrarian reform that began in the year 2000 has ignited debate about the most suitable farming model for food security and rural development in Zimbabwe and other post-colonial countries. As an evidence-based contribution to the analysis of re-peasantization, I present findings from a decade-long study of three communities resettled under the A1 and A2 variants of the Fast Track Land Reform Program (FTLRP) in the Sanyati District, Zimbabwe. To appraise the unfolding nature of the FTLRP, I used the framework of political ecology to examine the day-to-day practices and livelihood strategies of land recipients, their relationship with the physical environment and underlying reasons for particular land-use activities. Drawing from a series of surveys, observations, narratives, key informant interviews, content analysis of photographs, maps, and secondary documents, my findings show differential patterns of investment, asset accumulation, and crop and livestock production among households. Land recipients used multiple livelihood pathways to augment their income and farming activities. New and diverse sources of rural income and commodity markets have emerged, including high levels of small-scale artisanal gold mining and the reallocation of land for gold processing mills. These findings provide insight into the conditions and/or tendencies of re-peasantization under the FTLRP and challenge modernist assumptions of agrarian development, which value large-scale over small-scale farming.

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME OF AUTHOR: Easther Chigumira

GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE SCHOOLS ATTENDED:

University of Oregon, Eugene
Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa

DEGREES AWARDED:

Doctor of Philosophy, Geography, 2014, University of Oregon
Master of Science, Geography, 2006, Rhodes University
Bachelor of Arts Honors, Geography, 2002, Rhodes University
Bachelor of Arts, Geography and Industrial Psychology, 2001, Rhodes University

AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST:

Land and agrarian reform
Remote Sensing
Environmental Impact Assessment

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

Lecturer, University of Zimbabwe, 2007-present
Graduate Teaching Assistant, University of Oregon, 2009-2014
Independent Consultant, 2006-2010
President of Board, Tariro: Hope and Health for Zimbabwe's Orphans, 2011-2013

GRANTS, AWARDS, AND HONORS:

Fellowship, Fulbright, 2009-2012
Fellowship, Association of America University Women (AAUW), 2013
Fellowship, Margaret McNamara Memorial Fund (MMMF), 2013
Jane Grant Dissertation Fellowship, Centre for Studies for Women in Society, 2012
Environment Leadership Award, Bullitt Foundation, 2012
Fellowship, Sasakawa Young Leaders Fellowship Fund (SYLFF), University of Oregon, 2011
Public Impact Fellowship, University of Oregon, 2011

PUBLICATIONS:

Chigumira, E. & Mujere, N. (2009) Variability of urban water supply and demand, in J. Feyen, K. Shannon, & M. Neville (Eds.), *Water and Urban Development Paradigms: Towards an Integration of Engineering, Design and Management Approaches* pp. 431-434, Taylor Francis Group, London.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter Page

I. INTRODUCTION 1
1.1. Introduction 1
1.2. Overview of the Argument 1
1.3. Research Questions 2
1.4. Historical Overview of Land and Agrarian Transformation in Zimbabwe 4
1.4.1. The Long Walk to Freedom: Colonial Land Appropriation and the Liberation Struggle 4
1.4.2. The Promised Land, Governance and Disillusionment 8
1.4.3. The Decade of Crisis: 2000-2009 13
1.4.4. The Global Political Agreement (GPA) and Political-Economic Stability 19
1.5. Framing Zimbabwe's Land Debates 20
1.6. Outline of the Thesis 24
II. THE PEASANTRY CONSTITUTION AND RE-CONSTITUTION 26
2.1. Introduction 26
2.2. Construction of Peasant Identity and Category 27
2.3. Debating the Peasantry 29
2.3.1. Karl Marx and the Origins of the Agrarian Debates 30
2.3.2. The Polemic: V.I. Lenin versus A. V. Chayanov 31
2.3.3. Contemporary Debates: Large versus Small-scale Farming? 34
2.4. Contesting Modernity and Development 37
2.5. Conceptualizing Re-peasantization 38
2.5.1. Global Expressions and Tendencies of Re-peasantization 40
2.5.2. Comparing and Contrasting Re-peasantization in Zimbabwe 46
2.6. Conclusions 47
III. METHODOLOGY 48
3.1. Introduction 48
3.2. Aim and Research Questions 48
3.3. Methodology 49
3.4. Research Methods 49

Chapter Page

3.5. Quantitative Data Collection 50
3.5.1. Baseline Data 50
3.5.2. 2012/13 Household Survey and Analysis 51
3.5.3. Remote Sensing and GIS 54
3.6. Qualitative Data Collection 55
3.6.1. Emotional Geographies of Land, Nature and Belonging 55
3.6.2. Participant and Non-participant Observations 60
3.6.3. Narration 61
3.6.4. Focus Group Discussions 61
3.6.5. Naturally Occurring Talk 62
3.6.6. Content Analysis of Photograph 62
3.6.7. Key Informant Interviews 63
3.7. Constraints and Limitation of the Research 63
3.8. Conclusions 64
IV. THE STUDY AREA 66
4.1. Introduction 66
4.2. Background to Research Site 66
4.3. The Case Studies 71
4.4. Lanteglos A1 Villagized Settlement Scheme 71
4.4.1. Resettlement, Land Allocation and Agrarian Composition 73
4.5. CC Molina: A2 Small Scale Commercial Scheme 82
4.5.1. Resettlement, Land Allocation and Agrarian Composition 82
4.6. Pamene: A2 Small Scale Commercial Scheme 87
4.6.1. Resettlement, Land Allocation and the New Agrarian Composition 88
4.7. Conclusions 94
V. LIVELIHOODS, INSTITUTIONS AND LOCAL ECOLOGIES 95
5.1. Introduction 95
5.2. Lanteglos: A1 Villagized Settlement Scheme 96
5.2.1. Livelihood Pathways 96
5.2.2. Institutions, Social Networks, Labor and Tenure 105
5.2.3. Conflict, Challenges and Obstacles 110
5.2.4. Resource Utilization and Management 113

Chapter Page

5.3. CC Molina A2 Small Scale Commercial Settlement (formerly an A1 self-contained scheme) 120

5.3.1. Livelihood Pathways 120

5.3.2. Institutions, Social Networks, Labor and Tenure 125

5.3.3. Conflict, Challenges and Obstacles 131

5.3.4. Natural Resource Utilization and Management 134

5.4. Pamene: A2 Small Scale Commercial Settlement Scheme 136

5.4.1. Livelihood Pathways 137

5.4.2. Institutions, Social Networks, Labor and Tenure 141

5.4.3. Challenges, Conflicts and Obstacles 144

5.4.4. Resource Utilization and Management 146

5.5. Conclusions 152

VI. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION 154

6.1. Introduction 154

6.2. Re-peasantization and Black Consciousness 154

6.3. New Agrarian Composition and Structure 155

6.4. Production 156

6.4.1. Constraints and Obstacles Affecting Productivity 159

6.5. Markets 160

6.6. Tenure 164

6.7. Ecological Relations 166

6.8. Recommendations 167

6.9. Conclusions 168

APPENDICES 171

A. APPLICATION FORM FOR A2 FARM 171

B. NINETY-NINE YEAR LEASE 176

REFERENCES CITED 215

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure Page

1-1. Land divisions at independence according to natural farming regions 10
1-2. Structure of the A1 Resettlement Scheme under FTLRP 21
1-3. Structure of the A2 Resettlement Scheme Variant under the FTLRP 22
4-1. Location of the Study Areas 67
4-2. Total Rainfall during years 1990-2013 for Sanyati District 70
4-3. Seasonal rainfall pattern for Sanyati District 1990/91 to 2004/5 70
4-4. Seasonal rainfall pattern for Sanyati District 2005/6 to 2012/13 71
4-5. Village sites 73
4-6. Population pyramid of households at Lanteglos Farm in 2012/13 74
4-7. Demographic Composition of Pamene Farm in 2013 92
5-1. On the left is an example of a *jeke* (card) 110
5-2. An example of a letter of confirmation at Lanteglos 111
5-3. Challenges to farming at Lanteglos 2004/5 and 2012/13 112
5-4. Extensive depressions created from sand extraction 115
5-5. Lanteglos Farm, Natural Region III, Land Cover Changes 1992-2013 117
5-6. A place marker on a rock demarcating a site of worship 119
5-7. Place markers on trees denoting religious sites for worship 119
5-8. Market transaction *pamatuckshop* at CC Molina 127
5-9. Individuals taking maize to the buyers at *pamatuckshop* at CC Molina 127
5-10. Young men (the youth) slaughtering cattle 131
5-11. Distribution of the slaughtered meat for cooking 132
5-12. Obstacles to farming experienced by farmers at CC Molina 132
5-13. CC Molina, Natural Region III, Land Cover Changes 1972-2013 136
5-14. Obstacles to farming experienced by farmers at Pamene 145
5-15. Pamene Farm, Natural Region IIb, percent land cover changes 149
5-16. Wood piled for collection and in a scotch-cart for sale 150
5-17. Collection of a cord of firewood at Pamene by residents 150

Figure Page

5-18. Evidence of river sand extraction at Pamene 151

5-19. Transportation of extracted river sand at Pamene 152

6-1. Diversification in broiler chicken production at Lanteglos 163

6-2. An example of a mine claim held by one of the farmers 165

LIST OF TABLES

Table Page

1-1. Binary opposition and the construction of Zimbabwean Nationhood 14
1-2. Structure of the resettlement models under the LRRP I 21
3-1. Key informants 65
4-1. A description of the Natural Farming Regions in Zimbabwe 68
4-2. Places of origin of settlers in Lanteglos 76
4-3. Previous occupation of heads of households in Lanteglos 77
4-4. Places of origin of land recipients at CC Molina 84
4-5. Previous occupation of heads of households in CC Molina 85
4-6. The institutions to which households at CC Molina applied for land 85
4-7. Institutions to which households at Pamene Farm applied for land 89
4-8. Places of origin of settlers in Pamene 90
4-9. Previous occupation of heads of households at Pamene 91
5-1. Sources of household income after resettlement at Lanteglos Farm 97
5-2. Maize and cotton production output at Lanteglos from 2000–2004 99
5-3. Maize crop production output at Lanteglos from 2008-2012 99
5-4. Cotton production output at Lanteglos from 2008-2009 99
5-5 Ownership of Livestock 2004/5 at Lanteglos 100
5-6 Ownership of Livestock 2012/13 at Lanteglos 100
5-7. Institutions at Lanteglos 108
5-8. Lanteglos Farm, Natural Region III, Percent Land Cover Changes 118
5-9. Sources of income after resettlement at CC Molina 121
5-10. Farming experience of head of household at CC Molina 122
5-11. Maize and cotton production output at CC Molina 2000/1-2004/5 123
5-12. Maize and cotton production output at CC Molina 2007/8 to 2011/12 123
5-13. Ownership of livestock at CC Molina 2004/5 123
5-14. Ownership of livestock at CC Molina in 2013/13 124

Table Page

5-15. Institutions at CC Molina 130

5-16. CC Molina, Natural Region III, percent land cover changes 1972-2013 135

5-17. Sources of income after resettlement at Pamene 138

5-18. Farming experience of heads of households at Pamene 138

5-19. Maize and cotton production output at Pamene 2000/1 to 2004/5 139

5-20. Maize and cotton production output at Pamene 2007/8 to 2012/13 139

5-21. Ownership of livestock at Pamene 2004/5 140

5-22. Ownership of livestock at Pamene 2012/13 140

5-23. Pamene Farm, Natural Region IIb, land cover changes 1976-2013 148

LIST OF BOXES

Box Page

4-1. Motivation for applying for land by urban households at Lanteglos farm 77

4-2. Motivation for applying for land by rural households at Lanteglos farm 78

4-3. Motivations for applying for land by urban households at CC Molina 86

4-4. Motivations for acquiring land by rural households at CC Molina 86

4-5. Motivation for applying for land by urban households at Pamene 92

4-6. Motivation for applying for land by rural households at Pamene 93

5-1. Mr. Jhamba's motivations for practicing artisanal mining 103

5-2. Example of assets accumulated by farmers at CC Molina 126

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

In the first decade of the 21st century, the distribution of land across racial lines in Zimbabwe underwent rapid transformation through government-sanctioned confiscation and redistribution of land under the Fast Track Land Reform Program (FTLRP). This unprecedented program was triggered by nationwide, politically motivated and organized occupations of mostly white-owned large scale commercial farms. The FTLRP shifted property ownership from white commercial farmers to mainly black smallholder peasant producers and reversed the country's bifurcated agrarian structure by race (Moyo, 2011; Moyo & Chambati, 2013). Debates on this contentious program and its outcome among national and international policy makers, academics and commentators is highly polarized (Cliffe *et al.*, 2011). This land reform, which has sought to re-peasantize a commercial farming sector, feeds into ongoing debates about the peasantry as an analytical category (Bryceson, Kay & Mooij 2000; Moyo & Yeros 2005; Van der Ploeg 2008, 2010), and has led to the 're-politicization of the peasantry' (Mkodzongi, 2013).

This dissertation examines how this radical program is playing out at the local scale and the ecological changes it produces on the rural landscape. It explores the day-to-day practices of land recipients, the meanings they attach to land, and reasons for particular land use activities and livelihood strategies that result from re-peasantization in the Zimbabwean context.

In this chapter I start by providing an overview of the argument in this dissertation, the research questions, and a description of the main concepts utilized. I then explore the historical context of Zimbabwe's land and agrarian experience in order to situate the FTLRP. This is followed by a synopsis of the debates surrounding the FTLRP and the contribution of this dissertation toward these debates. I end the chapter by providing an outline of the structure of the dissertation.

1.2. Overview of the Argument

The normative development model associated with modernity advocates large-scale

commercial farming as the engine for economic growth and rural development, and in providing food security. This viewpoint follows the trajectory of developed countries in which agricultural growth through large-scale commercial farming stimulated economic development and prompted industrialization and urbanization (Johnson & Sender, 2004; Dyer, 2004). From this vantage peasant farming is represented as anachronistic, non-progressive, and an obstacle to development and change (Hobsbawm, 1994; Araghi, 1995; Akram-Lodhi & Kay, 2010). As such, it is argued that redistributive land reform to peasants/smallholders like that under the FTLRP is anti-modernity (Worby, 2003), and likely to hinder economic development particularly in rural localities due to perceived low investments in agriculture (Griffen *et al*., 2002).

In this dissertation I break away from this dominant neoliberal narrative which asserts that only large-scale commercial farming provides for global food security and economic development. I argue that peasant/smallholder farming has the potential to contribute positively toward food security, aggregate employment and economic growth in the rural economy (Moyo & Chambati, 2013; Scoones *et al*., 2010). I engage with new conceptual notions such as re-peasantization which offer another dimension to modernity and an alternative development paradigm premised on the peasantry. In this vein, there are multiple facets to modernity and re-peasantization represents a process of endogenous rural development that produces a new politics of space (Rossett & Martinez-Torres, 2012), new agrarian relations, and a terrain of ideas that can bring us closer to understanding nature-society relationships, land-based identities, and struggles in rural landscapes. The broad objective of this dissertation is to understand the result of re-peasantization within the Zimbabwean context by examining the outcomes of the FTLRP on the livelihoods of land recipients and their physical environment. I address this objective in the ensuing research questions.

1.3. Research Questions

1. In what ways is the FTLRP similar to or different from current experiences of re-peasantization, and why?
2. What new social networks and institutions are created and sustained within the resettlement communities? How have these influenced land recipients' patterns of resource management?

3. How do political-economic, legal, ecological and institutional factors shape livelihood practices and strategies of land recipients across race, class, gender and ethnicity?
4. How has land use and land cover (LULC) changed on transferred lands? How do beneficiaries of land reform perceive and respond to these changes?

In order to answer these questions, the concepts detailed below have been established for use in this research. These are constructed from the review of literature (Kinsey, 1999; Neefjes, 2000; Elliot & Campbell, 2002; Mapedza *et al.,* 2003; Mujeyi, 2010; Scoones, 2005, 2011; Moyo & Yeros 2005; van der Ploeg, 2008, 2010, 2013).

Re-peasantization

This entails a quantitative increase in the number of peasant farmers. It takes into account urban workers becoming peasants. It also reflects a fight for autonomy and survival in the context of marginalization, deprivation and dependency relations (van der Ploeg, 2008:7).

Livelihood

This will be taken to be the beneficiary's ability to achieve food security, to purchase goods and services, access adequate housing and amenities.

Land use practices

These will be taken to be the manner in which land is utilized for economic gain.

Institutions

These are understood in the context of prevailing power structures and relations. These are reflective of the values and norms of a key group of actors. They are cultural imperatives and serve as regulatory agencies while providing procedures through which human conduct is patterned. Institutions are social arrangements that channel behavior in prescribed ways.

Markets

Markets are political, social and cultural constructions which function in ways that are not just premised on demand and supply.

Physical environment

This will be taken to be the climatic conditions, quality of soils and vegetation cover.

1.4. Historical Overview of Land and Agrarian Transformation in Zimbabwe

History and context are important for understanding the complex nature of Zimbabwe's land and agrarian question, and the political-economic landscape which led to the FTLRP. In this section I outline a few key benchmarks from the history of settler colonization and then post-independence experiences of land reform. I use Gramscian concepts and metaphors of 'hegemony,' 'war of maneuver,' 'war of position,' 'organic' and 'traditional' intellectuals as the lens through which to understand and analyze Zimbabwe's land alienation process and administration during the colonial era, and the post-independence political-economic processes that shaped land redistribution and agrarian reform. A consideration of Gramscian metaphors shows us how certain groups in society have the power to name reality, to describe and categorize the world, and stabilize certain truths/worldviews. Furthermore, Gramsci provides a useful framework "for understanding the production of nature and how subaltern classes contest the remaking of nature in their struggle to build livelihoods" (Karriem, 2009:318).

1.4.1. The Long Walk to Freedom: Colonial Land Appropriation and the Liberation Struggle

European settler occupation of Zimbabwe began in 1890 under the auspices of the British South Africa Company (BSAC). The primary interest of the Company and the pioneer settlers was gold (Palmer, 1997), as it was envisaged that the country, like the Witwatersrand in South Africa, had abundant gold reserves─a source of wealth that could be exploited (Lebert, 2003). However, by 1895, the anticipated gold reserves were not found and the BSAC then encouraged settlers to turn to farming (Leys 1959; Tindell, 1967; Bowman, 1973). This policy in turn, necessitated the appropriation of land for

white settler agriculture by removing indigenous peoples from their land and placing them into native reserves (Lebert, 2003). The shift in policy consequently introduced the 'native question' and the principle of land segregation by race, which successive settler governments followed. The 'native question' entailed the "definition and fashioning of the relationship between white settlers and indigenous people and the consequent problem of the equality and inequality of races within a colonial society" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009:61). Put in another way, the 'native question' addressed how to rule and exploit the native in a way that advanced the economic growth of the colony, and preserved settler interests and dominance.

Unlike the earlier settler colonies in America and Australia where the 'native question' was addressed through the outright elimination and forcible displacement of natives to pave way for settler communities (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009), in Zimbabwe the settler governments resorted to what Mahmood Mamdani (1996) terms the 'bifurcation of the colonial state.' This involved the articulation and institutionalization of race and racial differences within the colonial state, creating a class of 'citizens' (White settlers) and 'subjects' (Black natives). Africans were excluded from civil liberties and freedom (direct rule), and confined to what was considered subordinate African customary canon (indirect rule). Further, legal measures like the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 – which is considered as the 'magna carta' of racial and spatial segregation – entrenched a racially dichotomized state. This Act and its subsequent amendments legally instituted the spatial segregation of land by race in both urban and rural localities and allowed whites to consolidate their dominance and power. Mlambo (2010:57) called this the "entrenchment of settler caste society…with whites as a permanent aristocracy".

This spatial segregation of land became the root of the problems that led to the demise of settler colonial rule and hegemony. Africans, who had become, in Gramscian terms, the subaltern group, did not passively accept their subjugation and the spatial arrangement created by settler rule. The first direct confrontation and resistance against settler rule and expropriation of land–a 'war of maneuver'–came through two separate uprisings in early 1896/7, by the two major native tribes in the country, the Shona (led by Mbuya Nehanda and Sekuru Kaguvi) and the Ndebele people (Samupindi, 1990). However, this early form of counter-hegemony commonly referred to as the first

chimurenga (struggle) was easily curbed by the military prowess of the settlers. Raftopoulos (2008) attributes the defeat to the failure of the Ndebele and Shona people to set a common front against colonial rule due their lack of unity and shared national identity. Despite this defeat, the displacement of Africans from their lands was to remain a source of grievance fuelling organized anti-colonial resistance decades later (Mlambo, 2010). As Moore (1993:383) points out "symbolic meanings can…play an important role in struggles over resources as well as over competing cultural underpinnings of rights, property relations and entitlements". The 1896/7 uprising became symbolic and was drawn upon as part of a nationalist imagination in the independence struggle (second *chimurenga)*, and later in the land occupation movement that culminated in the FTLRP (third *chimurenga*).

It is important to note that the African response during the colonial era was not limited to resistance. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009:68) puts forward that "African responses to early colonization was a mixture of complicity, resistance…negotiations and alienations" because of the social differentiation of the African populace, with the African "elite tending to be narrow and 'socially specific' in the pursuit of policies that would improve their lot". The colonial government capitalized on this social differentiation, through a process of divide and rule, as a way to maintain its hegemony. For Gramsci, implicit in hegemony is the need to build alliances with social forces as well as through the hegemonic class incorporating some of the interests of the subordinate classes (Karriem, 2009). As such, the colonial government, in an attempt to form an 'alliance' with the educated middle group of black doctors, lawyers, nurses, journalists and social workers, demarcated areas from which middle class Africans could purchase land and hold title, called Native Purchase Areas. This group of middle class individuals, whom Mlambo (2009) described as determined to attain a certain level of 'western standards of respectability,' participated in multiracial experiments with various liberal white organizations in the 1950s. This multiracial 'partnership' provided the black bourgeoisie class limited space within the political economy. Furthermore, the colonial government aligned itself with African traditional institutions such as the chiefs by incorporating them into the state administration and providing them with a state salary.

Despite the land concessions and multiracial 'participation' in the political

economy, a growing sense of disillusionment with the colonial system's " unwillingness to extend the (full) benefits of political, social and economic participation to the educated black middle-class gave birth to militant nationalism that then demanded self-government or 'one man one vote' " (Mlambo, 2009:85). This militant nationalism found its ally in the disgruntled peasantry. For the colonial states, agricultural policies such as the Land Husbandry Act, and measures such as the Cattle Levy Act and Maize Control Acts, that subsidized settler farming at the African farmer's expense, stoked peasant farmer grievances (Phimister, 1988). This was further exacerbated by the overcrowded and overgrazed conditions in the native areas, and continued appropriation of land by the settlers. Gramsci contends that for a 'war of position' to be successful, "a counter-hegemonic force will have to move beyond its own class or corporatist interest and take into account national popular demand" (Karriem, 2009:318). As such, the educated black middle class, who had aspired to be incorporated into the colonial system as equals, turned their backs on 'white paternalism' and allied with the peasants to demand independence from colonial rule (Mtisi *et al.,* 2009). However, this is not to say that peasants lacked agency and allowed the middle class to monopolize the concept of nationalism, for in fact they redefined issues of local concern within the nationalist framework, thereby directing nationalist discourse to focus on reclamation of the 'lost lands' and the replacement of a 'bad state' with a 'good state' run by the African majority (Alexander *et al.,* 2000).

According to national historiography the desire to repossess expropriated land served as a key motif for the African nationalists to purse an armed struggle against the colonial government. The turn to an armed struggle (second *chimurenga*) in the late 1960s–against a modern army of the white regime–was a struggle for land on the land. This 'war of maneuver' against the settler government involved the nationalist leaders drawing on discourses of race, citizenship and origin in constructing the idea of the desired nation (Raftopolous & Mlambo, 2009; Mtisi *et al*., 2009). These ideas were communicated in phrases and songs that had emotional overtones which tied the African to the land, such as '*mwana wevhu'* (child of the soil) and '*ivhu kuvaridzi varo*' (land to its rightful owners), which easily resonated with the feelings of anger and resentment that the populace in the countryside had toward the dispossession of their lands. According to

Lebert (2003), the peasantry was conscientized on the imagined community/nation through evening '*pungwe'* (evening meetings/rallies) during which narrations of the course of the war were recounted and liberation songs with strong racial nuance, as well as calls for freedom, were sung. These *pungwe* also served as a platform to recruit young cadres to take up arms in the struggle. This same method was later utilized by leaders of the land occupation movement in 2000.

Contrary to patriotic discourse by the late 1970s the protracted war had reached a stalemate with all sides incurring considerable human loss and increased financial cost (Mhanda, Pers. Comm 2012). In addition, the allies, in particular those from front-line states in Africa, had grown weary of the war and, together with Britain and the United States, coerced the parties to negotiate a ceasefire (Mhanda, 2011). In 1979, these parties met at Lancaster House in the United Kingdom (UK) where a peace settlement was negotiated under the facilitation of Lord Carrington. The key tenets of the settlement–which were entrenched in the Lancaster House Constitution–were on land and voting rights. The white community retained 20 of the 100 seats in parliament and white owned-land could only be acquired through the principle of 'willing buyer willing seller.'

This Lancaster House settlement restricted the confiscation of white-owned land for redistribution by forcing the post-colonial government to purchase farms on the market. Although the nationalist leaders initially resisted the 'willing buyer willing seller' clause, the promise by Britain, in particular, to finance the land resettlement program resulted in these leaders acquiescing to a negotiated Constitution despite its flaws (Sadomba, 2008). Mlambo (2009) describes the Lancaster Constitution as one in which "Africans (were) offered the driver's seat while whites would continue to map the route they must take and control the fuel it ran". This Lancaster settlement was to provide material for contest in the post-colonial era, in particular post 2000. Despite the country returning to black majority rule, the policy of reconciliation under the Lancaster House Constitution preserved white-settler agricultural lands and economic superiority (Sadomba, 2008).

1.4.2. The Promised Land, Governance and Disillusionment

On the 18th of April 1980 Zimbabwe was officially recognized as an independent state by Britain. The nationalist processes of imagining a 'nation-state' came to fruition, although fraught by racial imbalances in which

> “white ‘agrarian bourgeoisie’, some 6000 farmers, retained 39% of the land, some 15.5 million hectares of prime agro-ecological farmland, while one million black households remained consigned to 41.4% of the land, 16.4 million hectares of marginal land.”
>
> (Moyo & Yeros, 2005:171)

The first decade of post-colonial Zimbabwe was characterized by nation building. The post-colonial government’s policy priority–‘growth with equity’ influenced by socialist ideals–aimed at achieving social justice, reducing the social and economic gaps between blacks and whites, and meeting the key demand of the government’s most populous constituency, the peasants, through the redistribution of land and a shift in agricultural extension to support black farmers (Herbst, 1990; McCandless, 2000; Hanlon *et al.,* 2012). It is important to note that Zimbabwe acquired independence in the post-development era dominated by neoliberal thinking, which favored the capitalist mode of production and marketing (Bernstein, 2003). This neoliberal framework, instituted through the ‘willing buyer willing seller’ clause in the Lancaster House Constitution, forced the government to adopt a market-assisted rather than a radical land redistribution program. Further, this framework, under the guise of a policy of national reconciliation, prevented a radical redistribution of land, and maintained the status quo of white-owned large-scale commercial farming (Ranger, 1985; Palmer, 1990). Reconciliation aimed to prevent the exodus of skilled white commercial farmers and preserve the country’s food self-sufficiency, since 90% of the food requirement came from this group. Peasant production had decreased significantly due to out-migration as people escaped the war, and three quarters of this population had been imprisoned in protected villages (Palmer, 1990).

The new government, despite the constraints imposed by the Lancaster Constitution, embarked immediately on land redistribution under the Land Reform and Resettlement Program (LRRP) Phase I. This phase had two tenets: (1) the Normal Intensive Resettlement Program in which land recipients were systematically resettled according to planned settlements schemes, and (2) the Accelerated Land Resettlement Program which responded to peasant occupations of white-owned commercial farms immediately after independence (Waeterloos & Rutherford, 2004). According to Moyo et al. (2004) these peasant occupations differed from those under the FTLRP in that they

took place on uncontested land abandoned by white farmers during the war. Because of the 'willing buyer willing seller' clause, the land offered to the government on the market was mostly in marginal agro-ecological regions III, IV and V (Figure 1-1) and, as such, 81% of the resettlement schemes from this phase are located in these drier regions (Masiiwa, 2004).

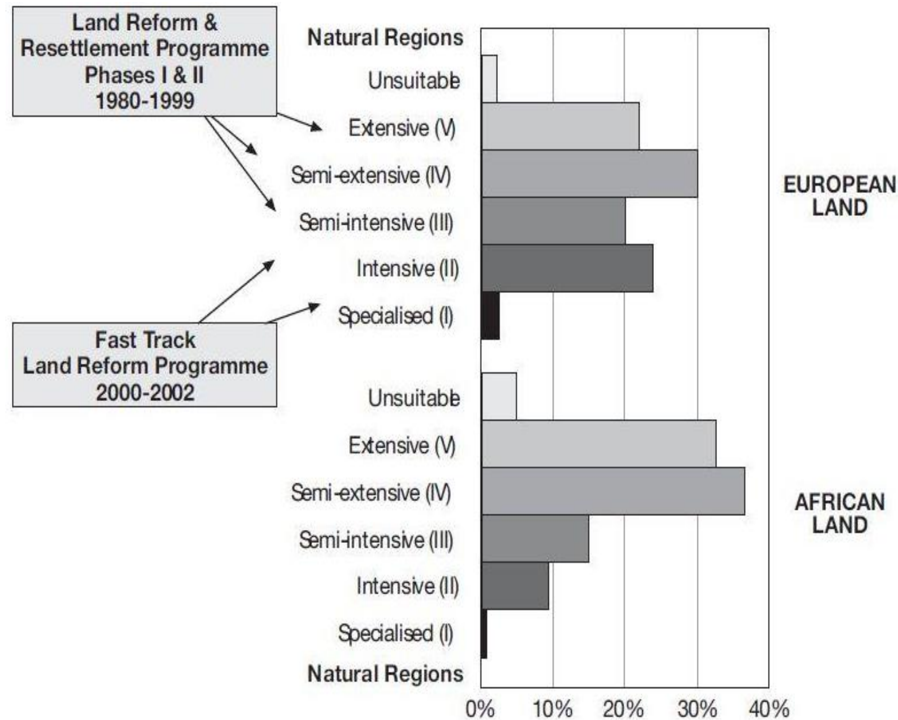

Figure 1-1: Land divisions at independence according to the natural farming regions. (Source: Fox, Chigumira & Rowntree, 2007)

Between 1980 and 1989 approximately 56, 000 families were resettled on 2.6 million hectares of land (Palmer, 1990; Moyo, 1995). This phase of the LRRP has been extensively documented in the literature with most scholars considering it to have been successful in settling a moderate number of African households on former commercial farms, and with an outcome that shows an improvement in the livelihoods of land recipients (Moyo, 1995, 2000, 2003; Drinkwater, 1989; Kinsey, 1999, 2004; Dekker & Kinsey, 2011). Production gains by resettled households were attributed to the major agricultural support from government extension services, access to credit and finance, as well as adherence to appropriate conservation measures.

In the first decade of independence, ZANU-PF positioned itself as the sole party that had brought independence [despite the fact that Zimbabwe African Patriotic Union (ZAPU) had been a key participant in the struggle and negotiations], and established its political hegemony over the country. It was at this time that its party members, influenced by Communist philosophy and discourse, advocated for a single-party state. ZANU-PF was likened to the state and as the sole legitimate voice of nation building and nation purpose (Saul & Saunders 2005). Love (2000) concurs with Saul and Saunders as she described ZANU-PF as a monolithic party, with little distinction between party, government and state. In African thought, and in accordance with Leopold Senghor, the state is the expression of the nation, whereby state and nation are linked and the definition of one impinges on the definition of the other (Neuberger, 1994). Thus when ZANU-PF began to see/imagine itself as the state, any loss of political power or legitimacy would be viewed as a loss of sovereignty and collapse of the nation-state.

Political-Economy: 1990-1999

For two decades Zimbabwe had become a de-facto one-party state due to ZANU-PF's political hegemony, and weak and fragmented opposition parties. However, by the end of the second decade of independence, a counter-hegemonic force based on a coalition of civil society, white commercial farmers and a new opposition party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), challenged the ruling party, and in turn set the ball rolling for the land occupation movement and implementation of the FTLRP, which I will discuss later.

The growth of this counter-hegemonic force stemmed from the economic decline precipitated by the adoption of the neoliberal Economic Structural Adjustment Program (ESAP) prescribed by the Bretton Woods institutions and other donor agencies. Zimbabwe had attained independence in the post-developmental era where neoliberal thinking dominated the developmental agenda. Accordingly, the premise of economic growth to improve rural and urban livelihoods depended on a fully liberalized economy through structural adjustments. Hence, the second decade of independence saw government adopting ESAP, which had an adverse effect on land redistribution and the macro-economy (Kanyenze, 2004).

The second decade of independence was characterized by slow redistribution of

land, increased cost of living, and food riots by the urban population, high rates of unemployment and a drop in real incomes due to ESAP (Marquette, 1997; Kanyenze, 2004). Between 1995 and 2000 the country experienced over 500 trade union-led strikes in 16 different sectors of the economy and agitation for rights by civil society groups Kanyenze (2004). Wiggens (2004), Kanyenze (2004) and Moyo and Yeros (2005) maintain that the political consequences of this poor economic environment of the 1990s resulted in increased demand for land by the national War Veterans Liberation Association and spontaneous farm occupations by communal farmers.

The war veterans among others, were disgruntled by the slow pace of land redistribution, and the fact that government had made no significant advancement in narrowing the gaps between the colonized and colonizer, except for the upper stratum of the population (Moore, 2010). Furthermore, the Lancaster House Constitution symbolized the continued dominance of British imperialism and international capital (Sadomba, 2008). As such, various political and civic groups, including the war veterans, began to advocate for a homegrown Constitution to which government acquiesced.

However, the process of re-writing the new Constitution set in motion two sets of bipartisan alliances: that between the war veterans and government (de facto the ruling party); and between civil society and academics from the country's universities as well as the white commercial farmers–an event that culminated in the implementation of FTLRP. The traditional intellectuals in the ruling party played a key role in rewriting the Constitution which, among other measures, allowed for the compulsory acquisition of land and was seen as favorable to ZANU-PF political domination and increased the Presidential powers. Disenchantment with the state-controlled Constitution-making process led to a counter Constitution-making process by civil society and its alliances, in particular the landed-whites who up to then had enjoyed the socio-economic preserve granted to it since Independence (Murerwa, Pers Comm 2013; Muchinguri, Pers Comm 2012) under the umbrella of the National Constitutional Assembly (NCA). The NCA advocated for a people-driven constitution-making process. It is believed by Kanyenze (2004) that most members of the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), formed in 1999, came from the NCA.

In February 2000, the government-sponsored Constitution was put to a referendum

and overwhelmingly rejected by the populace. Whites, who in the past two decades of independence had not involved themselves in Zimbabwe's electoral process, took a 'war of position' to protect their landed interests, and mobilized their workers to vote against the Constitution and also aligned themselves with civic groups, trade unions and the newly formed Movement for Democratic Change party in this endeavor. The overwhelming 'No' vote at the referendum was ZANU-PFs first ever electoral defeat, which had taken place only a month before the general elections.

1.4.3. The Decade of Crisis: 2000-2009

Aftermath of the referendum

Politically, the rejection of the government-sponsored Constitution in February 2000 marked the turning point in Zimbabwe's formerly orderly agrarian and resettlement program of the 1980s and 1990s, and the dominance of ZANU-PF in national politics. Zimbabwean politics after the referendum "witnessed a range of political and economic convulsions in which new social relations emerged…and the state was reconfigured in a more authoritarian way…" (Raftopoulos & Mlambo 2009:xxiv). First, realizing the possibility of electoral defeat at the general elections in March, President Robert Mugabe used his Presidential powers and postponed the general elections to June 2000. Second, during this period the 'organic intellectuals' in the war veterans association mobilized rural peasants, youths and unemployed urbanites to occupy white-owned farms across the country. The rejection of the government-sponsored Constitution signified to this group the continued domination of white landed capital, and prevention of compulsory acquisition of white-owned large-scale commercial farms for land redistribution. Kadoma District (now subdivided into Sanyati and Mhondoro Ngezi districts), where for this dissertation the case studies are located, recorded 54 farm invasions by June 2000, the most of any District (Glover, 2001; Fox *et al.*, 2007). Third, as a political strategy to maintain ZANU-PF's hegemony, Mugabe sanctioned the continuation of land-occupations, while the 'traditional intellectuals' in ZANU-PF amended the Lancaster Constitution to allow for compulsory acquisition of land which legalized the land-occupations.

These 'traditional intellectuals' reshaped the party's political discourse and repositioned ZANU-PF as the party that would liquidate the legacy of colonialism and racism that had continued to confront the nation-state (Moore, 2010). This was done through discourse that foremost targeted white farmers, who were now portrayed as racist 'kith and kin' of British neo-colonialism. ZANU-PF revived nationalist and anti-colonial discourse located on the themes of the centrality of land, race, and selective versions of the history of the liberation struggle. In addition, the discourse collectively branded whites, the West, civic organizations and the MDC and its supporters as 'enemies of the state' through the use of binaries such as outsiders versus insiders.

The security force (police, army and central intelligence) and youth brigade (Green Bombers) from the Border Gezi National Youth Service were employed to enforce land occupations and silence protesting voices. Willem (2004) writes that the state effectively employed the state-run media to represent and construct the events in Zimbabwe, which served to satisfy their interests, particularly in an increasingly polarized environment. The media constructed the discourse of nationhood and sovereignty through creating categories and dichotomies of 'us' (the ruling party) and 'them' (all those critical of the state), and insiders versus outsiders. Table 1-1 below provides a summary of the binaries used in the ruling party's discourse in the reconstruction of the Zimbabwean nationhood.

Table 1-1: Binary opposition and the construction of Zimbabwean Nationhood.

US	THEM
Heroes	Villains
Patriotic	Unpatriotic
Revolutionaries, comrades	Anti-revolutionaries, puppets
Nationalists	Traitors, sellouts
The people, the state	Enemies of the people, enemies of the state

Source: Melber, 2004; Chiumba 2004

After the referendum, the government felt betrayed by the white commercial farmers whom they felt had been "graciously" incorporated into Zimbabwe after independence through a policy of national reconciliation. Mugabe blamed white intransigence over land reform, signified by the rejection of the Constitution for the land occupations. He stated (in referring to the government's defeat at the referendum):

> "…their mobilizing (white commercial farmers), actually coercing, their labor force on the farms to support the one position opposed to government, has exposed them as not our friends but enemies…our present state of mind is that you are now our enemies because you really have behaved as enemies of Zimbabwe, we are full of anger. Our entire country is angry and that is why we now have the war veterans seizing land."
>
> (Meredith, 2002:175)

A senior ZANU-PF official and government minister, Didymus Mutasa, asserted that "the whites have themselves to blame (for the land occupations) because they shot themselves in the foot by mobilizing people to throw away the draft Constitution…they are now reaping the fruits of their action" (Meredith, 2002:169). This same rhetoric was repeated when I interviewed, in 2012 and 2013, the former Minister of Lands, Dr. Herbert Murerwa; the Minister of Gender and Development, Ms. Oppah Muchinguri; and Senator Cleveria Chizema. Thus the discourse advanced by ZANU-PF during the decade centered on the racialization of land, where race was used to justify the campaign to drive white commercial farmers off their land, with the assertion of the 'restoration of the lost lands'. The land occupations were then justified in the name of "righting colonial wrongs and repossessing land stolen from Africans by colonial settlers" (Mlambo, 2010:63) and maintaining the nation's sovereignty. The sense of loss of Zimbabwe's sovereignty was brought to bear by the fact the white commercial farmers, 'kith and kin' of the West, had successfully mobilized international support to condemn these large scale displacements from their lands and pressure the Zimbabwe government to adhere to the rule of law and maintenance of property rights.

Militaristic language was employed, with land occupations being labeled as the third *chimurenga*, emphasizing that this was a third series of struggle and that the nationalist struggle had not been completed. Discursive statements such as 'Zimbabwe will no longer be a colony again' at one level, according to Willems (2004), were used to show how the nation-state had transitioned from colonial rule and white control of the agrarian sector and at another level the imminent dangers of re-colonization if the third *chimurenga* was not fulfilled and supported. War veterans employed similar methods of campaign as in the second *chimurenga* such as holding the *pungwe*, singing of liberation songs, and at times violent coercion of the farmworkers to support the land occupation.

The state-controlled broadcasting revived and showed images of the liberation war and particularly the 'brutal' role played by whites during the liberation struggle. The aim was to evoke a sense of fear in the nation's consciousness through the symbolic violence of white colonial rule, and to coerce the populace to consent to the occupation movements, which were referred to in militaristic language such as 'invasions', 'occupations', the 'third *chimurenga*', '*hondo ye minda*' (the struggle for land). Thus the ruling party not only utilized discourse but also employed symbolic images through caricatures to advance their political territorial strategy.

At the June 2000 general election the ruling party lost 57 of the 120 parliamentary seats to a formidable opposition (MDC) with a broad support base. The MDC had secured

> " …the support of the urban working class…the urban middle strata including intelligentsia and the civil service…the Ndebele national minority in both urban and rural areas, the white urban and rural bourgeoisie and the white population in general (and farm workers)."
> (Moore, 2010:758)

The broad support base of the MDC had positioned this new political party as being more of a national party than ZANU-PF. The MDC as a party had traversed the ethnic, racial, class and gender divides, without the use of coercion. In light of this outcome, ZANU-PF could no longer claim to be the 'sole legitimate voice of nation building and nation purpose' (Saul & Saunders, 2005). As such, ZANU-PF, which held control of the state media, advanced its discursive binaries to de-legitimize the MDC in the eyes of the people. The MDC was portrayed as a 'stooge' of the whites vis-a-vis Britain and its Western imperialist allies. Epithets such as 'sell outs', 'enemies of the state', 'detractors', 'puppets' and 'thieves' were linked to the MDC. This discourse cast anything that was in opposition to ZANU-PF as inherently evil, unpatriotic and retrogressive. ZANU-PF was positioned as the only responsible and progressive party that could give real and ultimate sovereignty to the people. The media was further used to construct the MDC and its leader as evil, enemies of the state and a threat to the state's sovereignty.

Besides the use of discourse, violence and human rights abuses (murder, abductions, assaults, death threats) were also orchestrated against the MDC and people sympathetic toward it (Sithole, 2012). Furthermore the intellectuals in the ruling party

redefined the patriotic history narrative. A new patriotic history according to Tendi (2007) was developed around the themes of Mugabe's speeches and writings, which focused on land, race, sovereignty and patriotism, and the binaries inherent in these. This new narrative revered ZANU-PF as the sole deliverer of independence and sovereignty to a country under attack from 'imperial forces'–thus legitimizing ZANU-PF's authoritarianism and hold on power and curtailing any alternative view of Zimbabwe's history (Tendi, 2007).

The state-controlled media became the instrument for disseminating this new history. Education programs on the war of liberation─in particular ZANU-PF's role in liberation history, songs of liberation and half hourly catchy jingles extolling the exploits of the Third *chimurenga* (Moyo, 2004; Tendi, 2007)─dominated both Zimbabwe Broadcasting Cooperation (ZBC) television and radio. The ruling party saw the national media as a resource from which to fulfil its political-territorial strategy given that 60% of the population in the rural areas (its key electorate) and the majority of the working class depended on the state radio as the sole source of news and information. This perspective is informed by the former minister of Information and Publicity, Jonathan Moyo, citing in interview that "… information is a strategic issue which is critical in maintaining a country's sovereignty and you cannot claim to be sovereign if you do not own the means of disseminating information…we want to use the media to put across our national views…" (Moyo, 2004:23). In addition government passed media laws that led to the closure of some independent newspapers and the establishment of alternative media stations.

In addition to educational programs broadcast on state media, the revised version of patriotic history was made compulsory in all government owned schools. Furthermore, after 2000, government passed legislation that required all Zimbabwean youths who had completed their Advanced Level exams to undertake a compulsory year of national service, which among other programs aimed to re-educate the youth on patriotism and nationalism (Kriger, 2003). According to Gramsci (in Karriem, 2009:320) "every relationship of hegemony is necessarily an educational relationship…educational relationships constitute the essence of hegemony and popular education has a key role to play in supporting the war of position", in this case the ruling party's political-territorial

strategy in the face of a strong opposition. These youths (nick-named Green Bombers) became the states' panopticon and were involved in harassing and intimidating the general populace and orchestrating state-sponsored violence against the opposition (Kriger, 2003; Rupiya, 2009).

I have focused on outlining the political-territorial strategy used by ZANU-PF during the land occupation movement and throughout the decade of crisis as the FTLRP was a politically driven process that was not altruistic, as it did not have the rural poor in mind but instead was aimed at preserving the political status quo (Hammar *et al*., 2003; Sachikonye, 2004). Moreover, I highlight the notion of race and constructed binaries to set the stage for explaining how the politics of race shaped the outcome of FTLRP and in turn influenced how land recipients are now redefining their relationship with whites as part of their livelihood strategies a decade later (as discussed in Chapters V and VI). ZANU-PF's political-territorial strategy provides a framework for understanding the highly contested political environment and the conditions which contributed to the negatively performing macro-economic environment during this decade.

During the decade of crisis there was systematic militarization of the state, subversion of the judiciary and undermining of the rule of law (Sithole, 2012). In addition there were human rights abuses and widespread harassment and violence orchestrated by the state to the political opposition that progressively increased over the years and reached its peak in the run-up to the March and June 2008 elections (Raftopolous & Mlambo, 2009). These abuses resulted in several western countries imposing targeted sanctions against individuals in ZANU-PF. Notably, in 2001, the US congress passed the Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act (ZDERA) which curtailed access to assets in and placed travel restrictions to the USA on individuals responsible for the violence and breakdown in the rule of law (by de facto ZANU-PF politicians and their allies). In Chapter VI I discuss how the states' default explanation for its failure to provide adequate support to the new farmers is placed on sanctions.

The macro-economy

Over the period 2000-2009, Zimbabwe experienced a sharp decline in its macro-economic environment, which had been bad since the late 1990s (Kanyenze, 2004). The country experienced a decline in foreign currency earnings caused by a decrease in

exports, coupled with low levels of foreign direct investment, and reduced aid and balance of payment support (Fox *et al.,* 2007; Clover & Erikson, 2009). By 2008, the excessive printing of money generated hyperinflation, and Zimbabwe had "the world's fastest shrinking economy for a country not at war" (UNDP, 2008). Hyperinflation resulted in reduced disposable incomes of households in both urban and rural localities, fewer remittances from the urban proletariat, and diminished value of crops traded. Moreover, shrinkages in employment meant that sources of off-farm income were curtailed. Consequentially, these factors had an adverse impact on sustaining livelihoods solely based on agriculture. These factors, as discussed in Chapter V and VI led to land recipients adopting plural-activities to augment their livelihoods and turning to the intensive use of their natural resources as a coping strategy (Marongwe, 2008).

Faced with rapid economic decline, the state radicalized its economic policy between 2000 and 2008, it regulated agricultural inputs and food prices, and it instituted controls over agricultural commodity markets, trade and financial markets (Moyo, 2011). The government parastatal Grain Marketing Board (GMB) monopolized grain buying, while the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe (RBZ) provided financial support for distressed agro-industries to improve the supply of inputs (RBZ, 2006). Furthermore, the RBZ provided subsidies to the new farmers for purchasing machines and equipment under its farm mechanization program (RBZ, 2006). According to Moyo and Yeros (2009), corruption emerged within and outside ZANU-PF as various classes competed for access to the subsidies and agricultural equipment offered under the RBZ's farm mechanization program.

1.4.4. The Global Political Agreement (GPA) and Political-Economic Stability

In 2008‒following a political stalemate from a highly disputed general and presidential election‒a 'power-sharing' government was formed through regional mediation (GPA, 2008; Moyo, 2011). In February 2009, the new coalition government discarded the use of the Zimbabwe dollar as a form of currency and allowed the use of multiple foreign currencies (a process termed dollarization) in order to stimulate the economy and curb inflation. Dollarization reversed inflation and allowed the economy to grow, albeit slowly. Furthermore, the economy was liberalized and "controls on agricultural markets, capital accounts and trade, and off-budget subsidies were

abandoned" (Moyo, 2011:944). The government invited foreign investors, although within the 'indigenization' policy, which required domestic control of majority shares (Moyo, 2011). These policy shifts, as will be discussed in Chapter VI, elicited diverse responses from the new landholders and (re)shaped agrarian relations and livelihood strategies.

1.5. Framing Zimbabwe's Land Debates

Fourteen years have passed since the implementation of FTLRP, and Zimbabwe has seen significant social, institutional, and physical transformation in its rural landscape. To date, debates on Zimbabwe's FTLRP are fraught with emotions and continue to be highly polarized with those who either justify or condemn the program (Cliffe *et al.,* 2011). The narrative that justifies this program is based on moral arguments over redressing the past colonial injustices and demand for land by the poor (Mamadani, 2008; Moyo & Yeros, 2005; Moyo, 2011; Hanlon *et al.,* 2012). From this vantage, the FTLRP is perceived as an historic epoch that is progressive─marking Zimbabwe's true moment of decolonization─and achieving social justice and black economic empowerment. Moyo & Yeros (2005) and Moyo (Pers Comm, 2012) argue that the FTLRP has created the social and economic foundations for a more meaningful democratization process, and that a tri-modal agrarian structure with peasant production at the forefront can be the pillar for economic growth and development.

Since the FTLRP the agrarian structure that has emerged has been dominated by peasant and petty commodity producers. The program was associated with the modification of existing settlement models (Table 1-2) that had been proposed under the LRRP II in 1997. What emerged was a communal subsistence farming model A1 with two sub-variants: a villagized variant (similar to the Model A in the LRRP I) and a variant of self-contained, small farm units (Figure 1-2). The case studies include farms that were resettled under these sub variants. The A2 commercial model (Figure 1-3), which was to target people with 'capital assets, agricultural skills and entrepreneurial ability' (Fox *et al*., 2007), comprised four sub-variants: small, medium, large and peri-urban. An A2 small-scale example was included in the study.

Table 1-2: Structure of the resettlement models under the LRRP I.

Model	Scheme	Structure	Infrastructure	Tenure
A	Villagized	Nucleated village Individual arable land Communal grazing	Schools, feeder roads, clinics, boreholes, extension services	Individual permit for: -residential holding -cultivation -grazing land
B	Cooperative	Single farm under communal ownership	Use existing	Permit issued to cooperative
C	Outgrower	Individual plots around Agricultural Research and Development Authority (ARDA) estate	ARDA infrastructure and services	Permit
D and E	Ranching and game management	Rotational pasture	Varies	Undetermined

Adopted from Chigumira (2006)

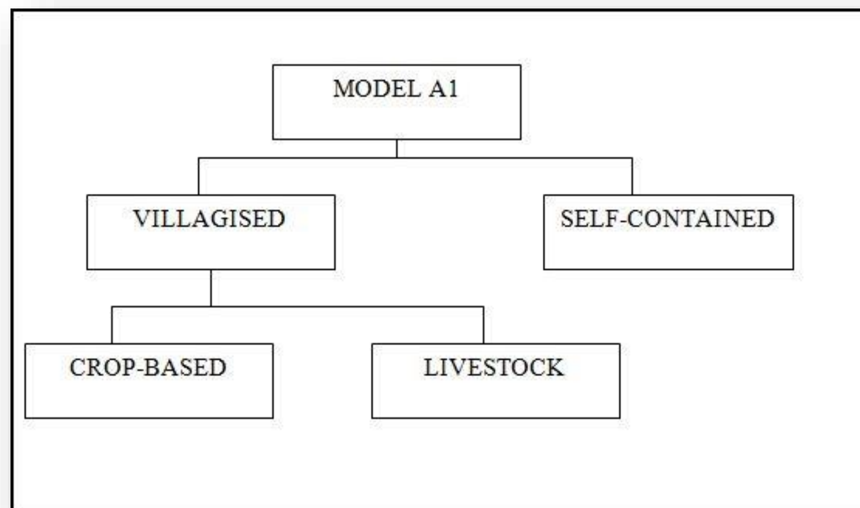

Figure 1-2: Structure of the A1 Resettlement Scheme under FTLRP. (Source: Ministry of Lands, 2004)

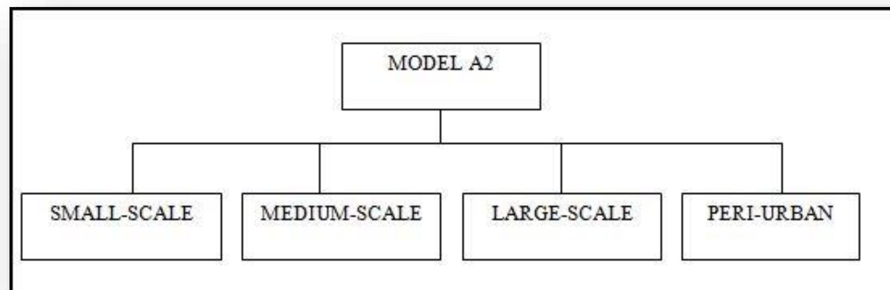

Figure 1-3: Structure of the A2 Resettlement Scheme Variant under the FTLRP. (Source: Ministry of Lands, 2004)

On the other hand, the counter narrative argues that this redistributive program, which sought to re-peasantize a formerly viable commercial farming sector, has brought an end to modernity and resulted in the abandonment of development (Worby, 2003; Richardson, 2005). This argument is advanced through an economic lens, with particular reference to Zimbabwe's macro-economic plunge during the decade of crisis (Bond & Manyana, 2002) and a focus on national level production trends since implementation of the program (Raftopoulous, 2003; Selby, 2006). From this viewpoint the FTLRP is retrogressive and has been destructive to the agricultural foundations of the country, impinging on food security and turning Zimbabwe from the 'bread-basket' of Southern Africa to a 'basket case' (Wiggens, 2004; Richardson, 2005; Bond, 2007).

These perspectives tend to focus on the macro-level with little empirical information and thereby overlook the micro-level, "where trends, predictions, price relations, changes in agrarian policies…are actively interpreted and translated by farmers (and other actors)" (van der Ploeg, 2013). As such, the unfolding agrarian and market relations (Moyo, 2011), the broader livelihood and survival strategies developed by peasant households within their environment, and relations between various units of production, across class, gender and ethnic lines, tend to be ignored in these debates. Moreover, these judgments have been based on short-term studies and ad-hoc empirical evidence, which elide meaningful and effective evaluation of the FTLRP. Robillard et al. (2002), Moyo (2004), and Hebinck and Shackleton (2010) argue that studies over a ten-to- fifteen-year period on land resettlement offer a better picture for an evaluation of

agrarian livelihoods and production outcomes, and for making inferences on the peasant condition. To date, only three studies (AIAS, 2009; Scoones *et al.*, 2010; Matondi, 2012) offer long-term empirical analysis of the FTLRP. This dissertation aims to advance understandings by providing a 10-year on-the-ground insight into the lived experiences of land recipients under the FTLRP. I provide empirical evidence from three resettled communities in Sanyati District (formerly Kadoma District), and based on three surveys conducted between 2004 and 2013, which were supplemented with five general visits to the area over the years. It complements these long-term studies, which reveal that the outcomes of the FTLRP are complex and require more nuanced analysis (Mkodzongi, 2013), and allows for broader examination and generalization of the outcome of the program across Zimbabwe's Districts and agro-ecological regions.

The study by Scoones et al. (2010) of land recipients in Masvingo District has been particularly criticized (Dore, 2012) for its failure to be generalized across Zimbabwe's regions because of its focus on a single agro-ecological region. Although studies undertaken by the AIAS (2009) and Matondi (2012) offer a broader picture of livelihood outcomes of resettled communities across several districts in different agro-ecological regions, my dissertation offers a nuanced analysis of the outcome of the program as it allows for a long-term comparison of resettled communities that straddle two agro-ecological regions (IIb and III) within the same District. This enables an examination of how local ecological and political-economic conditions shape land recipients' livelihood trajectories and their responses to their physical environment.

A further shortcoming of the previously conducted long-term studies, like post-independence studies on agrarian change and rural politics, is that they overlook the issues of environmental change, focusing more on economic indicators and productivity. This dissertation provides a more localized approach that looks at the interlinked themes of people, their livelihoods and their relationship with the physical environment. It contributes to a newly emerging literature (Elliot *et al*., 2004; McCusker & Carr 2006), that integrates two disparate sets of scholarship livelihoods and land use land-cover (LULC) change by linking the notions of livelihood and LULC change–to conceptualize agrarian livelihoods as a "script through which people read, understand, order and utilize their landscape and give meaning to it" (Hebinck, 2005:17). Further, this study offers a

base-line case for advancing or challenging knowledge about the ecological impacts of peasant/smallholder versus large-scale agricultural practices, a topical issue in current international policy discourse and debates.

1.6. Outline of the Thesis

The thesis is organized into six chapters. This introductory chapter provides historical and contextual background for situating the FTLRP. I provide a synopsis of the current debates surrounding the FTLRP and situate my argument within these debates. Chapter II presents the theoretical underpinning of this research. It outlines how this study is influenced by theoretical concepts of disputed material and immaterial territories (Rosset 2011) and of re-peasantization (Moyo & Yeros, 2005; van der Ploeg 2008, 2011, 2013) in order to explore Zimbabwe’s land and agrarian reform and contrast it with international experiences of agrarian transition. I explore the debates on the concept of the peasantry, the conditions/tendencies of re-peasantization, and the conflict it sets off within development theory, in particular, the idea of modernity. I explore how, under a regime of neoliberalism and globalization agrarian transition through a process of re-peasantization is relevant and represents a different model of development and way of life. I argue that there is not one anchor of modernity but different points in history. Here I posit that development is therefore an interaction between structure, socio-cultural and ecological processes, following the position of Akram Lodhi & Kay (2011) that that “the agrarian question must critically investigate the character of ecological relationships and the ways in which they impinge upon and alter the resolution of the agrarian question... and the contradictions of class and ecology to explain social change in contemporary rural settings.” In Chapter III I describe the epistemological influences on the research and the mixed method approach undertaken. I discuss the concept of emotional geographies and argue that emotions are a way of knowing and that looking at land reform through a broader more contextualised view of emotions sensitizes us to the daily lived experiences of the farmers and the politics of land in contemporary Zimbabwe. In Chapter IV I provide background information to the case studies, by first situating them in their geographical location in Sanyati District. I then provide a description of each case study, focusing on both the ecological landscape and farming under the former commercial farmers. This is followed by a description of demographic and socio-

economic backgrounds of the new farmers that were resettled between 2000 and 2011. In Chapter V, I provide the results of my empirical findings. The chapter is divided into four sections which outline the livelihood pathways, institutions and social networks, and resource use at each study area. Chapter VI concludes the dissertation by providing a discussion of the findings and policy recommendations.

CHAPTER II

THE PEASANTRY

CONSTITUTION AND RE-CONSTITUTION

The advantage, however of small properties in land is one of the most disputed questions in the range of political economy. John Stuart Mill, 1848

2.1. Introduction

At the turn of the twenty-first century, after three decades of fast globalization, the "converging of global crises in food, energy, finance and the environment" (Borras *et al*., 2010, p.209) has brought the peasantry back to the fore of international development and policy agendas (Chimhowu, 2010; van der Ploeg, 2010; Vanhaute, 2012). The global crisis has necessitated alternative pathways, particularly for agrarian development. New forms of rural and agrarian counter movements of resistance, both organized and diffuse (Moyo *et al*., 2013), have placed the peasant as an important social and political actor (Vanhaute, 2012), and peasant agriculture as an alternative to neoliberal agrarian initiatives. Recent studies by international organizations such as the World Bank recognize the important role of small-scale (peasant) agriculture in rural development and in providing an answer to today's food security challenges (World Bank, 2007). Despite this acknowledgement, the peasantry continues to be subordinated, and debates on the peasant's relevance and role in relation to modernity and the development project are contested by scholars and policy makers (Deininger *et al*, 2002; Sender and Johnson, 2004; Chimhowu & Hulme, 2006, World Bank 2007).

To understand the peasantry in relation to modernity and development, it is necessary to understand how they have been defined and constructed over time, and their modes of production. I begin this chapter by describing how peasant identity has been constructed over time and its modes of production. This sets the stage for entering into historical and contemporary debates on peasant agriculture and its relevance for rural development. I then embark on a critique of the concept of modernity and rural development and introduce the concept of re-peasantization as an "organic counter

tendency under capitalism today" (Moyo *et al*., 2013:242). I argue that re-peasantization is not a "throwback to the idyllic past" (Moyo *et al*., 2013) but an alternative development paradigm to Eurocentric modernity and a process of endogenous rural development that produces a new politics of space, agrarian relations and terrain of ideas (Rosset & Torres, 2012). I situate the Zimbabwe case by comparing and contrasting it to other cases of re-peasantization around the globe.

2.2. Construction of Peasant Identity and Category

Competing interpretations of who or what 'peasants' are have influenced debates about the benefits of redistributing land to peasants or smallholder farmers, particularly in post-colonial settler economies in Southern Africa and Latin America (Moyo, 2011). The peasantry as an analytical category has a long history. The word peasant in late medieval and early modern times was used to refer to "rural poor, rural residents, serfs, agricultural laborers and the 'common' or 'simple people'" (Edelman, 2013:3). Very early on, the English, French and German constructed the term peasant, negatively associating it with derogatory meanings like 'stupid,' 'crass,' 'ignorant' and through words that implied criminality such as 'villain,' 'brigand,' and 'robber' (Edelman, 2013). Moreover, these negative constructions of the peasantry started a trajectory that characterized peasants as 'unprogressive,' 'inefficient land users' and 'a dangerous class not suitable for or capable of full citizenship' (Handy, 2009). These constructed imaginings, mostly espoused by the elite, who had interests in pushing peasants off the land and turning them into laborers, led to discursive binaries between the elite and the peasants that resulted in political and socio-economic policies which structurally subordinated the peasantry over time (Handy, 2009). These structural policies restricted the peasants' geographical mobility and sumptuary needs, land rentals and, in cases of Latin America, relegated peasants to systems of debt peonage and unpaid labor (Shanin, 1972; Dalton, 1972). Further, such policies tied peasants to particular production units in the countryside and rendered them second class citizens (Edelman, 2013).

During the Twentieth Century, among social scientists the peasantries became politically important given the anti-colonial peasant-led revolutions during the 1960s and 70s across the world. Furthermore, because the majority of people lived in rural areas, the study of peasantries, particularly in light of the cold war geo-political contestation

between the East and West, became essential for development imperatives. Among anthropologists, peasant categories initially included any person that derived their livelihoods from the countryside (e.g. the rural artisan, fisherman, farmer, and miner). Definitions later shifted to take into account cultural traits. However, these definitions and categorizations only reinforced the binaries of earlier times for “the category ‘peasants’ was only meaningful in relation to a larger (progressive) society that included non-peasants” (Edelman, 2013:5) and always connoted some form of insubordination and backwardness. The work of Eric Wolf (1966, 1969) became influential in peasant studies, as he delineated typologies of peasants based on tenure rights (i.e. owners of land, tenants, sharecroppers, laborers) and, more importantly, the distinction between peasant and farmer (specifically the commercial farmer). Furthermore, his contribution enabled an understanding of how peasants socially reproduced themselves. Building on Wolf’s work, Teodor Shanin (1971, 1973) further defined the peasantry as a group organized around a family farm unit in which land husbandry and animal rearing were central to their livelihood and whose cultural traits were essentially traditional and bucolic. These two scholars, along with Sidney Mintz (1971), recognized that peasants are a heterogeneous category and socially differentiated along economic and ethnic lines. A peasant, according to these scholars, is understood as a role or social structural position. However, these definitional understandings of the peasant came to be contested during the 1990s and 2000s by peasant-based movements, particularly across Latin America. These movements demanded that definitions change to take into account the peasantry as a form of identity rather than a role or structural position; for example, following the Mexican revolution, the term ‘campesino’ became a marker of political identity (Edelman, 2013). It is argued that in defining the peasant as a form of identity rather than a role or structural position, reveals the different power dynamics and relations within agrarian society.

These scholars further concretized the contrasting categories of ‘peasant’ and ‘commercial farmer,’ or peasant and other. The epistemological stance toward the peasantry adopted by Wolf, Shanin, and Mintz is generally weak in acknowledging peasant agency, as peasants come across as ‘passive victims.’ The subordinated position of the peasantry is central to Shanin’s (1971) conceptualization of the peasant. He points

to the “underdog position, [i.e.] the domination of the peasantry by outsiders as one of the basic facets that define and delimit peasant societies” (van der Ploeg, 2008:21). According to Shanin (1971:15):

> “peasants, as a rule, have been kept at arms’ length from the social sources of power. Their political subjection interlinks with cultural subordination and economic exploitation through tax, corvee, rent, interest and terms of trade unfavorable to the peasant.” And Wolf (1966 in van der Ploeg, 2008:21) argues that it is “only when … the cultivator becomes subject to the demands and sanctions of power-holders outside his social stratum that we can appropriately speak of peasantry.”

The concept of the peasant adopted in this dissertation is that put forward by Akram-Lodhi and Kay (2009) and van der Ploeg (2010), as a smallholder agricultural worker whose livelihood is based primarily (but not exclusively) on having access to land that is either owned or rented, and who uses principally his or her own labor and that of their family members to work the land. Agriculture is mostly for subsistence and utilizes basic traditional tools and equipment, and any surplus production is sold on the commodity markets.

Recently, in the book *The New Peasantries* van der Ploeg (2008) re-engages theorization on the peasant/peasantry in today’s contemporary world. He shifts from definitional terms of the peasants to a discussion about the ‘peasant condition’ and ‘peasant mode of production,’ which, he argues, is more analytically useful than simply assigning a role to the peasantry. Van der Ploeg (2008:8) argues that the peasant condition is not static and that, like every social entity, the peasantry exists only as a process. In this regard, he sees peasant farming on a continuum rather than as a contrasting category, and the ‘peasant condition’ as “a struggle for autonomy in a context that is characterized by dependency, exclusion and deprivation” (van der Ploeg, 2007; 2008).

2.3. Debating the Peasantry

Debates on the peasantry have been dominated, for a long time; by the dualism thesis that places capitalist farmers and peasants (or capitalist versus family farming) as the main and mutually opposed categories (Vanhaute 2010, van der Ploeg, 2008). These debates on the peasantry or the ‘peasant question’ date back in time to a sharp polemic

between two protagonists, Vladimir Lenin and Alexander Chayanov, on the prospects of Russian society after the 1917 revolution. These two theorists differed on their views of (1) the definition of the class position of the peasantry; (2) the stability of peasant-like forms of production; (3) the ability of the peasant mode of production to produce food and significantly contribute to the development of society; and (4) the ability of peasants to be the engine of growth and transformation in the countryside (van der Ploeg, 2013). Lenin and Chayanov's perspectives had important political implications, both in the Soviet context of the 1920s and today, in the context of modern development thinking, as they continued to affect current debates across the globe on the role and relevance of the peasantry in contemporary world (Harrison, 1975; Hobsbawm, 1994; Akram-Lodhi & Kay, 2010).

I will next briefly explore the origins of the agrarian question and debates through Karl Marx, as his school of thought was influential to Lenin's perspectives on the peasantry and to Chayanov's counter viewpoint.

2.3.1. Karl Marx and the Origins of the Agrarian Debates

Karl Marx's analysis of the genesis of capitalism sets the stage for tracing the debates surrounding the peasantry and agriculture. Marx was concerned with the emergence of agrarian capital, capital accumulation in the countryside and capital more generally. In his book *Grundrisse*, Marx considered the relationship between peasants, petty commodity producers and the emergence of agrarian capital. For Marx,

> "In the establishment of capitalism, a historically progressive force: 'agricultural smallholding, by its very nature, rules out the development of the productive powers of social labor' (Marx 1981, 943, orig. 1894) and thereby impedes the development of capitalism."
>
> (Akram Lodhi & Kay, 2010:182)

From this perspective, the peasant impedes the fruition of the capitalist mode of production. Based on the emergence of capitalist farming in England, Marx in *Capital* explores the 'logic of capital' in agriculture through the concept of primitive accumulation. Primitive accumulation in England resulted in the dispossession of the peasantry through enclosures by feudal lords and later by the state. According to Akram-lodhi and Kay (2010:182), primitive accumulation highlighted the conversion of pre-

capitalist modes of production into capital and the subsequent establishment of capital-labor relations. Marx notes that the establishment of capitalist relations of production in agriculture is complex and not uniform. In some instances, peasants may be disposed from their means of production and subsumed as labor and, in other they are unaffected by or resilient to capital, leading to their survival under capitalism. Marx applied his concepts to Russia, which had a dominant peasant population and at the same time was rapidly industrializing. Marx considered that the full capitalist mode of production in agriculture and elimination of the peasantry happened when the peasantry converted into wage labor for the dominant class.

2.3.2. The Polemic: V.I. Lenin versus A. V. Chayanov

Lenin saw Russia's process of capitalist industrialization albeit uneven as the basis for eroding the peasant economy (Bernstein, 2009). Industrialization had broken the interrelationship of rural agriculture and rural petty manufacturing due to the need for waged labor. Capitalist competition was introduced into rural society through the commodity production of agricultural markets. Peasants who were unwilling or unable to compete in markets found themselves in debt and later engaging in wage-labor. Basically, as agricultural markers developed, peasants became subordinated to product and labor markets (Akram-Lodhi & Kay, 2010) and those experiencing deficiency sold their land and assets to more productive producers. Lenin saw the Russian peasantry as both an expression and driver of the development of capitalism in the countryside. Through his studies of Germany and the USA, Lenin formulated the paths of transition to capitalist farming. In the Prussian route (Junker path), agriculture developed along the lines of large plantations and creation of a small stratum of peasants. Thus, capitalist agricultural development in Prussia depended on large estates/landlords and use of wage-labor coming from the disintegrating peasantry.

In the American path, capitalist agricultural development premised on large agro-farms materialized from the rise and then consolidation of small-family farms in the North, while in the South after the abolition of slavery, landlords became large-scale capitalist farmers. In essence, the accumulation of agrarian capital came from the transition of small-scale farms into large-scale farms/plantations. Moreover, differentiation of the peasantry was central to the development of capitalism.

Based on economic consideration, Lenin categorized the peasantry into three strata: the rich, middle and poor peasants. In his theorization, the rich peasants turned into capitalist farmers and the poorer peasants entered the wage-labor force, while the middle peasants farmed on a subsistence level and sold any surplus made. Lenin assumed that the middle peasantry, who were subsistence farmers, would dissolve, leaving the rich bourgeoisie peasants, who would have emerged as capitalist farmers and poorer peasants who would become laborers for the richer peasants (Bernstein, 2009). Lenin pushed for the nationalization of land as he believed that this was the best way of facilitating the American model.

Lenin viewed capitalist development in agriculture as following the same logic as in industry, for under "capitalist relations of production it was the waged labor that produced surplus value…and serve(d) as the basis of rural capital accumulation" (Akram-Lodhi & Kay 2010). He did not see a point in trying to save the peasantry from an onslaught of capitalism, as this would retard social development. Lenin postulated that scale-economies in agriculture were a necessary part of capitalist farming as they allowed for superior surplus labor extraction and in turn, capital accumulation in the countryside. In essence, Lenin believed that the institution of the small family farm was doomed to be replaced by large-scale capitalist-style businesses run like factories using hired labor. He argued that a process of de-peasantization due to capitalist penetration in agriculture will inevitably occur and cause the peasantry to disappear.

Chayanov, on the other hand, argued for the persistence of small-scale peasant farms based on his empirical work in Russia. He regarded an organized peasantry as an independent class that is technically superior to all other forms of agricultural organization (van der Ploeg, 2013). For Chayanov, the peasant household/farm economy was the basic cell for agricultural development. According to Harrison (1975:390) Chayanov regarded the modernization of peasant farming

> "lying along neither a capitalist nor a socialist road, but as a peasant path of raising the technical level of agricultural production through agricultural extension work and cooperative organization, at the same time conserving the peasant institutional framework of the family small-holding".

He argued that peasant production levels are determined not by market supply and

demand, but rather by what he called the ‘labor-consumption’ balance between the satisfactions of family needs and the 'drudgery of labor' (Harrison, 1975; Bernstein, 2009; van der Ploeg, 2013). The peasantry, as a unit of production, mostly involves non-wage labor or family-labor and thus does not follow the labor market force. Chayanov argued that the mode of economic calculation of the peasant household differed from the conventional capitalist enterprise, which factors all costs of production in its drive for profit maximization and capital accumulation (van der Ploeg, 2013). For peasant households strive to meet the needs of simple reproduction while minimizing drudgery of labor. However, during adverse conditions, family labor is exploited by working longer hours and more intensively in order for reproduction to occur. It is this ability of self-exploitation that Chayanov argues allows the peasantry to survive and continue producing even under adverse conditions that capitalist farms cannot do. For example, if a capitalist farmer goes into bankruptcy they stop production, while peasant farmers work longer hours and intensify production.

Chayanov argues that peasant families employ different balances to translate their interests, prospects and aspiration that specify the way farms should be developed in the future. Moreover, peasants interpret rules and situations and make appropriate decisions that allow them to survive and prosper under any circumstances. The peasant unit of production can take place within a capitalist context and does not need to be governed by capitalism because the farmer orders the process of production and reproduction in a way that generates agricultural yields, and allows for steady progress in his or her farming (van der Ploeg, 2013). As such, for Chayanov, the peasantry has a role and place within capitalist society (van der Ploeg, 2013) and is far from disappearing.

In summary, Leninist views predict the disappearance of the peasantry, due to the economic non-viability of peasant production and the inevitable absorption of peasants into wage labor relations. In contrast Chayanovian perspectives stress the persistence of the peasantry against the view of its generalized incorporation into wage labor (Araghi, 1995, Johnson, 2004; Carcamo, 2013). As articulated earlier, debates within contemporary agrarian and development studies centered on the peasantry are polarized along the Leninist (descampesinistas/disappearance thesis) (Hobsbawm, 1994; Bryceson, 2000) versus Chayanovian perspectives (campesinistas/permanence thesis) (Araghi,

1995, Johnson, 2004). Terms such as de-peasantization and de-agrarianization have been associated with literature promulgating the 'disappearance thesis' (Bryceson, 1997, 1998, 2000), while re-peasantization and re-agrianization are associated with the 'permanence thesis' (Johnson, 2004). Given that the major cleavage in debates on Zimbabwe's FTLRP have centered on the efficacy of redistributing land mostly to peasant farmer production, the ensuing section discusses the contemporary debates centred on large versus smallholder farming. I place Zimbabwe's experience in these debates to show how and why the process of re-peasantization is an alternative development paradigm to the neoliberal normative model that advocates large-scale commercial farming as an element of modernization.

2.3.3. Contemporary Debates: Large versus Small-scale Farming?

In today's debates, the polemic centers on the average size of the land-holdings that allows for agricultural growth. The normative development model advocates large-scale commercial farming as the engine for economic growth and rural development. This narrative stipulates that only large-scale, intensive and highly specialized holdings can provide sufficient food to meet the needs of the world's population (van der Ploeg, 2007) and is therefore the driver for economic growth in rural localities. Thus, for countries undertaking land and agrarian reform programs, the debate on land distribution (large versus small-holder agriculture) is seen as a struggle between Chayanovian versus Leninist positions. Essentially, Lenin wanted the confiscation of large estates and nationalization of land including that of the peasants, whereas Chayanov argued for all land to be transferred to peasant farms (van der Ploeg, 2013).

The rationale put forward by Leninists is based on the idea that large-scale commercial agriculture provides the most productive and efficient option for farming, particularly because it has advantages in economies of scale (Johnson and Sender 2004; Dyer 2004). Farmers are in a better position to access credit from financial institutions and markets (local, regional and international), make use of information technologies and utilize capital-intensive equipment in their production processes compared to their counterparts (Johnson and Sender 2004; Dyer 2004). Because of these factors, large-scale commercial farming is perceived to be better able to stimulate economic development in other parts of the economy. The trajectory of developed countries suggests that

agricultural growth through commercial farming contributes to industrialization and urbanization and thereby enables broader livelihood options, is considered to be instrumental for poverty reduction within the rural economy. From this normative model, redistributive land reform to smallholders would be expected to hinder economic development due to perceived low investments in agriculture, with a slower rate of growth in turn leading to a higher incidence of poverty (Griffen *et al*. 2002). Bryceson et al. (2000) and Ellis (2000) have challenged the benefits of smallholder farming. They argued that the countryside is experiencing a form of 'de-agrarianisation' and that small-scale agriculture cannot provide secure livelihoods for peasant households, which are then forced to engage in more profitable off-farm activities rather than farming. Others such as Byres (2004) argue that redistributive land reform to smallholders 'runs contrary to historical forces of capitalism' and is largely based on the historical fantasy of agrarian populists (Mkodzongi, 2013).

These notions are discounted by Jayne et al*.,* (2003) and Hebinck and Cousins (2010), who argue that egalitarian land distribution to smallholders generates higher rates of economic growth through a multiplier effect to other parts of the economy, compared to land concentrated in the hands of a relatively few individuals (as in large-scale farming). Put differently, agricultural growth from a quantitatively larger proportion of people will allow for development of non-tradable goods and services in the rural areas and towns (Jayne *et al*., 2003). Hazell et al., (2010) concur with Jayne et al., pointing out that small farm households spend a higher share of their income on rural non-tradable items than do large farms, and thereby create a demand for many labor-intensive goods and services produced in local villages and towns. The historical experiences of the Asian tigers‒Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Vietnam and China‒where redistribution of land to smallholders and subsequent agricultural growth stimulated industrialization and urbanization, are used as exemplars (Griffen *et al*., 2002; Fan & Chan-Kang, 2003; Chimhowu, 2010). The World Development Report 2008 (World Bank, 2007) attributes China's aggregate growth to smallholder agriculture; given these successes, proponents use these examples as a justification to shore-up redistribution to smallholders.

The labor and efficiency supposition advanced by Berry and Cline (1979), Lipton and Lipton (1996) and World Bank sponsored scholars (Deininger & Binswanger, 1999;

van der Brink, 2003; Hazell *et al*., 2010) rests on the belief that family labor is more efficient than hired labor. This is due to the fact that beneficiaries of small farms tend to use their land and labor more intensively than their counterparts (Griffen *et al*., 2002) and that family labor has an incentive to ensure that their farming practices work. It is pointed out that the most successful agricultural systems in the world, such as China, Thailand and Costa Rica, are largely run by smallholders reliant on family labor (Griffen *et al*., 2002). From these narratives, large estates are then considered inefficient because they use less labor per hectare than smallholders and generate less employment per hectare for the economy as a whole (van den Brink *et al*., 2005; El Ghonemy, 2010). Smallholders are then considered to contribute positively to aggregate employment and poverty reduction in the rural economy because they provide both a social net and employment opportunity for poorer households in their communities through wage labor or barter (mainly for food) (Moyo, 2004; Lipton, 2007, Scoones *et al*., 2010). Consequentially, this hired labor has a vested interest in the success of the farming and is likely to be efficient. Moreover, Griffen *et al*., (2002) assert that redistribution to smallholders can reduce the monopoly of large-scale commercial farmers by allowing for a broader labor market, and thereby reduce poverty resulting from unemployment. It is further argued that the intensive mechanization on most large-scale farms replaces labor, thereby making this farming system socially inefficient compared to smallholders.

Proponents of large-scale farming criticize the conceptual notion of labor as the basis for efficiency in smallholder farming (Dyer, 2004; Sender & Johnson, 2004) stating that several factors besides labor should be taken into account when evaluating the viability and efficiency of the two farming systems. It is argued that the celebration of the smallholder, the general motif of the World Bank, tends to obfuscate imperfections in factor markets within smallholder agriculture (Collier & Dercon, 2009) and their inefficient economies of scale. Furthermore, Dorward (1999) and Sender & Johnson (2004) argue that large-scale farming in Africa and parts of Latin America, despite mechanization, contributes immensely to aggregate employment within the rural economy.

The supposition of an inverse relationship between farm size and productivity has been put forward in advocating redistribution of land to smallholders. It is based on Berry

and Cline's (1979) definitive empirical work in Brazil, Columbia, the Philippines, Pakistan, India and Malaysia, where they observed that the total factor productivity[1] of land declined systematically with the rise in size of the operational farm unit. According to El Ghonemy (2010), over the last three decades rigorous statistical analysis of field data in developing countries has in most cases shown that the critical size for crop production is around that of the small family. Econometric models used by Rosenweig and Binswanger (1993) revealed that the profit-to-wealth ratio of the smallest category of farmers is always at least twice that of the largest.

Collier and Dercon (2009) argue that this supposition is problematic and has an inherently universalizing effect overlooking the heterogeneous nature of smallholders, their differing capital assets and the physical conditions under which they farm. Dorward (1999) and Sender and Johnston (2004) posit that the inverse relationship between farm size and productivity is methodologically flawed due to the complexity of variables that govern farming, such as the differing agro-ecological potential of the area, use/absence of capital intensive technology, capital assets available to the farmers, the level of state intervention and support. They point out that few studies in sub-Saharan Africa have shown the success of this inverse relationship and argue that in fact a positive relationship exists between size and productivity.

Although Zimbabwe has been criticized worldwide for its chaotic, violent FTLRP, various empirical studies undertaken in the aftermath of land reform (AIAS, 2009; Scoones, 2010; Matondi, 2012, Hanlon *et al*., 2012) and data gathered in the Sanyati District, demonstrate that the breaking up of large private landholdings is a prerequisite for transforming the lives of marginalized rural and urban households.

2.4. Contesting Modernity and Development

The modern world relates to peasants largely in terms of aversion. The argument put forward by critiques of the FTLRP is that by seeking to re-peasantize the former large scale commercial farms, the program has brought an end to development and modernity (Worby, 2003). The notion of modernity refers to a condition of social existence that is

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[1] Jayne et al (2003) describe total factor productivity (TFP) as a ratio of total output growth to total input growth. Growth in TFP is therefore the growth rate in total output less the growth rate in total inputs. This implies an upward/downward shift in production/ cost function and hence it represents efficiency growth.

different from past forms of human experience and is often characterized by comparing modern societies to pre-modern or post-modern ones. Modernity thereby represents a rupture with the past through a process of modernization, which refers to the transitional process of moving from traditional/primitive to modern societies. According to van der Ploeg (2013):

> "Whatever its specific forms, and whatever its specific location in the evolving spatial division in worldwide agricultural production, modernization implied, firstly, a far reaching increase in the scale of production and the associated outflow of agricultural labor force. Secondly, it implied the introduction of a technology-driven (but equally technology-dependent) intensification of production, which superseded labor driven forms of intensification."

The notion of development goes hand in hand with modernization projects. Development implies positive change or progress. As a verb it refers to activities required to bring about these positive changes, and as an adjective it involves a subjective and judgmental standard against which things are compared (Mabhena, 2010). Modernity and development are premised on a characterization of constructed binaries, modern versus tradition, expert versus non-expert, developed versus underdeveloped, and countries of the North versus those of the South (Mabhena, 2010). These binaries do not distinguish between different groups within societies and assume that communities at the receiving end of the development praxis are homogenous. Yet, communities are comprised of a variety of people across race, class, gender and ethnic lines embedded in a web of differing power relations, and with differing needs for and access to resources. In this dissertation I argue that there are multiple sites of modernity, and that re-peasantization presents another dimension of modernity. Re-peasantization produces an alternative development paradigm that is premised on an articulation of the 'peasant condition' (van der Ploeg 2008) as a modality of modernity itself. By so doing, it allows for an engagement and explanation of new agrarian relations and the terrain of ideas that can bring us closer to understanding nature-society relationships, land-based identities and struggles in rural landscapes (Rosset &Torres, 2012).

2.5. Conceptualizing Re-peasantization

Fernandes (2013) postulates that the peasant is no longer the disappearing side of

the equation, for the world today is witnessing massive, albeit varied, processes of re-peasantization. Re-peasantization represents a process that encapsulates the re-emergence of the peasantry and forces us to rethink and re-conceptualize many of the basic concepts used to interpret rural and agrarian development processes (van der Ploeg, 2007). Moyo and Yeros (2013) and van der Ploeg (2008, 2013) argue that the process of re-peasantization is a modern phenomenon characterized by an active reconstitution of relations and elements (old and new, material and symbolic) that help to face the modern world, and therefore not a ‘return to the yore’. It represents a process that will not repeat the western development trajectory nor play catch-up with the linear model of development, and can be viewed as an organic counter tendency under capitalism (Moyo & Yeros, 2013). Re-peasantization acknowledges that peasant agriculture is not limited to developing countries but is also present in the developed countries. It is a process of “establishing new and sustainable equilibrium between town and country based on new social relations of production, use of natural resources and systems of distribution and consumption” (Moyo &Yeros, 2013).

Re-peasantization is understood here as a concept with two dimensions: qualitative and quantitative. Qualitatively, it is about people becoming peasants and entering the ‘peasant condition’ and ‘mode of production’ from other contrasting backgrounds (van der Ploeg, 2008) whereas quantitatively it entails a growth in the number of peasants. In the last two decades, the world has experienced processes of re-peasantization, which have sometimes taken either qualitative or quantitative dimensions, or unfolded along both these two dimensions. In the Zimbabwean case, as will be discussed in Chapters IV and V, quantitatively, the FTRLP widened the peasant-base (communal and old resettlement) by consolidating and creating new peasant household units primarily through the A1 settlement variant, thereby increasing the relative number of smallholders in Zimbabwe’s rural landscapes. Qualitatively, the Zimbabwean case shows urban households entering the peasant mode of production or, put simply, returning to the countryside. The process of re-peasantization is context specific, and accordingly takes many different paths across the globe (Rosset & Martinez-Torres, 2012). Van der Ploeg (2013) postulates that it is important to interlink the processes of re-peasantization, by

> "showing commonalities and making the associated experiences travel from one place to another. Within this common endeavor, a reconceptualization of the peasant and a firm theoretical elaboration and representation of ongoing processes of repeasantization are urgent tasks."

In the next section I provide examples of the various expressions and tendencies of re-peasantization, to compare and contrast with the Zimbabwean case.

2.5.1. Global Expressions and Tendencies of Re-peasantization

As mentioned earlier, re-peazantization is context specific and thus expressed through a variety of different paths across the globe. Its tendency toward a quantitative increase in the absolute/relative number of peasants is exemplified in the Chinese case through a shift from state- managed collectivized agriculture to independent peasant-family agriculture, which subsequently created about 250 million individual peasant farms (Wu, 1998; Ye *et al*., 2010). This process of re-peasantization is traced back to the micro-agency of 18 peasant farmers from Xiaogang village of Anhuri Province in China. In 1978, based on the failure of the commune system to provide food security, these farmers decided to secretly lease the production team's land to individual families. The lease stipulated that each family must deliver a fixed output quota to meet national requirements, while keeping whatever was left over for family consumption and needs. The productive increase in grain output and per capita income in the village led to the regional and later national government adopting family-farm contracts under the Responsibility Household System, and an abandonment of collectivized agriculture (viewed in the same light as large-scale farming) (Chen, 2009). The Chinese case demonstrates peasants as rational and innovative in the face of adversity, with the agency to change political and ideological discourse, and in turn maintain their survival. Re-peasantization in this case also illustrates that subaltern groups need not to be passive recipients of political and ideological motifs but to be "the starting point for making critical their social reality" (Karriem, 2009:317). Peasants covertly resisted the state's tenurial arrangement and initiated a form of tenure system that provided for food security and preserved them as a class and productive unit.

Another strand of re-peasantization that leads to the quantitative increase in the peasantry or peasant mode of production comes from direct confrontation with the state

through the action of peasant movements. The rise in militant rural movements from Brazil and Mexico to Zimbabwe and the Philippines has forced land reform processes that have reconfigured vast tracts of large-scale farming territories into peasant-based territories, thereby increasing the relative number of peasants. Peasant-led occupations of latifundios by the Terrbalhadores Sem Terra [Landless Workers Movement (MST)] in Brazil directly confront the government's conservative land and agrarian reform and neoliberal policies favoring agri-business. Through occupying land, the MST has pressured successive Brazilian governments into settling more than 400,000 families on over 7 million hectares of farmland (Karriem, 2009), resulting in a quantitative increase in the number of peasant units in the Brazilian rural landscape. In the Brazilian case, re-peasantization is seen as a form of resistance to the inherent elements of capitalist development. Comparably, the war-veteran-led land occupations in Zimbabwe were a confrontation toward colonial and international capital, and the state's neoliberal policies of the 1990s (Sadomaba, 2008). These occupations, similarly, pressured the government to embark on a massive land reform program that resulted in a transfer of 93.7% of the total agricultural land in the country to peasant production (Moyo & Yeros, 2005). The departure in the expression and tendency of re-peasantization of these two movements is that the MST has successfully scaled-up from a territorial struggle for land to a popular project of social transformation, through an organizational praxis that promotes popular education, leadership building among its members, and the remaking of nature-society relations through agro-ecological practices (Karriem, 2009:325). Phillip McMichael (2006:414) writes:

> "in seeking to reconstitute the 'rural' as a civic base through which to critique the Brazilian development narrative, the MST develops cooperative forms of rural labor, reproduces stable foods for the working poor, and offers livelihood security to the urban unemployed. This new campesino politics self-consciously connects not simply with other agrarian and indigenous movements, but also with those united by the exclusions of neoliberal model."

In the Zimbabwean case, the war-veteran movement, like the MST, facilitated land resettlement; however, in contrast, the movement waned in its influence once a change in private property relations was achieved through the FTLRP. Further, the alliance of this war-veteran movement with the ruling party (ZANU-PF) subsequently led to its demise

as a land-based advocacy group, as it was subsumed by the state after the implementation of the FTLRP.

Philip Mc Michael (2006) argues that peasant-based movements like La Via Campesina (LVC) emerged to defend an alternative modernism to the neoliberal trajectory of global capital accumulation and corporate food regimes. LVC is a transnational alliance of organizations of family farmers, peasant farmers, landless people, indigenous people, farm workers, rural youth and women and represents at least 200 million families worldwide (Desmarais, 2007; Rosset & Martinez-Torres, 2012). McMichael notes (2006:408) that

> "peasant movements (including land rights, food sovereignty, biodiversity and seed-saving movements) are the most direct expression of the crisis created by the dispossession and ecological commodification, especially insofar as these movements manifest themselves in the a diversity of responses to 're-spatialize' the social and economic relations in the corporate food regime. They represent the possibility of a peasant modernism, dedicated to an agrarian citizenship via politics of ecology and food sovereignty anchored in an episteme of politically reconstituted place."

This social movement is actively defending spaces from and contesting with agribusiness and other private sector actors.

Qualitative Expressions: Food Sovereignty

Re-peasantization is theorized as a counter hegemonic process that brings together social justice and environmental sustainability through the concept of food sovereignty. Food sovereignty, is broadly defined by LVC

> "...the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems. It puts the aspirations and needs of those who produce, distribute and consume food at the heart of food systems and policies rather than the demands of markets and corporations. It defends the interests and inclusion of the next generation. It offers a strategy to resist and dismantle the current corporate trade and food regime, and directions for food, farming, pastoral and fisheries systems determined by local producers and users. Food sovereignty prioritizes local and national economies and markets and empowers peasant and family farmer-driven agriculture, artisanal fishing, pastoralist-led grazing, and food production, distribution and consumption based on

> environmental, social and economic sustainability. Food sovereignty promotes transparent trade that guarantees just incomes to all peoples as well as the rights of consumers to control their food and nutrition. It ensures that the rights to use and manage lands, territories, waters, seeds, livestock and biodiversity are in the hands of those of us who produce food. Food sovereignty implies new social relations free of oppression and inequality between men and women, peoples, racial groups, social and economic classes and generations."
>
> (http://www.foodsovereignty.org)

Thus food sovereignty emphasizes farmers' access to land, seeds and water, while at the same time focusing on local autonomy, local markets, local-production networks, technological sovereignty and farmer-to-farmer networks (Quinn-Thibodeau & Myers, 2009). It therefore offers an alternative paradigm to the current food order dominated by agri-business or corporate food regimes. While such a movement is dominant in Latin America, USA and Europe, the Zimbabwe case of re-peasantization is not based on the notion of food sovereignty, nor was the war-veteran land occupation movement premised on this. Hanlon et al. (2012) argue that land occupations were about 'taking back the land' and reversing decades of colonial domination and white settler capital.

Ecological Expression: Small is beautiful

In the past twenty years the industrialization of agriculture has contributed to what Quinn-Thibodeau & Myers (2009) call the monoculturalization of the countryside into industrial factories, the liberalization of agricultural trade and increased corporate control of the global food chain (Dibden *et al*; 2009). The argument made is that industrial agriculture has a centralized pattern based on corporate producers of inputs, processors, and trading companies, with production that is de-contextualized and de-linked from local ecosystems and social relations (Rosset and Martinez-Torres, 2012; van der Ploeg, 2008). This subsequently results in a disconnection of nature-society relationships and a pattern of accumulation that leads to the degradation of landscapes, biodiversity and food quality. This is because industrial agriculture is depends on massive external inputs of fossil fuel, which adversely impacts on biodiversity (FAO, 2007; IAASTD, 2009) via degradation of ecosystem services, pollution from agro-chemicals and fertilizers, and the generation of greenhouse gases. Given these ecological impacts and risks, there are growing calls for new ecologically-sound approaches to farming based on small family

farms (Altieri, 2009). Scholars such as van der Ploeg (2008, 2010) and McMichael (2011) argue that small-family farmers develop and mold their natural and social resources in a more ecologically sustainable way than large-scale farming or agri-business. As such, Quinn-Thibodeau and Myers (2009) argue that re-peasantization offers an effective way out of the current ecological crisis created by agri-business and maintains the integrity of the land. The trend toward organic farming by small-family farmers across the USA and much of Europe is one way in which agriculture is becoming peasant-like in the developed countries.

The LVC, on the position of the peasantry contribution to sustainable agricultural practices, argues that:

> "We can find examples of sustainable peasant and family farm agriculture all over the planet, though the names we use vary greatly from one place to another, whether agro ecology, organic farming, natural farming, low external input sustainable agriculture, or others. In La Vía Campesina we do not want to say that one name is better than another, but rather we want to specify the key principles that we defend. Truly sustainable peasant agriculture comes from a combination of the recovery and revalorization of traditional peasant farming methods, and the innovation of new ecological practices...We do not believe that the mere substitution of 'bad' inputs for 'good' ones, without touching the structure of monoculture, is sustainable...The application of these principles in the complex and diverse realities of peasant agriculture requires the active appropriation of farming systems by peasants ourselves, using our local knowledge, ingenuity, and ability to innovate. We are talking about relatively small farms managed by peasant families and communities. Small farms permit the development of functional biodiversity with diversified production and the integration of crops, trees and livestock. In this type of agriculture, there is less or no need for external inputs, as everything can be produced on the farm itself".
>
> (LVC 2010*a:*2–3)

Within the developing country context, Cuba serves as an example where agro-ecological farming achieved its greatest impact among peasant farmers (Rosset & Martinez-Torres, 2012). In less than 10 years of adopting this mode of farming, which spread to one-third of all peasant families, peasant farm production increased dramatically (Rosset & Martinez-Torres, 2012). Van der Ploeg (2008) argues that basing farming on agro-ecological principles builds relative autonomy from inputs and credit markets (i.e., using on-farm resources rather than purchased inputs like fertilizers) and

food markets (growing both subsistence and market crops). This then counters the negative effects of the Green Revolution that led many Asian farmers into debt peonage or bankruptcy. Thus this expression of re-peasantization emancipates farmers and provides them with greater autonomy over their mode of production. In the Zimbabwean case, a decade after the FTLRP was implemented, the Ministry of Agriculture, through its extension wing Agritex, is promoting conservation farming based on zero tillage within the resettlement areas (Pamberi, pers. Comm. 2012, and field-day observation, 2013). However, this program is still nascent and not widely adopted by resettled farmers. The point here is to highlight that the expression of re-peasantization (idea of nature-society relationship) based on ecologically sound farming practices is gaining ground within the Zimbabwe context a decade after resettlement.

Expressions of Autonomy and Resistance

As theorized by van der Ploeg (2008, 2013) the peasant condition seeks to maximize autonomy from global commodity and agricultural markets and dependency on debt (through bank loans) as a form of social reproduction. The process of re-peasantization articulates an alternative development paradigm centered on local food economies or the re-ordering of agricultural production and consumption from the logic of global commodity markets in favor of nested markets. Van der Ploeg (2013) argues that in Western Europe the majority of the farmers are practicing agriculture in more peasant-like ways. This allows peasants to circumvent the dictates of global capital and markets, and in so doing, peasants emerge at the interstices created by the shortcomings of agri-business. In Europe and parts of America, this is seen in the growth of small family farms geared toward organic farming as consumers resist industrial agriculture and its shortcomings.

Van der Ploeg (2013) argues that peasant farming in Italy and the Netherlands is materialized autonomy, as reflected in the breeds of cattle chosen and developed, the way feed and fodder production are organized and interrelations between herds and fields, the quality of the labor and the farm development process. Van der Ploeg (2008) indicates that the notion of pluriactivity, or multifunctionality is what emerges from re-peasantization. Pluriactivity allows peasant farmers to generate an income that can be invested (either though purchase of inputs, equipment etc.) into their farming, allows

them to survive and prevents them from going bankrupt or into debt. The idea of pluriactivity runs counter to other scholars of agrarian change (Bryceson 2000, 2009) who suggest pluriactivity is a sign of the disappearance of the peasantry (the premise of the de-peasantization thesis). In Chapter IV, the case studies show various forms of pluriactivitiy practiced by land recipients as part of their broader livelihood strategies and to meet their social re-production.

2.5.2. Comparing and Contrasting Re-peasantization in Zimbabwe

Re-peasantization in Zimbabwe took a similar form to that in Latin America as demand for land was led through land occupation movements, led by the war veteran movement. This occupation of land involved a broad base of people that included the war veterans, peasants, and marginalized urban populations, particularly the youth and political activists. The Zimbabwean case saw a coalition of both organic and traditional intellectuals, whereby the organic intellectuals mobilized the grassroots to occupy farms while the traditional intellectuals crafted legislation that legalized farm occupations and also provided for the planning in the aftermath of these occupations. However, Zimbabwe's land occupation movement differs in that it formed a coalition with the state, whereas most land-occupation movements in Latin America are in resistance to the state and often involved civil society. In the Zimbabwean case, civil society mostly denounced these land-occupations. In contrast, as noted earlier, the principles of agro-ecology are not at the forefront of the process of re-peasantization in Zimbabwe, although the government recently started to promote conservation farming. However, the new ecological relations that emerged since the Fast Track are not yet adequately understood and often overlooked in most literature. In Chapter V, I will discuss some of the ways in which resettled farmers are modelling their ecological landscape, and how this compares to other processes of re-peasantization across the globe.

The idea of immaterial territory as proffered by Fernandes (2009) refers to the terrain of ideas or theoretical constructs. Contestation over immaterial territories is characterized by the formulation and defense of concepts, theories, paradigms, and explanations, all of which are used to convince others (Rosset & Martinez-Torres, 2012). In the Zimbabwe case the polarized debates surrounding the FTLRP are seen as a battle of immaterial territory. However, I wish to take this a step further, and say that the notion

of immaterial territory as it pertains to re-peasantization has not been adequately theorized or understood beyond the discursive construction of the role of peasant agriculture or debates over the best mode of farming for rural development. In the Zimbabwean case, I argue that re-peasantization recaptured the notion of black consciousness and imaginary of what an emancipated African means. As shown in Chapters V and VI, new farmers are beginning to engage in syncretic religious practices, a process they could not do in the old resettlement areas which were governed by colonial church institutions.

2.6. Conclusions

This chapter starts by examining the construction of the term peasant and the associated negative connotations. This is done in order to set-up the concept of re-peasantization and how it represents an alternative development paradigm and another axis of modernity. I discuss the traditional views of modernity and linear path development is expected to take, and highlight that re-peasantization does not follow a linear path set by traditional modernist paradigms. The dissertation then discusses the debates on the peasantry situating them back to Karl Marx and the polemic between Chayanov and Lenin. This then situates the modern debates that centre on large-scale versus small-scale farming and in turn the significance or role of the peasantry in todays' globalized world. I end the chapter by comparing and contrasting global processes and expressions of re-peasantization.

CHAPTER III
METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This research takes a case study approach by studying communities resettled under the Fast Track Land Reform Program (FTLRP) in Sanyati District, Zimbabwe. A summary of the aim and research questions is given below. In this chapter the research design, epistemological standpoint, methods and analysis used to meet the research questions are examined. I conclude the chapter with an outline of the constraints experienced.

3.2. Aim and Research Questions

The main aim of the research is to explore the impact of Zimbabwe's FTLRP on the relationships between people, their livelihoods and the physical environment by means of a case study of three communities resettled in Sanyati District. In addition, through this case study, I aim to appraise how the actual on-the-ground experience of Zimbabwe's 'Fast Track' compares and contrasts to the dominant understandings of re-peasantization in scholarly literature.

1. In what ways is the FTLRP similar to or different from current experiences of re-peasantization and why?

2. What new social networks and institutions are created and sustained within the resettlement communities? How have these influenced land recipients' patterns of resource management?

3. How do political-economic legal, ecological and institutional and legal factors shape livelihood practices and strategies of land recipients across class, gender and ethnicity?

4. How has land use and land cover (LULC) changed on transferred lands? How do beneficiaries of land reform perceive and respond to these changes?

3.3. Methodology

My research design involved the use of a mixed-method approach, which generated qualitative and quantitative data. Scholars, like Long (2001) and (Leach & Fairhead, 2000) argue for a break from theoretical and methodological determinism that constructs African rural reality rigidly, without taking into account different cultural and historical perspectives. They call for a move toward an appreciation of knowledge and meaning of contexts as understood by the subject and for the researcher to learn from the research process rather than prescribing knowledge (Murisa, 2011). From this standpoint, I focus on people's subjective explanations and interpretation of their social world. Epistemologically, this approach allows for the use of personal narratives and probing of open-ended survey questions as a means of discovering the meanings people attach to land, their livelihoods and the resettlement process, and for gaining insights into people's motivations and actions (Lester, 1999). However, in this research I combine this approach with an engagement of emotional geographies (Davidson *et al.,* 2007), which I argue provides for more nuanced ways of knowing phenomena and understanding the lived experience of the resettled farmers and Zimbabwe's land and agrarian program. These two approaches therefore guided how I collected qualitative data.

The ensuing section describes my research methods. I start by describing how I collected the quantitative data followed by an explanation of the epistemological stance (emotional geographies) which influenced how I collected qualitative data.

3.4. Research Methods

This project is part of a long-term study which started in 2004 as a contribution to my Master of Science degree. In this project I used a multi-method approach which involving a variety of data sources that generated qualitative and quantitative data. I used a mix of ethnographic techniques to collect primary data at the national, district and local levels, which included semi-structured household questionnaires, interview guides, focus group discussions, narration, observations and content analysis of photographs. I collected secondary data from archival material, newspaper articles, government policy documents, and the 2004/5 and 2009 household surveys of the three study areas (the baseline data) (Chigumira, 2006; 2010; Fox *et al*., 2007).

Hebinck and Shackleton (2010) postulate that long term ethnographic research is

useful for monitoring land use practices, and allows more nuanced understandings of resettlement processes over time from which comprehensive policy and planning can be (re)formulated. This idea is supported by Robillard *et al.* (2002) and Moyo (2004), who indicate that studies over a ten to fifteen-year period on land resettlement offer a better picture for an evaluation of livelihood and production outcomes of the land and agrarian reform process and for making inferences about the program. In my prior work (Chigumira, 2006; 2010), I conducted historical analysis of land reform to provide context for the FTLRP, appraised livelihoods and land use practices of three resettled communities, which were compared and contrasted with those of the previous white land-owners. This previous work, therefore, provided the baseline data for my current study.

3.5. Quantitative Data Collection

In this section I discuss the structure of the survey and how data were collected and analyzed. I conducted this research with the help of two field assistants, who took notes and recorded interviews on a tablet and entered data into a spreadsheet. I end the section with a description of the remote sensing method undertaken to produce maps that show Land use Land-Cover changes at each of the three communities.

3.5.1. Baseline Data

The case studies, Lanteglos, Pamene and CC Molina are three communities resettled since 2000 on former large-scale commercial farms located in Sanyati District. The planned number of households for resettlement for Lanteglos was 34, while for Pamene and CC Molina there were 56 and 125 units respectively. Chapter IV provides detailed description of these communities and the land use practices at the farms before resettlement.

In the 2004/5 survey the sample size was set at 90 households, allowing for a survey of 30 households from each study site. However, owing to absentee landlords or no property owners at the time of the survey, particularly at the Pamene A2 settlement, a total of 72 households were then surveyed. At Lanteglos farm, I randomly selected households for the survey due to the proximity of households and their fields, while at CC Molina and Pamene farms I used stratified and snowballing sampling methods. In 2009, the same households that were surveyed in 2004/5 were included in the sample

frame and a total of 30 households, ten from each study site, were selected randomly.

3.5.2. 2012/13 Household Survey and Analysis

I administered a semi-structured questionnaire to 140 households from November 2012 to June 2013. This included 54 households at Pamene, 40 at CC Molina and 46 at Lanteglos. I revisited the three study sites from August-November 2013 to collect production yields, observe changes and follow-up on questions that arose as I analyzed the dataset. The questionnaire followed the same format used to collect baseline data in 2004/5 and 2009. However, in this 2012/13 survey, based on the changing dynamics observed in 2009 and a visit to the study sites in August 2011, I added qualitative questions to capture perceptions on changing agrarian relations, meanings attached to land and titling, and the forms of non-agricultural activities emerging in the communities. Furthermore, unlike the of 2004/5 and 2009 surveys were I was interested in capturing the respondents immediate answers to the questions, in this survey I probed answers given to open-ended questions in the questionnaire, and provided household members the opportunity to narrate their experiences before and after resettlement.

Design of the Questionnaire

I used a semi-structured questionnaire which included both closed and open questions to elicit quantitative and qualitative information. The questionnaire was divided into six sections which concentrated on themes needed for appraising the impact of FTLRP on the relationships between people, livelihoods and the physical environment in the three resettled communities. The closed-ended questions mostly answered questions related to demographics and socio-economic characteristics, levels of asset ownership within households, production, and ratings on land use practices and preferred tenure. The open-ended questions focused on perceptions of resettlement outcomes, tenure security, institutional structures and organization in the communities, social networks, labor relations, conservation ethics and drivers of and responses to the changing physical environment.

Section One of the questionnaire required household members to provide information on their life history, this including the ages of the head of household and their dependents, where they had previously resided and their occupations prior to

resettlement, farming experience and where they obtained this. It required them to rank their sources of income before and after resettlement, and present information on their expenditure patterns since resettlement and changes thereafter. This section also had questions pertaining to the institutions that beneficiaries used to apply for land and the process involved therein. Section two included information on the size of the plots allocated, the institutions responsible for subdividing their plot and issues of conflict surrounding the demarcation of these plots. For the 2012/13 survey, I added an extra question to the questionnaire to take into account a second subdivision of land that took place at Pamene and CC Molina farms and the conflict/challenges that arose thereafter.

The third section focused on the land use practices and production output of beneficiaries who had been farming before resettlement, information on the size of their landholdings, the form of tillage used, labor and tenure relations, and obstacles/challenges farmers faced in their daily lived experience and farming practices. The fourth section looked at land use practices and output after resettlement and follows much the same format as the third section. The respondents stated the crops grown and output from the time they acquired land to the current 2013/14 farming season. This question aimed to show production output over the past decade from which inferences can be made on the suitability of smallholder farms and the process of re-peasantization as a mode of development.

The questions in Section five focus on the physical environment and how beneficiaries use it. In this section respondents describe their sources of water for both consumption and farming, distance travelled to access this water, and the usage and cost of obtaining water. This section questions the resources used for construction, energy and asks respondents to describe their usage of natural resources and conservation methods thereof. Taking into account new information that emerged on mining and wood-fuel harvesting since my last visit I added questions to address these activities. Additionally, I asked households to explain what 'land' and 'owning land' meant to them so as to understand perceptions and meanings attributed to farm production and resource use.

The last section has questions related to land tenure. These questions include determining the type of tenure held by the respondent, the institutions responsible for providing tenure arrangements and how beneficiaries came to obtain title to land. An

extra question was added to determine the form of title respondents preferred and to explain their choice. The latter aims to ascertain whether the land question in Zimbabwe had been adequately resolved or whether a future land question could exist among those who benefited and those who did not.

Collection of survey data

I first interviewed the Lands Officer for Sanyati, Mr. Mapfumo and the head of Agriculture Research and Extension (Agritex) for the district, Mrs. Ndoro before undertaking the survey in the resettlement areas. These two administrators are key gatekeepers of the communities and have been involved with the resettlement process since its inception. Both sit on the District Lands Identification Committee and are consulted by representatives of the settlers to verify/authenticate an outsiders' entrance into the community. Over the last 10 years I cultivated a relationship with these two gatekeepers, which has allowed for continued access to the communities and privileges of information. For example, Mr. Mapfumo gave a list of names of all resettled households at the three communities, which I used in the field to ascertain new plot holders, households that were legally or illegally settled, and those who had left or died in the community. I used this list of names to cross-check with the one provided by Agritex in 2004/5.

I increased my sample size from 90 households in the 2004/5 survey to 150, allowing for a selection of 50 households from each study site. This increase takes into account new households in the communities, particularly at Pamene and Lanteglos, since the 2004/5 survey. For, at Lanteglos, the number of households increased from 34 to 66 and a second village created to accommodate this growth. At Pamene, 33 out of the 56 farmers that were originally resettled between 2001 and 2004 left the community and were replaced by new people. My primary sample frame included all households interviewed in the 2004/5 survey, and households 'new' to the community.

I interviewed 46 households at Lanteglos farm. Here the same 22 households that I interviewed in 2004/5 were chosen; of these, two heads of households had died and one female-headed household had been forcibly removed over an inheritance issue. I used snowballing to interview new land recipients. I did not reach my target of 50 households because, at the time of the survey, at two of the homesteads only children were present,

one plot-holder had been arrested for stealing the villagers' livestock, and one household was absent from their plot on each subsequent visit. Due to the strict research protocol set by the University of Oregon Human Subjects review board, I could not interview children unless I amended my research protocol and received approval. This review process takes a long time as it needs a full review board to sit and assess the request. Due to financial and time constraints, I did not amend the protocol. However, this highlighted to me the challenges of conducting on-the-ground international research and adhering to strict research protocols.

Since 125 households were resettled at CC Molina farm, the target of 50 households could be met, but only 40 households were interviewed. I re-interviewed 23 of the 27 households from the 2004/5 survey and used snowballing technique to interview the remainder. I did not reach my target of 50 respondents as I did not re-interview four households from the 2004/5 survey because they were in accessible due to the poor condition of the feeder-roads on the farm that had deteriorated over the last decade, making it immensely difficult to reach them by car. Furthermore, no-one was present at three households I visited. At Pamene, 54 resettled households were interviewed because the chairperson of the community wanted all household represented in the survey to prevent '*mitauro*' (conflict/complaints) from those not sampled. This increased my sample size at this farm from 50 to 54. At both CC Molina and Pamene I was accompanied by the chairperson of the community, who helped locate homesteads and introduce me to the settlers. As an outsider and given, that I conducted this project during an election year, their introductions allayed fears and provided access to plots and spaces.

Analysis of Data: I collated a total of 140 questionnaires and tabulated my data according to the various sections of the questionnaire, using Microsoft Excel. Charts and tables were then produced using Excel functions. In some cases inferences and quotations used in this dissertation were drawn directly from the tabulated raw data.

3.5.3. Remote Sensing and GIS

I downloaded Landsat images for the years 1992, 2002 and 2013 (path 170 and row 073) from USGS website in order to conduct a time series analysis of the LULC changes at the three study sites in Sanyati District. These image were already geometrically and

radiometrically corrected by USGS Earth Resource Observation Systems Data Centre (EROS) to a quality level of 1G, orthorectified to a UTM (Universal Transverse Mercator) projection. I developed a color composite image using Landsat bands 5, 4 and 3. The three Landsat bands used in this classification (visible red, near infrared, mid infrared) are considered to have the most relevant and contrasting information for land cover discrimination. Contrast enhancement through histogram equalization was then carried out using the low pass filter method to make the images smooth. Visual interpretation was then carried out in which I then assigned attributes of the vegetation. A total of six classes were identified and used for classification. Polystats of the classes were then derived after data validation.

In order to show an aspect of demographic change using homesteads as an indicator, I made two sets of maps for each study site using two time-periods 2006/7 and 2013. The boundary of each study area was first converted from shapefile of the Landsat images and then imported to google earth through the KMZ file format. The KMZ file was then viewed using google earth. The google earth image of 2013 and historical image of 2006/2007 were then zoomed to the level where homesteads could be easily identified. I placed a place-mark on each homestead that I identified. These place-marks were later saved and converted to shape files using ArcGIS 10.1. I then produced a layout with a map of homesteads for each study area.

3.6. Qualitative Data Collection

In this section I start by discussing the concept of emotional geographies and how this shaped and influenced the research methods I adopted.

3.6.1. Emotional Geographies of Land, Nature and Belonging

Traditionally, bringing emotions into academic work and publications is generally considered subjective, uncritical and unscientific because emotions interfere with the capacity for logical, objective, and value-free thinking (Holland, 2006; Bondi, 2005). Consequently, social science researchers are reluctant to discuss the emotional dimensions of the research process or ignore both their own emotional responses in the field and those of their study subjects within their writing. In this section, following the work of Davidson *et al*., (2005) on emotional geographies, I argue that the human world

is constructed and lived through emotions (Bondi 2009) and that insights into emotional relations or encounters in the field are important in the production of knowledge. This is because emotional geographies "attempt to understand emotions–experientially and conceptually–in terms of their socio-spatial mediation and articulation rather than as entirely interiorized subjective mental state" (Davidson *et al.,* 2005:3).

Emotions usher in new epistemologies because they offer an opportunity to learn and understand context-specific dynamics and reveal nuances about the social phenomenon under study, and that of the researched and researcher. I posit that, looking at land reform through a contextualized view of emotions sensitizes us to the daily lived experiences of resettled farmers and the politics of land and agrarian reform. Paying attention to emotions also provides useful insights for political-ecology to understand nature-society relations (Sultana, 2011) that operate in the everyday lives of the resettled farmers. This is because emotions, which are often shaped by the changing variables − politics, socio-economics, religion, exercise of power etc.,− matter in the lived realities of the resettled farmers and influence livelihood practices and access to, use and control of land and natural resources (Sultana 2011). In other words, paying close attention to the emotional geographies of land and agrarian reform can elucidate how a feeling subject relates to land and how land mediates the social relations of resource practices.

As a starting point to my argument, in 2002, while travelling from Masvingo to Kadoma on a rural bus, I engaged in a conversation with a married woman who extracted gold on the plot of land allocated to her under the FTLRP. She spoke of her initial elation at the hope of accumulating wealth through farming and her indebtedness to VaMugabe[2] (the country's president) for giving her family a plot of land. However, she then went on to recount the difficulties and frustrations she faced as a new farmer, and how she sadly realized that her family could not survive solely on farming. Consequently, she sought an alternative land-based livelihood through artisanal gold mining on the plot of land. I recall feeling a sense of sadness and anger on behalf of this woman's perceived dashed hopes, and then alarm and fear at the possibility of environmental degradation that could

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[2] Although the Ministry of Land and Resettlement is responsible for allocating plots of land to people, most beneficiaries of the program attribute this to the country's president who sanctioned the farm invasions that led to the Fast Track Resettlement Program. Therefore to them the president gave them this land.

happen when natural resources are considered a better source of livelihood than farming. These emotions propelled me to question the viability and outcome of the country's land reform program and its impact on the physical environment for my Master of Science degree and the subsequent long-term study that I have undertaken.

Years later, when I embarked on fieldwork for my Ph.D., mindful of a moment in which Dr. Sam Moyo, a leading agrarian expert in Zimbabwe critiqued my work for being apocalyptic about land degradation in 'Fast Track' areas, I reflected on how my perceptions and feelings about the land program and the polarized environmental narrative influenced the manner in which I asked questions or discarded information. Holland (2006) argues that emotional responses sensitize us to the meaning and behaviors of others. Consequently, in this 2012/13 study, I paid attention to the language of emotions and speech acts of land recipients to understand the meanings of their daily lives, and their access, use and control of natural resources. I used emotional responses or emotional language to probe a topic or ask further questions. Two examples of such questions are:

> "*Ndanzwa muchiti makashatirwa nekuraichaya mbeu kuGMB, munganditsangurirwo zvakaitika*?" (I heard you say that you were very angry by how people are stealing seeds from the national Grain Marketing Board, may you please kindly explain what you mean by this)
>
> "Mati nziimbo iyo inoyera, saka muno koshesa miti dziripo, semunhu akakurira mudhorobha handinyatsi kunzwisisa kuti chikonzero chinoti payeri chiyi?" (You said this is a place you value because it sacred and as a result you value the trees in there. As a person who grew up in the urban area, I do not understand what makes the place sacred and what makes you value the tree there more.

Additionally, prior to starting my Ph.D. fieldwork, I recall struggling with my urban, western-educated identity and the 'outsider' feeling I had visiting the rural localities, despite spending time with relatives in the rural areas while growing up. I subsequently felt a strong desire to learn about nature society-relations from my respondents and, when one-day I expressed this desire to the chairman and security officer of Lanteglos village, it surprised me how my relationship changed. I was no-longer the ONLY expert in the community but each respondent had something to teach or show me that was outside my

expertise. As such, the production of knowledge became co-produced and enriched the data collection.

My desire to learn from the settlers opened spaces and places that I would not necessarily have been exposed to. For example, I would be taken to spaces that are traditionally male-dominated like sites where people were mining. I learned to pan for gold and was shown how to find stones with gold nuggets. In one case my research assistant and I were taken on tour around Lanteglos farm and shown the plants used for medicinal and ritual purposes, and told of the people in the village who utilized these places. Through these experiences I began to develop a framework for the emotional geographies that shape nature-society relations and how changing variables such as politics, economics, power relations and religion influence farmers' emotions and in turn their ecological relations.

Emotions allowed me to see what was being communicated outside the survey and I found significant themes that I had not initially considered in my research. For example, despite being Zimbabwean, I was nevertheless surprised by the role of religion, and the sense of veneration and God-fear in these three communities that determined peoples relationship with their ecology, and how new kinship ties are built around an affiliation to a particular religious institution, and not necessarily ethnicity. Consequently, I refined my questions and began to ask how religion shapes the way people relate to each other and their physical environment. I used emotional responses to understand male/female dynamics and class issues in the communities. I tried to decipher the way people spoke, their body language, positioning of men and women in interviews, how women responded when alone and when in the company of men (Sultana 2011; Holland 2005).

At the district and national level, emotions also shaped how I accessed and/or obtained information. I found the use of my maiden name in Sanyati District provided entrance and access to information on the ground, while, my married name (due to the influential role my father-in-law has in the business community) provided access to national level networks and key informant interviews. For example, at Lanteglos, the emotions associated with being "Chigumira's daughter" gave me entrance to a gold-processing mill site (a space not easily open to women, especially outsiders) where I had an impromptu interview with the site manager. In this case the manager of this processing

mill had been mentored and trained by my father at Patchway mine, and owed his successful career progression to him. Another example, at the district level, where I gained access to privileged information, such as a list with the names of all resettled farmers in my study area; I was given access to this information because of my kinship ties with lands officer elicited emotions based on an attachment of coming from the same rural home, (Buhera) and sharing the same totem[3] (Sinyoro). People who share the same totem see each other as relatives, they are socially connected and obliged to help each other (Dekker 2004; Chiweshe 2011). Moreover, in the urban areas, kinship ties play an important role in emotional attachments to home (musha) and building a sense of belonging and community.

At the national level, the Chiura name (my married name) carried with it emotions attached to gratitude, reverence and respect for my father-in-law because of the role he played particularly mentoring young black business leaders post-independence. For example, I obtained high level interviews, like with the former Minister of Land and Land Resettlement who had developed both a professional and personal relationship with my father-in-law. As a sign of respect, the minister came to visit my father-in-law where I then conducted the interview in a relaxed environment. At another level, lineage ties from my marriage played a role with some of the key informants, in which I gained information to which the public was not privy. In most cases, despite my age, I would be affectionately referred to as '*ambuya'* (grandmother) because of the elderly status and reverence given to my father-in-law and his immediate family.

I found that researching while pregnant changed peoples' attitudes and emotional responses to me. When I started the research process, despite being in my 30s and holding a university background, the women in these communities initially considered me to be a mere school-child not worthy of 'real' adult-women conversations because I had no children. This dynamic changed when they learned I was pregnant as they then considered me to be '*mai vemba*' (a mother of the house) and with it came the privileges of 'women to women' discussions and gossip. It enabled me to engage women around

---

[3] A persons' totem is determined by mutupo which is the clan name and refers to the patrilineal descent group. The name is usually of an animal or body-part of an animal, and members of the clan cannot eat that animal (Decker 20004:80).Like a blood relationship, a totem relationship is (patrilineal) lineage relationship but one in which genealogical connections are difficult trace (Chiweshe, 2011).

issues of motherhood and constraints thereof. This discussion would lead to the settlers providing their life history or sharing stories of challenges and triumphs faced since resettlement.

3.6.2. Participant and Non-participant Observations

I interacted with farmers in various spaces within these three communities, such as farmers' fields where at times I assisted with the planting and reaping of crops, in kitchens, at water points and the local tuckshop/spazas (small shops which supply basic consumable commodities), in woodlands were we gathered fruit and medicinal herbs. I also attended two political caucuses organized by ZANU-PF party members at Pamene farm and attended Independence Day celebrations and one field-day[4] held at CC Molina farm. I went on transect walks accompanied by the farmer or a member of the village committee of seven (usually the chairman or the security officer). Transect walks allowed me to observe the land use practices, infrastructure development/degradation since my last survey in 2009, resource utilization and management. These spaces enabled me to interact with people and identify cultural, socio-economic, political and institutional dynamics that shape everyday lives and practices, thereby providing nuanced understandings of the lived experiences in the resettlement areas.

In line with a political ecology framework, I did not limit my observations to the local level, and employed this method at both the district and national levels. I attended two seminars which engaged various stakeholders on Zimbabwe's agrarian transformation at SAPES and Ruzivo Trusts, a book launch on 'Zimbabwe Takes Back its Land' at the University of Zimbabwe, and a week-long summer school organized by the Africa Institute of Agrarian Studies (AIAS). I also presented a paper in March 2013 at the Land-Divided agrarian conference in Cape-Town South Africa, were Zimbabwe's land issue was discussed and debated. I made reflective notes after each meeting and use these in my analysis or making inferences in this dissertation. I also made reflective notes on observations made in the spaces that I interviewed key stakeholders, particularly at government offices, and aspects of the interaction that occurred in these settings. All this

[4] A field day is organized annually by the AGRITEX officers to showcase the best farmer and be a point of instruction to the rest of the farmers. Seed companies sponsor these events and also attempt to sell their product to the farmers as well as compete on commodity pricing.

enables for an appraisal of Zimbabwe's 'Fast Track' experience across different scales.

3.6.3. Narration

A narrative is a way of organizing actions and accounts of actions; it allows for the inclusion of actors' reasons for their acts, interpretation of their lived experience and conditions, discussion of important events that occurred, and more generally the social phenomenon of the community. In this 2012/13 survey I noticed that people wanted to tell their story without being confined to the rigid survey questions. Thus, I gave respondents the opportunity to tell their story during the survey without considering this as a side track. I also used opportunities when I went on transect walks for narration. Respondents wanted to tell their stories and this became useful in understanding the day to day dynamics in the villages, emerging issues, how households make meaning of their life since resettlement and what farming means to them. I would write notes on these conversations at the end of the day and compare them with my research assistants. This allowed me to capture much of the information about the on-the-ground dynamics that are not captured in the administration of a survey alone.

3.6.4. Focus Group Discussions

Focus groups are group meetings held to probe a topic. I held three focus group discussions. I found it difficult to hold female-only and male-only focus groups at all three farms without raising suspicion because my research was conducted in an election year. Group meetings held by *outsiders* during election periods can be perceived as or misconstrued for political meetings to advance the opposition party's political agenda. I therefore found myself using unplanned moments to conduct these discussions. One happened after a ZANU-PF caucus meeting that I had to I attend at Pamene farm, the other two happened spontaneously at the CC Molina tuckshops while waiting for the chairman to escort me to the plots to conduct my survey. Although focus groups can tend to elicit consensual views, I used these to probe questions on challenges/obstacles faced by resettled farmers, bring out issues of conflict, institutional structures and organization on the farm, government support, tenure issues and conflicting views between the older and younger farmers. Unfortunately, these discussions tended to be male dominated and women often kept quiet. I realized that meeting places like "under the shed" at the

tuckshops were male-dominated arenas and women were not allowed to sit in these places unless invited. I therefore had to look for other ways to engage women. This I did through what Sadomba (2008) terms naturally occurring talk and through content analysis of photographs.

3.6.5. Naturally Occurring Talk

A decade after the 'Fast Track,' Zimbabwe's land issue remains very polarized and highly emotive. People across race, class, gender and ethnic lines continue to debate and discuss the impact and consequence of this transformative program. At the local level, I used various settings like collecting water at the well, going on transect walks, or giving people car rides into town as a means of engaging the farmers. Because my questions were not pre-set I noticed that people discussed their life situation or community dynamics freely and without second guessing my role as the researcher. This approach gave women their much needed voice to air their opinions and present on-the-ground dynamics within the community. Conversations often led to community gossip such 'who is doing well', 'who is using witchcraft', individuals who died and the causes of death such as HIV/AIDS which was not publicly spoken of, those involved in artisanal mining, and forms of power struggle and corruption in the community.

At the national level, I used social events like dinners or barbeques to which I was invited to engage people in discussion on Zimbabwe's land reform and process. These events involved white ex-commercial farmers or their children, diplomats, NGOs and the general "urbanites". In these discussions the discourse centered on politics, tenancy issues, productivity, and chaos in the land program.

3.6.6. Content Analysis of Photograph

My initial research plan was to use the photo voice method with a group of resettled farmers, but, this proved difficult because the village chairman at Lanteglos, the first farm where I conducted my survey, wanted all 50-sampled households to be included. I did not have enough cameras or a budget for printing all these photos. Therefore, I asked each household that I interviewed to show me areas and places of interest that they wanted photos taken. I then returned to the communities and gave these households printed photos, as a token of appreciation for the time they gave me while

conducting the research. Through this gesture I gained valuable information on the resettlement dynamics, as farmers would discuss the photos and recount their experiences over the year and the changes that took place since the photo was taken. The women were able to discuss freely their farming experiences and livelihoods as they considered discussion of these photos as non-threatening. I then used this opportunity to further probe certain topics or gaps that I had noticed while analyzing my data. At Pamene farm, I was able to ascertain who had left the farming community and which workers were replaced.

3.6.7. Key Informant Interviews

I conducted a total of 16 interviews with various key stakeholders (Table 3-1) and recorded them on an iPad and iPod. These interviews generally lasted between 25 minutes to 1 hour 30 minutes. I analyzed the transcribed data from these interviews using content analysis.

3.7. Constraints and Limitation of the Research

The major constraint to this research was in getting the female-voice separate from male-voice. I also found that although I had the privilege of travelling with the chairman of the community who helped me navigate the treacherous roads and locate homesteads (which would have been difficult on my own), having him present at interviews tended to influence how people responded to my questions, particularly where households were headed by females. Often the women would defer the questions, particularly when it related to issues of tenure to the chairman of the farm.

Most households I interviewed did not keep records/data of their yearly crop production nor the size of the area cultivated, thereby making it difficult to verify their production output over the years. This problem was further compounded by the fact that I could not cross-check this data with the district's Agritex office, because during the 'decade of crisis,' the organization lost data due to high staff turnover. Additionally, one Agritex officer confided that only a small sample of five to seven households in each resettled community is taken and used to make inferences on projections for crop output for the season. On one of my visits to the farms, I observed the sampling procedure done by the Agritex officer, who only interviewed five households that were friendly and

perceived as good farmers. This officer also indicated that Agritex did not provide its field officers with transportation and thus they walked for miles from one resettled community to the next within their catchment area and this hindered ones' ability to have a large sample size of farmers.

The deterioration of the roads in these resettled areas, particularly at Pamene and CC Molina, over the last decades made it difficult to drive to some of the plots. At Pamene farm, I walked between six to 12 miles to reach households in areas were roads were bad because the plot sizes were smaller and found along a feeder road. However, at CC Molina plots were much larger and did not follow feeder roads. Further, I conducted the survey during the rainy season which made it difficult to walk to plots that I could not access by car. Consequently, I could not interview eight households that I interviewed in 2004/5.

3.8. Conclusions

In this chapter the research methodology utilizes a mixed-method approach in which both quantitative and qualitative data were collected. Emotional geographies–as an epistemological approach–shapes the qualitative methods undertaken for my data collection. I argue that emotions are a way of knowing and provide insights into nature-society relationships in new agrarian structures. A description of each method is given and the chapter concludes with constraints experienced during the research. The ensuing chapter will provide a description of the case studies and land recipients motivations for resettlement.

Table 3-1: Key informants

Name	Position	Organization/ Department/Farm	Fast Track Farm/Plot Owner
Dr. Herbert Murerwa	Minister	Land and Land Resettlement	Yes
Ms. Oppah Muchinguri	Minister	Gender	Yes
Mr. Pamberei	Principal Director	AGRITEX-Ministry of Agriculture, Irrigation and Farm Mechanization	Yes
Ms.Cleveria Chizema	Senator	Parliament of Zimbabwe	Yes
Dr. Sam Moyo	Principal Director	Africa Institute of Agrarian Studies	Not known
Dr. Ibbo Mandaza	Principle Director	Southern Africa Political Economy Series (SAPES) Trust	Owner of a commercial farm bought before FTLRP
Dr. Robbie Mupawose	Former permanent secretary	Ministry of Agriculture	Owner of a commercial farm bought before FTLRP
Dr. Leonard Tsumba	Former Governor	Central Bank of Zimbabwe	Owner of a commercial farm bought before FTLRP
Dr. Mandivamba Rukuni	Consultant	Former Land Commissioner-Rukuni Land tenure Commission	Yes
Dr. Charles Utete		Former Commissioner-Utete Commission	Yes
Charlie Tuffs	President	Commercial Farmers Union	
Wilfred Mhanda	Director (war-veteran)	Zimbabwe Liberators Platform	No
Mr. Mapfumo	Lands Officer	Ministry of Lands and Resettlement	Yes
Mrs. Ndoro	Head of AGRITEX	Ministry of Agriculture, Irrigation and Mechanization	Yes
Mr. Manyange	Mine Commissioner	Ministry of Mines	Not known
Mrs Chiwanga	Officer	AGRITEX-Ministry of Agriculture, Irrigations and Mechanization	Yes
Grassroots			
Cde Magaisa	New farmer	War veteran	Yes

CHAPTER IV
THE STUDY AREA

4.1. Introduction

This chapter provides a descriptive overview of the case studies. It starts by situating Sanyati District and the Muzvezve Intensive Conservation Area (ICA) to locate the case studies within their geographical context. I then give a background description of the physical environment, and the history of land use practices at each study area before its acquisition for resettlement. This is followed by a discussion of the new agrarian composition in each community. The composition of the land recipients provides qualitative and quantitative information for understanding the process of re-peasantization within the Zimbabwean context. This Chapter also sets the contextual background for the preceding chapter.

4.2. Background to Research Site

The case studies, Lanteglos, Pamene and CC Molina, are three communities resettled since 2000 on former large-scale commercial farms located in what was then the Muzvezve Intensive Conservation Area[5], Sanyati District of the Mashonaland West Province[6] (Figure 4-1). Sanyati was formerly called Kadoma District. Through the government Statutory Instrument 138 of 2010, Kadoma District was subdivided into Sanyati and Mhondoro Ngezi districts. The Sanyati District is comprised of five agricultural subsectors consisting of communal areas, old resettlement areas (ORA), A1 and A2 'Fast Track' resettlement areas, small-scale farms, and large-scale farms. The district contains one of the first resettlement areas established at independence. A large urban area, Kadoma, services the district and a symbiotic relationship exists between it and its hinterland (Chigumira, 2006).

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[5] The Muzvezve Intensive Conservation Area was one of the four administrative areas within the former commercial farming zones in Kadoma District. After the Fast Track these zones are no longer functional.

[6] Mashonaland West Province is one of ten administrative units in Zimbabwe.

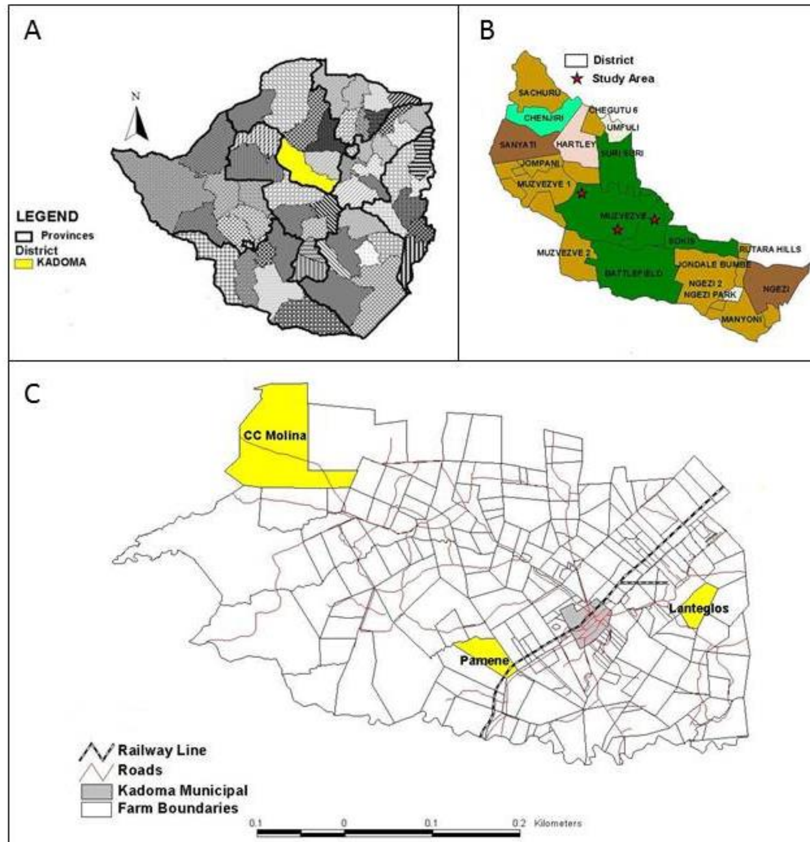

Figure 4-1: Location of the Study Areas. A, Map of Zimbabwe showing the former Kadoma District. B, The former Kadoma District according to its land tenure. C, The location of the study area located within the Muzvezve Intensive Conservation Area).

Zimbabwe is divided into five agro-ecological zones, termed Natural Farming Regions (Table 4-1). These regions are distinguished primarily by the climatic conditions; temperature and the quantity and variability of average rainfall (Vincent and Thomas 1960; Stoneman and Cliffe, 1989). The farming regions determine the type of farming practices and potential productivity/output of a given area (Moyo 1995). Sanyati District straddles agro-ecological regions IIa, IIb, III and IV, with the study sites falling in regions IIb and III. Table 4-1 describes the agro-ecological regions and places the study areas according to the region.

Table 4-1: A description of the Natural Farming Regions in Zimbabwe.

Region	Hectarage	Rainfall	Crop production	Tenure
I. Specialised Diversified Farming	700,000	900 – 1000 mm all year round	Forestation, fruit, tea, coffee, macadamia, intensive livestock production	Mostly LSCF
IIa: Intensive Farming	-	18 rainy pentads	Intensive crop and livestock production.	Mostly LSCF
IIb: Sub Region (Intensive Farming)	-	16 - 18 rainy pentads; dry spells in rainy season	Intensive crop and livestock production	Mostly LSCF, Pamene located
III: Semi-Intensive Farming	7,290,000	650 - 800 mm; severe mid-season droughts	Semi-intensive crop production; marginal for solely crop production	Mostly communal and post-independence resettlement areas Some LSCF: CC Molina and Lanteglos located
IV: Semi-Extensive Farming	14,780,000	450 - 500 mm; vulnerable to periodic seasonal droughts and severe dry spells in rainy season	Semi-extensive livestock production; risky for dry-land crop production	Mostly communal Some LSCF
V: Extensive Farming	10,440,000	Below 650 mm; low and erratic rainfall	Extensive cattle ranching	Mostly communal Some LSCF

Adapted from Moyo (1995)

Sanyati District lies in the highveld, central plateau region of Zimbabwe. The general relief in the area is 1250 m above sea level and interspersed with several hills

which rise to about 1300 m (Shoko 2008). The altitude rises from north-west to south-east across the study area as whole: 1,050 m at CC Molina (29°37'E, 18°10'S), 1,100 m at Pamene (29°48'E, 18°22'S) and 1,200 m at Lanteglos (30°06'E, 18°18'S). The geology is mostly covered by the by the Mafic formation of the Bulawayo Group rocks (Shoko and Vegris 2004). This formation consists of the basaltic greenstone that forms the gold and base metal (copper, nickel, platinum and to a lesser extent chrome, magnesium and limestone) minerals of the district (Lister 1987; Urban Development Corporation 1991; Shoko 2008). Consequently, the district has the largest gold belt deposit in the country and the highest density of small-scale miners in the gold-belt area of Zimbabwe (Shoko and Vegris 2004). In Chapter V I show how artisanal gold mining has become an important livelihood option for settlers. The soils in the district vary from red loams to fertile lighter soils derived from schist and limestone, to granite and sandveld, with rich black soils in the vlei areas (Chigumira, 2006; 2011).

The hydrology of the District is comprised of the Munyati River and its major tributary the Muzvezve. These two rivers supply water for the district. The Gatooma Regional Development Committee (1947) estimated that the ground water supply in the district reaches depths of 25 and 50 feet. Resettled households at the three study areas rely on ground water supply for their domestic consumption.

The district, as is the case in most of the country, has savannah type vegetation, and a climate which has two distinct wet and dry seasons. The wet season runs from November to March, confining the natural growing season of crops to four/five months in which there is reasonable moisture, while the dry season runs from mid-April to the end of October. The average annual rainfall for Sanyati (1990-2013) is approximately 660 millimeters ranging from 440 mm in 1995 to 1,020 mm in 2001.

Figure 4-2 charts the mean annual rainfall for the period 1990 to 2013. The district experiences seasonal variations in rainfall (Figure 4-3 and Figure 4-4) and is vulnerable to seasonal and mid-seasonal droughts. There are wide temporal deviations from the monthly averages and rainfall is spatially localized so that adjacent farms receive sharply different amounts (Fox *et al.*, 2007). Since rainfall is an overriding limiting factor in agricultural production, the reliance on only rain-fed crop production is a risky proposition in the district. Temperatures range between 23.8° and 32.2° Celsius (Urban

Development Corporation, 1991) with the highest temperatures recorded in October and lowest in June/July.

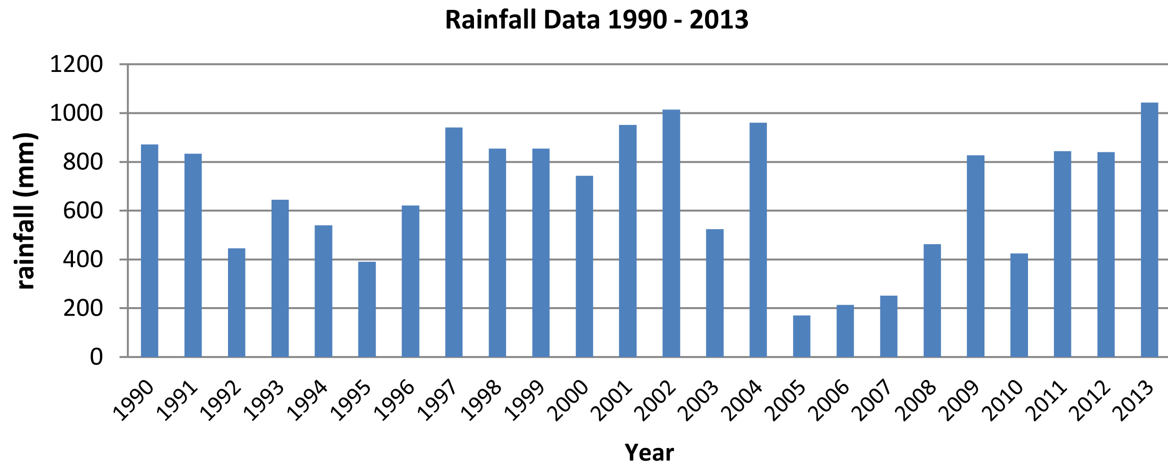

Figure 4-2: Total Rainfall during years 1990-2013 for Sanyati District. (Source Cotton Research Centre)

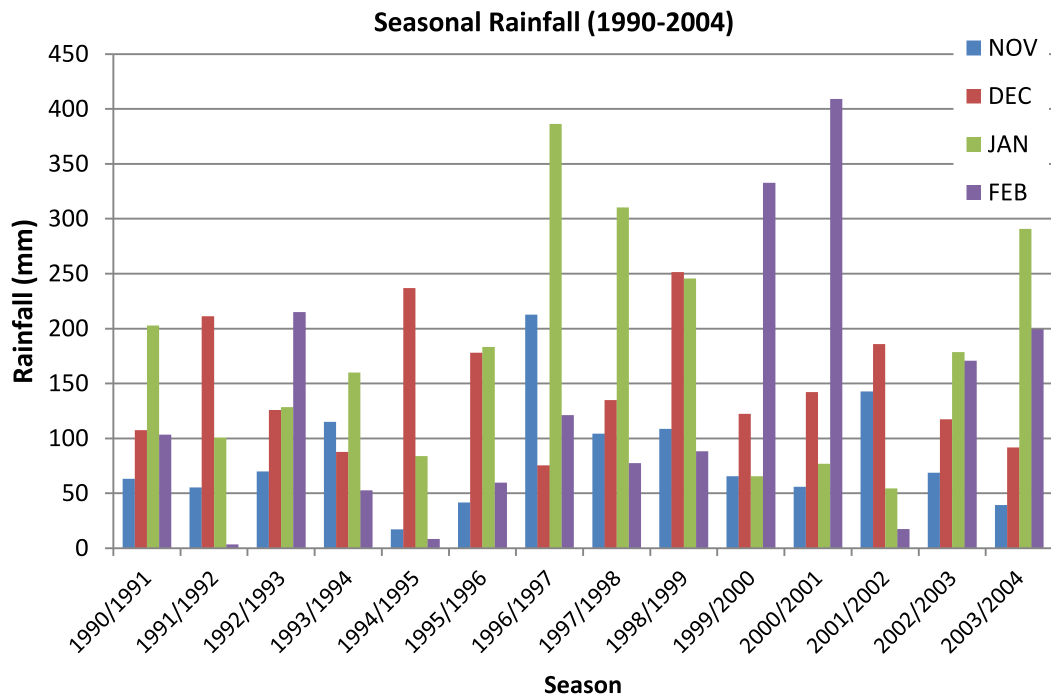

Figure 4-3: Seasonal rainfall pattern for Sanyati District 1990/91 to 2004/5. (Source: Cotton Research Centre)

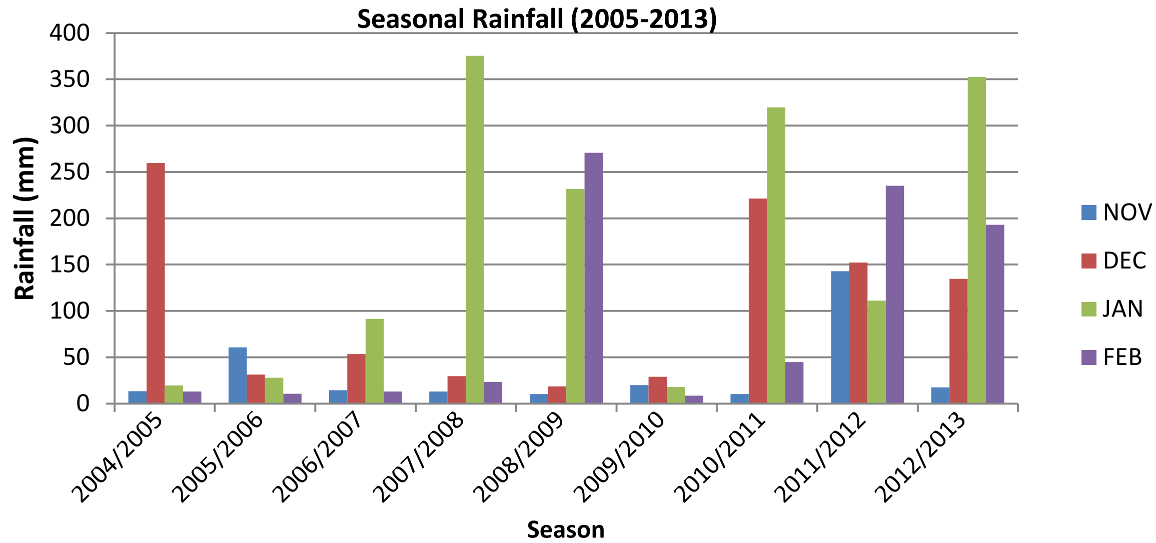

Figure 4-4: Seasonal rainfall pattern for Sanyati District 2005/6 to 2012/13. (Source: Cotton Research Centre)

4.3. The Case Studies

The three case studies are small-scale farming models (peasant production and small-scale commercial) and were chosen to provide a framework for exploring the tendencies of re-peasantization as it relates to Zimbabwe. These studies contribute to debates on the role of smallholder farming, and the position, role and significance of the peasantry in an era of globalization (Berry & Cline, 1974; Hobsbawm, 1994; Brycesson, 1999; van der Brink, 2003; Chimhowu & Hulme, 2006; World Bank, 2007; Hazell *et al.,* 2011). It was also necessary that one of the three farms be in a different natural region since the Muzvezve ICA straddled regions IIb and III in order to contribute to debates on whether or not smallholder production changed and/or improved with the agro-ecological potential of the land, as debated by Deininger and Binswanger (1999), Sender and Johnson (2004) and Dyer (2004); and to compare patterns of resource use and management across these different geographic locations.

4.4. Lanteglos A1 Villagized Settlement Scheme

The parent farm, Lanteglos, was subdivided to create a nucleated residential village site surrounded by arable plots, and communal grazing under the A1 villagized variant of

the resettlement scheme. It borders Cam and Motor Mine Township and is 13 kilometers from Kadoma City. The farm, which is about 915 hectares, has a steep range of hills that covers its entire southern half, with Mupfuti and Musasa woodland on the high-lying ground, and Mopani woodland and grassland on the low-lying ground (Department of Conservation and Extension Services 1957). Riverine vegetation snakes along watercourses on the farm. Sandy soils derived from granite dominate most of the farm, while a small part on the south-west side of the farm consists of deep to semi red clay soils derived from diorites and greenstone (Department of Conservation and Extension, 1957).

Prior to resettlement, the white former commercial farmer, Rob Edwards, practiced mixed farming with limited crop production on about 30 hectares of land consisting of deep to semi-deep red clay soils. The Department of Extension and Conservation (1957) classified almost three-quarters of the farm as land that required careful management and investment for successful crop production. Consequently, Edwards had bought two other farms nearby to increase his crop production. On Lanteglos, he had a herd of 36 beef cattle, grew wheat under irrigation and soybeans under rain-fed conditions with average yields of eight and 2.5 tons per hectare respectively (Chigumira, 2006; 2011). He had a workforce of 15 permanent laborers and hired seasonal labor during peak periods (Chigumira 2006). The government acquired Lanteglos for resettlement in 2000 after it had been initially seized by what Edwards called 'land invaders'. The government's Acquiring Authority served a Section 8 eviction order which gave Edwards two weeks to vacate, and contravened the 2000 Land Acquisition Act which stipulated 90 days (Chigumira 2006; 2011).

The parent farm, Lanteglos, was first occupied under the land-occupation movement and then later 'legally' acquired for resettlement by government, and designated as an A1 villagized model. The highly politicized environment surrounding the FTLRP placed restrictions for researchers to enter and access information in the resettlement areas and this necessitated contacts that could facilitate access to persons, places and information (Chigumira, 2006, 2011). I chose Lanteglos as a study site in 2004 because Mrs. Ndoro, the head of Agritex in the District- who had been involved in the planning and subdivision of farms, settler placement and the provision of extension

services at the outset of the FTLRP facilitated entry into this community (Chigumira, 2006).

4.4.1. Resettlement, Land Allocation and Agrarian Composition

Thirty four households, of diverse backgrounds, were initially resettled in a nucleated village (Figure 4-5A), with individual arable plots and communal grazing land. However, by 2013 the number of households had increased to 66, and a second nucleated village site created Figure 4-5B). In the 2012/13 survey I interviewed a total 46 households in which 269 people lived, giving an average of 5.8 persons per household.

In this section, and thereafter for each case study, I highlight the socio-economic and demographic backgrounds of the land recipients, their origins, motivation for applying for land and the process involved in acquiring plots for resettlement. The composition of the land recipients provides qualitative and quantitative information for understanding the process of re-peasantization. Quantitatively, re-peasantization represents a growth in the peasant base while qualitatively it is about people─from differing backgrounds─becoming peasants and entering the 'peasant condition' and 'mode of production' (van der Ploeg 2008, 2013).

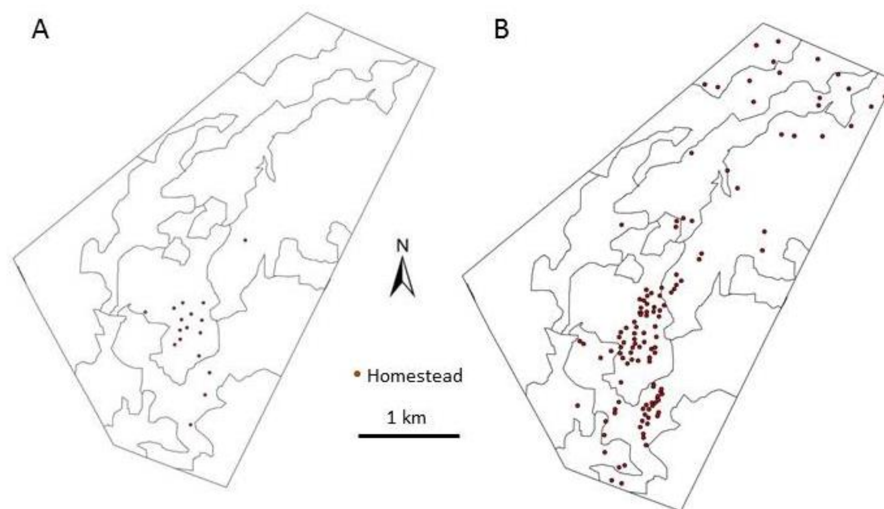

Figure 4-5: Village sites. A, The first nucleated village 2004/5. B, The second village created in 2012/13.

The demographic composition in this community as shown in Figure 4-6 indicates a young population with the mean age of the head of households at 43.7 years. Men headed the majority of the households, while women, of whom three were widows, headed five households. The youth, an age-category of people between 15 and 35 years dominate, and this young proportion of young people has significant implications for livelihood capabilities and strategies, a point I will discuss later. A decade after my initial study of this community, there is emerging pressure for residential plots and arable land by children of the first settlers (those resettled between 2000 and 2005) who were in the 15 to 19 age-category. Based on this observation and that the fact that in 2013 males dominate this age-category, there is likely to be continued demand for land in the future as this group marry and start their own families.

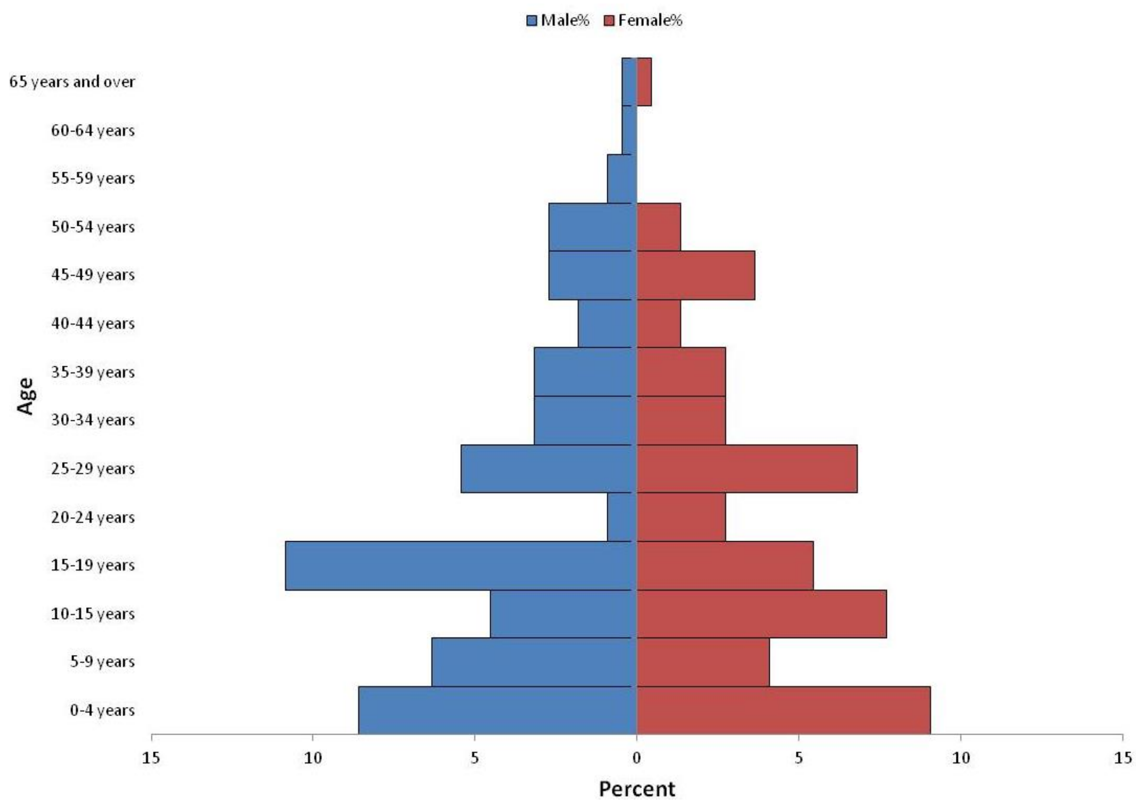

Figure 4-6: Population pyramid of households surveyed at Lanteglos Farm in 2012/13.

The Lanteglos community comprises people of diverse geographical backgrounds, professions, class and ethnicity. Table 4-2 shows that 56.5% of the people entering the 'peasant condition' came from urban areas, particularly from Kadoma Town. Demand for

rural land, or put differently, a return to the countryside by households with an urban background particularly from Kadoma is attributed to the high unemployment rate in the town. Kadoma experienced rapid deindustrialization in the mid-1990s due to ESAP that resulted in the closure of its key industries, such as the textiles, and downsizing of the local mines in its hinterland. These industries together with commercial farming where key employers and the mainstay of Kadoma's economy. Consequently, urbanites were forced to find different sources of income for their general reproduction, and the Fast Track opened an alternative livelihood pathway, as suggested in the following statements:

> **Mr. M. (30 years old):** I lost my job at David Whitehead textile, and then returned to the communal areas to live with my parents, but this was not a sustainable solution given my growing family. I only had a small piece of land, less than a hectare which my father had subdivided for me. I could not survive so I contacted my sekuru (uncle) who is on the Village Committee of Seven and he found a plot for me to live here at Lanteglos.
>
> **Mr. C. (26 years old):** When I was retrenched from Rio Tinto mine my family rented one room from a colleague. I paid for my rent through urban farming, growing muriwo (collard greens) and tomatoes which I sold at the vegetable market. I realized that I could make more money if I had a larger piece of land, so I spoke to the Village Committee here at Lanteglos, and Mr. Jhamba (the village security officer) pegged my plot.

Settlers who had rural backgrounds came from within Lanteglos village, the Old Resettlement Areas (ORA), communal areas (CAs) and other A1 Fast Track settlements. Only 26% of the settlers at Lanteglos actually came from communal areas, a representation that runs counter to government's political narrative that the A1 settlement scheme targeted communal farmers and successfully decongested these areas.

In Table 4-3 the dominant occupation (52%) of the head of household before resettlement consisted of wage labor in the urban areas, mines and former large-scale commercial farms and similarly to Scoones (2011) findings these people primarily held low-paid blue collar jobs. The jobs people held or areas that they came from plays a role in socially differentiating the peasantry in terms of differing capabilities, resources and assets, networks and market opportunities. Qualitatively, this structure shows low-income urban households becoming peasants and entering the 'peasant condition' and 'mode of production' (van der Ploeg 2008).

Table 4-2: Places of origin of settlers in Lanteglos.

Previous residence	Households (N=46)
Urban Background	
Kadoma Town:	
Rimuka high-density township	11
Ngezi high-density township	2
Waverley high-density township	1
Rio Tinto mine township	9
Sabonabon peri-urban plots	1
Harare Town	1
Marondera Town	1
Rural Background	
Communal Areas:	
Bikita	1
Chinhoyi	2
Gokwe	4
Mhondoro-Ngezi	3
Sanyati	1
Headlands	1
Old Resettlement Areas:	
Chegutu Six	3
'Fast Track' Resettlement Areas:	
Hope A1 Resettlement Scheme	1
Shepton A1 Resettlement Scheme	1
Former Commercial farms:	
Lanteglos	2
Orangegrove farm	1

Box 4-1 provides a snippet of the stories settlers shared on their reasons for applying for land. Households with an urban background identify the problem of high rentals and cost of living in the urban areas. They saw the Fast Track as an opportunity to obtain residential land where they would not need to pay for rentals and utilities. This group of settlers indicated the Fast track gave them a sense of belonging and home (*musha*). To have a *musha* has cultural significance among urban households, primarily those from low-income backgrounds, as urban areas are considered impermanent, while rural area are viewed as a place of permanent retirement and family reproduction (Murisa, 2011). Two heads of households that worked for the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) in Kadoma, acquired land for retirement purposes. Further, some heads of households indicated that they could not afford to be home-owners because of their low-

incomes and thus the Fast Track provided them with the ability to own a home without payment for land and meeting associated building regulations found in urban planning. Two households that practiced urban farming in the townships applied for resettlement in order to obtain a larger piece of land to farm commercially and increase their income.

Table 4-3: Previous occupation of heads of households in Lanteglos.

Occupation	Households (N=46)
Subsistence farmer	13
Mine worker	7
Ex-farm worker	4
Cross border trader	3
Vegetable vendor	3
Machine Operator	3
Gold Panner (Artisanal miner)	2
Policeman	2
Domestic worker (gardener)	2
Students	2
Security guard	1
Bus Driver	1
Agritex Officer	1
Artisan	1
Manager of a government parastatal	1

Box 4-1: Motivation for applying for land by urban households at Lanteglos farm.

Mr. C (56 years): I used to be a cross-border trader and had a small stall at the Sam Levy Village flea market here in Kadoma. I was not making much money from this business as I paid a lot of money in taxes and duty, and made no profit. I applied so I could make a living as a farmer and have a place to stay without worrying about rental payments. I now make enough money on this land to survive.

Mr. D. (60 years): I applied for land because living in Kadoma was expensive as I paid high rentals. It is cheaper for me to have my own plot of land because I do not have to pay rent nor electricity and water. Ndagarika (I am now fine).

Mr. M. (36 years): I lost my job at Lonrho in Harare and then returned kumusha (home) to live with my parents, but this did not work for us. There was not enough space and I did not have my freedom to farm the way I wanted.

Mrs. C. **(23 years):** Living in Rio Tinto township you found that the little pay my husband received went toward rental payments. We had very little money to buy

household furniture or even clothes for our children. We could not make our budget balance each month. So we felt that at least if you are not paying rent and have your own plot of land on the farms given to us by vaMugabe then you can put that money toward buying household goods or anything you want. This is what motivated us to come but Baba still works at the mine while we live here.

Mr. S. (30 years): I used to practice urban agriculture in the Rio Tinto mine compound and used to do well as a farmer. So I thought that maybe if I get a bigger piece of land I can produce more. So luckily as a ZANU-PF youth I ended up getting land here.

Those from rural backgrounds (Box 4-2) indicated the need for more land, citing land subdivided by their parents as too small for economic viability, or in need of better quality soils. Others indicated poor transport and communication in their localities prompted them to apply for land in 'white-areas' which had better infrastructure, often citing that "*their ancestors and fathers were forced and used by the white-man to develop infrastructure in the commercial areas and therefore they were taking back what their parents labored for during white-rule in Zimbabwe*". The land reform they argued would provide them with better access to school, markets and transport networks.

Box 4-2: Motivation for applying for land by rural households at Lanteglos farm.

Mr. M. (39 years): I left Sanyati because I had a small piece of land which my father had subdivided for me. Imagine I only had one acre, just one acre of bad soils to farm on. The soils were very poor and we struggled to get good harvests. I then had to leave my wife kumusha (rural home) while I worked as a driver in Harare. One acre that is all I had, and yet that white-man Edwards had 9000ha. Imagine one man with 9000ha. When the land program came it was my wife who persuaded me to apply. She had joined the invaders and later we applied to the DA and picked a Jeke for Lanteglos. Lanteglos was not where she initially invaded. We are lucky as we are now close to town and have our own home. We are now doing well. Look at all that I have bought from just farming since 2001.

Mrs. M (45 years) Where I lived was a challenge. There were no secondary schools, no clinics close by and we hardly got rain. That was not living at all.

Mr. C (30 years) After I completed my O-Level I went to work at Clavelshay farm but the money I was getting was not enough to support me and my growing family. Now I am free. I can do what I want on my own land and do not have to wait for a paycheck. I am now my own Master. I can set my own time and make my own priorities for getting money.

Mr. Z (25 years) I am a ZANU-PF youth and in 2008 we were told that we would be given land if we campaigned for vaMugabe and I was rewarded with my plot of land. Also baba (father) was resettled here and he made sure I got my land on Lantgelos farm. Ndakura ndine mhuri (I am grown-up I have a family to look after.)

The process of land acquisition is central to understanding the changing dynamics under the Fast Track and how peasants assert autonomy over state policy and regulations. From the baseline survey, households that received land between 2000 and 2007 acquired their plots from the District Administrator (DA) who headed the now defunct District Lands Identification Committee (DLIC) (Mapfumo, Pers. Comm 2013). The process involved going to the DA, picking out a *jeke* (card) (Figure 5-1) from a box. This *jeke* specified the name of the farm and plot number on which the settler would be resettled. A user permit through a confirmation letter was then awarded to the beneficiaries at a later date. People were then physically shown the location of their plots and the identifier marks/peg which had been surveyed and demarcated by Agritex officers.

The process of land acquisition and allocation by beneficiaries since 2008 is somewhat different from those settled between 2000 and 2007. Households settled between 2008 and 2012 acquired their plots through either an informal land market that has been created by some members of the community or through patronage politics. Some settlers and AGRITEX officers (2009, 2013 Pers.Comm) pointed to the Committee of Seven[7] and war veteran leaders on the farm as the responsible entities for demarcating and selling this land. In 2009, communal grazing land was subdivided and sold at $200[8] per hectare (Chigumira, 2010), and by 2012 the same land-size ranged from $400 to $1000 (Mrs. C, Pers.Comm 2013). In principle the money raised was supposed to be invested within the community. However, beneficiaries complained that they had not seen such an investment and feared these proceeds had been shared among the committee

[7] A Committee of Seven is an institutional structure found mostly at farms resettled under the A1 model. It functions as an oversight body for the community. All A1 settlements are required by government to have such a body. In the case of Lanteglos and CC Molina, a war veteran designated as the village policeman sat on the committee; the rest of the committee comprised beneficiaries elected by the villagers. The committee members since the last 2004/5 survey had not changed.

[8] The United States dollar as discussed in chapter I the commonly used form monetary exchange

members instead. This commoditization of land, contrary to government policy, may be seen as an alternative source for generating an income for some and a response strategy to continued land shortage, which remains prevalent despite the FTLRP. The Districts' Lands Officer also confirmed the commoditization of land but said he did not intervene because of the politics surrounding this commoditization of land, since the people involved claimed to be influential ZANU-PF supporters. Some settlers argue and that the District Lands Officer benefits monetarily from these land deals and is less likely to intervene.

One of the major criticisms of the Fast Track was that people accessed land through political connections and that this is a form of patronage politics is endemic across all resettlement areas. In the 2004/5 baseline survey, with an exception of four households, most respondents did not specify their political identity/ affiliation to ZANU-PF as influencing the acquisition of plots. However, in this 2012/13 survey, 48% of the new land recipients who were allocated land at Lanteglos after 2008 identified their political affiliation to ZANU-PF party as the prime determinant in acquiring land.

> **Mrs. M**. We used to live in Harare but the rentals were too high. We did not have money. I asked my aunt (tete) who lives here to look for land for us. I got this land because my aunt attends ZANU-PF meetings. At these meetings she told the party that she has a relative who is struggling. The party told her that as long as I wanted to farm then I could get land. That is how I got my land.

This new group of settlers, viewed land as their prize for helping ZANU-PF in the 2008 and the 2013 elections as shown in the following statements:

> **Mr. G:** I lived in this village since my parents got land. After I married my parents asked the Committee to allocate land to me since I was a member of the ZANU-PF youth and because I helped the party in 2008. I helped Phani Phiri campaign in 2008 and now in 2013 (He is now the Member of Parliament for Kadoma Central).

> **Mr. S:** I used to work for Phani Phiri the former ZANU-PF mayor of Kadoma. Although in 2008 he lost the MP seat for Kadoma Central to Mai Matamisa of the MDC, I had worked hard on his campaign and this plot of land was my reward from the party. Ndiri muyouth we ZANU-PF (I am a ZANU-PF youth).

> **Mr.D:** I am a ZANU-PF youth and in 2008 we were told that we would be given land if we campaigned for vaMugabe and I was rewarded with my plot of land. Also baba (father) was resettled here and he made sure I got my land on Lantgelos farm. Ndakura ndine mhuri (I am grown-up I have a family to look after).

They noted that the Committee of Seven was the responsible entity for pegging their new plots and taking their names to the Lands Officer in Kadoma for registration.

Further evidence of patronage politics is seen where members of the immediate and extended families in the village were given land by the Village Committee. Children of those settled at Lanteglos (2000-2004) who had grown and married sought land for their reproduction. This land was allocated to them by the Village Committee of Seven. This committee made the decision in-order to prevent outsiders (*vatorwa*) from getting land over their children. These allocations by the Committee of Seven are outside state land allocation policy, which stipulates "one family one farm" is an overt form of resistance in-order to protect and ensure their children are not marginalized and benefit from the land program. This decision is also premised on lessons of land subdivisions in the communal and old resettlement areas, which several respondents indicated as relatively small for viable farming.

> **Mr. K:** As I said before we are 14 boys in my father's pipeline, therefore when he gave us a piece to farm on, getting one hectare was hard to come by. I had less than hectare to farm and this is also were we built our homesteads. We could not even grow enough to subsist on. It was tough. I do not want to see my children going through this same hardship. Thanks to VaMugabe we can give them more land, I hope that VaMugabe will continue taking farms from the remaining whites, for our children to have land.
>
> **Mrs. J:** Baba (father) who is the security officer for the Committee of Seven gave me this plot of land because in Gokwe where my husband and I lived the soils were very poor and we could barely survive. Baba did not want to see us tichitambudzika (suffering) and called us to come and live here.
>
> **Mr. D:** My father is a member of the Committee of Seven. The Committee decided that instead of outsiders getting land we their children should be given a priority. So when I married recently and my wife who is expecting a child, my father expedited the process and we were given a plot of land on the farm.

4.5. CC Molina: A2 Small Scale Commercial Scheme

CC Molina originally designated as an A1 self-contained settlement variant is now classified under the A2 small-scale commercial resettlement scheme. The government discontinued the designation of the A1 self-contained settlement in 2005 (Matondi, 2011; Madondo, Pers. Comm 2012). CC Molina is located about 36 kilometers from Kadoma City and is found along the Sanyati road. It lies near the Muzvezve I 'old' resettlement area and about eighteen kilometers from Patchway and Golden Valley Mine Townships. Like Lanteglos farm, it falls in the agro-ecological region III. It covers an area of 6,965 hectares and is more extensive than Lanteglos or Pamene farms. The soils on the farm range from semi-deep red clay soils, sandy to sandy-loam, and the vegetation is mostly Mopani woodland and riverine vegetation along watercourses.

The former commercial farmer, Tony Lubbe, owned the farm since 1974 along with 13 others in the district. He practiced ranching and dry land cropping, the former being more important, because of the marginal rainfall and frequent mid-season droughts in the district. He reared a herd of 3,000 cattle on 80 hectares of land and grew maize, sorghum and cotton on 160 hectares, and averaged six tons of maize per hectare in seasons with adequate rainfall and through intensive use of fertilizers (Chigumira 2006, 2010). According to Chigumira (2006), the government acquired CC Molina after 'self-proclaimed' war veterans seized it in 2000. The Acquiring Authority did not serve Lubbe with neither a Section 5 preliminary notice for acquisition nor Section 8 eviction notice for CC Molina nor his other 12 farms (Chigumira, 2006; 2011). He had a workforce of 150 laborers and hired seasonal laborers to pick cotton.

4.5.1. Resettlement, Land Allocation and Agrarian Composition

CC Molina, similarly to Lanteglos, was seized during the land occupations of 2000. After acquisition CC Molina was subdivided into 125 self-contained plots averaging 54.2 hectares in size. Each plot contains residential, arable and grazing land. In my 2012/13 survey I interviewed 40 households at CC Molina farm. These households comprised a total of 319 people, giving an average of 7.98 people per household, which is much higher than at Lanteglos which had an average of 5.8 people. The demographic

composition in this community shows a young population. The mean age of the head of household is 56 years, an average higher than that at Lanteglos and Pamene. The majority of the respondents fall in the working age category. Only two households (5%) are female-headed, of which both inherited from their deceased husbands.

Settlers with an urban background mostly came from Kadoma town (Table 4-4). Most of these households indicated that farming was a form of income diversification for them, while 30% regarded resettlement as a place to retire to and call home. On the other hand, settlers who had rural backgrounds all came from the communal areas. 47% originated from Sanyati communal area which is in close proximity to CC Molina. The majority of the respondents who came from Sanyati had been part of the land-occupation movement. Comrade (Cde) M's and Cde D's., stories explain the motivation behind their participation in the land-occupation movement. Similar stories were told by those that had seized land:

> **Cde M. (61 years):** How is it that one man can own 13 farms! 13 farms! which are more than 20,000 hectares? One person, yet, my family and I were trying to make a living on just 4 acres of poor land in Sanyati. This was unfair. Very unfair. We did not go to war for land to remain in the hands of this white-man. Each time I took the bus to Kadoma (from Sanyati), I would be angered by this. One man and 13 farms!!!! No No No!!!. The land cannot be for one person. So when *jambanja* started, I was one of the leaders who led the invasions in Kadoma. We set our base camp at Patchway Mine and in military style we mobilized people and gave instructions as to which farms to seize. I am proud of what I did, as the future is now brighter for our children. They will have a place to live and farm. This is their inheritance. This is what the liberation struggle was for.
>
> **Cde. D. (53 years)**: I lived in Sanyati Communal areas where the soils were very poor and I only had two acres of land to farm on. Just two acres, while Lubbe had thousands of acres of land. Just to give you an example, CC Molina is about 7000 hectares, and we know that he only used a small portion to grow maize and ranch his cattle, and the rest he did nothing nothing at all on that land but keep wild animals. Yet my family and I were struggling to survive on two acres of land. You know, his empire started close to Sanyati and ran all the way to Patchway Mine. Each time I took the combi (omnibus) to town, I rode past his Empire and was reminded that this mubhunu (white man) had all this land and I had nothing, yet, I had sacrificed my life to liberate this country from mabhunu.

> You know, I went to war to liberate this country while my peers went to school. These people I left learning had a bigger advantage over me, because they got an education and are better off in life with good jobs. I wasted time in the bush fighting for freedom and I became a pauper because I chose to liberate my country rather than go to school. So when Comrade Hunzvi called us war vets to Harare and instructed us to mobilize and take back our land, I joined the cause and became one of the leaders who led the invasions. Obviously, Lubbe was my first target.

Table 4-4: Places of origin of land recipients at CC Molina.

Previous residence	Households (N=40)
Urban Background	
Kadoma Town	7
Harare	2
Battlefields	1
Rural Background	
Communal Areas:	
Sanyati	13
Gokwe	7
Mhondoro-Ngezi	6
Filabusi	1
Mberengwa	1
Zhombe	1
Chivi	1

In Table 4-5 the dominant occupation (52%) before resettlement consisted of subsistence farming and then wage labor in the urban areas. A combination of blue collar and white collar workers received land under this program. The survey revealed that those who held professional jobs, such as the anesthetist and dentist, retained these occupations, and commuted to their plots on weekends. Most of these professionals also hired members of the extended family to manage their smallholding. The rational for hiring family members has a two-fold effect; (1) it ensures that farmers have people vested in making the farming successful and (2) it increases quantitatively the number of people who enter the peasant condition and mode of production, or in Sam Moyo's (Pers Comm, 2012) term a consolidation of the peasantry through an expansion of new peasant households.

Table 4-5: Previous occupation of heads of households in CC Molina.

Occupation	Households (N=40)
Subsistence farmer	27
School teacher and Subsistence farmer	3
Soldier	2
Accounts clerk	1
Anaesthetist and small scale miner	1
Builder	1
Dentist	1
Driver	1
Machine Operator David Whitehead	1
Textiles	1
Wages clerk	1
Nurse Aid	

The process of acquiring land is similar to that of Lanteglos since CC Molina was originally designated as an A1 self-contained settlement variant, the settlers picked a jeke (card) which had the name and plot number of the farm they were to be settled on. Most households indicated they had obtained their land through the District Administrator. However, other households indicated sources such as through inheritance and the Ministry of Lands (Table 4-6).

Table 4-6: The institutions to which households at CC Molina applied for land.

Institution	Households (N=40)
District Administrator	21
Ministry of Lands	8
Ward councilor	5
Inherited land	2
War veterans quota	1
ZANU-PF	3

The motivations for acquiring land varied among households that had urban and rural backgrounds. For a number of urban households resettlement represented a means of diversifying their livelihood portfolios, and for some a place to retire to. For rural households, the majority indicated landlessness and congestion in their previous communal areas, poor soils and unviable sizes of their farming units. Box 4-3 and

Box 4-4 capture some of the reasons given by urban and rural land recipients for applying for land under the FTLRP.

Box 4-3: Motivations for applying for land by urban households at CC Molina

Mr. M. (60 years): I am almost ready to retire from my job as an anesthetist. I see farming as a business and so I applied to diversify my portfolio of business interests. You know that I was a nurse at the camps during the liberation struggle and so I am entitled to land under the war veteran quota. One of my sons has always had an interest in farming and so I acquired this land on his behalf. I sent him to the best agricultural college, you know Blackfordby, where the whites send their children for agricultural training. My son will now make this a profitable venture. Farming is a business for me. I am here to make money from the land.

Mr. (53 years): I used to work as a machine operator at David Whitehead Textile. I was retrenched in the mid-90s and did not own a house, because the textile did not pay us low-level workers well. I ended up buying and selling produce at the people's market in order to raise money for rent and my children's school fees. When jambanja happened I went and registered for land so that I could have a permanent home to stay and a place to grow my own food for survival.

Mr. K. (61years): I used to work as a soldier and was based in the army base at Battlefields. I wanted a place to retire to that is quiet and where I can live peacefully. So I applied for the war-veteran 20% quota and got land here. I am happy, it is nice and quiet, and I can farm.

Mr. C. M. (55 years): I have always wanted to farm**.** I looked for land in the early 1980s but could not get one. I also applied to be a commercial farmer but could not get a farm. With land reform I then applied through the DA who confirmed that I was a war veteran and got the war veteran allocation, then I received an offer letter form the Ministry of Lands in 2012.

Box 4-4: Motivations for acquiring land by rural households at CC Molina

Mr. B.Z. (41 years): There are eight boys in my family. I am the last of the eight and unfortunately there was not enough land that could be subdivided to me. When I did not pass my O-level exams I stayed at home and assisted my parents. However, when I married my wife and I leased two acres from a friend of my father's on which to farm. This was not enough land for me and the soils were poor. When 'jambanja' happened the ward councillor advised me to register with DA for land. He wrote a letter to the DA and At least now I can be a real farmer and I can leave an inheritance for my children.

Mr. D. M. (36 years): I inherited this plot and all the wealth from my parents who

both passed away five years ago. My parents got this land through ZANU-PF. We used to live in the communal areas and there was no freedom there. My father wanted his own plot were he could do what he wanted and develop it the way he wanted. On our land we are not answerable to anyone but ourselves. This is much better.

Cde. P. (60 years): We used to live in Chivi communal areas. The soils were so poor and degraded. All we had was pit sand and it was difficult to farm productively on these soils. I needed new land. When jabmanja happened I went and requested for my war veteran quota. You know that the rule is that 20% of all resettlement areas must go to us. This land is my entitlement. Without us war veterans there would be no Zimbabwe to speak of.

Mrs. N. M (37 years): My husband and I joined the land invasions. Our ward councilor told us to go onto the farms and join the war veterans if we wanted land. We chased away the mubhunu and we came to stay here. We used to live in Sanyati and we were being looked after by my parents because we did not have our own land. This was no longer sustainable. Also the soils were poor, we could not grow to meet out survival needs and the rainfall was poor. There were too many wild animals from the game farm that disrupted us. When we invaded CC Molina with the war vets we settled and then later we were told out plot was given to someone. We complained and refused to leave. We were the ones that chased the farmer away. Lucky they listened to us and we stayed. This is now our home and we can now be good farmers.

4.6. Pamene: A2 Small Scale Commercial Scheme

Pamene is designated as the A2 small-scale commercial variant and similarly to CC Molina households have individual plots with residential, arable and grazing land. It is approximately 10 kilometers from Kadoma City along the Harare/Bulawayo highway and less than three kilometers from the outer boundaries of Kadoma Municipal area and Ngezi Township. Its topography reveals a small area of arable land, which is 80 hectares in size consisting of red clay soils (on which the former commercial farming practiced crop production). The remainder of the farm is largely Mopani veld and sandy soils which require careful management when brought under crop production and fertilizer use (Chigumira 2006). The White Water River runs along the northern boundary of the farm and has tributaries through the farm, an important source of water and resource to the settlers.

The former commercial farmer, Alfred Reed, inherited his farm in 1965, and owned two other farms adjacent Pamene. Farming under Reed had been intensive and highly

mechanized. Reed practiced mixed farming which included irrigated cropping, horticulture, game farming, cattle and ostrich rearing (Chigumira, 2006). He grew a variety of crops, including maize, wheat, soya beans, sugar beans, potatoes, cabbage, Rhodes grass and paprika. He exported paprika to the European market, while the rest of his produce was mostly sold on the domestic market. Reed had a herd of 500 beef cattle together with ostrich and utilized the remainder of the farm for game farming. Species such as waterbuck, tsetsebe, kudu, eland, giraffe, wildebeest and impala were found on the farm. This enterprise generated foreign currency through hunting concessions given to foreigners, mostly from America and Europe (Reed, Pers. Comm, 2005). He employed 35 permanent workers who were housed on the farm with their families and a further 150 casual laborers (Chigumira, 2006).

4.6.1. Resettlement, Land Allocation and the New Agrarian Composition

Pamene farm was not occupied during the farm seizures of 2000. Reed, unlike Lubbe and Edwards, was served a Section 5 notice of acquisition in July 2001 (Chigumira, 2006). He opposed this notice of acquisition, resulting in its referral to the Administration Court. He lost the case and a Section 8 Order of eviction was issued (Mapfumo, Pers Comm 2013). Agritex officials from the Kadoma were responsible for subdividing the parent farm into 56 plots of varying sizes, with a mean size of 21.4 hectares. Settler placement started in December 2001; however, there was a slow uptake of land on this particular farm.

A key objective of the FTLRP was to de-racialize the commercial agriculture sector by re-placing it with a group of black Africans who had the capabilities and resources (physical, human and financial capital) to take up commercial farming and contribute to agricultural growth within this sector (Matondi, 2012). The procedure in acquiring an A2 commercial farm differed from obtaining land in the A1 settlement scheme. Applicants were expected to submit an application form (Appendix A), which outlines the beneficiary's proposed five-year development plan, bank statement to support the application, cash-flow projection and proof of training (evidenced through recognized certificates) or farming experience to the Provincial Land Identification Committee (PLIC). The PLIC then selected land recipients based on the proposal, but, there is no verification that ensures the accuracy of the outlined plan, particularly, as it relates to

cash-flow and farm experience. Table 4-7 outlines the institutions that settlers applied to for land. Most respondents indicated that they obtained their plots through the District's Land Office and few filled out an application form, indicating that the placement of settlers did not follow government policy.

Table 4-7: Institutions to which households at Pamene Farm applied for land.

Institution	Number of Households
District Lands Office	25
Ministry of Lands (Harare)	17
District Administrator	2
Provincial Lands Identification Committee	3
ZANU-PF Kadoma Branch	4
Do not know	3

I interviewed 54 households at Pamene farm. These households comprised a total of 289 people, giving an average of 5.4 people per household, which is marginally lower than at Lanteglos which had an average of 5.8 people. Similarly to Lanteglos, the demographic composition in this community as shown in Figure 4-7 indicates a young population. The mean age of the head of household is 42.2 years. The majority of the respondents fall in the working age category and are depended upon by 40.1% of the population. Only six households (11.1%) are female-headed, of which three (5.6%) acquired their landholdings through the resettlement process, two are divorced and leasing land from their male siblings, and one is a relative working for a plot-owner who resides in the South Africa.

The Pamene community is comprised of people who came from diverse geographical locations across Zimbabwe, as shown in Table 4-8, and with varying portfolios of occupational and professional backgrounds, as illustrated in Table 4-9. Settlers who had an urban background mostly came from Kadoma town, while those from rural backgrounds originated from the communal areas. In Table 4-9 the dominant occupation of the head of household prior to resettlement consisted of wage labor with the majority, similarly to Lanteglos, holding low-paid blue collar jobs.

Table 4-8: Places of origin of settlers in Pamene.

Previous residence	Households (N=54)
Urban Background	
Kadoma	17
Masvingo	3
Mutare	2
Battlefields	1
Bulawayo	1
Harare	1
Kwekwe	1
Johannesburg (South Africa)	1
United Kingdom	1
Rural Background	
Communal Areas:	
Gokwe	11
Sanyati	2
Mhondoro-Ngezi	2
Binga	1
Gutu	1
Hurungwe	1
Hwedza	1
Karoi	1
Mutoko	1
Shurugwi	1
Old Resettlement Areas:	
Dhoneni	3
'Fast Track' Resettlement Areas:	
Hope A1 Resettlement scheme	1

The results of the survey reveal varied motivations for acquiring a small-scale commercial farm under the Fast Track. Respondents that originated from the urban areas, similarly to those at Lanteglos, mostly wanted a place to reside where they did not pay high rentals associated with living in urban areas while three households indicated that they wanted a '*musha'* (home) close to the urban area to which they could retire. The business people viewed the acquisition of land as a diversification of their portfolio of activities. On the other hand the respondents from rural backgrounds mostly indicated poor soils, congestion in their previous localities and lack of adequate transport and communication as their primary motivation for seeking a commercial farming unit under the FTLRP. Box 4-5 and Box 4-6 provide some of the stories settlers shared on their

motivations for applying for land. Their stories highlight that the not everyone who entered the “peasant condition” wanted to farm. Resettlement represented an opportunity for mostly landless urban households to have a home of their own, and not necessarily an opportunity to farm commercially. This has implication on production outcomes within the community and the different livelihood pathways that land recipients adopt and relate to their new ecologies. In Chapter V, I show how settlers at Pamene have struggled to farm and have the lowest productivity within these three communities.

Table 4-9: Previous occupation of heads of households at Pamene

Occupation Before Resettlement	Households (N=54)
Subsistence farmer	21
Businessmen	13
Builder	2
Cross Border Trader	2
Machine Operator (David Whitehead Textile)	2
AGRITEX Officer	1
Brick-layer	1
Domestic Worker (Maid)	1
Driver (Tinzweyi Bus Company)	1
Ex-council worker and war veteran	1
Ex-farm worker	1
Health Officer (Kadoma Municipality)	1
Nurse	1
Officer for Prison Services	1
Shopkeeper	1
Soldier	1
Tailor	1
Teacher	1
Waitress	1

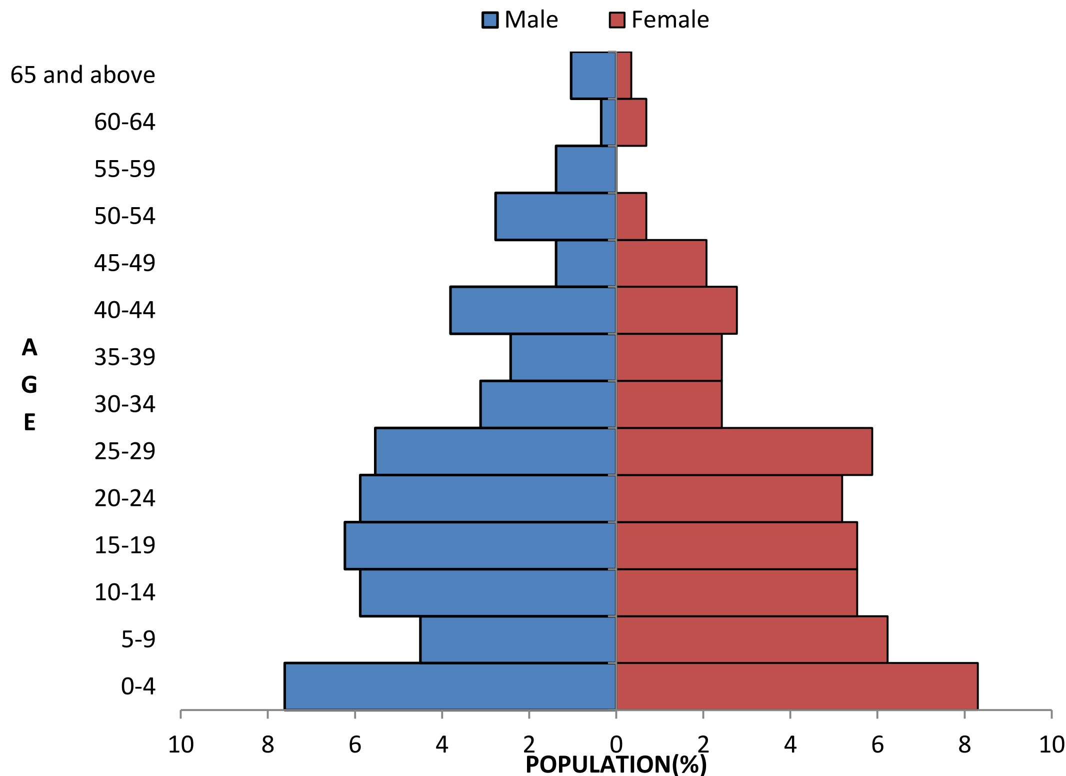

Figure 4-7: Demographic Composition of Pamene Farm in 2013.

Box 4-5: Motivation for applying for land by urban households at Pamene

Mrs. T. (40 years): I work as a waitress at a hotel in Kadoma. It is a tough job and pays very little. I am a single mother with four children. Before getting my plot of land I used to rent one room in Rimuka township, and could not afford to meet my rental payments. It was always a problem at the end of the month because on my salary I could not balance all my financial needs, you know things like school fees, food, rent, transport money. It was tough. So when I heard that VaMugabe was giving people land for free, I went to the lands officer and was given an application form, I then asked one of our patrons to help me fill in the application form and I was lucky to get land here at Pamene. It is close to work and I no longer have to pay rent, I now have my own place to call home. People used to laugh at me when I told them I was applying for land. But look at me now, I am the one laughing at those who did not take advantage. I have land and they don't.

Mr. C. (56 years): I needed a place to retire after working for many years at the Municipality of Kadoma and besides I have always been interested in farming. I cannot go back to my rural home as there is not enough space for my family and I to live and farm. 'Hondo ye minda' (battle for the land) came at an appropriate time in my life. Now I can leave a legacy and inheritance for my children.

Mrs M. (39 years): This is my brother's plot, I only look after it because he is in the

United Kingdom. My husband died many years ago and I did not have a place to live. My brother needed someone he could trust to safeguard his plot, because you know if no-one is living on the plot government will take back the land and give it so someone else. We need to show that we are ploughing.

Mrs. C. (36 years): My brother is a businessman. He owns many butcheries in Kadoma, Gokwe, Sanyati and Mhondoro-Ngezi. He wanted land for his herd of cattle and so he applied for an A2 farm and got this plot of land here. I, on the other hand, used to work as a bricklayer. When my husband left me, I had nowhere to go and could not afford the high rentals in town, especially during the inflation years when the prices just kept going up and up (yah! those were hard times!), so my brother told me to manage his plot.

Mr. N. (43 years): I am an underpaid civil servant. We civil servants do not get paid much. We cannot afford to buy houses in the urban areas. I chose to be settled at Pamene because it is close to my workplace in town. I do not have to pay rent, and now I also have a property to retire to. Where in this world can you get property for free? This is why I applied. I am very lucky.

Box 4-6: Motivation for applying for land by rural households at Pamene

Mr. J.M. (29 years): I was part of the group of people who invaded farms in the district. I joined the land invasions because I was tired of hearing my wife complaining about not having our own home especially since we have children. I used to live in Gokwe Nembudziya with my parents, and I farmed a small piece of land. I was initially resettled under the A1 scheme, but my piece of land was full of rocks and could not be farmed. Also I did not like living in the village. I wanted a place of my own where there are no conflicts (pasina mitauro) caused by living close to each other in the villages. I went and requested for a transfer and, luckily enough some people had left Pamene, so I was then transferred here.

Mr. M. (35 years) I used to live in the Old Resettlement Areas, but the soils there were very poor. I could barely survive farming there. I decided to find another place. My friend told me that there were vacant plots here and so I went to the Province and asked for land.

Mr. B.M. (40 years): It was getting crowded in the communal areas and I needed a space for my family and cattle.

Mr. Z. (56 years): I wanted my own place to farm as we were living with my son-in-law on four acres of land. It is not normal to live with your son-in-law. We took the opportunity to get land when VaMugabe started this land reform program. We thank God for this.

4.7. Conclusions

This chapter starts by providing the geographical context of the resettled communities. It shows that Sanyati District is endowed with mineral resources and prone to seasonal and mid-season droughts, which is likely to negatively affect rain-fed crop production. It paints a picture of the social backgrounds, motivations and differentiation of the farmers who acquired land in the District. It is in knowing who the farmers are and their motivations for applying for land that we can understand their lived experience, relationship to their local ecologies, and the types of institutions and networks that are formed since the FTLRP. This is also crucial in revealing the outcome of re-peasantization in terms of who and why people entered the 'peasant condition' and 'mode of production.' Across all three communities the key motivation for urban households entering the 'peasant condition' is primarily based on the need for a residential place to live and call home and for some place to retire to; while those who had rural backgrounds were looking for land to farm on due to a variety of reasons such as landlessness, poor agricultural conditions like the poor quality of soils in previous localities that hampered agricultural production.

Re-peasantization therefore offers an alternative livelihood for some urban households while for others it is a form of income diversification. Based on the motivations set out by rural households, re-peasantization arguably represents a process that broadens the producer and consumption base for rural households (Moyo, 2011). Furthermore, among the war veterans, re-peasantization is a reconfiguration of white-owned territory to its 'rightful owners' the black Zimbabwean and in particular to those that fought to liberate the country from '*mabhunu.*' It allows access to resources that were previously in the confines of a few white land-owners. In the ensuing chapter I shall describe and discuss the patterns of re-peasantization as they relate to agrarian production, labor and ecological relations, and the institutions and networks that new farmers have set up in their new localities.

CHAPTER V

LIVELIHOODS, INSTITUTIONS AND LOCAL ECOLOGIES

5.1. Introduction

This chapter presents empirical findings of the three case studies: Lanteglos, CC Molina, and Pamene. It explores the on-the-ground outcome of Zimbabwe's FTLRP on the relationship between people's livelihoods and the physical environment in each of the three sites. These findings provide insight into the conditions and/or tendencies of re-peasantization within the Zimbabwean context and allow for a qualitative comparison with current global experiences of the 'return to the countryside' as discussed in Chapter II. These findings, based on a long-term study of the three communities, provide crucial insights into the role of smallholder/peasant agriculture within developmental discourse and the position and significance of the peasantry in an era of globalization. So far, scholars and analysts have tended to judge the FTLRP on data relating to production trends according to economic indicators (Zikhali, 2010; Selby 2006; Sachikonye, 2005). However, this does not provide us with a clear picture of what is happening on the ground, how livelihoods are constructed, and how nature-society relationships are shaped. This empirical chapter enables us to determine what is working in the resettled areas, the limitations and challenges faced by peasant farmers, and why these challenges and/or development pathways cannot be addressed by simply following neoliberal modernist prescriptions.

The chapter is structured into three sections which present the empirical findings from each of the study sites. In each section I examine the new agrarian structure and relations in the study areas by describing the livelihood pathways pursued by land recipients, the production and social relations, and institutions that have emerged since resettlement. Each section ends by assessing the ecological relations through an examination of the land use land cover changes (LULC) in the physical environment, the drivers behind these modifications, and how land recipients perceive and respond to these changes. I examine how livelihood styles and strategies are shaped by politico-economic, ecological, legal and institutional factors, and how these factors in turn affect land recipients' responses to their physical environment. This chapter provides the backdrop

for the broader findings and theoretical discussion in Chapter VI.

5.2. Lanteglos: A1 Villagized Settlement Scheme

Thirty-four households of diverse backgrounds were initially resettled in a nucleated village, with individual arable plots and communal grazing land. However, by 2013, the number of households increased to 66, and a second nucleated village site was created. As outlined in Chapter IV, the increase in the number of households is attributed to (1) parceling of land to the villagers' grown children; (2) the commodification of land in which parcels of land were sold to 'land-hungry' people by influential members of the village; (3) people obtaining land through a concept which Mutopo (2011) refers to as the 'economy of affection' whereby land is acquired through relations to the head of the village or influential person like a war veteran; and (4) what Bond (2008) and Zinyama (2011) call 'patronage politics' in which affiliation to and advocating for ZANU-PF enabled people, in particular youths, to acquire land at Lanteglos. In the 2012/13 survey I interviewed a total 46 households in which a total of 269 people lived, giving an average of 5.8 persons per household. Over the past decade, the land recipients have become increasingly socially and economically differentiated into three social classes: the rich, middle and poor. In this dissertation I use the term resource-rich or -poor as a differentiator. Based on information provided in the questionnaire and interviews with Agritex officials, key characteristics emerged that differentiated beneficiaries and in turn affected livelihood options and productivity. These included ownership of livestock: particularly cattle and goats, farm equipment, access to capital, sale of cash and food crops such as maize, and food security. Twenty-one percent of the households that are classified as resource-rich tend to encompass most of these features, while 26% who are resource poor had limited resources for viable farming. Households classified as resource-poor are comprised of the former farm workers and the youths who were resettled since 2010 and who are beginning to build their asset capabilities. In the ensuing section I highlight the livelihood options adopted by the farmers and the on-the-ground production trends.

5.2.1. Livelihood Pathways

The tendency of re-peasantization at Lanteglos is seen through a multitude of

livelihood options adopted by land recipients and diversification in the scope of products and services provided by certain households over the last decade. The livelihood options consist of various forms of pluriactivities, which Durand and van Huylenbroeck (2003) define as the combination of agricultural and non-agricultural activities performed by the farmers and members of the farm household. Mutopo (2011) indicates that changes in social, economic and political dispensation have an influence on rural land-based livelihoods. My findings at Lanteglos indicate that engaging in diverse income-generating sources (Table 5.1) became an important method for beneficiaries to augment revenue streams for supporting farming activities, particularly during the decade in which the economic and political terrain were difficult. The plural livelihood activities consist of crop production, animal husbandry, short-term wage labor through *maricho*[9] (piece-work jobs) and non-agricultural activities such as artisanal gold mining/panning, sand extraction, sale of firewood and seasonal fruit, and commodity trading.

Table 5-1: Sources of household income after resettlement at Lanteglos Farm.

Source of Income	Number of Households in 2004/5	Number of Household in 2012/13
Crop Sales	16	40
Maricho (Piece-work)	4	15
Mining	3	12
Trading	6	8
Formal Employment	1	5
Pension	0	3
Part-time Employment	1	2
Vegetable Sales	8	2
Remittances	1	1

Over the last decade the beneficiaries have not diversified their crop production or modes of farming. Maize and cotton continue to be the key cash crops grown, whilst small grains such as sorghum and finger millet, nuts (roundnuts and groundnuts), beans (soya and sugar), sunflowers, pumpkins, sweet potato are also grown, but primarily for auto-consumption. All crops are grown under rain-fed conditions which expose farmers

[9] *Maricho*/piece-work involves resettled farmers working for other farmers (ploughing, planting, weeding or harvesting) in return for wages or food or use of farming equipment

to the vagaries of mid-season or seasonal droughts which in turn affect productivity and livelihoods solely based on agriculture. My findings, illustrated in Table 5-2 and Table 5-3, show fluctuations in maize crop production over the last decade with marginal increases in production between the 2008/9 and 2011/12 farming seasons. Unmasking these statistics further, one finds differential patterns of production existed among households; three households considered by the community as ‘resource-rich’ produced just over 15 tons of maize each in the farming seasons between 2008-2012, while those who were ‘resource-poor’ averaged 0.25 tons. Households between these extremes obtained between 0.5 and 2.5 tons of maize. One ton of maize is considered the average required for food security until the next farming season by a household of six people (Agritex Officer, Pers Comm, 2012).

The number of households involved in cotton production (Table 5-4) fluctuated over the last ten years. Cotton is capital and labor intensive and the producer price paid by the cotton companies to contracted farmers is considered too little for the farmers to break even. For example, farmers complained that the price of cotton set at 35 cents per kilogram in the 2011/12 farming season was too low and not worth investing in production of this crop in the next farming season. The unavailability of seed input, fertilizers and chemical spray between 2000 and 2008 placed a further constraint on cotton production, thus limiting its production to households that were better endowed. Despite the reduced number of households farming cotton in the last decade, the output after the 2008/9 season remained stable at just over six bales per household. The AGRITEX officer in charge of Lanteglos corroborated these findings, noting that household maize and cotton production had declined between the 2005/6 and 2008/9 farming seasons. This decline varied according to the socioeconomic status of the settlers.

Table 5-2: Maize and cotton production output at Lanteglos from 2000 – 2004.

Farming Season	Number of households	Maize (tons per household)	Cotton (bales per household)
2000 – 2001	9	1.91	2.50
2001 – 2002	16	1.94	2.13
2002 – 2003	18	2.33	3.06
2003 – 2004	20	3.79	5.20
2004 – 2005	22	**2.07	***6.25

** Mean of 10 households *** Mean of 4 households (Source: Chigumira 2006, 2010)

Table 5-3: Maize crop production output at Lanteglos from 2008-2012.

Farming Season	Number of Households	Maize (tons per household)
2006 – 2009	No data	No data
2007 – 2008	No data	No data
2008 – 2009	9	1.65
2009 – 2010	36	2.97
2010 – 2011	46	2.73
2011 – 2012	46	2.40

Table 5-4: Cotton production output at Lanteglos from 2008-2009.

Farming Season	Number of Households	Cotton (bales per household)
2011 – 2012	13	6.30
2010 – 2011	9	7.90
2009 – 2010	8	6.10
2008 – 2009	4	6.25
2007 – 2008	No data	No data

The respondents considered crop production as the most important land use for obtaining an income and for achieving food security. This is followed by livestock production. Livestock is reared for subsistence purposes, primarily for draught power and consumption, although there are cases in which households sold livestock (primarily goats and chickens) to supplement their income or offset shocks in periods of drought or bad harvest. Table 5-5 and Table 5-6 summarize the type of livestock and total quantity kept by the sampled households, allowing for a comparative overview between the 2004/5 and 2012/13 surveys. These tables show a two-fold increase in the number of

households that owned cattle and goats and diversification in the type of animals reared. Almost all households kept varying quantities of *huku dzechibhoyi* (African traditional chicken), with three households diversifying their production and rearing broiler chickens, which had a high market value both in the village and the urban area. It is noteworthy that the majority of the owners of cattle and goats were households I interviewed in 2004/5. Livestock accumulation is an indicator of improved livelihood.

Respondents rated the communal grazing land as holding excellent pasture. However, four households resettled between 2000 and 2004 expressed concerns over the continued subdivision of this grazing land for cultivation, residential plots for new settlers, and mining activities. They feared that the increase in the number of settlers on the farm would reduce their forage and force them to graze their livestock on a hill with poor forage. Grazing commons at Lanteglos require careful management with rotational grazing in order to restore plant root reserves of the perennial grasses (Department of Conservation and Extension, 1957) but, as in the 2004/5 survey, there is no indication that the villagers practice rotational grazing.

Table 5-5: Ownership of Livestock 2004/5 at Lanteglos.

Livestock	Number of households	Total quantity
Chickens*	17	325
Cattle	8	67
Goats	7	62
Pigeons	1	40
Sheep	1	1

*African chickens reared for consumption

Table 5-6: Ownership of Livestock 2012/13 at Lanteglos.

Livestock	Number of households	Total quantity
Cattle	19	159
Goats	11	129
Pigs	1	3
Rabbit	1	7
Broiler Chicken*	3	400
Turkey	1	11
Ducks	1	7

*One farmer had a batch of 200 each month

The level of farming experience varied among the new farmers. Alene & Manyong

(2007) and Weir (1999) suggest a strong link between education and agricultural production, arguing that education offers both cognitive and non-cognitive effects on productivity. Cognitively, this includes transmission of specific knowledge, skills and proficiency while, non-cognitively, education produces changes in attitude, beliefs and habits. These cognitive and non-cognitive effects enhance farm productivity directly by improving the quality of labor, the ability to adjust to changing market and economic conditions, and a willingness to adopt new technologies and innovations (Weir, 1999). Only 26% of the respondents had some formal training in agriculture, in which some had undertaken the Master Farmer[10] program taught by the extension officers and some indicated that they had gained their farming knowledge from taking Agriculture as a subject for their Ordinary-Level[11] certificate in high school. Those who did not take the Master Farmer course were skeptical about the program, more so because of the extension officer who taught the course. This extension officer had a plot of land on the farm and was considered unproductive, having almost always the worst crop output in the village. This skepticism was encapsulated in one respondent's comment "*honestly what can we learn from this program if the teacher herself cannot even farm. It shows her theory is not practical*." The majority of the respondents indicated they gained their farming experience from learning-by-doing: i.e., by being part of the family labor while living in the communal or old resettlement areas. Here, parents were key contributors to knowledge production and experience in farming.

As mentioned previously, apart from crop and livestock production, land recipients adopted various strategies to augment/supplement their agrarian livelihoods. Fourteen percent of the heads of households maintained either their full-time or part-time employment while farming. Since the baseline survey of 2004/5; I observed an increase in the number of households undertaking activities like *maricho* (piece-work jobs) and

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[10] This is a training program provided by extension officers to improve smallholder production. The objective of this training program is to spread modern scientific farming techniques. Certificates and badges are obtained on completion of the course. According to Hlanyai-Mlambo (2002) this extension approach is based on the "trickle-down" theory of extension, in which a few progressive farmers receive extension and information, which they are expected to pass on to other farmers through farmer-to-farmer dissemination and demonstration.

[11] Ordinary Level is a major examination taken by high school students after four years of study. Agriculture is an optional subject to take. The course content mostly covers concepts and has a small practicum. The depth of study is not equivalent to a diploma in Agriculture obtained from college.

especially mining (a 26% increase) as pathways of generating income. In the 2004/5 survey, only female-headed households and the ex-farmworkers had undertaken *maricho*; however, over the decade, more settlers were involved in this activity. The process of *maricho* had two dimensions. It involved settlers hiring farm equipment such as cattle and plough or tractors and their labor (comprised mostly of their children), and/or resource poor households working as laborers for other settlers. According to the several respondents, *maricho* was an important survival strategy during *nguva yenzara* (decade of crisis), while for others it was their pathway for raising sufficient capital to enable them to farm and obtain agricultural inputs. One head of household described his involvement in *maricho* as follows:

> When I came to Lanteglos in 2002 I did not own anything except for the clothes and shoes I was wearing. I started off by working piece jobs for other settlers; initially it was food for work and then later I started getting paid. I have managed to build my home, marry and buy goats. I continue to do *maricho* for other people in the community and the resettlement areas around us because I want to buy cattle and a cultivator.

Another head of household remarked that:

> *Panguva yenzara* (during the decade of crisis), especially in 2008, I survived through *maricho*. I did not have any capital like other people in the village. So I had to do food-for-work or barter my labor so that I could use their cattle to plough my fields. If you were lucky some people would give you seeds from the previous year as payment. These I would then plant in my own field.

Artisanal gold mining/panning, which had been a covert activity in 2004/5, is now openly practiced and undertaken by several households as a livelihood strategy to augment incomes. The rise in the global price of gold combined with the country's hyperinflationary economic environment between 2000 and 2009 made gold mining/panning an attractive supplement to agrarian livelihoods for some beneficiaries. In Box 5-1Mr. Jhamba[12], a war veteran and security officer of the village, explains the reasons he complements farming with mining. Petty commodity trading and non-permanent mobility strategies such as cross-border trading (which involves a member of the household travelling to Botswana, South Africa and/or Zambia to buy goods to sell

[12] Mr. Jhamba was one of the few farmers who indicated that I could disclose their names in the write-up.

back in the community and Kadoma town) emerged as livelihood pathways to counter the challenges in pursuing agricultural livelihoods with little support from the state.

Asset accumulation provides an indicator for the extent to which the process of re-peasantization under the FTLRP has led to improved livelihoods. It also serves as an indicator for differentiating the peasantry along the axis of rich, middle and poor peasant. In comparing the survey data from 2004/5 and 2012/13, there has been a significant accumulation of assets linked to farm production, as well as non-productive assets by the first group of settlers. This group of farmers all own small productive assets such as hoes, axes, picks and shovels, while 41% now own ox carts, ploughs and cultivators and 14% had bought tractors. I also observed an increase in the number and quality of dwellings in the community. Fifty-nine percent of the first group of settlers had upgraded their dwellings from mud and pole to brick with thatch roofing and/ or brick with asbestos or tin roofing. In the 2004/5 survey sample there were no toilet structures in the community but, by 2012/13, almost two thirds of these households had constructed ablution facilities in the form of Blair toilets or pit latrines on their property. Further investments observed over the years include cellphones, bicycles, solar panels, radios and televisions. The increase in livestock ownership is another indicator of asset accumulation. Sixty-eight percent of the first group of settlers brought livestock from their previous places of origin. This reflects perceptions of security of tenure and from eviction by former white commercial farmers. This perception stemmed from the clause entrenched in the Global Political Agreement (GPA) by the three political parties that entrenched the irreversibility of the FTLRP.

Box 5-1: Mr. Jhamba's motivations for practicing artisanal mining at Lanteglos farm

Mr. Jhamba is a war-veteran. He invaded Lanteglos farm in 2000, and was later resettled on the farm. He serves on the Committee of Seven as the security officer and is the key gate-keeper within the community. He related to me why he mined and also took my research assistants and me to the hill where he mined.

> When we came and invaded this place, we came with nothing but just our clothes, shoes and resolve to get rid of the white-man. Given my background in mining, I realized that there was potential to mine for this resource on the farm. Also, Edwards' farm-workers, whom I had been good to from the very beginning and whom I made sure that Agritex allocated land to after *jambanja* (chaos), told me where to look for gold.

You see that hill over there that is where the Germans used to mine, before Edwards bought the farm. There are many potholes and shafts on that hill. I took samples of the rocks, ground them and noticed that indeed there were traces of good quality gold. During the dry season my children and I spent a lot of time up on the hill collecting rocks. This is how I survived the difficult economic times and managed to buy farm inputs and food for the family, while some of the settlers struggled. Initially people thought I was using witchcraft and bewitching them to get money (that's the problem with uneducated people). Now, everyone, especially these younger boys who recently got land, know about gold and are also mining. I had to secure a mine permit/claim on the hill as people have now realized that there is gold on this farm. This is my main source of income generation. It is the only way to make a living if you do not have capital for farming or government to subsidize you like they used to do for the white people. You know, to farm successfully you need lots of money. My farming cannot survive without this source unless government gives us loans or subsidizes inputs. I want to devote all my time to farming but the economic environment is not conducive; even after dollarization, inputs are expensive and sometimes you cannot find the seeds you want.

Mr. Jhamba's artisanal mine at Lanteglos

5.2.2. Institutions, Social Networks, Labor and Tenure

Another axis/tendency of re-peasantization as shown in the literature (Moyo & Yeros, 2005; 2009, Moyo & Chambati, 2013; van der Ploeg, 2008; 2010; 2013) involves an examination of labor and market relations in the countryside. Family members comprise the primary source of labor at Lanteglos. Seasonal labor is pooled from the community, particularly from resource-poor households, and from the urban townships in Kadoma town. Labor is mostly needed for weeding and harvesting and on average farmers hire four to five people. Payment varies according to the wealth of the household, with some in 2012/13 paying laborers between $20-30 per hectare or $0.50 to $2 per line, whilst others bartered food primarily in the form of maize. Labor is not unionized; however, the new and younger settlers indicated that they formed an informal labor group in order to ensure fair and timely compensation.

During the decade of crisis the state instituted what is referred to as 'command agriculture' through programs such as Operation *Maguta/Inala* (food security) and the Champion Farmer. These programs were spearheaded by the national security forces (the army and central intelligence agents) in order to increase agricultural production in the resettlement areas. The state, through the Statutory Instrument 235A of July 2001, reintroduced controls on the pricing and sale of maize, maize flour (mealie-meal), wheat, and wheat flour. This Statutory Instrument criminalized the sale of these two products by farmers to any market player other than the state-owned parastatal, Grain Marketing Board (GMB) (Masanganise, 2003, Ndlela & Robinson, 2007). Farmers at Lanteglos and the other two communities sold their excess maize to the GMB or entered into contract farming with cotton companies like Cottco. Despite this, some sold their products on the black market, which gave farmers better pricing for their produce than the GMB (I will discuss this point later). Moreover, maize was sold to members of the community or bartered for labor.

With the liberalization of the economy after 2009, farmers responded by finding alternative markets that would pay them instantly as compared to the GMB. These alternative markets included millers, people markets (*musika*) in the urban areas, and commercial farmers who bought stock feed. Key to these new markets were farmers entering into contract with networks of people or institutions where they previously lived

or worked. Within the village, some settlers set up small *spaza* shops and sold basic commodities and farm inputs, and one farmer had a grinding mill to process maize into maize flour. Residents at Lanteglos and its hinterland ground their maize at a cost of $5 per bucket. In the 2012/13 survey I observed that despite the politics of race that characterized most of the decade of crisis, some farmers entered into contract farming, especially for stock feed, with the remaining white commercial farmers. One farmer made the following comments:

> Look government tells us that farming is a business, and a business does not discriminate who you sell your products to. If a white man gives me a better price, then obviously I will sell my goods to him. Presently I sell maize to one of the remaining white dairy farmers. He needs it for stockfeed and he pays on time.

The 2009 and 2012/13 survey, unlike in 2004/5, revealed a land market at the settlement. This commoditization of land, contrary to government policy, may be seen as an alternative source for generating income for some and a response strategy to the continued land shortage, which remained prevalent despite the FTLRP. Land previously zoned for communal grazing has been subdivided and sold for arable farming at a cost USD $200 to $1000 for four hectares. Both the settlers and AGRITEX officers pointed to the Committee of Seven[13] as the responsible entity for demarcating and selling this land. In principle the money raised is supposed to be invested within the community. However, beneficiaries complained that they had not seen such an investment and feared these proceeds had been shared among the committee members instead. The number of households at Lanteglos has increased from the official allocation of 34 to about sixty-six, partly as a result of these land deals. In August 2009, the lands officer claimed to be unaware of such practice, yet in 2012 he attested to these land deals and the conflict that had arisen as a result.

The farming economy at Lanteglos, and similarly in CC Molina and Pamene, is organized on a system of social relations and independent decision-making. In Chapter

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[13] A Committee of Seven is an institutional structure found mostly at farms resettled under the A1 model. It functions as an oversight body for the community. All A1 settlements are required by government to have such a body. In the case of Lanteglos and CC Molina, a war veteran designated as the village policeman sat on the committee; the rest of the committee comprised beneficiaries elected by the villagers. The committee members since the last 2004/5 survey had not changed.

IV, I pointed out that beneficiaries who were resettled at the three study sites included a gamut of people of varying ages, gender, ethnicities, socio-economic backgrounds–all with different motivations for being resettled (Dekker & Kinsey, 2011). The diverse backgrounds necessitated the establishment of new relationships and trust and cooperation amongst land recipients. As such, various novel associational forms emerged over the past decade. These associational forms/institutions emerged for specific political, social and economic needs of the community and in turn allowed for cooperation, community building and the creation of social capital. Table 5-7 illustrates the institutions found in this farming community.

According to Dekker and Kinsey (2011) social networks are an important coping mechanism for new communities and for increasing the pool of people that can assist in farming. Dekker (2004) pointed out in her study of old resettlements that settlers establish social relations through marriage. Over the past decade I noticed that children of the first group of settlers had married and their spouses had either grown up in the village, came from the same communal area and/or held the same ethnic background. Additionally, in the absence of blood relations, totem relations (as discussed in Chapter III) are important sources of social networks, support and cooperation among farmers. These networks are important for building social capital in the community and aiding farmers in mitigating challenges that arise.

Over the last decade, religious institutions, in particular the Johane Masowe Apostolic Faith (*Vapostori*), have played a significant role in enhancing social networks and community support within the village. Unlike the communal areas, resettled farmers cannot depend on kinship ties for help; thus, belonging to a church creates a community based on mutual beliefs and a shared identity and sense of belonging. Church members indicated that they assisted each other with financial loans, mitigating costs associated with funerals, and providing support to members who fell sick. ZANU-PF political meetings (*musangano*), while aimed at political education and information, offered settlers the opportunity to socialize and also share problems and solutions. Furthermore, as illustrated in Chapter IV, several respondents indicate that their association with ZANU-PF allowed them to secure plots for their children and protect their acquired land. Whilst in 2004/5, household members tended to complain about the state's failure to

provide them with resources, by 2013 these peasant farmers were cooperating and finding new and novel ways to survive under a context of deprivation and marginalization by the state. For example, a group of ten farmers who were unable to either secure bank loans individually or obtain subsidies or financial support from government used their political affiliation and connections in ZANU-PF to obtain a financial loan from the party's Senator for Mhondoro Ngezi and businessman, Mr. Peter Haritatos.

Table 5-7: Institutions at Lanteglos

Institution	Description of role
Committee of Seven	Members are democratically elected and it serves as an oversight body. Also in charge of development initiatives, demarcation of land on the farm. Committee also deals with issues of conflict in the community
Informal labor union	People set and agree on uniform payment demands
Savings club	A group of farmers put money together or lobby the state for credit
Sabhuku (headman)	Appointed by the chief and assists with governance of the community. There were three heads of households who were appointed as *sabhukus* at Lanteglos.
Church groups	The main religious group is the *Vapostori* which divided into various sects across the village. Church groups offer support and build a sense of community in these resettled areas.
Musangano	ZANU-PF political meetings/rallies

The Committee of Seven serves as the oversight body for the community. However, some settlers prefer the communal institutions such as the chief and headmen (*sabhukus*) and see these traditional institutions as necessary for maintaining their communal identity and culture. A parallel structure of governance exists at Lanteglos that includes *sabhukus* appointed by Chief Ngezi of the Mhondoro Ngezi communal area. Although Lanteglos is geographically close to Mhondoro Ngezi, the farm falls under Sanyati District and Chief Hozheri. This is likely to lead to future territorial conflicts. Within the community, the appointment of headmen is very contentious and most respondents see this institution as repressive, preferring representation through the Committee of Seven.

The traditional institution of *chisi* (a day in the week designated for rest by the

chief of the area whereby no one is allowed to work) is practiced on Fridays. All the members of the community practice *chisi*. This institution is further entrenched by spiritual beliefs. For example, if people work their fields on the day of *chisi* then this act will anger the spirits who avenge by causing monkeys to eat the individual's crops, or to bring drought, famine, an epidemic, and/or environmental catastrophe (Mrs. Sithole Pers Comm, 2012). Recognition of the spirit medium is now changing the religious landscape of the country and, at Lanteglos, spirit mediums are now at the heart of agrarian community organization. According to Sadomba (2008), the spirit is the chief when it comes to governance. It commands how land is to be governed, so there is more reverence for and fear of the spirit. One female respondent indicated that her husband fasts and communes with the ancestors on the hill for rain, and when he receives a vision from the spirit world he then comes down from the fast. She claims that this connection to the spirit world has always worked and they have planted based on this communication.

Tenure

Applicants were allocated plots by the District Administrator using a raffle system, whereby applicants would simply pick a numbered card and that would be his or her plot number. A letter of confirmation was later provided to the applicant. Thus tenure in this A1 villagized settlement consists of a *jeke* and confirmation letter. Most respondents indicated that they felt secure with their tenure, particularly since the GNU and new constitution safeguarded their acquired land. This was expressed in sentiments such as "*the government said this program is not reversible; murungu (white man) will never again get this land back*." This general response came from the elderly settlers who had acquired land between 2000 and 2004. The newer youthful settlers indicated they preferred to have leaseholds, with a small percentage indicating title deeds. They felt that these forms of tenure were more secure than the *jeke* or confirmation letter (Figure 5-1 and Figure 5-2). One household lamented "*look a jeke can be eaten by rats anytime and people are just photocopying confirmation letters and getting someone to stamp them. Really it is easy to duplicate the Lands Officer's stamp. That is the problem. (Laughing) We know those who have done it amongst us*"

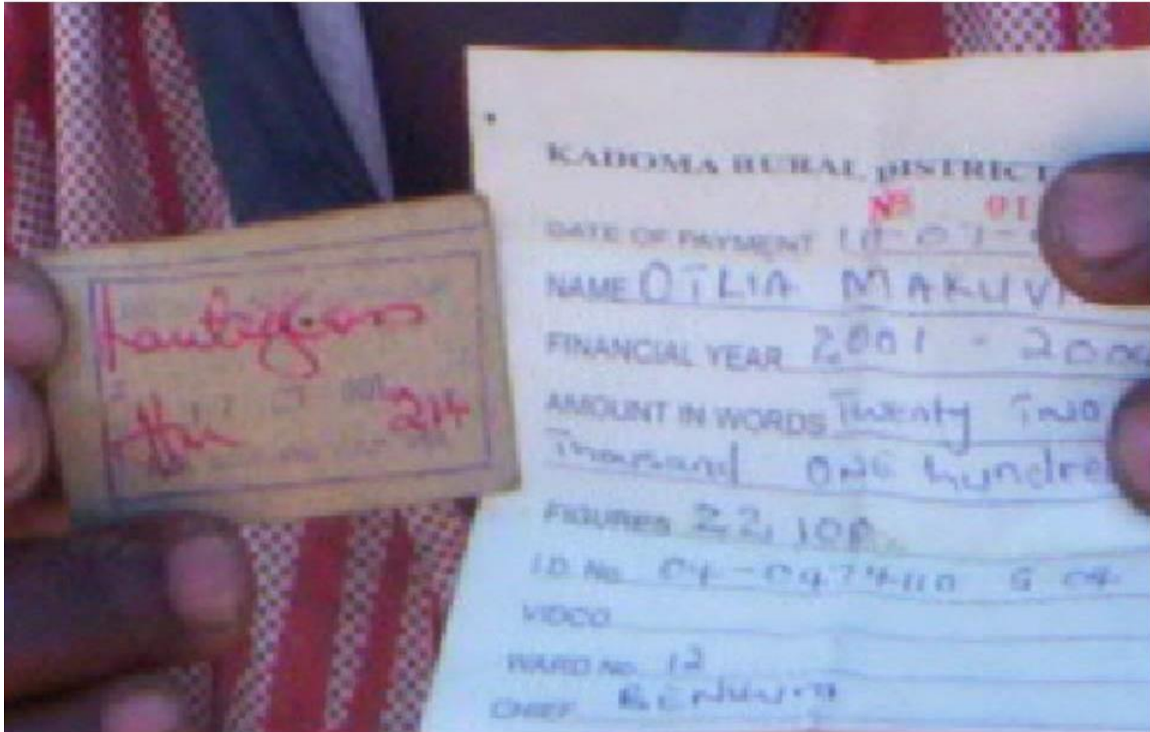
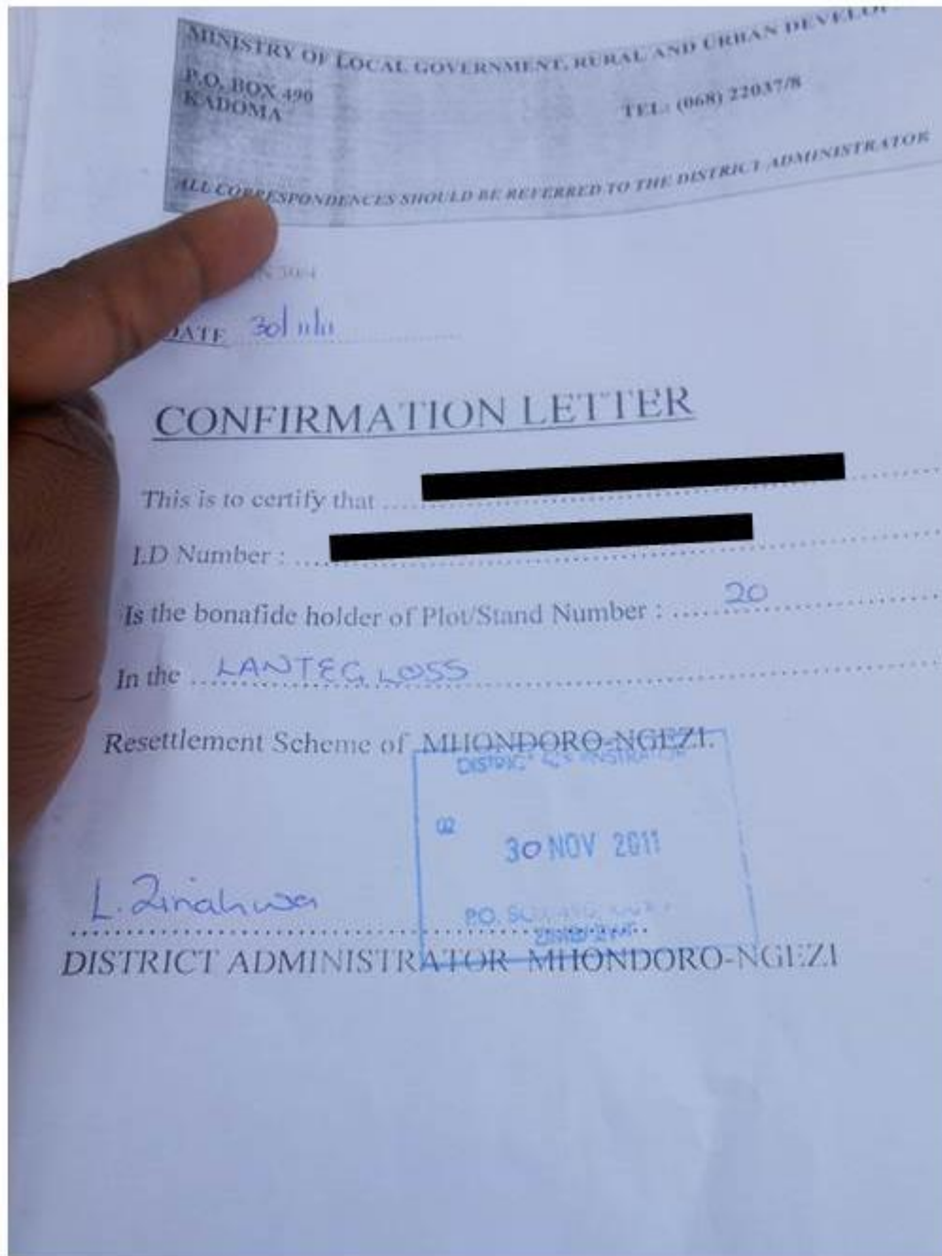


Figure 5-1: On the left is an example of a *jeke* (card) held as form of tenure at Lanteglos (Source: Chigumira, 2006)

5.2.3. Conflict, Challenges and Obstacles

The multiple dimensions of the economic collapse of Zimbabwe profoundly affected smallholder farmers (Dekker & Kinsey, 2011). Figure 5-3 compares the challenges faced by farmers between the 2004/5 and 2012/13 surveys. Since resettlement – and particularly in 2007 and 2008 – the major obstacles to successful farming were a poor macroeconomic environment as well as the unavailability of financial loans; farming inputs such as fertilizers, seeds, and pesticides; and damage to crops by wild animals. The majority of the beneficiaries reported that they were unsatisfied with the producer price set for maize by the GMB, which they considered to be rather low, especially given the high cost of inputs. Dissatisfaction over the producer price for maize manifested itself in references to so-called "sick money" and "peanuts," which are derogatory terms that describe paltry sums of money. Settlers reported that much of the money gained from the sale of crops was 'eroded' by inflation; this was further exacerbated by the failure of the GMB to pay farmers on time for delivered crops. Over 70% of the respondents complained that, particularly during the decade of crisis, they

often had to wait for more than five months before receiving payment; this payment, moreover, was not adjusted to the hyperinflationary conditions prevalent at the time. In response to late payment and to offset shocks, farmers were frequently forced to sell part of their maize stock to other members of their community or to individuals at the Rio Tinto Township.



MINISTRY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT, RURAL AND URBAN DEVEL

P.O. BOX 490
KADOMA

TEL: (068) 22037/8

ALL CORRESPONDENCES SHOULD BE REFERRED TO THE DISTRICT ADMINISTRATOR

DATE 30/11/11

CONFIRMATION LETTER

This is to certify that ....

I.D Number : ....

Is the bonafide holder of Plot/Stand Number : 20

In the LANTEG LOSS

Resettlement Scheme of MHONDORO-NGEZI.

30 NOV 2011

L. Zinahwa

DISTRICT ADMINISTRATOR MHONDORO-NGEZI

Figure 5-2: An example of a letter of confirmation at Lanteglos

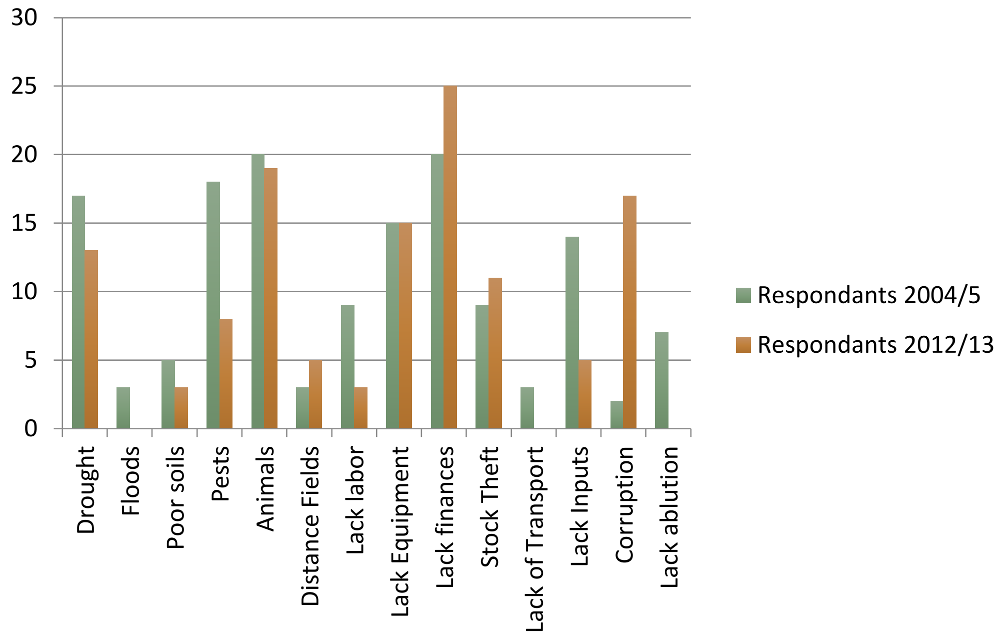


Figure 5-3. Challenges to farming at Lanteglos 2004/5 and 2012/13

Below are some of the comments that farmers made concerning the challenges they faced in farming.

> **Mr. M.:** We had to acquire loans from loan-sharks to obtain finances in order to farm. Now the problem is that I am forced to sell my maize to the GMB which does not give a good price and furthermore the GMB takes a long time to pay us farmers even after delivery of maize. The loan-shark does not care about the time it takes to receive payment from the GMB; he just adds interest and wants his money. I am now struggling to pay back my loan and the interest is now very high. It's killing me. Government needs to support us farmers by allowing us to access credit from banks like they used to do with the white-farmers. That is why *mabhunu* (whites) did well in farming. Credit is important to us farmers. Please when you write your book be sure to mention this to government.

> **Mr. C.:** The problem is this unity government. How can a woman have two husbands? You cannot. There is no way you will have any good decision made. One must go and so that one stays. This way you will be able to lead and provide for the needs of his family. MDC must go, they are hindering us from getting loans and inputs. Look at what the Minister of Finance keeps saying to us farmers…'there is no money'….'there is no money'. No, it is not true, they the MDC are preventing the President from giving us agricultural subsides. Before this unity government things were good. ZANU-PF used to give inputs. Farming used to be first in line in the country`s budget but due to this GNU everything changed

> **Mr. D.:** Corruption is what is killing us farmers. The chefs (elites) are the only ones who are getting financial loans, they get paid on time by the GMB, and they are the ones looting all the cheap inputs from GMB that are supposed to come to us farmers. You know *panguva yenzara* (decade of crisis) we saw the late Senator Rati Gava bring a lorry and loot ALL the fertilizer and maize seed at the GMB. I had been waiting for days and days to get my bag of fertilizer and maize seeds. Days later we saw this same fertilizer sold on the black market at triple the price; we had no choice but to buy at exorbitant prices. That is unfair and the President does not know what his people are doing. How can you succeed as a farmer when your inputs are expensive and the producer price of maize is low?

5.2.4. Resource Utilization and Management

One of the key criticisms by opponents of the Fast Track is that re-peasantization has led to the ‘rape of the land’ and subsequent degradation of the former commercial farms (Richardson 2005; Marongwe, 2008). Furthermore, in this school of thought, it is argued that the chaotic nature surrounding the FTLRP left communities without institutions to oversee the pattern of resource use and management. It is argued that tenure insecurity has compounded resource depletion because land recipients do not have an incentive to protect their physical environment. On the other hand, proponents of the FTLRP argue that the program opened up spaces in which historically marginalized peasants could access land and resources that were formerly enclosed and the preserve of white farmers (Moyo, Pers.Comm 2012). Further, these scholars and commentators view discussions on land degradation as apocalyptic since they claim there is no evidence to support this notion. In this dissertation, I explore the interlinked themes of people, their livelihoods and their relationship to the physical environment with the aim of contributing to the debate surrounding the impact of the FTLRP on the physical environment. I contribute to these debates by providing a micro-case to examine the new ecological relations that emerged since land redistribution, and how land recipients respond to and perceive these changes.

In response to the inhospitable economic environment that characterized the decade of crisis, most households turned to exploiting natural resources. Respondents engaged in fruit harvesting and firewood collection for both domestic consumption and sale. During this period several members of the community covertly engaged in artisanal gold mining and sand extraction. During the hyperinflationary environment, the sale of extracted sand

and gold, and firewood, were preferred sources of income generation because farmers received cash instantly for these commodities. Field walks revealed many pits that were haphazardly dug for sand, evidenced in Figure 5-4 on the farm. Construction companies in Kadoma, and even as far as Kwekwe City (some 80 kilometers from Kadoma), hired settlers to dig for sand. In 2009, in an attempt to resolve the problem of pit sand extraction and indiscriminate firewood cutting, the Committee of Seven designated an area for sand extraction. Outsiders and villagers needed permission to extract this resource from, and pay a fee to, the Committee. According to the chairman of the Committee, since this regulation came into effect it resulted in reduced pit sand extraction because individuals and companies involved in this sand extraction moved to nearby resettlement areas which did not have restrictions. The key motivation for setting a fee for sand extraction was more to raise funds for the village than for conservation ethics. However, this scenario demonstrates that the community at Lanteglos, through the institution of the Committee of Seven, was able to reduce instances of resource exploitation especially by outsiders during the decade of crisis.

Mining and/or panning for gold is practiced by 13% of the settlers in conjunction with farming. Most households involved in these activities are resource-poor and those comprised of newly resettled youths. Gold panning allowed members of these households to supplement their incomes and in turn to invest in agricultural activities. Three percent of these households hold mine claims, which are registered through the Mining Commission. Approximately thirty hectares of grazing land has been designated for mining through these claims, and an additional 20 hectares of land lost to prospecting claims held by two people from outside the community. Informal conversations with the chairman of the village and the security officer revealed increased tension and conflict between those who practice artisanal mining and the farmers. For instance, an artisanal miner from outside the community had pegged his mine claim on almost two thirds of one of the settler's arable plots. The Committee of Seven attempts to resolve these conflicts internally before seeking intervention from the District Administrator. What is noteworthy is the unwritten code of conduct and restrictions in the village on places to prospect for gold. This reduces internal conflict amongst the members of the community.

Figure 5-4: Extensive depressions created from sand extraction on the south-eastern side of the farm.

In 2012, the Village Committee of Seven, with the consent of the community, traded ten hectares of grazing land to a white businessman (who used to be a commercial farmer before FTLRP) to build a gold-processing mill on the farm. This trade-off involved installation and provision of two water points that provide the village with adequate supply of clean water and a proviso that the youth in the village be employed at the processing mill. Prior to this land deal, there was only one borehole that serviced the village. The outcome of this type of land deal is that it reduces the community's dependence on the state for infrastructural development and support, and demonstrates nuanced ways in which beneficiaries are shaping and molding their new environment. This land transaction is a response to the state's failure to provide adequate infrastructural support to the community and the high unemployment rate in the country that rendered most of the youth in the village jobless. There is also recognition, based on experiences from the communal areas, that alternative employment and/or livelihood options for the

young people who dominate the community need to be found due to the lack of available land for further subdivisions.

Another consequence of this land-deal is that it provided enterprising women in the village with an alternative livelihood pathway through petty commodity trading of cooked meals to miners milling gold at this processing mill. Mrs. K. (Pers Comm, 2012) stated that she earned between $250 and $300 per week selling *sadza,* relish, and other commodities to the *makorokoza* (a name given to the artisanal miners/gold panners). The money she made from these sales supplemented her farm income and helped the family purchase an ox-cart and two cows.

Table 5-8 provides a summary of the percentage changes in land cover at Lanteglos while Figure 5-5 maps the vegetation change between 1992 and 2013. The key land cover changes between the period 2002 and 2013 showed significant increases in the area under grassland/vlei and cultivation, which increased by over 400% and 200% respectively, whilst there were significant decreases in the area under riverine and grassland vegetation. The major cause for increase in grassland/vlei was due to conversions of cultivation and bushland. Observations from transect walks in the field suggest that the marked decrease in riverine vegetation was from tree felling for (1) purposes of cultivation, (2) farm infrastructure construction, such as cattle pens, granaries, houses, and (3) firewood used for both domestic consumption and sale to people in the urban areas who experience power outages. They also suggested that deforestation was rife in areas with bushland rather than in areas with woodland. It is noteworthy that between 2002 and 2013 the woodland vegetation increased by 121%. I attribute the increase in woodland cover to changes in the way farmers are now responding to their physical environment and new sets of institutions that put limitations on the use land and common property resources in the community. Foremost, the Committee of Seven since 2009 has become a key institution that prevents outsiders from indiscriminately cutting down trees. Newer households in the community are discouraged from burning trees when clearing land for cultivation, and instead keep the felled trees for consumption purposes. This outlook is very different from the initial settlers, who cleared fields by burning trees and then resorted to extracting firewood from the wooded lands in the first decade of resettlement.

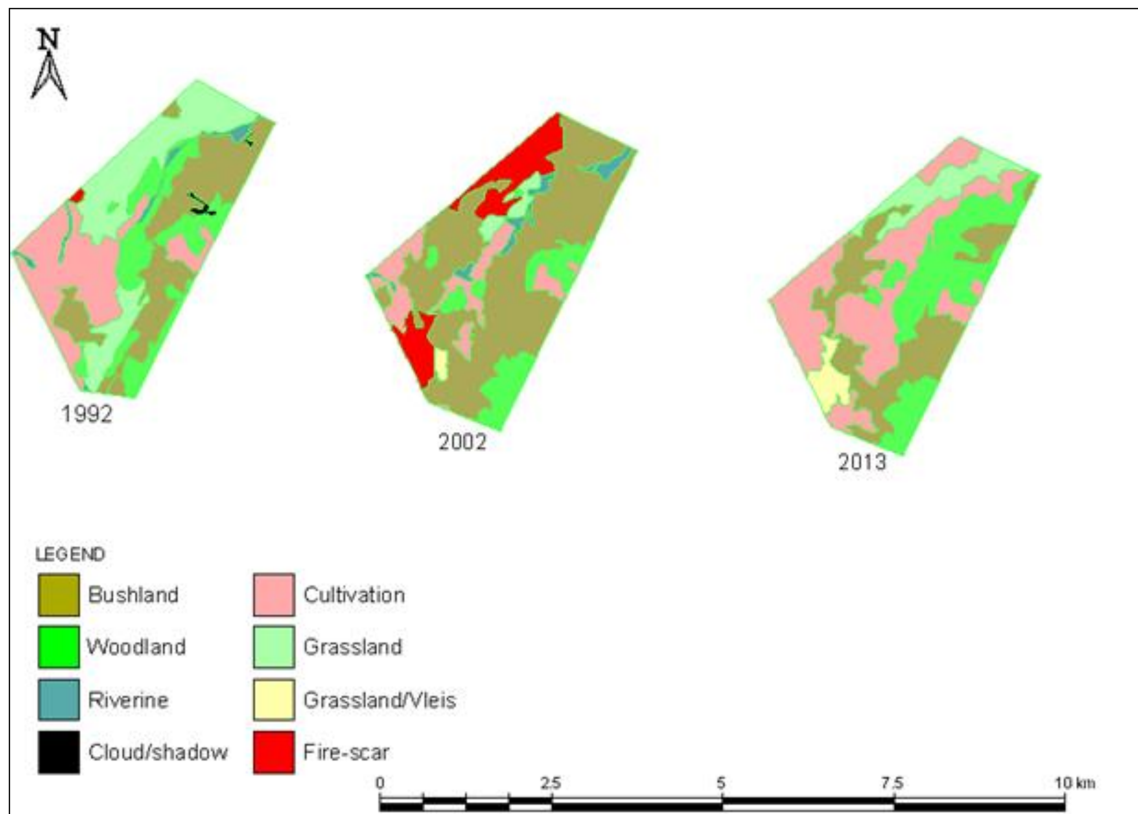


Figure 5-5: Lanteglos Farm, Natural Region III, Land Cover Changes 1992-2013

I noticed over the decade that changes in perceptions toward the physical environment are now strongly influenced by religious and/or spiritual beliefs and practices. Religion has a material base and the ideas and activities of the spirit-mediums, prophets and ancestors have been integrated into the new agrarian system at Lanteglos (Sadomba, 2008). This has subsequently shaped the way people relate to their physical environment. In this 2012/13 survey, close to 70% of the households in the community were members of one of the V*apostori* religious sects. The *Vapostori* in particular worship and pray in wooded areas, which in turn have become sacred places of worship that are protected. In African cosmology, the spirit world finds its way through human society by expressing its wishes, interests or disappointments primarily through mortal beliefs and nature (Ranger, 1999; Sadomba, 2008). As a result people protect the flora and fauna in places that are considered sacred.

Table 5-8: Lanteglos Farm, Natural Region III, Percent Land Cover Changes 1976-2013.

	Area 1976 (ha)	1976-1992 (change %)	1992-2002 (change %)	2002-2013 (change %)
Bushland	389	-36	112	-55
Cultivation	244	-4	-53	217
Grassland	9	2496	-91	-82
Grassland/Vlei	1	200	133	403
Riverine	12	101	31	-100
Woodland	266	-38	-40	121

One respondent described her religious beliefs and how she perceived and responded to her physical environment:

> **Mrs G.:** We pray in the forest because when Johane the *svikiro*[14] came to earth he went and started praying in the forest. He persuaded the people to pray in the forest, and that if they wanted to follow him they would need to go with him into the forest. So he went into the forest and started praying there and people followed him and so this is where we also go and pray. The forest is therefore scared to us as we commune with our prophet and God here, we therefore have to look after the forest and if we destroy it then we will not be able to pray properly.

Place markers either on stones or trees were put to demarcate sites of worship and places that are now considered sacred to the community, as shown in Figure 5-6 and Figure 5-7.

It is important to note that members of the *Vapostori* who worship at Lanteglos are not confined to the community. The church encompasses people of diverse social classes, ethnicities and from various geographic areas within Sanyati District (i.e., neighboring farms, townships, and suburbia). This enables the word to spread in various communities about places of worship and associated restrictions. Mr. Jhamba, the village security officer who accompanied me on field walks, reported a significant decrease in incidents of poaching for wood by outsiders. He indicated that outsiders recognized and respected these new sacred sites for religious worship and collected firewood elsewhere.

[14] The role of the *svikiro* in Shona cosmology is to pass messages from the spirit world to the mortals. Some messages are those that concern the agroecological management of an area. This may entail ecological reserves-places that should not be cut, or declarations that certain points are sacred, such as shrines, pools and caves (Sadomba, 2008).

Furthermore, he noted that the children of the *Vapostori* congregants report outsiders who come into these spaces to collect firewood to their elders. This has consequently further discouraged poaching of this resource.

Figure 5-6: A place marker on a rock demarcating a site of worship for the *Vapostori* at Lanteglos Farm

Figure 5-7: Place markers on trees denoting religious sites for worship at Lanteglos Farm

The pattern of resource use at Lanteglos in the first decade of resettlement stemmed from (1) the inhospitable hyperinflationary environment that characterized the decade of crisis, for households responded to resource extraction and sale thereof to meet their reproductive needs, and (2) the failure to secure inputs and government subsidies forced some farmers, particularly the resource poor, to extract gold and sand in order to earn an income to supplement their farming practices. In addition, indiscriminate extraction of resources in the initial years of resettlement were due to uncertainty about property rights and fear of eviction if a new political dispensation came to power. However, since 2009, with the knowledge that the Fast Track is not reversible, direct and indirect patterns of resource management have emerged in the communities.

In the following section I provide empirical findings of the livelihood outcomes, institutions and social networks that have emerged, and patterns of resource use and management at CC Molina. I also compare and contrast these findings to those at Lanteglos.

5.3. CC Molina A2 Small Scale Commercial Settlement (formerly an A1 self-contained scheme)

Before resettlement, CC Molina was home to one white farmer who owned approximately 6965 hectares of land, which he used primarily for cattle ranching. Since 2000, this land has now become home to a total 125 plot-holders of diverse cultural, ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds, as discussed in Chapter IV. In the 2012/13 survey I interviewed a total of 40 households in which 319 people lived, giving an average of 7.98 persons per household. The results of this survey reveal mixed livelihood portfolios amongst beneficiaries. Livelihood construction and activities at CC Molina depended on, as argued in Chapter IV, the motivation behind acquiring land and what land meant to land recipients. Livelihood practices were also influenced by the politico-economic environment, ecological and legal factors.

5.3.1. Livelihood Pathways

After resettlement, the new farmers at CC Molina shifted the land use under the previous commercial farmer from ranching to rain-fed crop production. Similarly to Lanteglos, farmers adopted plural livelihood strategies that involve a combination of

agricultural and non-agricultural activities in ways that offered and enhanced food security and land-based asset accumulation. Agriculture, as shown in Table 5-9, was by far the dominant income generating activity practiced. Other agricultural and non-agricultural activities undertaken by either the head or another member of the household included trading (which, like at Lanteglos, involved petty commodity trading or cross border trading), gold panning/artisanal gold mining and *maricho* (which were mostly done by children). The survey shows that 30% of the heads of households retained their full-time or part-time jobs.

Table 5-9: Sources of income after resettlement at CC Molina

Sources of income	Number of households in 2004/5	Number of households in 2012/13
Crop sales	22	40
Livestock	12	7
Pension	4	5
Trading	11	17
Formal employment	4	5
Gold panning/Artisanal mining	1	3
Vegetable sales	1	5
Part-time Employment	1	7
Remittances	0	3
Maricho (piece-work)	0	5

The farming experience of land recipients as shown in Table 5-10 at CC Molina varied. Most settlers had obtained their farming experience through ‘learning by doing’ whilst growing up in the communal areas. Compared to Lanteglos, more land recipients (38%) had undertaken a Master Farmer Certificate program or some agricultural course.

The pattern of crop production was similar to the other two study sites. Maize and cotton grown under rain-fed conditions constituted the primary cash crops, whilst smaller grains and nuts were grown for consumption. Statistics provided by the Agritex officer corroborated my research findings, indicating that maize and cotton production over the past decade were generally higher at CC Molina than at Lanteglos and Pamene, at an average of seven tonnes and fifteen bales per household respectively (see Table 5-11 and Table 5-12). The high output in maize production ensured food security amongst the majority of the farmers and enabled them to sell the surplus produce. Several respondents

indicated they had accumulated various assets such as livestock, farming implements, tractors, motor vehicles and boreholes from the income made from selling their produce. Asset accumulation provides an indicator as to how the process of re-peasantization under the FTLRP has led to improved livelihoods or lack thereof, and for differentiating the peasantry along a rich, middle and poor axis. Based on the survey findings, a great proportion of the farmers at CC Molina fell in the middle category.

Table 5-10: Farming experience of head of household at CC Molina

Farming Experience	Households (N=40)
Grew up farming	17
Master farmer certificate	11
O-Level Agriculture	2
Master Farmer and Foundations in Farming training at Cotton Research Centre	2
Gardening in my backyard	1
Learning from other farmers	1
No experience	6

Because households had larger plots, most had sizeable stocks of livestock (Table 5-13 and Table 5-14) and practiced mixed farming. Cattle and goats were primarily kept and grazing accessed on individual plots, although there were cases of livestock grazing on other plots, which became a source of conflict. Oxen were used as draught power and kept to offset households against drought and financial stress. The average herd of cattle increased from 8.59 in 2004/5 to 12.89 per household in 2012/13, whilst that of goats decreased from 13.6 in 2004/5 to 2.38 per household in 2012/13. The decrease in the number of goats owned is attributed to (1) disease that afflicted most goats in the community in the 2008/9 farming season and (2) households generally consuming goat meat rather than cattle, and (3) selling goats to pay for school tuition or other household costs. Three households commented that they had accumulated their herd of cattle from bartering maize during the food crisis in 2008. Although poultry (*huku dzechibhoyi*) were kept by all respondents, two households had diversified to broiler and layer[15] chickens on a large-scale. One third of the beneficiaries indicated that after a decade of settlement at

[15] A variation of chickens that produce eggs

CC Molina they felt safe from threat of eviction by the former land-owner and government, and consequently brought their livestock and farming equipment from their places of origin.

Table 5-11: Maize and cotton production output at CC Molina from 2000/1 – 2004/5 farming seasons.

Farming Season	Number of households	Maize (ton per household)	Cotton (bales per household)
2000 – 2001	2	1.05	none grown
2001 – 2002	7	1.64	6.14
2002 – 2003	19	3.79	5.68
2003 – 2004	27	6.85	11.20
2004 – 2005	27	**7.15	***2.50

** mean of nine households   *** mean of three households

Table 5-12: Maize and cotton production output at CC Molina from 2007/8 to 2011/12

Farming Season	Maize (tons per household)	Number of Households	Cotton (bales per household)	Number of Households
2007 – 2008	4.08	12	8.50	9
2008 – 2009	8.60	15	17.50	12
2009 – 2010	6.85	20	20.20	10
2010 – 2011	7.33	40	12.83	21
2011 – 2012	10.34	40	18.33	24

Table 5-13: Ownership of livestock at CC Molina 2004/5

Livestock	Number of households	Total quantity
Cattle	22	189
Chickens*	20	796
Goats	10	136
Donkeys	6	26
Sheep	2	16
Pigeons	1	40
Guinea Fowl	1	4
Turkeys	1	3

*These were African chickens which are reared by women for consumption

Table 5-14: Ownership of livestock at CC Molina in 2013/13

Livestock	Number of households	Total quantity
Cattle	29	374
Goats	21	50
Chickens*	17	742
Pigs	4	25
Turkey	4	129
Guinea fowl	1	48

*Two households reared 100 broiler chickens a month for commercial sale

Although earning a living from agriculture was difficult during the decade of crisis, several beneficiaries indicated that resettlement had improved their livelihoods (see Box 5-2), particularly after the liberalization and dollarization of the economy in 2009. Those whose livelihoods had improved indicated the following:

> **Mr. J.M**.: My life is now better because when we were in the communal areas, the land was too little and we did not own any livestock. Now we own livestock. This is an improvement as we can use it to plough my land"
>
> **Mr. S.M.:** My life here is better now compared to before where I had poor soils on my father's land. The soils here are good and now I am having good harvests"
>
> **Mr. M.:** "I am now making more money because there is more space to farm, and space for cattle to graze; previously, I had no grazing and therefore no cattle, and now there is more and more "
>
> **Mr. E.D:** My life is better now because I have managed to invest in a maize grinding mill (*chigayo*) and drilled a borehole on my plot. The money I make from the mill allows me to buy inputs especially fertilizer which is very expensive but necessary for my soils. You know sandy soils need lots and lots of food (fertilizer); you cannot starve your soils otherwise your crops will not grow well"

Eight percent of the households interviewed indicated their livelihoods had not improved since resettlement. Two of these households were headed by widows and one household had lost all its cattle to stock theft in the early years of resettlement and had found it difficult to recapitalize. The two widows indicated that they found it difficult to get inputs and did not have sufficient capital to farm productively.

5.3.2. Institutions, Social Networks, Labor and Tenure

Over the last decade, a small shopping centre has developed on the farm, commonly called *pamatuckshop* because of the hive of small *spaza* shops owned by some of settlers. These shops sell basic commodities (cooking oil, soap, flour, etc.) and farm inputs such as seeds, fertilizers and pesticides. One shop has a grinding mill where farmers grind maize into maize-flour. A liquor store (commonly referred to as a bottle store) has opened, a key area where the men in the community socialize and hold meetings. Sixty percent of the respondents sold part of their surplus maize and smaller grains to the GMB. With the liberalization of the economy in 2009, seventy-five percent openly sold maize to private buyers who paid farmers instantly for their produce. Another advantage of selling to private buyers over the GMB is that farmers do not incur transport costs because the buyers bring their own transport to a central location, *pamatuckshop*, on the farm. Figure 5-8 and Figure 5-9 provide examples of market transactions at *pamatuckshop*.

Maize was also sold to individuals within the community and as far as Patchway and Golden Valley Mine townships. Some farmers indicated that they accrued more money by selling to individuals in the urban mine townships, especially during the decade of crisis when people could not buy maize on the formal market. One farmer remarked:

> "You know, farming is a business; you need to be enterprising and take advantage when opportunities present themselves for there is always opportunity in a crisis. I took advantage of *nguva yenzara* (decade of crisis) and sold my maize on the black market to individuals. I then converted my money to South African Rand or US dollar in order to keep its value. It was no good keeping it in Zimbabwe dollars. I had connections in Harare who knew foreign currency traders here in Kadoma where I would go and change my Zim dollar. You see my business mind helped me take advantage of the situation and now I have managed to build a borehole on my plot, buy farm equipment and a tractor."

Farmers who grew cotton, like at Lanteglos, entered into contract farming with one of the four cotton companies, Cottco, Cargill, Alliance or Sinotech. The choice of which company to contract depended on the producer price offered, the terms of credit, and the supply of inputs. These companies used *pamatuckshop* as a central place to collect farmers' cotton.

Box 5-2: Example of assets accumulated by farmers at CC Molina

Mr. M. (61 years): You know, where I used to live I could barely survive nor grow enough to feed my family until the next season. Every year my cattle would dwindle because I always had to sell them to make my financial ends meet and buy food for the family. When I came to CC Molina, although it was initially difficult because I had to clear virgin land, I am now doing very well. I have had good harvests because I invested in the soil, and grow enough maize to eat and to sell. I am now a real farmer. From my savings and the profit from last year's (2010/2011) harvest, I managed to buy a car and more cattle. This would never have happened in Filabusi. I definitely can see a change in my life. But my daughter, it has not been easy. We struggled at first especially during *nguva yenzara* (decade of crisis) but we just persevered and now we are seeing the fruits of our perseverance. That is what farming is all about.

Figure 5-8: Market transaction *pamatuckshop* at CC Molina

Figure 5-9: Individuals taking maize to the buyers at *pamatuckshop* at CC Molina

The labor market consisted largely of family, hired labor and seasonal labor. Family labor was comprised of members of the nuclear and extended family. The resource-rich households hired three to four permanent laborers on the farm, and preferred married men who could settle on the farm with their wives and children. The

perception was that they were less likely to leave their employment compared to single people. I will discuss this point further in Chapter VI. The labor came from various localities across the country, including low-income townships in the urban areas and mining communities. Rural labor came primarily from villages in the surrounding communal areas, especially Gokwe and Sanyati. Similar to Lanteglos, laborers were not unionized and negotiated wages independently. In an impromptu interview with one of the farmworkers, I learned that a network of farmworkers formed through a process similar to chain migration.

In the past decade, a variety of institutions have emerged at CC Molina (Figure 5-15) in response to the socio-economic and political environment. The Committee of Seven at CC Molina serves as an important governance institution. This committee is democratically chosen by the plot holders, with its leadership comprising war veterans and professionals such as former civil servants, teachers and an anaesthetist. Respondents indicated that the Committee of Seven, which serves as an oversight body, has been effective in resolving conflict within the community and protecting the rights and needs of the members. They attribute various development initiatives like the drilling of community boreholes and the change in the designation of CC Molina from A1 self-contained to A2 small-scale commercial variant to successful lobbying by this committee. The efficacy of this lobbying is not verifiable, but this new designation meant a change in the tenure arrangement from A1 certificates of occupation/permits (Figure 5-2) to offer letters and possibility of a 99-year lease (Appendix B), which some households perceived to offer better security of tenure than the permits they had held. The survey revealed that 30% of the households at CC Molina were in possession of a 99-year lease. Those who already held 99-year leases were mostly households comprised of war veterans and former state security officers. Most heads of households indicated their form of tenure consisted of either a *jeke* (Figure 5-1) and/or letter of confirmation (Figure 5-2), because CC Molina had been initially designated as an A1 self-contained scheme.

In 2004/5, the Committee of Seven was the only institution that had been set up in the community. However, over the past decade a variety of institutions have emerged (Table 5-15). For example, due to the poor economic environment during the decade of crisis, the community set up a burial society to help households offset funeral costs (food

and burial). Another example is the school development committee, which built a primary school in the community because the closest primary school is at least 18 kilometres away from CC Molina. This committee tapped into retired professionals, such as teachers and former civil servants who had been resettled in the community, to teach. According to some respondents, one of the beneficiaries gave a small portion of his land so the school could be built. This associational form helped forge strong community bonds and social capital and is an example of settlers taking initiatives to mitigate challenges faced by the lack of/limited state support and development planning in Fast Track settlement schemes.

In spite of coming from different backgrounds and ethnicities, all the land recipients followed the traditional institution of *chisi,* similarly to Lanteglos.. Furthermore, traditional rules which were enforced in the Sanyati District by chief Hozheri of Sanyati, and which surprisingly seemed to be followed by settlers, included not cutting down certain types of trees or killing certain species of snakes like pythons. Interviewees who did not originate from Sanyati District indicated that they adhered to these restrictions because they feared being cursed or bad omens befalling them. It is important to note here that in Chapter III I stated that emotions can help us understand how nature-society relationships are structured. In this case, fear of bad omens served as an effective protector of the natural resources and animal species in CC Molina. This institution was supported by the neighborhood committee, which curbed outsiders from cutting down trees, poaching and stock theft. Whilst in the field, the research team encountered members of this committee practising what they referred to as ‘community justice’ in which criminals were punished through beatings. The reason for embarking on a system of ‘community justice’ was described as follows:

> “We have our own justice system here because we know that the police will not do anything to these criminals. We know that they are paid to turn a blind eye. We cannot keep losing our livestock and resources to these criminals and so we are setting an example, this man will never set foot on CC Molina as he now knows it is not a community you can steal from. We are united here.”

Table 5-15: Institutions at CC Molina

Institution	Description of role
Committee of Seven	Members are democratically elected and it serves an oversight body. Also in charge of development initiatives at the farm.
School Development Committee	To set up a primary school, access teaching materials and building materials for the school.
Neighbourhood Watch Committee	To prevent stock theft and poaching in the community. Pseudo police officers in the community.
Burial Society	Offer financial assistance and support in cases of death.
Football Club	Primarily targeted as a social activity for the youth in the community.
War Veterans Committee	Responsible for supporting and ensuring the needs of the war-veterans are met at both local and national levels.
Water Committee	Responsible for fundraising for community boreholes and wells. This includes repairs and construction of boreholes.

Political institutions at the farm level are connected to the ruling party and are important to the lives of the people at CC Molina. Similar to Lanteglos, although ZANU-PF's *musangano* is for political education, it also offered a platform for farmers to share their farming experiences and challenges, and obtain information on the national government's policy directions which affected and shaped their livelihood options. Celebrations of national events like Independence Day and Heroes Day were organized by leading ZANU-PF members in the community. All households at CC Molina and the adjacent farm Berkley Chase contribute cash or food for the event and are expected to attend. These events serve both as political and social institutions which maintain the ruling party's support base and ZANUrization (becoming a member of ZANU-PF)of the younger members of the community. Moreover, it builds social relations and cooperation

amongst members of the community, and fosters cultural norms, values and identity amongst the youth. For example, when I attended the Independence Day celebration, the younger men who had proved themselves as responsible and potential leaders of the community were assigned the important role of slaughtering cattle (Figure 5-10 and Figure 5-11). On the other hand, young women who held the same qualities were assigned to cook under the guidance of the elder women, and serve the adults. One of the younger men who had been involved in culling the cattle described how he met his wife through this event;

> **Mr. T. (27 years):** You know I like these celebrations. They allow you to see who the good girls are, those worthy of marrying that your parents will approve of. My wife now, back then, almost always used to be chosen to cook and serve with the elder women of the village. She comes from a decent family here in CC Molina and I knew she would make a good wife.

5.3.3. Conflict, Challenges and Obstacles

The key challenges farmers faced (Figure 5-12) over the past decade included lack of access to capital/finances, effects of mid-season and seasonal drought, and corruption by government officials especially in the distribution of state input subsidies.

Figure 5-10: Young men (the youth) slaughtering cattle for the Independence Day celebrations at CC Molina.

Figure 5-11: Distribution of the slaughtered meat for cooking.

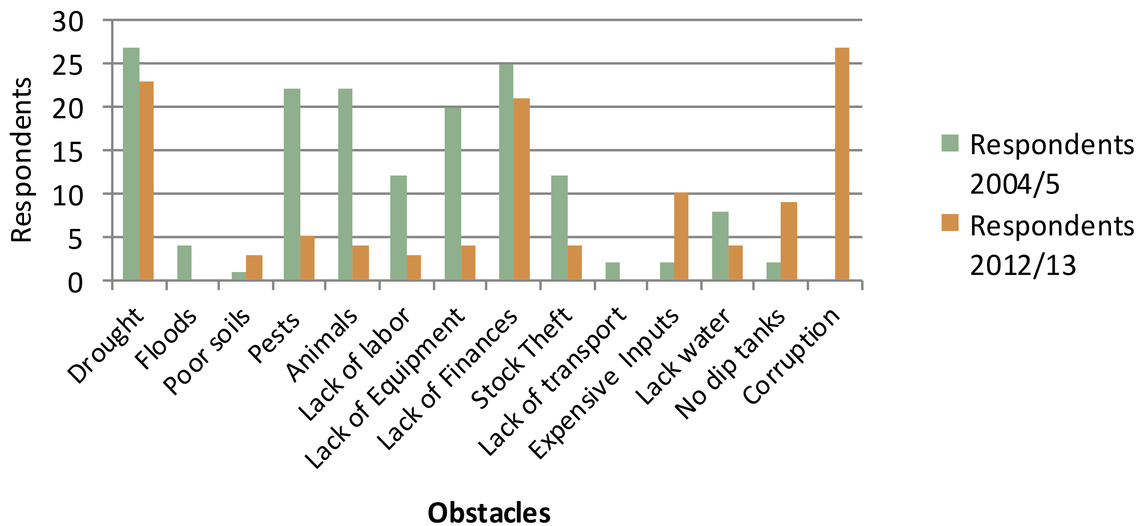


Figure 5-12: Obstacles to farming experienced by farmers at CC Molina 2004/5 and 2012/13

Sixty per cent of the farmers complained about the low producer price for maize and cotton set by the government during the decade of crisis and even after the

liberalization of the markets. This challenge is captured in the following calculations made by one farmer:

> They (Government) need to increase the price of maize to $US 400 per ton. By doing this I will be able to meet my costs, buy inputs for the next season and save. Right now the US$265 per ton given by GMB is not enough to meet my costs for inputs particularly fertilizers for the next farming season. One ton of fertilizer requires that I send two tons of maize to the GMB, where is my profit if I have only harvested two tons this season.

Another farmer complained about farming cotton under contract with Cottco:

> That company robs us farmers. Although we get everything on credit, their inputs are expensive. Now the problem is that cotton is a very labor intensive and labor is expensive. You need to spend at least $900 per hectare (labor and inputs included). This means that if you do not get a good harvest you are faced with debt to the company. Last season (2011/12) was bad for all of us cotton growers; although we had good harvests, the price of cotton was so low that no one made a profit and we had a hard time paying our labor. The only people who made a profit were the cotton companies. They really robbed us farmers and as a result many farmers have decided not to grow cotton this season (2012/13). We cannot be slaves to the cotton company. They should tell us the producer price for cotton before we enter into contract with them. Until they change their pricing structures we are not going into contract with them. This is how most farmers around Sanyati feel.

Besides the low producer price of maize and cotton, the majority of the farmers complained that agricultural inputs were very expensive and in short supply. Furthermore, they were unable to access loans from financial institutions, and were forced to sell assets they had accumulated in order to buy input. One farmer described his situation by noting that:

> We need loans. This is the only way we can be viable farmers. How come white farmers got loans and we cannot? This is sabotage…we are being sabotaged so that we do not farm productively. Whites succeeded because they had access to credit from the banks. Let us do some mathematics, for example, Agritex tells us to use 7 bags of fertilizer per hectare of planted maize. Now, what this means is that I need two sets of fertilizer (Ammonium Nitrate on top and Compound D on the bottom), which means I need to buy two sets of fertilizer for each hectare that I plant. So if I want to plant 20 hectares I need 280 bags of fertilizer. On the private market I buy fertilizer at $40 to $45 per bag, which means that to fertilize

> 20 hectares of maize according to Agritex's advice it will cost me $11,200. We farmers do not have such money, we can only follow Agritex's farming principles if they give us loans or subsidize inputs. GMB used to give us subsidized inputs until the chefs started siphoning these subsidies. Now we are also faced with corrupt officials who take what should come to us the ordinary farmer, honestly, how can we farm well in light of all this?

In this 2012/13 survey, corruption emerged as a common theme and challenge for farmers at both Lanteglos and CC Molina. Whilst the community at Lanteglos complained about the problem of corruption in the distribution of government inputs and farm equipment, the farmers at CC Molina together with the community of Berkley Chase made a collective decision to choose someone to represent them in Parliament and ensure their community and those surrounding them were not left out of development initiatives. As such, Dr. Masiiwa, a dentist in Kadoma town who holds a plot at the farm, was nominated to represent Sanyati District in the general elections. The members of the community then used their networks from their areas of origin to help Dr. Masiiwa secure and win the ZANU-PF primary election and then the general election. This incident demonstrates agency on the part of the farmers in responding to corruption and marginalization, and ensuring that their development needs are met.

5.3.4. Natural Resource Utilization and Management

Makomba! Makomba! Makomba awanda munharaunda ino. Chop chop mari! yaputikakwzvo! Zivayi kuti ivhu rinochengeta vana asimakomba anopera! (Mrs M. at the 2013 field day ceremony)

(Holes! Holes everywhere! There are too many holes in this community. Quick, quick money! Indeed we have a gold rush! But you need to know that the soil is what our children will live off and this gold will eventually deplete and finish)

At a field day ceremony I attended, one of the farmer's wives complained about artisanal gold mining at CC Molina and Berkeley Chase farms. Gold-bearing reefs were

found on several plots at CC Molina and its adjacent farm, Berkley Chase. This led to a gold rush in the community and a change in livelihood pathways of some of the farmers. A decade ago mining was frowned upon and often took place covertly. However, in this 2012/13 survey, I noticed a greater proportion of respondents involved in artisanal mining on their plots. Mining augmented household incomes and improved livelihood outcomes. These households were then able to buy assets such as cars and farming equipment and develop their farms. Income from the sale of gold allowed one farmer to hire machinery to grade the road to his plot, which had deteriorated over the years. During field visits some farmers shared that either they had hired someone with a gold detector to survey their plot or they knew other farmers who had done so and were digging underground or practising open-cast mining for gold.

Table 5-16 and Figure 5-13 show the changes in vegetation cover at CC Molina. The area under cultivation had decreased up to 1992, but had increased by 205% between 2002 and 2013. Examination of the Landsat images reinforced impressions gained in the field in 2004/5 and 2012/13 that the cultivation increases resulted from resettlement. There had been clearing of woodland, bushland and grassland that had not been previously farmed under the commercial farmer between 1972 and 2000. Grassland/vlei increased throughout the period while riverine woodland decreased.

Table 5-16: CC Molina, Natural Region III, percent land cover changes 1972-2013.

	Area 1972 (ha)	1972-1992 (change %)	1992 -2002 (change %)	2002 – 2013 (change %)
Bushland	2823	43	44	-22
Cultivation	1545	-63	19	205
Grassland	1114	64	-90	-56
Grassland/Vlei	53	105	91	9
Riverine	288	21	-37	-11
Woodland	1290	-88	-81	-16

Deforestation from poaching was not rife at CC Molina due to the aforementioned institutions that deter the felling of trees and movement of fuel wood. Wood has been mostly cut down for cultivation and for building farm infrastructure like granaries, cattle pens and houses. One environmental impact caused by an increase in the number of

people at CC Molina and the clearance of vegetation for cultivation and residential plots was the destruction of biodiversity on the farm. Prior to resettlement the farm, according to the former commercial farmer Tony Lubbe (in Chigumira 2006, 2010), hosted a variety of species of wildlife. After resettlement respondents indicated that few wildlife were left in the area and could not provide information as to where it had disappeared. When asked if they considered the reduction in wildlife in the area a problem, almost all respondents did not view this as a problem because they perceived wildlife as a 'nuisance' to their farming practices.

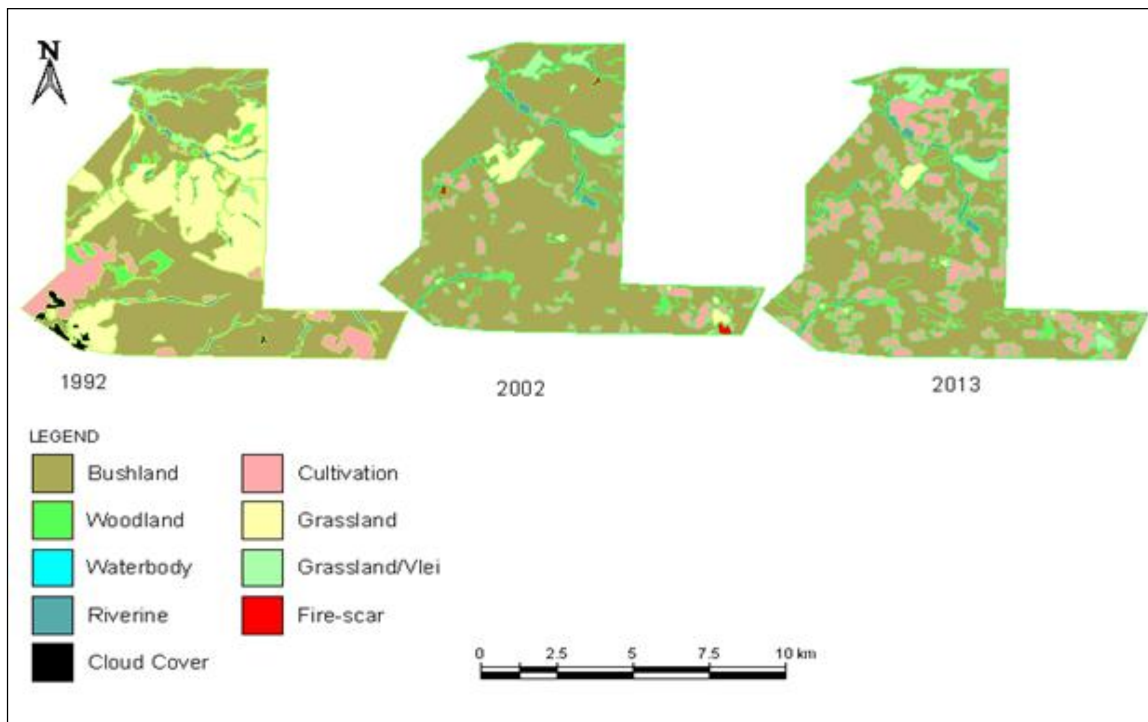


Figure 5-13: CC Molina, Natural Region III, Land Cover Changes 1972-2013

5.4. Pamene: A2 Small Scale Commercial Settlement Scheme

Since 2000, Pamene is now home to a total 56 plot-holders of diverse cultural, ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds as discussed in Chapter IV. The farm was subdivided into 56 plots of varying sizes, with a mean size of 21.4 hectares. I interviewed a total of 54 households with a total of 289 people and an average of 5.4 people per household. According to Agritex, the settlement is intended for intensive arable production and limited livestock rearing, given the small size of these commercial plots.

The narrative given by the chairman of the farm and the lands officer pointed to a high turnover of settlers on the farm because beneficiaries found it difficult to farm productively on *Mopani*, sandy soils that were considered infertile and required copious fertilizer use. Most returned to their previous localities or requested transfer to other farms endowed with 'better' soils. However, residents on the farm, as pointed out in Chapter IV, indicated that some settlers were forced to leave because of their perceived political affiliation to the opposition party. During this transition, plots were empty, resulting in exploitation of the natural resources such as sand extraction and wood by other settlers or people from nearby communities and urban townships.

5.4.1. Livelihood Pathways

Livelihood practices are similar to those at Lanteglos and CC Molina. Table 5-17 shows the plural strategies of land recipients, which involved wage income from beneficiaries who owned businesses, or were employed full-time or part-time who had not resigned from their jobs since resettlement. Most households supplemented their incomes from crop and livestock sales with *maricho*, or through extraction of natural resources for sale such as firewood, gold, pit and river sand.

The farming experience of land recipients as shown in Table 5-18 varied. Most settlers, like at CC Molina, had obtained their farming experience through 'learning by doing' whilst growing up in the communal areas Fifty percent had taken some form agricultural course such as the Master Farmer Certificate, in-house training with Agritex, and/or a certificate program from the Cotton Research Centre.

The main cash crops grown were maize and cotton. In the 2012/13 farming season, following the tobacco boom in other parts of the country, five households had diversified into tobacco production. Other crops grown included small grains (finger millet and sorghum), soyabean, nuts (*bambara* and groundnuts), and pumpkin, which were retained primarily for consumption. Forty-eight percent of the households had vegetable gardens. Vegetables were primarily grown for consumption but five households grew them for commercial purposes and sold them to markets in the nearby townships of Ngezi and Rimuka.

Crop output levels, shown in Table 5-19 and Table 5-20, were much lower compared to the other two farms despite Pamene being in a better agro-ecological region.

Farming was mostly at a subsistence level although this settlement scheme was intended for commercial production. Scoones *et al*. (2011) long-term study of A2 farms in Masvingo District showed lower output by A2 farmers compared to the A1 farmers. There are several reasons for this low output. Foremost, the farmers who received these plots of land, contrary to policy prescription, were not well resourced and have not adequately invested in their farms. Also, the motivations behind acquiring land, which I outlined in Chapter IV, show that several heads of households applied for a place to reside and call home rather than for commercial farming. Finally, the Agritex officer for Pamene identified poor soils and high settler turnover at the farm as contributing to the low productivity.

Table 5-17: Sources of income after resettlement at Pamene.

Sources of income	Number of households in 2004/5	Number of households in 2012/13
Crop sales	13	33
Livestock	7	21
Part-time Employment	6	1
Pension	4	1
Formal employment	4	5
Gold panning/Artisanal mining	2	5
Vegetable sales	5	10
Sale of river/pit sand	-	5
Sale of firewood	-	3
Trading	-	4
Maricho (piece-work)	-	12

Table 5-18: Farming experience of heads of households at Pamene.

Farming Experience	Households (N=54)
Taught by parents and grew up farming	16
Agricultural courses with Agritex	13
Master farmer certificate	7
O-Level Agriculture	5
Reading books on farming and attending field-days	3
Learning from other farmers	1
No experience	7
Courses from Cotton Research Centre	2

The fluctuations in cotton production at Pamene in the last decade resulted from the low producer price offered for this commodity. Members of households complained that the low price at which cotton is purchased is not favorable for farmers to offset their costs since cotton is capital and labor intensive. Most farmers who grew cotton described the past and current producer price for cotton and maize as 'sick money.' In essence, the pricing structures for these two products were perceived to be low and not conducive to production. One way farmers resisted these low prices was by opting not to grow the product and switching to products they could subsist on.

Table 5-19: Maize and cotton production output at Pamene from 2000/1 to 2004/5 farming seasons.

Farming Season	Number of households	Maize (tons per household)	Cotton (bales per household)
2000 – 2001	-	-	-
2001 – 2002	2	2.00	-
2002 – 2003	6	2.42	-
2003 – 2004	14	3.30	0.86
2004 – 2005	23	**1.10	crop failure

** Maize yields from 10 of the 23 households

Table 5-20: Maize and cotton production output at Pamene from 2007/8 to 2012/13 farming seasons.

Farming Season	Maize (tons per household)	Number of Households	Cotton (bales per household)	Number of Households
2007 – 2008	2.46	7	4.25	2
2008 – 2009	1.75	9	9.00	2
2009 – 2010	3.15	54	11.00	2
2010 – 2011	3.24	54	13.30	4
2011 – 2012	3.56	54	8.94	16
2012 - 2013	1.91	19	9.6	5

Livestock rearing, shown in Table 5-21 and Table 5-22, is another important activity for this rural economy. Ownership in livestock has increased over the years, with just over 50% of the farmers owning cattle. Cattle ownership increased from an average herd of four cattle per household in 2004/5 to 15 cattle per household in 2012/13. Pamene

was designated primarily for crop production and a limit of eight cattle per household was stipulated by Agritex as the appropriate carrying capacity for each plot. In spite of this regulation, and because of the lack of enforcement by Agritex, the majority of the households exceeded their carrying capacity. In particular, this survey revealed that one household resettled on 20.5 hectares had a herd of about 100 beef cattle and 40 goats which grazed in other settler's plots, resulting in a major source of conflict in the community. What is notable about this particular household is that it had accumulated cattle through bartering surplus output of maize in 2008 within the community and other surrounding settlements, a strategy also observed at CC Molina. Thus, while the economic crisis affected many farmers adversely, a few resource-rich households saw opportunities in the crisis to accumulate agricultural assets like cattle. This is because livestock was often sold by peasant farmers to offset financial shocks/stress and for payment of school tuition.

Table 5-21: Ownership of livestock at Pamene 2004/5.

Livestock	Number of households	Total amount
Chickens	9	280
Cattle	8	34
Goats	4	47
Pigs	1	19
Sheep	1	3

Table 5-22: Ownership of livestock at Pamene 2012/13

Livestock	Number of Households	Total Quantity
Cattle	27	405
Goats	17	239
Chickens*	3	520
Pigs	3	112
Sheep	3	22
Donkeys	3	14

The majority of the settlers felt that their livelihoods had improved since resettlement. This was reflected in their expenditure patterns and ability to accumulate

assets. Asset accumulation and farm investments, like at the other two farms, included the building of modern houses made of bricks and asbestos or tin roofing, ownership of agricultural assets such as livestock, tractors, plough disks, cultivators and trucks. Non-agricultural investments included solar panels, televisions and radios, kitchen utilities for the women and cellphones. The following comments were made by members of households on whether their livelihoods had improved or not with resettlement.

> **Mr. M**. It is much better here for my family than my previous area of origin. This is because at Dhoneni I used to spend a lot of money on transporting my goods to markets in town. We were very far away from town. Now that I am close to Kadoma, I save a lot of money that I would have incurred in transportation. I now put this toward purchasing inputs like fertilizer. The soils I was resettled on are sandy and require a lot of nutrients from fertilizer.
>
> **Mrs. D:** I have a place to live, my own home. Since I no longer rent in Rimuka Township I am now able to save my money and build myself a house on this property. My children are all in school and we manage to live off the land.
>
> **Mr. C:** I was one of the lucky ones who were allocated a plot which has the former commercial farmer's homesteads. I rent out rooms in two of these houses on the property. This enables me to generate a steady income that I use toward my farming. In the past ten years I have managed to experiment with different crops and now I am doing tobacco which is capital intensive and so I use my rental money to buy inputs needed for growing tobacco. This way of living is better than working all your life for peanuts at the municipality of Kadoma.
>
> **Mr. N:** Although we have a place to live of our own, we are really struggling. We are failing to get good maize yields because the soils are so poor. We have sandy soils and if we do not feed these soils with fertilizer then we will always get a poor harvest. I am now spend time doing *maricho* at the detriment of my own farming because I need money to feed my family.

5.4.2. Institutions, Social Networks, Labor and Tenure

They key institutions at Pamene are the Committee of Seven and the ZANU-PF political cell group. All farmers belong to ZANU-PF grassroots cell structure, and prior to elections they caucus every week. I attended one of these caucus meetings and noticed that, like at Lanteglos, farmers used these meeting to air their grievances, challenges to

farming and conflicts within the community.

Another institution that emerged recently due to crime in the area is the neighborhood watch cell groups which are organized and run by the younger men in the community. The chairman of the village indicated that low levels of social capital existed in the community and that at political meetings attempts were made to instil a sense of cooperation among the community members. This lack of cooperation is encapsulated in the following comment; "*we farmers at Pamene do not do well like the people in the villages because we are not united and we do not help each other. This situation needs to change*."

There were three types of labor at Pamene: family, seasonal and permanent. The businessmen who did not reside on the plots hired permanent labor. The community referred to the businessmen as cellphone farmers because they conducted their farming over the phone and visited the plots perhaps once a month or on weekends. Similarly to CC Molina, farmers preferred hiring permanent labor who were married and have a family. One farmer indicated this preference in the following statement *"I prefer hiring men who are married and have a family. This is because they cannot easily pack and leave and will invest more in farming*." I observed that the farmers who fell in the resource-rich to middle spectrum hired seasonal labor to assist with weeding and harvesting, whilst the poorer households mostly relied on family labor. Members of the extended family were often called upon to assist with weeding and harvesting.

Sixty percent of the hired labor at Pamene came from the low-income townships of Kadoma (Ngezi and Rimuka), whilst the rest came from within the community and, in particular, from amongst the former commercial farmer's workers. Payment for labor varied among the farmers. Those who hired seasonal labor either bartered food or paid between USD $1 to $3 for every two lines cultivated, weeded or harvested. One farmer, who is also a cross border trader, indicated the following on how he pays his labor:

> I travel to South Africa or Botswana every two months. I noticed that the demands from the urban labor are different from the rural people I used to hire. So I normally barter cooking oil, soap, blankets, shoes and clothes that I buy in bulk from South Africa. That is what these urban people want. You give them what they want and they tell other people. I am never in short-supply of labor.

I interviewed some of the permanent farmworkers to ascertain where they came from and how they were paid. The following comments describe the varied responses of the farm workers:

> **Mrs. B.**: We came from Binga looking for work. We are paid $100 per month plus we get cooking oil, two buckets of maize and 2kg's of rice per month, 4kg sugar, 1kg salt, two bars of soap and 4kg flour. We are saving my husband's pay so that we can buy cattle for our plot of land in Binga.
>
> **Mr. M.M.:** My boss lives in Bulawayo. I used to work as a seasonal worker on the white farms. Now they are no more so I looked for work on black farms. I get paid USD$90 per month, two buckets of mealie-meal, one liter of cooking oil and *kapenta* (dried fish). I feel it's better to work for a black man because the white farmers used to force us to work for very little and we would have to buy food on credit at their shops. This left us with no money at the end of the month as this was deducted off our salary due to the credit we used up for food.
>
> **Mr. C.**: I used to work for Mr. Reed, who owned this farm. I did not get land and people on the farm here told me I would never get my own land (if you can help me please tell me the process). I do not get paid but look after the farm for the owner who lives in Kadoma. I just have to show that there is some farming being done in return for a place to live.
>
> **Mr. M.N.:** My boss is a part of the ZANU-PF women's league and that is how she got land. I used to work for a commercial farmer, Mr. Lambourne in Chegutu and Mrs. M. put word out for experienced farmworkers. I left Lambourne and came to work here. Mrs. M. does not live here but in Harare. She says I can grow anything I want and live with my family. I just have to show that farming is taking place for the land audit.

Most households at Pamene hold offer letters as their form of tenure whilst the newer settlers hold confirmation letters given to them by the District's Lands Officer. There were varied responses to the form of tenure that households wanted. Over 60% indicated that they preferred to have a 99-year lease, whilst the remainder preferred title deeds. I observed that households that wanted title deeds were mainly the resource-rich, who had invested in their farms and accumulated agricultural assets. Furthermore, some settlers told me in private that they had been instructed at caucus meetings to tell me that they wanted 99-year leases as this was ZANU-PF's policy. Therefore it is questionable that 60% of these households actually want leaseholds. An encounter on the side of the

road with one farmer and the chairman of the community highlights the problematic issues of tenure:

> Personally, individually and not speaking for the nationally, me, myself and I (*ininini chete*), I want a title deed and not a leasehold. You, Mr Chairman, tell us to say leasehold but here are my personal feelings about a lease. A lease has no permanence. What happens after 99 years? Will my children benefit? Am I developing for someone else? If I die at the age of 60 or 70 then my child will only have 30-40 years on the farm. That does not make sense to me (*zvinoita here izvozvo).*No, Mr Chairman, do not speak for other people. Me, I speak, personally, individually and not for the national. I want a title deed. Look a lease is like when you rent a shop for ten years after which time you can pack and go and someone else comes or you can be lucky and get a renewal, however there is no guarantee. Me, myself and I (*inini*) I want a title deed.

5.4.3. Challenges, Conflicts and Obstacles

We want to farm but we need support from government. We have no support. Extension officers do not do their job properly. With all these obstacles how can we be successful farmers? (Mr. M. Pers Comm, 2013)

The key challenges faced by farmers over the past decade, as shown in Figure 5-14, include lack of access to capital/finances, which affected the farmers' ability to purchase inputs, machinery and equipment for farming. Over the past decade stock theft in the community has increased and become a grave concern. Households reported that Pamene's proximity to Ngezi and Rimuka townships made the community susceptible to high rates of stock and crop theft by unemployed urbanites. The problem of stock theft is compounded by the fact that the plots are not fenced and therefore easily accessible. A common theme across all case studies in this 2012/13 survey is that most households complained about corruption by government officials, especially in the distribution of state input subsidies. Most respondents complained that the police were complicit in corrupt activities. For example, one farmer indicated that when his cattle were stolen the police did little to track the culprits and it later transpired that they received a kickback to turn a blind eye.

Four households complained that the soils on which they were settled were poor, requiring copious amounts of fertilizer (which were not readily available on the formal market in 2006 to 2008 and quite expensive on the informal market). Furthermore, seed inputs were also not readily available, which delayed crop production and left farmers at risk of mid-season droughts as had been the case in the 2004/5 farming season. They described this as a major obstacle to increasing their yields. The majority of farmers who were resettled inland and away from the tributaries of the White Water River found it difficult to access water for their livestock and domestic consumption. Accessing water from this river meant negotiating access to another settler's plot and access was dependent on the relationship established by the two farmers. Several households complained that, despite the dollarization and liberalization of the economy in 2009, agricultural inputs were very expensive and this made farming costly and difficult, especially for the less well endowed.

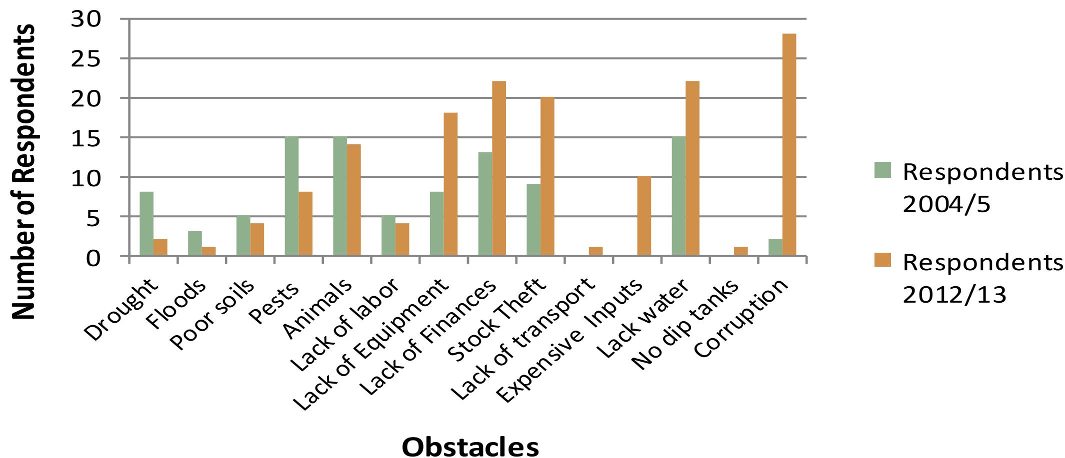


Figure 5-14: Obstacles to farming experienced by farmers at Pamene 2004/5 and 2012/13.

Farmers complained about the re-demarcation of the boundaries of their plots. They indicated that they were not informed about this directive from the Ministry, until after an announcement was made by the lands officer following complaints by affected members. The re-demarcation of boundaries has created conflict within the community. Some

farmers lost large portions of land, particularly that which they had cleared, to their neighbors, whilst others found their infrastructure such as houses, kraals, and boreholes falling into their neighbors' new boundaries. Many who were affected indicated that some farmers who had been in the know about the new demarcation paid the surveyors money to increase their boundaries. Box 5-3 tells the story of one of the problems created by this second demarcation.

5.4.4. Resource Utilization and Management

Table 5-23 and Figure 5-15 show the vegetation cover changes at Pamene over four decades. 1976 is used as the baseline, as this represents the time period during which the former commercial farmer started farming full-time. It shows that the bushland had increased prior to resettlement since the associated change in vegetation cover had facilitated game farming. Game farming was an important land use activity under the former commercial farmer, as described in Chapter IV. Cultivation decreased up to 1992 due to irrigation and mechanisation being restricted to only 70 hectares of land. The increase in cultivation between 1992 and 2013 resulted from new settlers clearing land for cultivation. Riverine woodland decreased markedly at Pamene between 1992 and 2013. The survey showed that this resulted from both of settlers clearing woodland and township residents cutting wood for fuel and for sale. As previously mentioned, Pamene is close to two townships just outside Kadoma: Ngezi and Rimuka. Woodland and bushland decreased throughout the analysis period. Respondents reported that woodland species like the *Mukamba* had disappeared because of poaching. Poachers sold this wood to wood carvers in Kadoma and Kwekwe towns. Reduction in the water body, especially after 2002, resulted primarily from siltation of riverbeds caused by mining of river sand both by settlers and township residents for construction and gold.

Ninety-one percent of the households indicated that they had cleared wooded areas in order to expand the area under cultivation. Interviews showed that some settlers were not interested in farming but in having a place of residence, and therefore grew less than a hectare of maize although having large fields of cleared land. This could mean that land was cleared for sale of wood rather than cultivation. During the decade of crisis, the sale of natural resources was an important source of income compared to revenue from crop or livestock production. One household explained "*Zim dollar haritengi chinhu saka*

ndakaona kuti ndigatengesa zvinhu zviri pamunda wangu ne ma USA zviri better than kuenda kubasa kwaunoshandira sick money" (You cannot buy anything with the Zimbabwe dollar so I decided to sell resources from my plot in US dollar and this is better than going to work where you earn very little money).

Box 5-3: An example of conflict over the re-demarcation of plots at Pamene.

The contentious house. This house falls in the zone of a boundary dispute. Half of the house and infrastructure (on the right) is now inside the plot of another farmer. The contention has arisen due to the re-demarcation/re-marking of the all plots at Pamene by the officers from the Surveyor General in 2012. This re-demarcation was a directive from the Ministry of Lands to regularize and organize the planning of A2 farm boundaries. The officials from the Surveyor General office did not follow the original 2001 boundaries, which were demarcated using aerial photographs by the District's Agritex cartographer in 2001. According to the Districts Lands Officer (Pers Comm, 2013), officials from the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement in Harare felt that the cartographer's method of subdividing plots using aerial photographs had been unscientific and inaccurate, thus necessitating the re-demarcation 10 years later through the use of "the scientific and more accurate GPS." The GPS would provide for straight symmetrical lines to be mapped on the ground. Further, this second demarcation would pave the way for permanent beacons to be put on the plots in preparation for the issuance of 99-year leases. This re-demarcation created tension and conflict amongst farmers, with some complaining of losing land especially where they had invested a lot of money clearing, or being told their infrastructure is now on someone else's plot of land. One farmer complained that after this second subdivision of land, two thirds of his land is now the dam on the white water river. Furthermore, some complained that the re-demarcation was done corruptly with well-off and politically connected farmers paying the surveyors to increase their plot sizes.

Another respondent encapsulated his use of resources in the following statement

"*but vatete mukaita maths dzenyu munoona kuti mari yandonopuwa nehurumende ne mari yandinowana ndikatengesa jecha ne huni yakasiyana. Handingashandiri 260USA ndichikwanisa kutengesa zvinondipamari izvezve. Vana vanoda kuenda kuchikoro*" (But young lady if you do your mathematic calculations, you will find out that the amount of money that I get from the government and that which I can get from selling sand and firewood is different. I cannot work for US $260, the price GMB is offering for a ton of maize, when I can easily sell firewood and river sand on my land now. I need to send my children to school).

Table 5-23: Pamene Farm, Natural Region IIb, land cover changes 1976-2013.

	Area 1976 (ha)	1976-1992 (% change)	1992-2002 (% change)	2002-2013 (% change)
Bushland	663	19	-14	-77
Cultivation	210	-54	92	98
Grassland/Vlei	99	-6	15	369
Riverine	67	3	-47	-77
Woodland	182	-12	-19	-19
Waterbody	14	-15	-4	-2

Increases in electricity tariffs and incessant power outages experienced in Kadoma city created a wood fuel market for individual consumption particularly in the townships of Ngezi, Rimuka and Waverley. Furthermore, respondents indicated that companies in Kadoma contracted farmers to sell them firewood. In 2009, a household could earn US$60 dollars per ton in wood sale to companies such as Steelmaker, which then doubled in price by 2013. For this reason it is possible that some farmers cleared land under the guise of expanding the area under cultivation to meet this new demand for firewood (Figure 5-16).

Another dynamic of patterns of resource use at Pamene showed outsiders competing with (or poaching from) settlers for wood. This involved large amounts of wood collected at a time for sale, or small amounts for domestic consumption (Figure 5-17). According to the survey, residents from Ngezi township and from a squatter camp (commonly referred to as Sodom and Gomorrah) on municipality land that lies adjacent to Pamene were primarily involved in poaching of wood on the farm. Wood cutting, which had extended beyond dead-wood to green-wood, had increased since the last field

survey, a circumstance that helped to explain the loss of various vegetation covers at Pamene. Farmworkers of absentee landlords indicated that they also sold firewood in order to supplement their low income. The following are some of the reasons given by these workers for selling fuel wood:

> **Mr. J.D.:** I get a salary of $50 (laughing) so I have to supplement my income by selling firewood to the people in Ngezi Township. I do this once a week and sell for a cost of $3 for one cord and $12 for scotch-cart of wood
>
> **Mr. K.G.:** I supplement my income by selling firewood to the people in town. I sell a wheelbarrow of firewood for $4. I sell at least two to three wheelbarrows twice a week. This is the firewood from the plot I am clearing.

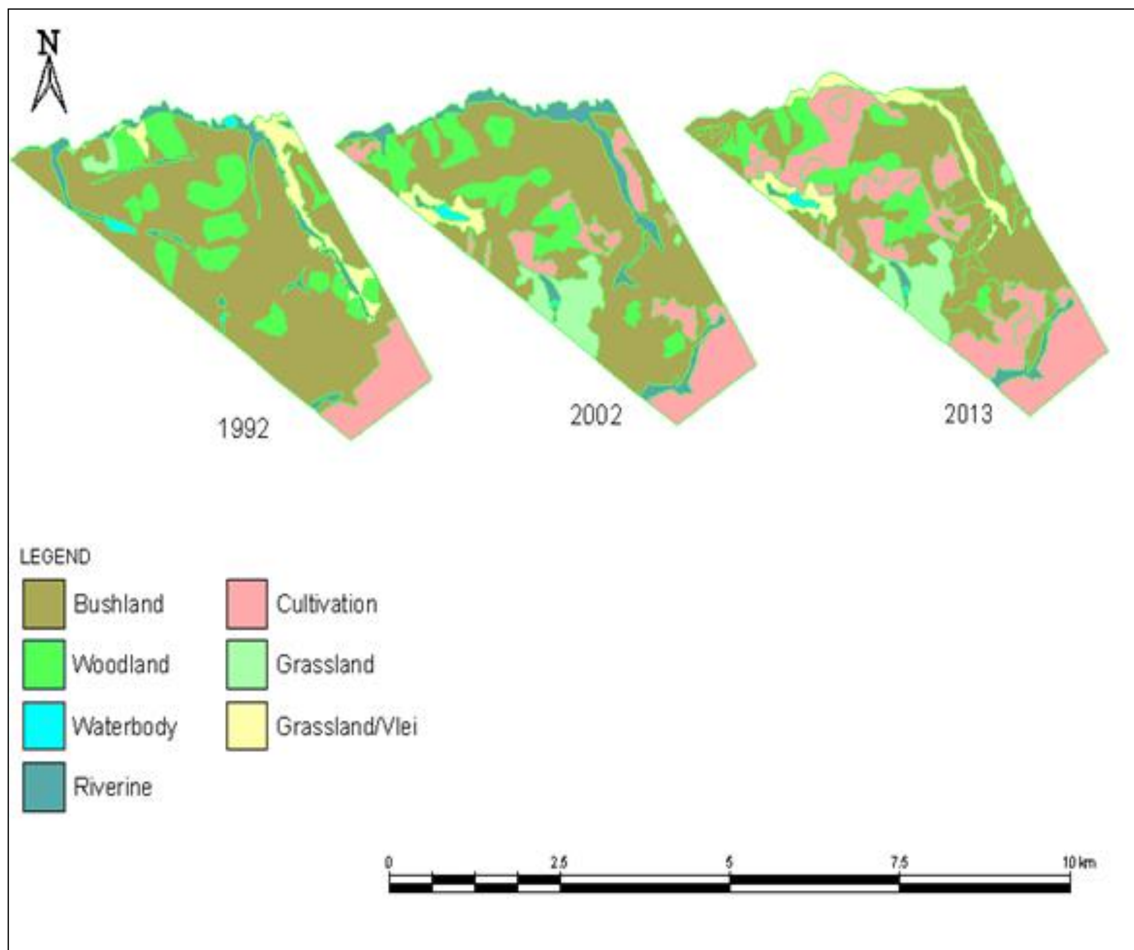


Figure 5-15: Pamene Farm, Natural Region IIb, percent land cover changes 1976-2013.

Figure 5-16: Wood piled at a plot for collection and fuel wood collected (legally/illegally) in a scotch-cart for sale.

Figure 5-17: Collection of a cord of firewood at Pamene by residents from Ngezi township.

The Agritex officer indicated that lack of surveillance on some vacant plots over the past few years resulted in pit sand extraction because there was no one to enforce exclusion from the property. Plots which had tributaries of the White Water River running through them were also prone to river sand extraction (Figure 5-18) and alluvial gold panning by settlers and outsiders. This sand was sold to building contractors, brick makers and individuals building houses in Kadoma. The cost of one truckload of pit sand was USD $30 dollars, and $40 for river sand. Households specified that one could earn as much as USD $100 for a truckload of river sand (Figure 5-19) if they provided the labor to dig and load the sand. I held informal interviews with two sets of individuals who were transporting sand extracted on the farm. These individuals, who were not settlers of the farm, did not have permits to extract sand, but they claimed that permission had been granted by the Rural District Council (RDC), which issued sand extraction permits. They also indicated they paid access fees to farmers with plots of land traversed by rivers.

Figure 5-18: Evidence of river sand extraction at Pamene.

Figure 5-19: Transportation of extracted river sand at Pamene

5.5. Conclusions

My findings in this Chapter show that after a decade of resettlement crop yields have increased particularly amongst farmers that fall in the rich and middle axis, in spite of the lack of support from government. These findings are an indicator of the potential role for peasant farming in agrarian development and food security. Moreover, in this Chapter the peasant economy has become an important catchment area for unemployed people from urban areas. We also see endogenous rural development occurring in these areas in the form of emerging new markets within communities, and improved livelihood outcomes shown by asset accumulation after a decade of farming.

Across the three study areas, land recipients faced similar challenges that constrained their farming, including lack of access to finances and collateral, unavailability of/expensive inputs, and limited government support. They also had to address many socio-economic challenges on their own. New social institutions and associational networks emerged which cut across class, gender and ethnic lines. In places like Lanteglos and CC Molina, these institutions have helped protect the physical

environment. Crop production fluctuated over the years in response to drought conditions and the difficult political and economic environment, particularly during the decade of crisis. Additionally, this chapter showed a socially differentiated peasantry with differing capabilities and livelihood mobility, in which some have seen their livelihoods improve while others have remained stagnant. The vegetation cover at all three farms showed increases in or intensification of areas under cultivation and decreases in bushland and wooded areas. Among the three study areas, Pamene experienced intense deforestation due to wood poaching by outsiders, resulting in the loss of several tree species like the *Mukamba*. Finally, some farmers have taken the law into their own hands to resolve issues of crime, particularly stock theft; this has been referred to as 'community justice' given the failure of the police to provide adequate support.

CHAPTER VI
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

6.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I appraise the research findings with the goal of contributing to the debates concerning the efficacy of redistributing land to smallholder/peasant farmers and the relevance and role of the peasantry in relation to modernity and development. I begin by examining ideological aspects of the process of re-peasantization as it applies to the Zimbabwean case, followed by the material outcomes of the FTLRP.

6.2. Re-peasantization and Black Consciousness

Based on the responses given by land recipients, interviews held by key informants and discussions in social gatherings I conclude that the large-scale commercial farming that persisted following independence was a continuing symbol of settler colonialism. As such, acquisition of white-owned large-scale commercial farms under the FTLRP signified the final process of decolonization of the Zimbabwean people (Moyo & Yeros, 2005). The FTLRP thus reawakened the political consciousness of black Zimbabweans. Frantz Fanon in Wretched of The Earth argues for violence against the colonizer as a means of unshackling the African from colonial bondage. Accordingly, as discussed in Chapter I, the Fast Track was framed by the ruling party as the third *chimurenga* and military language used to ensure that the masses knew that the program embodied the struggle for complete liberation from colonialism.

This process brought back memories of the past and a subsequent need for blacks to unshackle themselves from other colonial institutions. One result shown in the case studies was the movement from traditional catholic and protestant churches (which were largely found in communal and old resettlement areas) to traditional African or syncretic forms of religion such as the *Vapostori*. Furthermore, as observed at Pamene and CC Molina, land recipients who employed labor preferred to employ married men who could live and work with their families on the farm. I argue that this is another example of an African consciousness aimed at reversing colonial experiences where male laborers left their families in communal areas to work in white areas. Consequently, the redistribution

of land through the Fast Track restructured labor relations in a way that ruptured past signifiers of colonialism.

The de-racialization of commercial farming (Moyo, 2013) under the FTLRP changed the unequal racial power relations that had previously existed and therefore represented symbolic progress to settlers. Most settlers I interviewed felt that the FTLRP had physically and psychologically liberated them from the white-man because they had taken back their land and *nhaka* (inheritance). As a result settlers felt they could communicate as equals with whites. Thus the process of re-peasantization under the FTLRP represents an emancipation of the mind where the African had seen himself as lesser than the white-man.

Moyo and Yeros (2005) view the FTLRP as creating social and economic foundations for more meaningful democratization in Zimbabwe. I disagree with this view because, although the FTLRP allowed for social justice to be achieved by resettling a large number of people onto former white commercial farms, it also entrenched undemocratic spaces. Foremost, the Fast Track farms have become ZANU-PF territories, resulting in the ZANUrization of the farmers. Consequently, the FTLRP substituted one type of subject – the colonial subject – for another – the ZANU-PF subject – who still lacks the right of free and democratic space. This perspective is evidenced from land recipients who lost land at Pamene due to their perceived political affiliation, and settlers who could not express freely their desire for freehold tenure because it went against the ruling party's land policy

6.3. New Agrarian Composition and Structure

Re-peasantization as defined in Chapter II has both qualitative and quantitative dimensions. Qualitatively it is about people gaining access to land and entering the 'peasant condition' and 'peasant mode of production' from other backgrounds (van der Ploeg, 2008), while quantitatively it entails growth in the number of peasants. In Sanyati District the FTLRP increased the peasant-base primarily by creating new peasant household units through the A1 and A2 small-scale commercial settlement variants. My research findings show a growth over the past decade in the number of peasant households across all three study sites due to informal subdivisions of plots for the children and relatives of land recipients. The parcelling of land, which is independent of

state control and policy, is a peasant strategy to avert landlessness among kith and kin, a situation that characterizes life in communal areas. Moreover, it illustrates the ways in which peasantries socially reproduce and consolidate themselves and in turn survive as a permanent feature of modern society. It is in this vein that re-peasantization is theorized as another axis of modernity in which peasants consolidate and view themselves as part of the capitalist world.

Re-peasantization not only de-racialized the former large scale commercial farms but also paved way for more ethnically diverse and inclusive territories. In this respect re-peasantization is not a return to the pre-colonial social structure. The case studies show that the peasantry is comprised of people drawn from differing demographic, socio-economic, regional and ethnic backgrounds, including landless people, unemployed youths, urban workers (military and police personnel, civil servants, and blue collar workers), businessmen, former farm-workers and subsistence farmers from communal and old resettlement areas. A new peasant identity based on the A1 or A2 settlement classification emerged, which cut across class, ethnic and regional lines. Put differently, the new peasantry identified foremost as either an A1 or A2 farmer before regional and ethnic lines. This common identity fostered cooperation among land recipients and built social capital in the communities particularly at Lanteglos and CC Molina in ways that promoted reproduction of the peasantry especially during the decade of crisis.

These cases show that're-peasantization and semi-proletarianization' (Moyo & Yeros, 2005) are simultaneous outcomes of the FTLRP. Fifteen percent of the land recipients at Pamene do not reside on farms but instead combine urban wage-employment with farming, a finding similar to the AIAS (2009) studies of Fast Track resettlement areas across the country. Income from urban jobs is used to support farm production and develop the farm. In these cases, entering the peasant 'mode of production' diversified respondents' sources of income and broadened the consumption base. For other respondents, particularly those from low-income backgrounds and the unemployed, the FTLRP provided an alternative land-based livelihood and a 'permanent' place of residence.

6.4. Production

According to the modernist narrative that favors large-scale commercial farming as

the economic engine for rural development, white commercial agriculture is given a positive identity and is framed as modern, innovative, productive, and contributing to the country's economic development and food security, whereas peasant farming is framed as retrogressive, unproductive, and destructive to the agricultural foundations of the country and its food security (Matondi, 2013). This narrative is based on unsubstantiated assumptions that take into account neither the social differentiation that characterizes the organization of the peasantry nor the myriad motivations for acquiring land that influence peasant production. My findings, which concur with long-term studies done by AIAS (2009), Scoones et al. (2010) and Matondi (2012) show a socially differentiated peasantry with different capabilities and levels of production. For example, maize and cotton output by resource-rich households is almost equivalent to former white commercial agriculture. Peasant farmers who fall between the rich and poor spectrum produce enough grain for their own consumption and food security, and sell any surplus on the commodity markets. By assessing peasant production along the rich-middle and poor axis we can see that there is potential for farmers with resources to farm productively and contribute toward agrarian development and household food security.

Moreover, the framing of peasant agriculture as destructive to the agricultural foundations of the country and food security generally elides the success story of post-independence peasant agriculture. Maize production from peasant farmers in the communal areas contributed toward 70% of the total national output with average yields of 1.5kg/ha (Mabeza-Chimedza, 1998; Tuffs, Pers Comm, 2013, Mupawose, Pers. Comm, 2013). In addition, studies on old resettlement areas by Robarch and Stanning (1987) and, Kinsey (1994) and Kinsey & Dekker (2011) show considerable high levels of maize yields from this peasant sector. Peasant agriculture (especially maize production) contributed to the country's strategic grain reserves because white commercial agriculture diversified toward mostly non-food production for export markets (Sukume & Guveya, 2009; Tuffs, Pers Comm, 2013; Mupawose Pers. Comm, 2013). Thus, peasant agriculture contributes significantly toward the country's food security and is relevant to modern agrarian development.

My findings show that the majority of the households across the study sites produced enough grain for their consumptive needs, and were mostly food secure.

Households that did not produce sufficient grain resorted to *maricho* and bartered their labor for food. Surplus grain was sold on the domestic market primarily to private buyers and individuals in the community and surrounding area, or to established large-scale commercial farmers. It is important to note that these markets are informal in nature and crop production output is not necessarily recorded on the national dataset. Therefore using statistics to shore low productivity levels in debating the efficacy of redistributing land to the peasantry is problematic because it does not take into account the statistical gap that is created from selling maize on informal markets.

In the early years of resettlement production levels at all three farms were low as land recipients opened up areas for cultivation and started building their asset base. A decade later production levels are marginally higher than the first five years of resettlement at both CC Molina and Lanteglos. However, the Pamene community, which is in a better agro-ecological zone, has consistently had the lowest output in crop production. The reasons for this low output is three-fold. Foremost, the soils at Pamene are mostly sandy and require copious amounts of fertilizer. Members of households that could not afford to apply fertilizers obtained low agricultural yields. Second, a large proportion of the households resettled at Pamene did not want to be commercial farmers but wanted a place to reside or retire, and were content to grow crops to subsist on. Third, there was a high turnover of settlers at Pamene since 2001 and plots were left vacant for long periods of time.

The argument that positions peasant farming under the FTLRP as unproductive fails to take into account the motivations that led people to apply for land. My findings show that not everyone who got land wanted to be a farmer. Approximately twenty-one percent of the respondents across the three study areas indicated the premise for applying for land was primarily for a place to reside and/or retire, which they could call home. As such this group of people is not likely to utilize the land productively. However, during transect walks and discussions with farmers I noticed that this group of farmers, particularly at Lanteglos and Pamene leased land to members of the community who wanted to expand their crop production.

The findings at all three farms show that peasants are able to interpret rules, assess situations and make appropriate decisions to improve their agrarian livelihoods and farm

production. They employ different strategies to translate their needs, interests and aspirations that specify the way the farm and farm production should develop. Foremost, I noticed that across the study areas the majority of the land recipients indicated they acquired knowledge in farming from their parents while growing up in the communal areas. I term this production of knowledge as 'generational capital', which assists new farmers in their modes of production under the Fast Track. In addition, I noticed that over the past decade farmers improved their farming practices and production through a process of learning-by-doing. In the survey, three percent of the farmers invested their income from farming by sending their sons to agricultural training colleges. Patrimony constitutes a progressive form of capital for these farmers because the younger generation is seen as the force that can introduce 'modern' technologies and ideas to peasant farming and improve farm production levels.

6.4.1. Constraints and Obstacles Affecting Productivity

The low levels of productivity in the first decade of resettlement – and particularly in 2007 and 2008 – can be attributed to the decline in the macro-economic environment precipitated by the FTLRP and the unstable political conditions, which imposed constraints on the farmers. Agricultural inputs were not readily available and accessible in formal retail markets, further constraining successful farming and livelihoods. Despite dollarization of the economy and liberalization of agricultural markets in 2009, continued unavailability of inputs such as agro-chemicals and high input costs negatively affected crop production, as 60% of the farmers opted to reduce the area under cultivation or use less agro-chemical per hectare than the recommended quantities which in turn affects yields. In addition, as observed by Moyo and Sukume (2006), prior to 2009, the legislated monopoly in grain markets negatively impacted the efficiency of input and output movements, leading to significant negative impacts on grower viability.

My findings indicate that the new farmers received very little support from the state, which impacted their ability to farm productively especially during the decade of crisis. When government provided agricultural subsidies the political elite seized these and then re-distributed for sale at exorbitant prices on the black market. Elite capture of state subsidies and patronage politics concur with findings in Zamchiya's (2011) study of agrarian reform in Chipinge District. These structural issues impact peasant agriculture

and contribute to the challenges and obstacles peasants encounter in farming and their day-to-day lives.

On-the-ground evidence across the study areas suggests that peasant productivity can be further enabled through allocation of agricultural and financial resources for farming. Almost 80% of the respondents complained that inputs were not available on time and this delayed planting which then exposed them to the vagaries of seasonal /mid-season drought. According to Eicher and Rukuni (1986) and Mabeza-Chimedza (1998) the success of post-independence peasant farming came from agricultural extension support, research and marketing, access to credit facilities, and a favourable economic and political environment for agriculture. Key informant interviews with Dr. Mandivamba Rukuni (Pers Comm, 2012) and Dr. Ibbo Mandaza (Pers. Comm, 2013) suggest that peasant farmers are likely to be more productive if they have access to credit, and a tradable tenure arrangement which can be used for collateral.

6.5. Markets

Between 2000 and 2008 agrarian markets were strictly regulated and controlled by the government. Maize, small grains and oilseeds had to be sold to the Grain Marketing Board (GMB), a government-run parastatal, and the government controlled the producer price for these agricultural commodities. In Sanyati District, cotton growing households could only enter into contract farming with two companies: the Cotton Company (Cottco) and Cargill, which had a monopsony of the cotton market. During this period, government price controls resulted in low commodity prices which were rarely adjusted to the hyperinflationary conditions prevalent at the time. Furthermore, the GMB failed to provide agricultural inputs, like seeds, and timely payments to farmers for delivered crops. Farmers often waited for more than five months before receiving payment, at which time their income would be eroded by inflationary pressures. Despite the liberalization and dollarization of the economy, the GMB – which has had few institutional and policy reforms – continues to dominate the agricultural market, and has not improved on its payment structures to farmers for agricultural produce.

An expression of re-peasantization involves farmers finding alternative markets in order to augment their livelihoods. Alternative markets offer spaces of resistance to a dysfunctional grain marketing board and autonomy over markets and/ or spaces

controlled and regulated by government or a monopsony. Consequently, 80% of the respondents found alternative commodity markets (some refer to these as black markets) in order to sustain their agrarian livelihoods. In 2012, grain millers in Kadoma, and from other geographical locations some 400 kilometres from Kadoma, proved a popular alternate since they offered competitive prices for maize and other smaller grains, and provided instant cash. Markets were found within and among other the resettled communities, and individuals living in the mining township of Rio Tinto, Kadoma town and as far afield as Gokwe and Masvingo. It is important to note that prior to independence the mine townships within Sanyati District, such as Rio Tinto Mine, were key markets for the former white-commercial farmers.

While land recipients find alternative markets, they also 'play' the government by not completely turning away from selling their products to the GMB as the opportunity cost involves the loss of a record of production and a chance to benefit and retain eligibility for subsidized inputs from the state (presently and in the future). Thus farmers indicated that they supply the GMB with grain, albeit in smaller quantities (0.5 to 1 tonne of maize). This not only prevents them from clashing with the state but allows them to benefit from whatever little subsidy the state can provide through the GMB.

The case studies show that peasants will disengage themselves from markets if their livelihoods are threatened. This is seen by the reduction in the number of farmers involved in cotton production. The low cotton prices offered by the Cotton Company and Cargill, especially during the 2011/12 farming season, resulted in farmers increasing their soybean production or growing maize as their sole cash and food crop in the 2012/13 season. There is an increased demand for soybeans, which are used for stock-feed due to the growth in the poultry (broiler and layer chickens) industry, which now includes a large proportion of individuals from urban areas and some newly resettled farmers (Figure 6-1). Farmers across the study areas who increased or diverted to this crop indicated they were able to negotiate prices in addition to selling their maize crop, which was also used in the stock-feed. Furthermore, soybean production is not as labor and input intensive as cotton, and enables farmers to maximize their profits.

I observed a change in discourse pertaining to the state and support thereof by land recipients. In my 2004/5 and 2009 surveys, farmers complained about and were frustrated

by the failure of the state to provide adequate and fair markets and services to them. However, in 2012/13 close to 80% of the households interviewed talked of alternative markets and products, ways to improve their livelihoods, and the creation of community economies. This new form of consciousness presents an opportunity to improve the peasant condition and reduce its dependency on the state. In addition, it has allowed for creative and nuanced ways of improving agrarian livelihood outcomes. For example, in the past decade richer households that have accumulated assets and resources have set up small retail shops (tuckshops) and maize grinding mills to service the community. Prior to this, beneficiaries had to travel to Kadoma town or nearby townships to purchase basic commodities and/or to grind their maize. These same households have purchased tractors, cultivators and plough disk which they lease to members of the village community and other resettled farmers. This alternative reduces dependency on machinery from the District Development Fund (DDF) which is considerably more expensive, difficult to hire due to the long waiting-list, and according to respondents constantly break down. This shows how some resettled farmers are beginning to create and find new ways to support their communities and livelihoods, and in turn reduce their dependency on and marginalization by the state. As such, re-peasantization is an articulation of ideas and concepts (the immaterial territory as proffered by Fernandes (2009)) that produces a new politics of space and place, changes power relations between the community and the state/market, and allows smallholders to take pragmatic approaches on which to base development intervention.

Figure 6-1: Mr. and Mrs Masiyiwa diversification in broiler chicken production at Lanteglos. They source soybean from people within the village which they mix with their maize to make chicken-feed.

In Chapter V I described how the Village Committee of Seven at Lanteglos, traded seven hectares of grazing land to a white businessman building a gold-processing mill in exchange for water taps for an adequate supply of clean water, and the provision of employment for the youth in the village. Enterprising women in the village now supplement their incomes through petty commodity trading such as the sale of cooked meals to miners milling gold at this processing-mill. The outcome of this type of trading is that it reduces dependency on the state for infrastructural development and support, and creates economic opportunities for both women and the youth in the village, as well as an alternative livelihood source for the children of land recipients who are not interested in farming. Furthermore, it demonstrates nuanced ways in which beneficiaries are shaping, and moulding their new environment outside the state.

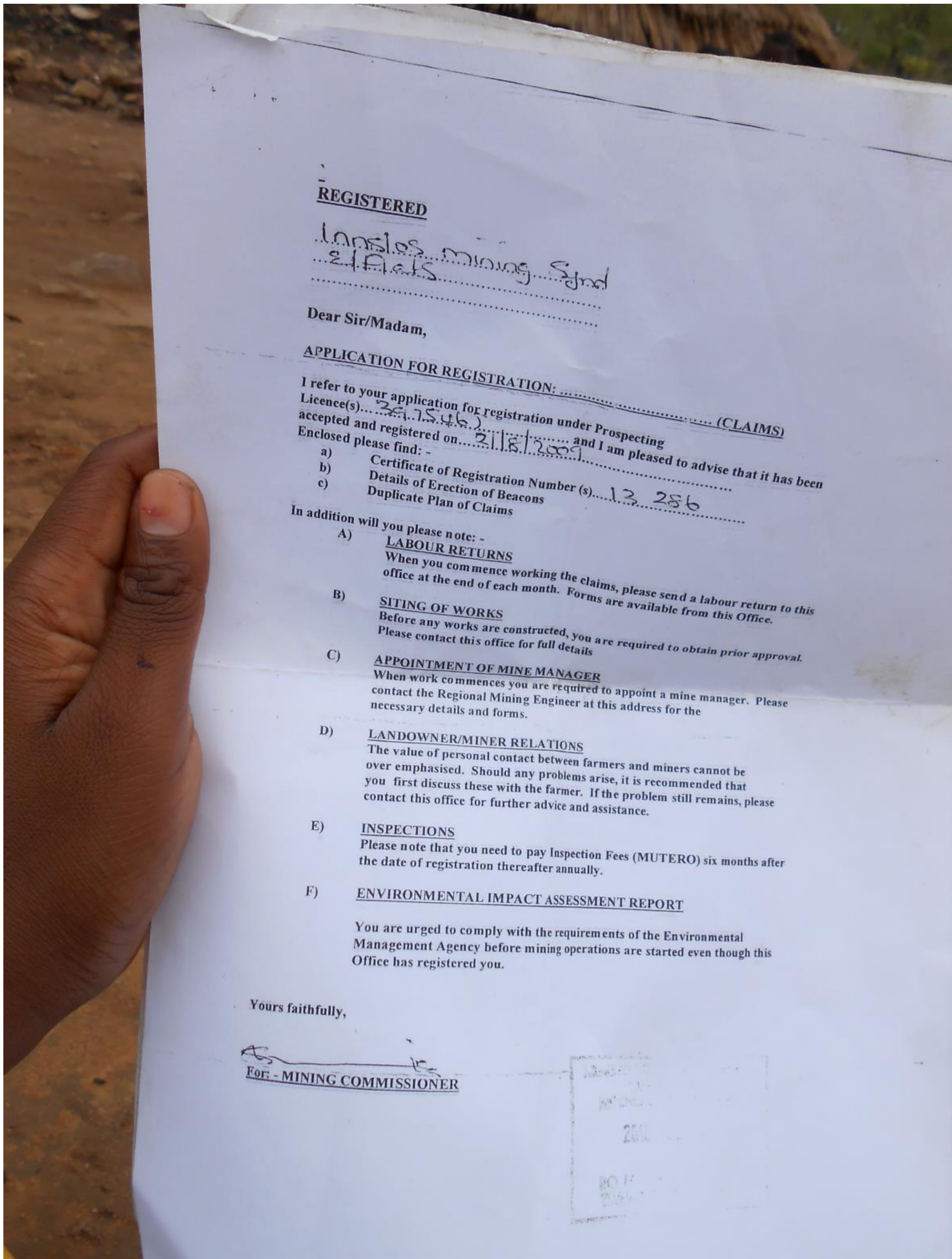
The expansion of the peasantry under the Fast Track has broadened the labor

market. Across the study sites and in particular Pamene and Lanteglos the new farmers, in particular the resource rich are creating employment opportunities. These peasant farms have become the catchment areas for employment for retrenched mineworkers and the unemployed in Kadoma town. This illustrates the potential of smallholder farming to contribute to short-term wage employment in a district faced with high unemployment due to de-industrialization.

6.6. Tenure

The issue of land tenure at all three farms reveals varied responses to the state. Some heads of households who perceived their tenure to be insecure sought alternative ways to guarantee their future access to land by acquiring prospecting licences, which provide a block (10 hectares) of land as a mine claim. Accordingly, these mine claims are perceived to provide better land tenure security because mining rights are considered superior to agricultural rights. Figure 6-2, is an example of a mine license held by one of the farmers.

At CC Molina, farmers have used their political representation through the War Veterans' Association to acquire offer letters and then the 99-year leases. Moreover as discussed in the previous chapter, they managed to get a member of their community elected into the general assembly (parliament) under ZANU-PF as means of ensuring local development needs and tenure issues are met.



REGISTERED

Lonslos Mining Synd
21 Flats

Dear Sir/Madam,

APPLICATION FOR REGISTRATION: .... (CLAIMS)

I refer to your application for registration under Prospecting Licence(s)... 39175 46 ... and I am pleased to advise that it has been accepted and registered on... 21/8/2009 ...
Enclosed please find: -

- a) Certificate of Registration Number (s)... 13 286 ...
- b) Details of Erection of Beacons
- c) Duplicate Plan of Claims

In addition will you please note: -

A) **LABOUR RETURNS**
When you commence working the claims, please send a labour return to this office at the end of each month. Forms are available from this Office.

B) **SITING OF WORKS**
Before any works are constructed, you are required to obtain prior approval. Please contact this office for full details

C) **APPOINTMENT OF MINE MANAGER**
When work commences you are required to appoint a mine manager. Please contact the Regional Mining Engineer at this address for the necessary details and forms.

D) **LANDOWNER/MINER RELATIONS**
The value of personal contact between farmers and miners cannot be over emphasised. Should any problems arise, it is recommended that you first discuss these with the farmer. If the problem still remains, please contact this office for further advice and assistance.

E) **INSPECTIONS**
Please note that you need to pay Inspection Fees (MUTERO) six months after the date of registration thereafter annually.

F) **ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT ASSESSMENT REPORT**

You are urged to comply with the requirements of the Environmental Management Agency before mining operations are started even though this Office has registered you.

Yours faithfully,

For: - MINING COMMISSIONER

Figure 6-2: An example of a mine claim held by one of the farmers.

What is also noteworthy is that farmers who enter into contract farming used the ‘insecurity’ of tenure to their advantage. In the 2011/12 season when many suffered

losses and accrued debt due to the low producer price of cotton, they avoided losing their land because resettlement land does not officially belong to them. What this illustrates are ways that farmers are negotiating spaces of insecurity and security to meet their social reproduction and livelihood needs.

6.7. Ecological Relations

The reconfiguration of large-scale commercial farming space as peasant territories has implication for access to natural resources, and the use and management thereof. The findings of the research show that the FTLRP has been associated with considerable alterations of the natural environment due to clearance of vegetation for cultivation, construction, petty trading of firewood, and sand and gold mining. These alterations are primarily driven by livelihood and land use practices of the settlers. In response to the inhospitable economic environment between 2000 and 2008, households, primarily those less endowed, turned to exploiting their natural resources to sustain their livelihoods. Natural resource use involved gold panning, sand extraction and firewood sales, which provided for instant cash in a hyperinflationary environment. Those involved in gold panning considered this a stopgap measure to fill the void created by the erosion of their incomes.

While land redistribution reopened spaces previously in the confines of white farmers, the idea of resource management among beneficiaries is now based on a different judgement compared to that under white ownership. Concepts of 'conservation ethics' and 'ecological integrity' governing the former white-farmers "conservation imaginary" did not hold sway to land recipients—particularly during the decade of crisis – when agrarian livelihoods were dependent on natural resources, which were commoditized as a form of pluriactivity to sustain and meet social reproduction.

However, after 2008, I noticed new and evolving local systems of sustainable natural resource management. Religious and governing institutions like the Committee of Seven are key players in reducing the incidences of resource extraction, by setting rules as to where extraction can and cannot take place. In addition, emotions related to traditional and cultural views on the environment have come to shape nature-society relations at Lanteglos and CC Molina is a way that curbs exploitation and degradation of the environment. The emotions of fear of bad omens afflicting household that poached

wood from a sacred place, or veneration of a place of worship, serve to protect particular species of trees and animals in these localities. As highlighted in Chapter V, the increase in wooded vegetation cover at Lanteglos is a result of the emotions people feel toward their places of worship, which take place in wooded areas. The construction of new places of worship and sacredness has become important for common property resource management. In contrast, places like Pamene, which are not governed by these institutions, are faced with rampant exploitation of natural resources like sand and rampant cutting of trees for wood fuel. These cases illustrate that traditional cultural values and mores are not retrogressive in a modern world, as they can serve as key institutions to protect the environment and regulate patterns of resource use.

6.8. Recommendations

I. Hanlon et al. (2013) argue that Rhodesian and post-independence government gave much support to white farmers and therefore the new farmers require this level of support in order to thrive. Across all study areas issues of lack of finances, access to credit, expensive inputs and/or unavailability of inputs were major obstacles to farming. The government needs to support the farmers with soft loans, input subsidies, funding for research, extension, and marketing, and farmer training. Kinsey's long-term study of old resettlement areas shows a strong correlation in state support and farmer productivity. Mabeza-Chimedza (1998) talks of the miracle revolution among communal farmers in the 1980s and attributes it to state support through extension services and subsidies. Therefore the government should allow for public-private partnerships to fund and subsidize agriculture to support the new farmers. Rukuni (Pers Comm, 2012 and in Sokwanele, 2013) suggests the following structure of financial services for the agricultural sector: (i) Short-term financing for inputs and working capital, (ii) medium term finance 2-5 years for machinery, irrigation and infrastructure development, and (iii) long-term finance 6-25 years for building of large infrastructure like dams. He further suggests that these loans can be done through public-private partnerships.

II. There needs to be in-house training of extension officer by seasoned agricultural

professionals/consultants. A complaint that resonated across the three study areas was that Agritex officers were not adequately trained nor did they conduct farm visits as was the case in old resettlement areas. One ZANU-PF grassroots cell leader at a field-day organized at Berkley Chase summarized what many farmers across the case studies indicated to me:

> "We do not have Agritex officers here at CCMolina and Berkley Chase. What we have are officers that just sit in their offices and think they can remotely tell us what we farmers need to do. Some but spend their time driving on the highway or come to the communities to drink pamatuckshop. We want Agritex officers in the field teaching and training the people. We got the land through politics and now we want Agritex in the field."

III. There needs to be clarity on tenure of both A1 and A2 farmers (Mandaza, Pers Comm, 2013; Tsumba, Pers Comm, 2012). Present tenure arrangement of offer letters, confirmation letters, *jeke's* are not tradeable. The proposed 99-year lease as a legal document is not tradeable until all title deeds are remitted and leases are registered.

IV. A holistic agrarian policy needs to be adopted which charts the future for agriculture in Zimbabwe across the tri-modal agrarian structure that has been created since the FTLRP.

6.9. Conclusions

This dissertation provides a decade-long study of resettled farmers under the Fast Track Land Reform Program (FTLRP) and contributes to the growing body of literature surrounding the outcome of this program. It utilizes empirical data to elaborate on the unfolding nature of the FTLRP, and its impact on the livelihoods of peasant farmers and the rural landscape. The dissertation views the process of re-peasantization under the FTLRP as an alternative developmental paradigm that does not follow the neoliberal linear trajectory of agricultural progression. It argues that re-peasantization constitutes another dimension of modernity and is not a 'return to the yore.' Therefore this dissertation, through the lens of re-peasantization challenges traditional modernist assumptions of agrarian development, which value large-scale over small- scale farming.

It argues that these assumptions are battles of immaterial territories pushed forward in discourse propounded by neoliberal institutions, and which negate the positive role peasant agriculture can make in agrarian development.

The dissertation shows a socially differentiated peasantry with differing capabilities and productivity. It shows how land recipients have plural livelihood pathways to either augment their income or farming activities. This means that settlers generate their income through a variety of agricultural and non-agricultural activities. Artisanal mining and/gold panning have become key livelihood activities across all three farms in which the income is reinvested in the farm. The findings show that investments made in agriculture are inextricably linked to off farm activities and thus challenge theories of 'deagrarianization' and / de-peasantization as propounded by Bryceson et al. (2000).

Theoretically, this thesis has demonstrated that land reform has reawakened black people's consciousness. It provided many people with a sense of real belonging exemplified in notions of "I am now whole," "my inheritance has been returned to me," "now I am a man, I can live behind an inheritance." At another level it allowed people to practice their syncretic religion and commune with the spirit world more openly, and consequently these religious beliefs became an important institution in safeguarding the physical environment.

Overall, important lessons can be drawn from the case studies. Firstly, land reform can address historical injustices in land ownership and has the potential to enhance livelihood opportunities. The case studies show that not everyone who acquired land desires to be a farmer. The motivation for some land recipients, particularly those from low-income townships were from the need to have a place to reside rather than farm. This therefore has important implications for agrarian policy designs, and explains why some households' livelihood trajectories have remained stagnant and with little asset accumulation over the past decade. The dissertation shows that the lack of government support (financial, subsidies, infrastructure etc.), corruption and depressed market prices from state enterprises like the GMB pose challenges to land recipients. However, at the same time the case studies show beneficiaries have agency and find alternative ways to make their farming work. Pluriactivity, in the face of these challenges, has become

important to supplementing land-based livelihoods and ensuring farming takes place.

In conclusion, the FTLRP replaced the dual land ownership structure with a broad-based 'tri-modal' structure (Moyo, Pers Comm, 2012), which allows historically marginalized people to access land and natural resources formerly limited to white commercial farmers. Zimbabwe's land experience demonstrates how peasant agriculture provides an alternative pathway for endogenous development within rural landscapes.

APPENDIX A

APPLICATION FORM FOR A2 FARM

MINISTRY OF LANDS, AGRICULTURE AND RURAL RESETTLEMENT

LAND REFORM AND RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMME
(PHASE II. MODEL A2)

COMMERCIAL FARM SETTLEMENT SCHEME (SMALL, MEDIUM AND LARGE SCALE COMMERCIAL FARMS)

In terms of the Agricultural Land Settlement Act (Chapter 20:01)

Notes

1. This form must be completed in duplicate by the applicant and its contents will be treated as confidential.

2. The Scheme is open to all citizens of Zimbabwe, be they in public or private sector including women, war veterans, former detainees and restrictees and disabled persons.

3. Applicants who provide proof of availability and/or ability to mobilise adequate resources to support the proposed farming programme will have an added advantage.

4. A choice of only one landing holding is permitted per application form. Schedule I details the recommended farm sizes.

5. Sections A, B and C must be completed in full by the applicant.

6. Sections D, E, F and G are for office use only.

7. Where the space provided in this application form is insufficient. Particulars should be given on separate sheet(s) of paper and attached to the form.

8. The completed application forms and attachments must be sent to the applicant's Provincial Chief Land Officer, Department of Lands and Rural Resettlement .

Application form no. ……

Province……………

APPLICATION FOR LAND UNDER THE COMMERCIAL FARM SETTLEMENT SCHEME
(SMALL, MEDIUM AND LARGE SCALE COMMERCIAL FARMS)

In terms of the Agricultural Land Settlement Act (Chapter 20:01)

A. PARTICULARS OF THE APPLICANT

NAME OF THE APPLICANT IN FULL (BLOCK LETTERS

(a) TITLE Mr/Mrs/Miss/Dr

(b) SURNAME……………………………………………………………

(c) OTHER NAMES ……………………………………………………

(d) SEX……………………………………………………………………

(e) MARITAL STATUS Married Divorced/Widowed/Single

(f) R. C. NO. I.D. No……………………………………………………

2. ADDRESS

(a) Postal……………………………………………………………………

(b) Residential……………………………………………………………

(c) Tel No. Business………………… Residential Tel………………

3. Occupation……………………………………………………………

B. AREA PREFERRED

4. (a) Province……………………………………………………………

(b) District……………………………………………………………

5. **Farm Type Preferred (Tick the Preferred)**

i) Small-scale Commercial Settlement
ii) Medium-scale Commercial Settlement
iii) Large-scale Commercial Settlement
iv) Peri-urban Commercial Settlement

6. **Type of Farming Preferred** [Tick the preferred]

(i)Crops (ii) Livestock (iii) Crops & Livestock (iv) Other (specify)

....

7. Attach an annual cash flow projection for a five-year development programme. A statement and proof of training or experience in the agri-industry and proof of ability tom command funds in the form of cash and or movable assets to carry out you intended agricultural activity will be an added advantage.

C. DECLARATION

I. (full name)...do sincerely declare that the particulars given on this application form are true and correct and that I have not withheld any information which might affect my application. I am aware of the provision in section 38 (a) of the Agricultural Land Settlement Act (Chapter 20:01) namely 'a person who makes a false statement knowing it to be false in connection with an application for a holding shall be guilty of an offen and liable to a fine not exceeding $200 or in default of payment, to imprisonment a period not exceeding six months'.

Date.................................... Signature............................

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

D. GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS' COMMENTS

Chief Land Officer, ……………………………….Province

……………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………

Date…………………………………… Signature……………………………

E The Land Identification and Resettlement Committee,……………………………

Province…………………………………………………………………………

At its meeting of the …………day of…………………… the Committee

Recommended that the application for unit…………………… by this

Application be approved/be rejected.

DATE…………………… **SIGNED……………………………**
Chairperson

F. Recommended/Not Recommended

Date………………………… Signed…………………………………
Agricultural Land Settlement Board

G. Approved/Not Approved

Date…………………… Signed…………………………………
MINISTER OF LANDS, AGRICULTURE AND
RURAL RESETTLEMENT

4

SCHEDULE I

FARM SIZES

Natural Agro-Ecological Zone	Small-scale Commercial Farms	Medium-scale commercial Farms	Large-scale Commercial Farms	Peri-urban Commercial Farms
I	15-25	100	250	
Iia	25-40	200	350	
Iib	40-50	250	400	15 to 50
III	60-80	300	500	
IV	150-200	700	1 500	
V	250-350	1 500	2 000	

APPENDIX B

NINETY-NINE YEAR LEASE

CIVIL DIVISION

ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S OFFICE

NOTARIAL DEED OF LEASE

PROTOCOL NO…………………

Prepared by:

……….………. ……….…………………………………..

LEGAL PRACTITIONER AND NOTARY PUBLIC

KNOW ALL MEN TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

That on this ………………………, before me …………………………………………

Notary public, by lawful authority duly admitted and sworn and residing and practicing at Harare Zimbabwe, and in the presence of the subscribed witnesses personally came and appeared:-

....

ID Number 25 – 021670 R 25

(In his or her capacity as Minister of Lands and Rural Resettlement and on behalf of the Government of Zimbabwe and duly authorised hereto by the Government of Zimbabwe herein after called the Lessor)

and

…………………………………………………..

ID Number …………………………………

Date of Birth ………………………………….

(herein after called the Lessee)

WHEREAS the Government of the Republic of Zimbabwe, desiring to rectify the land ownership imbalances created by colonisation, has acquired agricultural land pursuant to

Section 16B(2)(a) of the Constitution of Zimbabwe for the purpose of settling new farmers on the acquired land;

AND WHEREAS it is desirable that the farmers be given security of tenure by means of leases for the land allocated to them under the A2 model Scheme described in the Land Reform and Resettlement Programme and Implementation Plan (Phase 2), published in April, 2001 (as re-issued and amended from time to time);

AND WHEREAS the Appearer on behalf of the Government of Zimbabwe wishes to enter into a lease agreement with the lessee.

AND WHEREAS the Lessee by his or her signature herein agrees to enter into the lease agreement with the Lessor;

AND WHEREAS it is desirable to register such lease agreement according to the laws of the Republic of Zimbabwe;

NOW THEREFORE the Parties agree as follows:-

1 INTERPRETATION

1.1 In this Lease:

"Acquiring Authority" means the acquiring authority as defined by Section 16(B)(1) of the Constitution of Zimbabwe or by the Land Acquisition Act [*Chapter 20:10*], as the case may be;

"commencement of this Lease" means the date referred to in Clause 4;

“community” means:

(a) the residents of the Rural District Council established in terms of the Rural District Councils Act [*Chapter 29:13*] (or any other law that may be substituted for that Act) whose natural resources are being exploited by a qualifying body corporate; or

(b) the residents of one or more wards of a Rural District Council specified in a community share ownership trust whose natural resources are being exploited by a qualifying body corporate; or

(c) any other distinct community of persons as defined in a community share ownership trust, who are affected by the exploitation of the natural resources in or adjacent to their place of residence;

“community share ownership trust” means a trust registered or otherwise accepted in accordance with the Indigenisation and Empowerment Act [*Chapter 14:33*] (or any other law that may be substituted for that Act);

“deeds registry” means a registry established in terms of the Deeds Registries Act for the registration of real rights in or over immovable property situated in the area served by that registry;

“Deeds Registries Act” means the Deeds Registries Act [*Chapter 20:05*] or any other law that may be substituted for that Act;

“Designated Officer” means:

(a) a Government Land Officer; or

(b) such other officer in the Ministry responsible for lands or agriculture or physical planning as the Lessor may designate in writing:

Provided that the Lessor may designate different officers for different purposes under this Lease;

“family trust” means any trust:

(a) that is created by a Lessee or a natural person who is eligible to become a Lessee by virtue of holding an offer letter; and

(b) that is embodied in a notarised Deed of Trust registered with a Deeds Registry; and

(c) which satisfies the Lessor that its dominant purpose or effect is to enable the Leasehold to be administered by one or more trustees exclusively for the benefit of members of the family of the Lessee or eligible person;

"forest land" means any area or land which has been declared to be a demarcated forest in terms of the Forest Act [*Chapter 19:05*] or any other law that may be substituted for that Act;

"improvements", in relation to the Leasehold, include permanent buildings and other attachments to the Leasehold and, in the case of a plantation or forest, include the trees or other perennial crop growing on the plantation or forest;

"Leasehold" means the land referred to in **Clause 3**;

"Lessee" means:—

(a) a natural person or natural persons signing this Lease; or

(b) in the case where the Leasehold is to be settled upon a family trust, the trustee or trustees authorised under the terms of the Deed of Trust to sign this Lease and to exercise all the rights and perform all the duties of a Lessee on behalf of the family trust; or

(c) in the case where the Lessee is a statutory body or a religious or educational institution, a person duly authorised in writing by that statutory body or a religious or educational institution to sign this Lease and to exercise all the rights and perform all the duties of a Lessee on behalf of that statutory body or religious or educational institution; or

(d) in the case where the Lessee is one of two or more joint Lessees under a **community share ownership trust, of whom one is the qualifying body corporate and the other or others the community or communities concerned,** a person duly authorised by—

(i) resolution of the qualifying body corporate; and

(ii) the traditional leader or other person or authority empowered by the trust deed constituting the **community share ownership trust to make decisions on behalf of the community or communities concerned;**

(e) in the case where the Lessee is a body corporate referred to in **Clause 2**, a person duly authorised by resolution of the body corporate to sign this Lease and to exercise all the rights and perform all the duties of a Lessee on behalf of that body corporate;

"Lessor" means the Government of Zimbabwe as represented by the Acquiring Authority;

"Natural Region" means a Natural Region specified in section 3 of the Rural Land (Farm Sizes) Regulations, 1999, published in Statutory Instrument 419 of 1999, or any other law that may be substituted for those regulations;

"natural resources" include—

(a) the air, soil, waters and minerals of Zimbabwe;

(b) the mammal, bird, fish and other animal life of Zimbabwe;

(c) the trees, grasses and other vegetation of Zimbabwe;

(d) the springs, vleis, sponges, reed-beds, marshes, swamps and public streams of Zimbabwe;

(e) any landscape, scenery or site having aesthetic appeal or scenic value or of historic or archaeological interest;

"offer letter" means a letter issued by the Lessor to the Lessee before the commencement of this Lease offering to allocate the Leasehold to the Lessee;

"plantation" means any land on which trees or any perennial crop such as coffee, tea, fruit, macadamia nuts or sugar-cane are artificially cultivated;

"prescribed rate of interest" means the maximum rate of interest prescribed in terms of the Prescribed Rate of Interest Act [*Chapter 8:10*] or any other law that may be substituted for that Act;

“qualifying body corporate” means a Lessee referred to in paragraph (d) of the definition of “Lessee” which is engaged in exploiting or proposes to exploit the natural resources within the area of any community, and has set up or proposes to set up a community share ownership trust;

“relevant local authority” means the local authority within whose jurisdiction the Leasehold is located.

1.2 The captions appearing at the head of the Clauses of this Lease shall not be used in interpreting, or affect, the Clauses to which they refer or any other part of this Lease.

1.3 Anything required to be done, approved or consented to by the Lessor under this Lease may be done, approved or consented to by a Designated Officer specifically authorised in writing for that purpose by the Lessor.

2 CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH CORPORATE BODIES OTHER THAN STATUTORY BODIES, RELIGIOUS OR EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS OR QUALIFYING BODIES CORPORATE MAY BECOME LESSEES

2.1 A body corporate other than a statutory body, religious or educational institution, **or qualifying body corporate,** may be a Lessee of one or more Leaseholds if—

(a) before the commencement of the Lease or Leases in question —

(i) it was a corporate body of any description referred to in **Subclause 2.2**, and will continue to be so after the commencement and for the duration of the Lease or Leases; and

(ii) the land that is to be the subject of the Leasehold or Leaseholds consists predominantly (that is, to the extent of not less than 50 % of the arable land) of plantation or forest land, and will continue to be predominantly plantation or forest land after the commencement and for the duration of the Lease or Leases; and

(iii) it held the land that is to be the subject of the Leasehold or Leaseholds;

or

(b) on the commencement of the Lease or Leases in question —

(i) it is a corporate body of any description referred to in **Subclause 2.2**, and will continue to be so after the commencement and for the duration of the Lease or Leases;

(ii) the land that is to be the subject of the Leasehold or Leaseholds—

A. consists predominantly (that is, to the extent of not less than 50 % of the arable land) of plantation or forest land, and will continue to be predominantly plantation or forest land after the commencement and for the duration of the Lease or Leases; or

B. will, in accordance with a **development plan** submitted in terms of **Clause 11.1** consist predominantly (that is, to the extent of not less than 50% of the arable **or exploitable** land) of plantation or forest land, and will continue to be predominantly plantation or forest land after the commencement and for the duration of the Lease or Leases.

2.2 No body corporate referred to in Subclause 2.1 may become a Lessee unless it is—

(a) a public company registered or incorporated in Zimbabwe whose shares are traded in a Zimbabwean stock exchange; or

(b) a private company incorporated in Zimbabwe in which—

(i) the controlling interest is held by individuals who are citizens of Zimbabwe; and

(ii) no shareholder who holds a controlling interest in the private company holds a controlling interest in another private company that is or may become a Lessee;

or

(c) a company licensed under section 26 of the Companies Act [*Chapter 4:03*] (or any other law that may be substituted for that Act).

2.3 Subject to Clause 2.4 (which lifts all restrictions on the holding of forest land by private or licensed companies), a private or licensed company which qualifies to be a Lessee in terms of Subclause 2.2(b) and (c) may not, in each Natural Region, be a Lessee of one or more Leaseholds if the size of the Leasehold or of the Leaseholds taken together exceeds the maximum size of a farm permitted for that Natural Region under the Rural Land (Farm Sizes) Regulations, 1999, published in Statutory Instrument 419 of 1999, or any other law that may be substituted for those regulations:

Provided that:

(a) this Clause does not apply to a private or licensed company which, before the commencement of the Lease or Leases in question, held land in any Natural Region that exceeds the maximum size of a farm permitted for that Natural Region under the aforementioned regulations, so long as that land is predominantly plantation land and is to be the subject of a Leasehold or Leaseholds; and

(b) a company referred to in proviso (a) shall not, in any Natural Region where they hold land under any Lease or Leases that exceeds the maximum size of a farm permitted for that Natural Region, obtain any additional Lease for land in that Region after the date of commencement of the first-mentioned Lease or Leases.

2.4 Despite Subclause 2.3, a private or licensed company which qualifies to be a Lessee in terms of Subclause 2.2(b) and (c) may, in each Natural Region, be a Lessee of one or more Leaseholds which singly or in combination exceed the maximum size of a farm permitted for that Natural Region under the Rural Land (Farm Sizes) Regulations, 1999, published in Statutory Instrument 419 of 1999, or any other law that may be substituted for those regulations, so long as the land subjected to the Leasehold or Leaseholds is predominantly forest land.

2.5 In this Clause, “controlling interest”, in relation to a private company, means—

(a) the majority of the shares in the company; or

(b) shares representing more than half the share capital of the company; or

(c) shares of a value in excess of half the share capital of the company; or

(d) shares entitling the holder or holders thereof to a majority or preponderance of votes in the affairs of the company.

3 LEASEHOLD

The Lessor has, in terms of the Agricultural Land Settlement Act [*Chapter 20:01*] agreed to let and the Lessee has agreed to rent certain piece of State land, being farm……………. situated in the District of ………………… in ……………………………. Province. measuring ………….. hectares in extent, the boundaries and abuttals whereof have been pointed out and agreed upon by the Parties hereto, and are depicted on the copy of the survey diagram **(SG……..)** hereto annexed **held in terms of an endorsement made in terms of section 16B of the Constitution on Title Deed Number………….dated……………**

4. COMMENCEMENT AND DURATION OF LEASE

This Lease shall commence on the date of signing thereof by the Lessee, and shall be valid for a period of 99 years.

5. RENTAL

5.1 An annual rental amounting to:………………….. dollars ($…………) shall be payable in respect of the Leasehold in advance on or before the 1st January of each and every year during the currency of this Lease.

5.2 All payments due by the Lessee to the Lessor under this lease shall be made to any authority designated by the Lessor by notice in writing to the Lessee from time to time for that purpose.

5.3 The Lessee shall not withhold, defer, or make any deduction from any payment due to the Lessor, whether or not the Lessor is indebted to the Lessee or in breach of any obligation to the Lessee.

5.4 The Lessee shall be liable for interest on all overdue amounts payable under this Lease at the prescribed rate of interest reckoned from the due date of such amounts until they are respectively repaid.

5.5 The Lessee shall pay ……….. dollars ($0.00) as rental for the period between:—

(a) the date of actual occupation of the Leasehold (the proof whereof shall lie with the Lessee); and

(b) the date of signature of this Lease.

This amount shall be paid within three months of the commencement of this Lease (or in instalments of ………………………….. dollars $0.00 per month).

5.6 The rental may be reviewed and increased annually by the Lessor by such reasonable amount as the Lessor may determine:

Provided that no annual increase in rental shall exceed a figure representing the previous year's rental as adjusted for the annual percentage increase in the cost of living for that year (as determined by the Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (ZIMSTAT) established in terms of the Census and Statistics Act [*Chapter 10:29*] (No. 1 of 2007) or other body responsible for official statistics that may be substituted for the same).

5.7 No reimbursement of rentals shall be made by the Lessor upon the repossession, termination or cancellation of this Lease.

5.8.0 Deposit

5.8.1 The Lessee shall pay the Lessor a deposit equivalent to one year's rental (…….. dollars ($0.00)) which the Lessor may apply, in whole in part, in meeting any payment due by the Lessee to the Lessor at any time during the subsistence of this Lease or after the termination of the Lease.

This deposit shall be paid on the date of signature of this Lease (or in instalments of ……………………..dollars ($0.00) per month for three consecutive months).

5.8.2 Where the deposit is applied during the subsistence of the Lease, the Lessee shall be required to pay another deposit of an amount not exceeding the rental payable in the year when the deposit is required, as may be fixed by the Lessor.

6. PURCHASE BY LESSEE OF IMPROVEMENTS

6.1 The value of the improvements on the Leasehold is hereby fixed by the Lessor to be the sum of: ………………….. dollars ($…………) (hereinafter called “the capital sum”), which improvements the Lessor hereby agrees to purchase.

6.2 As security for the payment of the capital sum by the Lessee, the Lessor hereby undertakes to register a mortgage bond in the appropriate Deeds Registry over the improvements at the same time as it registers this Lease in accordance with Clause 29, or as soon as practicable thereafter, and all expenses and stamp duties of and incidental to the preparation and registration of the mortgage bond shall be borne by the Lessee.

6.3 An annual sum amounting to: ………………….. dollars ($…………) shall be payable in advance in respect of the purchase of the improvements on the Leasehold on or before the 1st January of each and every year during a period of thirty years:

Provided that the Lessor shall not charge any interest in respect of the annual repayments of the capital sum, except for interest on overdue repayments in accordance with Subclause 6.6;

Provided further that the Lessee shall have a right at any time to take transfer of the improvements subject to the payment of the outstanding balance of the capital sum and, if the improvements are encumbered by a real right securing a monetary obligation in terms of Clause 25, to the payment of the outstanding balance under of the monetary obligation secured by that real right;

Provided further that the Lessee shall have a right to take transfer of the improvements on payment of a sum representing the outstanding balance of the capital sum that is—

(i) borrowed from the Lessor or a “Lender” as defined in Clause 25; and

(ii) secured by a mortgage bond registered in a deeds registry over the lease or the improvements or both in favour of the Lessor or Lender as the mortgagee.

6.4 All payments due by the Lessee to the Lessor under this Clause shall be made to any authority designated by the Lessor by notice in writing to the Lessee from time to time for that purpose.

6.5 The Lessee shall not withhold, defer, or make any deduction from any payment due to the Lessor under this Clause, whether or not the Lessor is indebted to the Lessee or in breach of any obligation to the Lessee.

6.6 The Lessee shall be liable for interest on all overdue amounts payable under this Clause at the rate of one *per centum* per month reckoned from the due date of such amounts until they are respectively repaid.

7. ADDITIONAL CHARGES

In addition to paying rent, the Lessee shall:—

(a) pay all levies, fees and charges as may be determined by the relevant local authority from time to time in terms of the Rural District Councils Act [*Chapter 29:14*] (or any other law that may be substituted for that Act) with effect from a date to be fixed by the local authority; and

(b) be directly responsible for the cost of electricity and water consumed on the Leasehold to whomsoever shall levy such charges.

8. USE OF THE LEASEHOLD

8.1.0 Use of the Leasehold generally:

8.1.1 The Leasehold shall be used at the Lessee's own expense, for agricultural or pastoral purposes for the Lessee's benefit and that of his or her dependants.

8.1.2 Subject to Clause 25, use of the Leasehold for any other purposes shall be with the consent of the Lessor signified in writing to the Lessee, which consent shall not be unreasonably withheld:

Provided that the Lessor shall have ninety (90) days in which to respond in writing to a written request of the Lessee under this Clause, and any failure to do so shall signify that the Lessor consented to the proposed additional or alternative use of the Leasehold.

8.2 The Lessee shall be entitled to use water which is available on the Leasehold strictly in accordance with any agreement or law or otherwise and in particular Clause 11.4 of this Lease, for the agricultural or pastoral purposes abovementioned and for the domestic use on the Leasehold.

8.3 The Lessee shall actively and continuously carry on agricultural or pastoral operations in a sustainable manner to the satisfaction of the Lessor and may either personally and permanently reside on the Leasehold, or engage a responsible person who shall personally and permanently take up residence on the Leasehold and manage it on behalf of the Lessee within three months of the signature of this Lease.

8.4 All farming operations shall be carried out in good husbandry in accordance with recognised farming practices and the lawful directions of Designated Officers.

9. NATURAL RESOURCES

9.1 The Lessee shall comply in all respects with all laws pertaining to the proper and sustainable use and management of land, water and other natural resources and shall further comply with all requirements which, in the opinion of a Designated Officer, are reasonably necessary to secure the proper and sustainable use and management of those resources.

9.2 The Lessee shall, at his or her own expense:—

(a) ensure that no unlawful and indiscriminate tree-felling or wood-cutting is practised;

(b) report to the relevant authority the existence of noxious weeds;

(c) cut and maintain fire breaks;

(d) keep under control all grass so as to preclude any fire hazard to the Leasehold or any adjoining Leasehold or property;

(e) ensure that there is no poaching and indiscriminate killing of wildlife; and

(f) undertake measures for the prevention of any soil erosion.

10. DISEASE

The Lessee shall take all reasonable measures necessary for the control of both plant and animal disease and shall comply with all laws and regulations and lawful instructions relating thereto.

11. PROVISIONS REGARDING MINIMUM DEVELOPMENT AND MAINTENANCE OF IMPROVEMENTS

11.1 Development plan

11.1.1 It shall be a condition for signing this Lease that the Lessee shall have submitted to a Designated Officer a five-year development plan (annexed as Annexure I hereto) that is in compliance with this Clause, and that the Designated Officer shall have approved the plan.

11.1.2 On the expiry of the five-year development plan set out in Annexure I or on the expiry of any other development plan referred to in Subclause 11.1.3 the Lessor may by notice in writing to the Lessee require that he or she submit a new five-year development plan for approval by a Designated Officer.

11.1.3 Any Lessee to whom this Lease is transferred in accordance with Clause 17 shall be bound by the five-year development plan in Annexure I or by any other plan referred to in Subclause 11.1.2 during its currency, unless he or she submits to a Designated Officer a new five-year development plan that is in compliance with this Clause, and that has been approved by a Designated Officer.

11.1.4 The Lessee shall, at his or her own expense, and to the satisfaction of the Lessor, undertake to initiate minimum developments on the Leasehold as contained in the five-year development plan in Annexure I within three months of the signature of this Lease

or, as the case may be, within three months of the approval of another five-year development plan referred to in Subclause 11.1.2 or 11.1.3.

11.1.5 The following are the minimum developments the Lessee is required to make to the Leasehold, which shall be included in the development plan:—

(a) development of a permanent homestead and water supply adequate for the primary human and animal needs of the Leasehold, within the boundaries of the Leasehold;

(b) provision of access roads suitably sited, constructed and protected against erosion as approved by the Designated Officer;

(c) erection of adequate decent employees' accommodation with access to water and sanitation facilities for workers employed on the Leasehold; and

(d) in the case of a Leasehold which is to be developed primarily for cropping purposes, clearance and protection not less than 30% of the assessed arable hectarage per year; and

(e) in the case of a Leasehold which is or is to be developed as forest land or as a plantation, clearance and protection not less than 50% of the arable or exploitable land for the purposes of forestry or for plantation purposes, as the case may be.

11.1.6 The development plan may include improvements effected by the Lessee before signing the Lease.

11.2.0 Maintenance of Existing improvements and New Improvements

11.2.1 For the avoidance of doubt, it is declared that this subclause does not apply to any improvements finally purchased by the Lessee in accordance with Clause 6.

11.2.2 The Lessee shall, at his or her own expense, and to the satisfaction of the Lessor, assume responsibility and control of any existing improvements on the Leasehold and listed in Annexure III, with effect from the date of signature of this Lease, and shall maintain in good order and condition all improvements on the Leasehold.

11.2.3 For the purpose of Subclause 11.2.2, unless the Lessee notifies the Lessor in writing on the date of the signature of this Lease of the need for any repairs or

replacements to the existing improvements, the Lessee is deemed to have acknowledged that the Leasehold and all the improvements on it were in place, intact and in good order, condition and repair when the Lessee took first occupation of the Leasehold.

11.2.4 For the avoidance of any doubt, the Lessee shall be responsible for the maintenance of, and for all repairs and replacements becoming necessary from time to time in or to, all improvements which are part of the Leasehold.

11.2.5 Should the Lessee fail to carry out any of his or her obligations under this Lease with regard to the maintenance, repair or replacement, the Lessor shall be entitled, without prejudice to any of its other rights or remedies, to effect the required maintenance, repair or replacement and to recover the cost thereof from the Lessee on demand.

11.2.6 The Lessee shall not effect any structural alterations to the existing improvements except with the consent of the Lessor, which consent shall not be unreasonably withheld:

Provided that the Lessor shall have ninety (90) days in which to respond in writing to a written request of the Lessee under this subclause, and any failure to do so shall signify that the Lessor consented to the proposed alterations.

11.2.7 With respect to agricultural or pastoral improvements, not being agricultural or pastoral improvements to existing improvements, the Lessee may, without the prior consent of the Lessor, but subject to notifying the Lessor in writing fourteen (14) days before commencing the improvements concerned, effect any improvements of an agricultural or pastoral nature to the Leasehold

11.2.8 The Lessee shall not effect any other improvements which are neither agricultural nor pastoral without the written consent of the Lessor and the approval of the relevant local authority, which consent shall not be unreasonably withheld:

Provided that the Lessor, or the local authority, as the case may be, shall have ninety (90) days in which to respond in writing to a written request of the Lessee under this subclause, and any failure to do so shall signify that the Lessor or local authority consented to the proposed improvements.

11.3.0 Water resources and utilities

11.3.1 All water resources shall be utilised in terms of the Water Act [*Chapter 20:24*] or any other law that may be substituted for that Act.

11.3.2 Where improvements related to the storage, abstraction or use of water are used by two or more Lessees or the Lessee and the occupants of adjoining properties, responsibility for the allocation and management of the improvements shall vest in the Zimbabwe National Water Authority (ZINWA) established by the Zimbabwe National Water Authority Act [*Cap 20:25*] (or other official agency responsible for water resources that may be substituted for the same), which shall be entitled to levy charges for the use of the water and the maintenance of the improvements.

11.3.3 Where improvements related to resources or utilities other than water are under the direct control of the Lessee, the Lessee shall be entitled to levy any charge for the use and maintenance of the improvements, provided that such charge is approved by the Lessor.

11.4.0 Inspections

11.4 The Lessor shall carry out annual inspections of the Leasehold to establish:—

(a) progress achieved in the implementation of the development and production plans referred to in Subclauses 11.1 and 11.2; and

(b) whether the Lessee is maintaining existing improvements (other than improvements purchased under Clause 6) in good order and condition to the satisfaction of the Lessor.

12 FENCING

12.1 The Lessee shall be deemed to be the occupier for the purposes of the Fencing Act [*Chapter 20:06*] or any other law that may be substituted for that Act.

12.2 The Lessee shall, at his or her own expense, erect and maintain to Government standard specification any fence which may be required by the Lessor on or within the boundaries of the Leasehold.

13. SURVEY

13.1 Subject to Subclause 13.2, the Lessor shall, through the offices of the Surveyor-General, undertake the survey of the Leasehold.

13.2 In the event that there is an inconsistency in the survey diagram referred to in Clause 3 and:—

(a) any draft sketch plan given by the Lessor to the Lessee before the signature of this Lease, the survey diagram referred to in Clause 3 shall prevail; and

(b) the original survey diagram of the Surveyor-General from which the survey diagram referred to in Clause 3 was copied, original survey diagram of the Surveyor-General shall prevail.

13.3 The Lessee shall not hold the Lessor liable for any inconsistency between the sketch plan and survey diagram referred to in Subclause 13.2(a) or (b) and shall not be entitled to any difference in the area.

13.4 The Lessee shall meet the cost of any survey of the property under Subclause 13.1, and of any road the survey of which is deemed to be necessary by the Lessor.

13.5 The original survey diagram of the Surveyor-General referred to in subclause 13.2 (b) may be inspected during normal working hours at the offices of the Surveyor-General.

14 BEACONS AND PEGS

The Lessee shall, at his or her own expense, ensure that any beacons, or site pegs that are or may be placed or contiguous to the property shall remain undisturbed and in good order.

15 ROADS

15.1 The Lessee shall be deemed to be the occupier for the purposes of the Roads Act [*Chapter 13:18*] (No. 6 of 2001) or any other law that may be substituted for that Act.

15.2 The Lessor shall not be liable to construct, maintain, repair or contribute to the cost of any road or way which the Lessee may require, or be entitled to at law, in order to gain access to the Lease holding.

16 NUISANCE

The Lessee shall not do, cause or permit to be done anything on the Leasehold or any in building or other improvement on the Leasehold which is or may be a nuisance to the occupiers of any adjoining properties or in the vicinity of the Leasehold.

17 SUBLETTING/ASSIGNING/CESSION/PARTNERSHIP

17.1.0 Conditions under which Leasehold may be transferred, etc.

17.1.1 Subject to this Clause and Clause 25, the Lessee shall not:—

(a) cede, assign, hypothecate or otherwise alienate or sublet in whole or in part, or donate or dispose of his or her Lease or any of his or her rights, interests or obligations under this Lease, or place any other person in possession of the Leasehold; or

(b) enter into a partnership for the working of the Leasehold;

without the consent of the Lessor in writing, which consent shall not be unreasonably withheld.

17.1.2 The Lessor shall have ninety (90) days in which to consent or withhold its consent in writing to a proposed cession, assignment, hypothecation, alienation, subletting, donation, disposal, placement or partnership referred to in Subclause 17.1.2, and any failure to do so shall **entitle the Lessee to make an application in terms of the Administrative Justice Act (or any other law that may be substituted for that Act) to compel the Lessor to consent to or withhold its consent to the transaction, or otherwise give reasons for the delay.**

17.1.3 No cession, assignment, hypothecation, alienation, subletting, donation, disposal, placement or partnership is made in accordance with Subclause 17.1.1 or 17.1.2 shall be valid unless the cession, assignment, hypothecation, alienation, subletting,

donation, disposal, placement or partnership is recorded by way of an appropriate endorsement on the Lease registered in the deeds registry where this Lease is registered.

17.1.4 The Transferee or other person in whose favour a cession, assignment, hypothecation, alienation, subletting, donation, disposal, placement or partnership is made in accordance with Subclause 17.1.1 or 17.1.2 shall be bound by all the provisions of this Lease in every respect as if he or she is a Lessee or the new Lessee, as the case may be.

17.2. Subletting of infrastructure and resources, improvements or infrastructure used in common

17.2.1 The Lessee may sublet infrastructure such as:—

(a) agro-processing infrastructure;

(b) dip tanks situated on/along plots/boundaries;

(c) tobacco barns;

provided that any rentals charged by the Lessee for such subletting shall be subject to the approval of the Lessor.

17.2.2 Where any resource, improvement or infrastructure such as a dam or a water resource is, at the commencement of this Lease, used commonly for the benefit of two or more Lessees or occupiers properties, whether by virtue of a pre-existing servitude or otherwise, such resource, improvement or infrastructure shall be under the jurisdiction of such authority as may be determined by the Lessor.

17.3 Nullity of transactions entered in breach of this Clause

A transaction entered into by a Lessee in contravention of this Clause shall be of no force and effect from its inception and no obligation towards the Lessee or any third party arising from such transaction shall attach to the Lessor:

18 SUCCESSION TO LEASEHOLD AND JOINT AND UNDIVIDED SHARES IN LEASEHOLD

18.1 In the event of the marriage or death of the Lessee(s) or the dissolution of his or her or their marriage, succession to this lease shall, subject to this clause devolve in accordance with the laws of Zimbabwe providing for the succession to or inheritance of property

Provided that where such laws may require the cession or physical division of the leasehold between two or more persons the provisions of the Schedule to this lease shall apply in lieu of such laws.

18.2 Subject to **subclause 18.3**, in the event of the Lessee not being able to continue farming operations due to physical or mental or other inability of whatever nature, he or she may, whether personally or through his or her legal representative, trustee or guardian, as the case may be, seek the consent of the Lessor in writing in accordance with clause 17.1.1 to cede his or her rights to a competent successor (which consent shall not be unreasonably withheld) or, in the alternative, surrender his or her rights to the Lessor, provided that the Lessee shall have complied with the terms of the Lease during his or her tenure.

18.3 Where the Lessee wishes to cede his or her rights in accordance with subclause 18.2 to a successor who —

(a)is an **indigenous Zimbabwean** as defined in clause 25.1.1**; and**

(a)is **a** citizen **of Zimbabwe of or above the age of twenty-one (21 years);**

the Lessee shall not be required to seek the prior consent of the Lessor to the cession in accordance with subclause 18.2 if, before effecting the cession, he or she gives not less than fourteen (14) days' written notice to the Lessor of his or her intention to effect the cession, together with the following documentation:

(i) an affidavit **by the successor** deposing to the fact that he or she is an indigenous Zimbabwean who is a citizen of Zimbabwe and is at least 21 years of age; and

(ii) a copy of any identity document **relating to the successor** that is authenticated by a Commissioner of Oaths;

and thereafter the Lessor's consent to the transaction shall be assumed to have been given unless, at any time before or after the cession, the Lessor finds that the successor has perjured himself or herself in the affidavit referred to in paragraph (a), or that the identity document referred to in paragraph (b) is a forgery, and the Lessor makes its finding known to the Lessee or successor or both by notice in writing.

19 RIGHT OF WAY

The Lessee shall permit any right of way necessary to give access to other properties or permit such other right of way as he or she may be required to give by the Lessor, which right of way may be registered as a servitude against the Leasehold.

20 RIGHT OF ENTRY

A representative of the Lessor shall be entitled to enter upon the Leasehold at all reasonable times for the purpose of Clause 11.3.4 or 11.5, or as provided by the law.

21 WAIVER

No waiver, express or implied, by the Lessor of any breach of any terms or conditions of this Lease by the Lessee, shall constitute a waiver of any subsequent breach of the same or any other terms or conditions of this Lease, and the acceptance of overdue rental hereunder shall not constitute a waiver of any such breach except in respect of the payment of the rental as accepted.

22 REPOSSESSION BY LESSOR

22.1 Subject to Clause 25, the Lessor may, subject to at least six months' notice, and in such manner and under such conditions as it may deem fit, repossess the Leasehold or any portion thereof if the repossession is reasonably necessary in the interests of defence, public safety, public order, public morality, public health, town and country planning or the utilization of that or any other property for a purpose beneficial to the public generally or to any section of the public.

22.2 Upon repossession of this Lease under Subclause 22.1 the Lessor reserves the right to resume possession of the Leasehold without prejudice to its rights to claim arrears of rent, arrears of any capital sum outstanding under Clause 6, damages or otherwise;

22.3 Where the Lease is repossessed in terms of Subclause 22.1, such compensation as may be determined in terms in accordance with Subclause 22.4 shall be payable promptly, and in any event not later than 180 days from the date when the Lessor resumes possession of the Leasehold, to the Lessee, or his or her trustee, assignee or legal representative, as the case may be, for improvements owned or effected by the Lessee on the Leasehold and any crops on the Leasehold:

Provided that the Lessor shall not be obliged to pay compensation for:

(a) any improvements owned by the Lessor that were effected without the Lessor's consent; or

(b) any expenditure incurred by the Lessee in complying with his or her obligations of maintenance, repair and replacement under this Lease.

22.4 In default of agreement between the parties, the amount and application of any compensation due to the Lessee in terms of Subclause 22.3 shall be determined by arbitration in terms of the Arbitration Act [*Chapter* 7:02] or any other law that may be substituted for that Act.

22.5 The compensation agreed or determined in terms of Subclause 22.4, shall be payable promptly, and in any event not later than 180 days from the date when the Lessor resumes possession of the Leasehold, to the Lessee, or his or her trustee, assignee or legal representative, as the case may be, for improvements owned or effected by the Lessee on the Leasehold and any crops on the Leasehold:

22.6 Prior to vacating the Leasehold upon repossession of the Lease, the Lessee shall destroy all crop residues as is required by the law notwithstanding that the date prescribed for such destruction falls after the date by which the Lessee is required to vacate the Leasehold, and failing the Lessee's compliance with this condition, the Lessor shall have the right to effect such crop destruction and recover the costs thereof from the Lessee or,

alternatively, deduct the costs from the quantum of compensation due to the Lessee for improvements.

23 TERMINATION BY LESSEE

23.1 Notwithstanding Clause 4, the Lessee may terminate this Lease by giving not less than ninety (90) days' written notice to the Lessor.

23.2 Upon termination of this Lease under Subclauses 23.1 the Lessor reserves the right to resume possession of the Leasehold without prejudice to its rights to claim arrears of rent, damages or otherwise;

23.3 Where the Lease is terminated in terms of Subclause 23.1, such compensation as may be determined in terms in accordance with Subclause 23.4 shall be payable promptly, and in any event not later than 180 days from the date when the Lessor resumes possession of the Leasehold, to the Lessee, or his or her trustee, assignee or legal representative, as the case may be, for improvements owned or effected by the Lessee on the Leasehold and any crops on the Leasehold:

Provided that the Lessor shall not be obliged to pay compensation for:

(a) any improvements owned by the Lessor that were effected without the Lessor's consent in terms of Clause 11.3.6 or without notification in terms of Clause 11.3.7; or

(b) any expenditure incurred by the Lessee in complying with his or her obligations of maintenance, repair and replacement under this Lease.

23.4 In default of agreement between the parties, the amount and application of any compensation due to the Lessee in terms of Subclause 22.3 shall be determined by arbitration in terms of the Arbitration Act [*Chapter 7:02*] or any other law that may be substituted for that Act.

23.5 The compensation agreed or determined in terms of Subclause 23.4, shall be payable promptly, and in any event not later than 180 days from the date when the Lessor resumes possession of the Leasehold, to the Lessee, or his or her trustee, assignee or legal

representative, as the case may be, for improvements owned or effected by the Lessee on the Leasehold and any crops on the Leasehold.

23.6 Prior to vacating the Leasehold upon repossession of the Lease following its termination by the Lessee, the Lessee shall destroy all crop residues as is required by the law notwithstanding that the date prescribed for such destruction falls after the date by which the Lessee is required to vacate the Leasehold, and failing the Lessee's compliance with this condition, the Lessor shall have the right to effect such crop destruction and recover the costs thereof from the Lessee or, alternatively, deduct the costs from the quantum of compensation due to the Lessee for improvements.

24 CANCELLATION OF LEASE BY LESSOR

24.1 Subject to Subclause 24.2, the Lessor reserves the right to cancel this Lease and repossess the Leasehold subject to at least ninety (90) days' notice or a longer notice period as the Lessor may deem fit, in the event of:—

(a) the insolvency of the Lessee under the laws of Zimbabwe; or

(b) the Lessee owning or leasing some other property for agricultural purposes; or

(c) any breach of Clauses 2 (concerning the conditions under which a Leasehold may be held by a body corporate other than a religious or educational institution), 8.1.1 and 8.1.2 (use of the Leasehold otherwise than for purposes there permitted or for purposes to which the Lessor has not consented); 8.3 (failure to carry on agricultural and pastoral operations in a sustainable manner to the satisfaction of the Lessor or to engage a responsible person to do the same). 9 (failure to comply with laws pertaining to the proper and sustainable use and management of land, water and other natural resources), 11.1.4 and 11.1.5 (failure to initiate minimum developments on Leasehold within specified time, or to make the specified minimum developments), 11.2.6 (making structural alterations to existing improvements without the Lessor's consent), 11.2.8 (making non-agricultural or non-pastoral improvements without the Lessor's consent), 14 (failure to maintain site pegs and beacons undisturbed or in good order), and 17 (failure to obtain the consent of the Lessor for any transfer, etc., of the Leasehold); or

(d)the Lessee having permitted his or her agricultural or pastoral operations to decline to such an extent that the Leasehold is not being properly managed; or

(e)the Lessee failing to pay his or her rentals, levies and/or rates to the Lessor or to the relevant local authority, as the case may be, despite having received ninety (90) days' notice from the Lessor to honour his or her obligations in that regard.

24.2 The Lessor shall, before giving notice to the Lessee of the cancellation of the Lease on a ground specified in Subclause 24.1(b), (c) or (d), give to the Lessee at least thirty (30) days' notice of its intention to terminate the Lease, together with its reasons for wishing to do so, and afford the Lessee an opportunity to make representations to it on the matter.

24.3 Upon cancellation of this Lease under Subclause 24.1 the Lessor reserves the right to resume possession of the Leasehold without prejudice to its rights to claim arrears of rent, damages or otherwise;

24.4 Where the Lease is cancelled in terms of Subclause 24.1, such compensation as may be determined in terms in accordance with Subclause 24.5 shall be payable promptly, and in any event not later than 90 days from the date when the Lessor resumes possession of the Leasehold, to the Lessee, or his or her trustee, assignee or legal representative, as the case may be, for improvements owned or effected by the Lessee on the Leasehold and any crops on the Leasehold:

Provided that the Lessor shall not be obliged to pay compensation for:

(a)any improvements owned by the Lessor that were effected without the Lessor's consent; or

(b)any expenditure incurred by the Lessee in complying with his or her obligations of maintenance, repair and replacement under this Lease.

24.5 In default of agreement between the parties, the amount and application of any compensation due to the Lessee in terms of Subclause 24.4 shall be determined by

arbitration in terms of the Arbitration Act [*Chapter 7:02*] or any other law that may be substituted for that Act.

24.6 The compensation agreed or determined in terms of Subclause 24.5, shall be payable promptly, and in any event not later than 180 days from the date when the Lessor resumes possession of the Leasehold, to the Lessee, or his or her trustee, assignee or legal representative, as the case may be, for improvements owned or effected by the Lessee on the Leasehold and any crops on the Leasehold:

24.7 Prior to vacating the Leasehold upon repossession of the Lease following its cancellation by the Lessor, the Lessee shall destroy all crop residues as is required by the law notwithstanding that the date prescribed for such destruction falls after the date by which the Lessee is required to vacate the Leasehold, and failing the Lessee's compliance with this condition, the Lessor shall have the right to effect such crop destruction and recover the costs thereof from the Lessee or, alternatively, deduct the costs from the quantum of compensation due to the Lessee for improvements.

25 COLLATERAL

25.1 Interpretation in this Clause

25.1.1 In this Clause:

"identity document" means—

(a) a document issued to a person in terms of section 7 (1) or (2) of the National Registration Act [*Chapter 10:17*] (or any other law that may be substituted for that Act), or a passport or drivers licence issued by or on behalf of the Government of Zimbabwe; or

(b) a certified copy of an entry of a birth certificate made in terms of the Births and Deaths Registration [*Chapter 5:02*] (No. 11 of 1986) (or any other law that may be substituted for that Act);

"Lender" means—

(a) any banking institution registered in terms of the Banking Act [*Chapter. 24:20*], or any other law that may be substituted for that Act; or

(b) any building society registered in terms of the Building Societies Act [*Chapter 24:02*], or any other law that may be substituted for that Act; or

(c) the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe; or

(d) the successor company to the Agricultural Finance Corporation formed under the Agricultural Finance Act [*Chapter 18:02*]; or

(e) the People's Own Savings Bank of Zimbabwe established in terms of the People's Own Savings Bank of Zimbabwe [*Chapter 24:22*]; or the Infrastructure Development Bank of Zimbabwe established in terms of the Infrastructure Development Bank of Zimbabwe Act [*Chapter 24:14*], and any successor to those institutions; or

(f) any other financial institution established by Act of Parliament which is authorised, whether explicitly or otherwise, to lend money to Lessees; or

"borrower" any individual who is a **qualifying indigenous Zimbabwean**;

"qualifying indigenous Zimbabwean" means any individual Lender who, before the 18th April, 1980, was disadvantaged by unfair discrimination on the grounds of his or her race, and any descendant of such individual, and who—

(a) is a citizen of Zimbabwe of or above the age of twenty-one (21 years); and

(b) before becoming a party to any cession, assignment, hypothecation, alienation, subletting, donation, disposal, or other transfer or encumbrance of the Leasehold resulting from the discharge or satisfaction of any charge, mortgage or other security for money advanced by him or her as a Lender to the Lessee—

(i) does not hold any agricultural land under any form of title, or, if he or she does hold such land, notifies in writing addressed to the Lessee and the Lessor his or her intention to surrender to the State such other agricultural land upon assumption of the rights conferred by such cession, assignment, hypothecation, alienation, subletting, donation, disposal or other transfer or encumbrance of the Leasehold; and

(ii) is prepared to personally exercise the rights conferred by such cession, assignment, hypothecation, alienation, subletting, donation, disposal, or other transfer or encumbrance of the Leasehold, or to appoint a person able to exercise them on his or her behalf, no later than thirty (30) days from the date of such cession, assignment, hypothecation, alienation, subletting, donation, disposal, or other transfer or encumbrance of the Leasehold;

25.2 Rights of Lender

25.2.1 Subject to this Clause, the Lessee may use this Lease as collateral in securing agricultural financial assistance from any Lender.

25.2.2 Notwithstanding Clause 17, without the prior consent of the Lessor the Lessee may, by endorsement on the Lease registered in a deeds registry, record in favour of a Lender a charge, mortgage or other security upon the Leasehold for the purpose of securing to the Lender a prior right to recover the amount of the monetary obligation so secured from any person to whom the Lease is ceded or transferred in accordance with Clause 17.1, whereupon no such cession or transfer shall take effect until the monetary obligation is discharged unless the Lender agrees otherwise.

25.2.3 In discharging any charge, mortgage or other security recorded upon the Leasehold in accordance with Subclause 25.2.2, the Lender in whose favour such charge, mortgage or other security is recorded may do either of the following ((a) or (b)) as the Lender thinks fit in the circumstances—

(a) obtain an order from a court of competent jurisdiction that any sum is due on the charge, mortgage or other security ("the judgment debt"), and subsequently, if the judgment debt remains unsatisfied, sue out a writ for the attachment of the Leasehold in question and its sale in execution to any **qualifying indigenous Zimbabwean**:

Provided that any individual ("the Transferee") who obtains a Leasehold by sale in execution shall, immediately upon taking transfer of the Leasehold, or no later than fourteen (14) days thereafter, give written notice to the Lessor of the fact that he or she has taken transfer of the Leasehold in accordance with this subclause, and shall attach to the notice the following documentation:

(i) an affidavit by the Transferee deposing to the fact that he or she is an **qualifying indigenous Zimbabwean**; and

(ii) a copy of any identity document relating to the Transferee that is authenticated by a Commissioner of Oaths;

and thereafter the Lessor's consent to the **transfer of the Leasehold** shall be assumed to have been given unless, at any time before or after the conclusion of the transfer, the Lessor finds that the Transferee has perjured himself or herself in the affidavit referred to in paragraph (i), or that the identity document referred to in paragraph (ii) is a forgery, and the Lessor makes its finding known to the Lessee or Transferee or both by notice in writing.

or

(b)exercise the same rights as a Lessee under Clause 17 to—

(i) cede, assign, hypothecate or otherwise alienate or sublet in whole or in part, or donate or dispose of the Leasehold or any of its rights, interests or obligations under the Leasehold, or place any other person in possession of the Leasehold; or

(ii) enter into a partnership for the working of the Leasehold;

and, where it exercises any such right, Clause 17 shall apply to the Lender as if it is the Lessee.

25.3 Additional Rights of Lender where the Lender chooses to exercise Subclause 25.2.3(b) rights

25.3.1 This subclause applies in any case where the Lender chooses to exercise the rights referred to in Subclause 25.2.3(b).

25.3.2 If the Lessee defaults on any obligations pursuant to, a charge, mortgage or other security recorded upon the Leasehold in accordance with Subclause 25.2.2, the Lender in whose favour such charge, mortgage or other security is recorded shall have the right to take possession of the Leasehold for as long as it is necessary to enable it to take recovery of its charge, mortgage or other security:

25.3.3 If the Lessee defaults on any obligations pursuant to, a charge, mortgage or other security recorded upon the Leasehold in accordance with Subclause 25.2.2, the Lender in whose favour such charge, mortgage or other security is recorded shall have the right to take possession of the Leasehold for as long as it is necessary to enable it to take recovery of its charge, mortgage or other security:

Provided that—

(i) the Lender shall no later than seven (7) days after the date when it takes possession of the Leasehold under this Subclause, notify the Lessor in writing accordingly; and

(ii) if no recovery of its charge, mortgage or other security is made by the Lender within twelve (12) months of the date when it takes possession of the Leasehold under this Subclause, the Lender shall, until such time as it is able to dispose of the leasehold as provided in Subclause 25.2.3 (b) (i) or (ii), assume—

(a) all the obligations of the Lessee, including in particular the submission of a development plan in accordance with Clause 11.1;

(b) all the rights of the Lessee, other than the right to terminate the lease in terms of Clause 23:

Provided that the Lender may, by mutual agreement with the Lessor, surrender the Lease to the Lessor under an arrangement whereby the Lessor undertakes to find another Lessee, who will discharge any monetary obligation owed to the Lender by the previous Lessee.

26 DOMICILIA AND NOTICES

The Parties choose as their *domicilia citandi et executandi* for all purposes relating to the Lease the following addresses:—

(a)**Secretary for Lands and Rural Resettlement, Private Bag 7779 Causeway, Harare**;

(b)..

or such other address as the Lessor or Lessee may hereafter nominate by notice in writing to the Lessor or Lessee, as the case may be.

27 ADMINISTRATION

Any act required or permitted to be performed by the Lessor in terms of this Agreement may be performed on behalf of the Lessor by the Secretary for the Ministry of Lands, Land Reform and Resettlement or such other Secretary to a Ministry as the Lessor may nominate or such officer in the Public Service as may be designated by the Secretary.

28 DECLARATION

This Lessee (in the case of a Lessee referred to in paragraph (a) or (b) of the definition of "Lessee" in Clause 1.1) hereby declares that he or she does not own any other agricultural land or hold any other lease of agricultural land

29 COSTS

The Lessor undertakes to register this Lease in the appropriate Deeds Registry in terms of section 65 of the Deeds Registries Act (or other provision that may be substituted for the same) as soon as practicable after its commencement, and all expenses and stamp duties of and incidental to the preparation, execution and registration of this lease shall be borne by the Lessee.

30 ENDORSEMENT OF LEASE FOR PERIODS OF DURATION OF LESS THAN 99 YEARS IN CERTAIN CASES

30. 1 In this Clause: —

"corporate Lessee" means a Lessee which is—

(a) a statutory body or a religious or educational institution; or

(b) a qualifying body corporate; or

(c) a public company registered or incorporated in Zimbabwe whose shares are traded in a Zimbabwean stock exchange; or

(d) a company registered as a foreign company in Zimbabwe under section 330 of the Companies Act [*Chapter 24:03*] (or any other law that may be substituted for that Act); or

(e) a private company incorporated in Zimbabwe in which—

(i) the controlling interest is held by individuals who are citizens of Zimbabwe; and

(ii) no shareholder who holds a controlling interest in the private company holds a controlling interest in another private company that is or may become a Lessee;

or

(f) a company licensed under section 26 of the Companies Act [*Chapter 24:03*] (or any other law that may be substituted for that Act).

30.2 The Lessor may, in respect of a corporate Lessee, by endorsement registered on the Lease in a deeds registry, limit the duration of the Lease to a specified period of less than ninety-nine years but not less than ten (10) years, and may, at the same time and by like endorsement, delete or modify any of the foregoing clauses of this Lease in respect of that corporate Lessee.

31 ENTIRE AGREEMENT

This Lease constitutes the entire agreement between the Parties. No variation or amendment of it is valid unless it is put in writing and signed by both parties.

SCHEDULE (CLAUSE 18.1)

1. If the Lessee in whose name this Lease is issued:

(a) was not married at the time this Lease was issued and subsequently becomes married, his or her spouse shall be deemed to hold an equal joint and undivided share in the Leasehold:

Provided that, unless his or her spouse is a joint Lessee by virtue of being a joint signatory of this Lease, the Lessee as signatory of this Lease shall bear the sole responsibility for ensuring the fulfilment of the conditions of this Lease, including his or her obligations under this

Lease to the Lessor or to any third party, and shall not require the prior consent of his or her spouse to do anything necessary to fulfill those conditions or obligations;

(b) was married to one or more spouses at the time this Lease was issued his or her spouse(s) shall be deemed to hold an equal joint and undivided share in the Leasehold:

Provided that:

(i) if any spouse was not, on the date this lease is signed and for a period of at least twelve months before such signature, cohabiting as man and wife with the signatory, such spouse shall not be deemed to hold an equal joint and undivided share in the Leasehold, unless the spouse in question is in occupation of, or otherwise actively involved in developing, the Leasehold; and

(ii) the Lessee as signatory of this Lease shall bear the sole responsibility for ensuring the fulfilment of the conditions of this Lease, including his or her obligations under this Lease to the Lessor or to any third party, and shall not require the prior consent of any spouse who, by virtue of this paragraph, holds an equal and undivided share in this Leasehold, to do anything necessary to fulfil those conditions or obligations.

(c) was married to one or more spouses at the time this Lease was issued and subsequently marries another spouse or other spouses, those spouses married after the date this Lease was issued shall be regarded as dependants of the Lessee and not become holders of equal joint and undivided shares in the Leasehold, unless the spouses(s) married on the date this Lease was issued signify to the Lessor in writing their consent to the additional spouse(s) becoming holders of equal joint and undivided shares in the Leasehold:

Provided that the Lessee as signatory of this Lease shall bear the sole responsibility for ensuring the fulfilment of the conditions of this Lease, including his or her obligations under this Lease to the Lessor or to any third party, and shall not require the prior consent of any spouse who, by virtue of this paragraph, holds an equal and undivided share in this Leasehold, to do anything necessary to fulfil those conditions or obligations.

2. Upon the death of the Lessee his or her rights under this Lease referred to in Paragraph 1 shall, notwithstanding any testamentary disposition to the contrary, devolve:

(a) to the surviving spouse of the Lessee, whether or not the surviving spouse was the joint Lessee by virtue of being a co-signatory of this Lease; or

(b) in the case of a polygamous marriage, to all the holders of equal joint and undivided shares in this Leasehold, if any:

Provided that, in the absence of a joint Lessee, the Lessee shall have the right, by will, to nominate any one of the holders of equal joint and undivided shares in this Leasehold who will be primarily responsible for fulfilling the conditions of this Lease, and such nominee shall have the right to buy out the other holders of equal and undivided shares in this Leasehold by compensating him/her/them for his/her/their assessed share(s) under this Lease;

or

(c) if there is no holder of an equal and undivided share in this Leasehold, to any of the dependants of the deceased Lessee in accordance with the laws of inheritance applicable to the Lessee, who shall thereupon become holders of equal joint and undivided shares in this Leasehold:

Provided that the Lessee shall have the right, by will, to nominate one of those dependants who will be primarily responsible for fulfilling the conditions of this Lease;

3. Where the Lessee dies:

(a) leaving two or more spouses to succeed him as holders of equal joint and undivided shares in this Leasehold, but fails to make any testamentary nomination as permitted by the proviso to Paragraph 2(b); or

(b) without leaving a spouse to succeed him or her and without making any testamentary nomination as permitted by the proviso to Paragraph 2(c);

the Lessor shall have the right to nominate in writing one surviving spouse or one dependant, as the case may be, as the person who shall be primarily responsible for fulfilling the conditions of this Lease , and who shall have the right to buy out the other holders of equal joint and undivided shares in this Leasehold, by compensating him/her/them for his/her/their assessed share(s) under this Lease.

4. If the marriage or, in the case of a polygamous marriage, any of the marriages between the Lessee and his or her spouse is dissolved, the divorced spouse shall retain his or her rights as the holder of an equal joint and undivided shares in this Leasehold unless the Lessee compensates the divorced spouse for his or her assessed share under this Lease:

Provided that where there are two or more joint Lessees by virtue of there being two or more joint signatories of this Lease—

(a) no Lessee shall have a unilateral right to compensate the other Lessee or Lessees for their assessed shares under this Lease in order to become the sole Lessee;

(b) if a Lessee wishes to compensate the other Lessee or Lessees for their assessed shares under this Lease in order to become the sole Lessee, and the other Lessee or Lessees do not agree to be so compensated, the issue of which Lessee shall have the right to compensate the other Lessee or Lessees for their assessed shares shall be determined by an arbitrator (chosen, in the absence of the agreement of the Lessees, by the Lessor) in terms of the Arbitration Act [*Chapter 7:02*] (or any other law that may be substituted for that Act), for which purpose the arbitrator will make his or her award in favour of the Lessee who, in the arbitrator's opinion, has been the one most responsible for the development of the Leasehold.

5. The assessed share under this Lease of a divorced spouse or of a nominated holder of an equal joint and undivided share or of a joint Lessee referred to in Subclause Paragraph 2(b) or (c) or Paragraph 4, shall be determined by the Lessor after giving the Lessee and the divorced spouse or nominated holder of an equal joint and undivided shares, or joint Lessee (as the case may be), a reasonable opportunity to make oral or written representations in the matter, and interest on the amount so assessed shall accrue at the prescribed rate of interest for each month that the assessed share remains unpaid, excluding the month in which the share was assessed:

Provided that—

(i) while the assessed share remains unpaid, the person holding such share shall be subject to all the obligations and entitled to all the rights of the holder of an equal joint and undivided share in the Leasehold, unless, by notice in writing to the Lessee(s) and the Lessor, the holder surrenders his or her share to the Lessee(s); and

(ii) if the holder of the assessed share is not compensated therefor (together with interest) within twelve months from the date when the value of such share was assessed in accordance with this subclause, and has not earlier surrendered his or her share to the Lessee(s), the holder thereof may require the Lessor to revalue the assessed share, and this subclause shall apply to such revaluation.

6. The Lessee may, by endorsement on the Lease at the Deeds Registry where the Lease is registered: —

(a) record the equal joint and undivided share in this Leasehold of any person who, by virtue of this clause, is the holder of such a share, and the consent of the Lessor shall not be required to effect such endorsement; or

(b) record an equal joint and undivided share in favour of any person who is not, by virtue of this clause, the holder of an equal joint and undivided share, but in that case Lessee shall seek the consent of the Lessor in writing to do so in accordance with Clause 17.1.1 (which consent shall not be unreasonably withheld):

Provided that where the person referred to in this paragraph **is a person who qualifies to be a "successor" as described in C**lause 18**.3, the prior consent of the Lessor in writing in accordance with Clause 17.1.1 shall not be required, but the Lessee must comply with the requirements of Clause 18.3 as if the** person referred to in this paragraph **is a "successor".**

THUS DONE AND EXECUTED BY THE APPEARER AND THE LESSEE AT HARARE ON ……………………DAY OF ………………………… IN THE YEARS OF OUR LORD TWO THOUSAND AND TEN (2010) IN THE PRESENCE OF SUBSCRIBING WITNESSES

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APPEARER

LESSEE

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WITNESSES

1…………………………………………..

2…………………………………………..

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NOTARY PUBLIC

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