

**Fast track land reform and belonging:
examining linkages between resettlement areas and communal areas
in Zvimba District, Zimbabwe.**

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ABSTRACT

This study examines whether beneficiaries of Zimbabwe's Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) of 2000 in resettlement areas maintain linkages with communal areas of origin. Present studies about the FTLRP provide limited in-depth attention to the importance of understanding linkages with places of origin. The study sought to explore the extent to which beneficiaries of the FTLRP are connected to their communal areas of origin, as well as the implications of the ties. Analysis of linkages is through social relationships and labour exchanges between people in resettlement areas and communal areas. This was done through a conceptual framework of belonging, which helped explain the various attachments to places of origin. The study was guided by a qualitative research approach. A case study of Machiroli Farm, an A1 villagised settlement, and Zvimba communal areas (Ward 6), Mashonaland West, Zimbabwe was utilised. The study's main finding is that beneficiaries of the FTLRP in the A1 model on Machiroli Farm retain linkages with communal areas of origin; beneficiaries of the FTLRP acquired new land without discarding ties and relations with places of origin. Most respondents attached clear importance to maintaining linkages with places of origin. Some respondents did not maintain ties with places of origin because of conflicts and breakdowns in family ties, highlighting that belonging is not static. Evidence from this case study shows that maintenance of linkages assists with agricultural production and enhancing social relations. Another important finding is that belonging enforced the maintenance of relations through factors, such as familial relations, burial sites, clubs, ceremonies and labour exchanges with communal areas of origin. The study argues that belonging is an aspect that ties people together despite physical translocation. Thus, this study's contribution is that, within land reform debates, physical translocation does not break the bonds with, or ties to, places of origin. Belonging enables several functions, such as access to labour, mitigation of economic challenges and enhancement of social relations, as demonstrated by this case study. For scholarship, the study contributes to land reform debates by applying the concept of belonging, which has mostly been applied to border and migration studies policy. The framework of belonging within land reform reveals the importance of social, cultural, religious and economic effects in accessing labour and enhancing agricultural production in agrarian settings. The study draws the conclusion that beneficiaries of land reform desire to remain relevant to a host of political, economic, spiritual and social aspects anchored in places of origin. Therefore, resettlement does not break ties which people have with places of origin, people embrace the new without discarding the old relations.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AGRITEX	Agricultural Technical and Extension Services
AIDS	Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome
BSAC	British South Africa Company
DA	District Administrator
DLC	District Lands Committee
DCC	District Coordinating Committees
CA	Communal Areas
CIO	Central Intelligence Organisation
FTLRP	Fast Track Land Reform Programme
GMB	Grain Marketing Board
GoZ	Government of Zimbabwe
GNU	Government of National Unity
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MP	Member of Parliament
ORA	Old Resettlement Areas
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
LSCF	Large Scale Commercial Farms
RA	Resettlement Area
RDC	Rural District Council
VIDCO	Village Development Committee
WADCO	Ward Development Committee
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front
ZIMSTAT	Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency
ZRP	Zimbabwe Republic Police
ZNA	Zimbabwe National Army
ZNLWA	Zimbabwe National Liberation War Veterans Association

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Chapter 1

Land reform and belonging: exploring linkages

1.1 Introduction

Land reform studies largely focus on redistribution of land (Griffin et al., 2002), property rights (Cousins et al., 2005), livelihoods (Scoones et al., 2010), agricultural production (Sachikonye, 2003) and undoing colonial injustices (see Mafeje, 2003; Moyo & Yeros, 2005). There have been a number of studies, which have been conducted in different parts of the world by scholars, such as Rosa (2012) in Brazil, Chen and Davis (1998) in China and Japan, Griffin et al. (2002) in Colombia, El Salvador and Guatemala, and, in southern Africa, by scholars, such as (Moyo, 2003), Ntsebeza and Hall (2007), Hall (2008), Cousins and Scoones (2010) and Bernstein (2010). Broadly, these studies demonstrate that redistribution of land through land reform has contributed towards some factors, such as reducing poverty, diversifying livelihoods and increasing agricultural growth. However, what is largely missing in these studies is the contribution pertaining to the maintenance of linkages by beneficiaries of land reform to their places of origin. On the other hand, belonging studies have explored the maintenance of ties to places of origin by people that translocate to different areas, such as rural areas, urban areas and the diaspora. For the most part, analysis has been largely confined to fields such as migration (Potts, 2010), refugees (Malkki, 1992) and citizenship (see Geschiere, 2009 and Nyamnjoh, 2014). As a result, the analysis of belonging within land reform studies has received limited scholarly attention. Therefore, there is a need for scholarly focus that explores the implication of linkages for beneficiaries of land reform with places of origin using a conceptual lens of belonging. As such, linkages in this study are explored as factors or relationships that connect people or places to each other. The analysis of linkages in this case study is through social relationships and labour exchanges. Thus, this study broadens discussions on land reform through belonging¹ using a case of beneficiaries of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme and communal areas of origin in Zvimba District in Mashonaland West, Zimbabwe.

1.1.1 Problem statement

The Zimbabwean Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) has received considerable critical attention from both media and academia since 2000. However, most debates about the

¹ Belonging is defined as a sense of attachment to a place, being an indigene or having roots to a location (Anthias, F. 2006).

FTLRP provide limited in-depth analysis of linkages between beneficiaries of the FTLRP in resettled areas and people in communal areas of origin. The relationship between people in resettlement areas and communal areas of origin has received conflicting interpretations from scholars. Existing research by scholars, such as Goebel (2005), Mabhena (2010), Kanyenze (2011) and Nyawo (2015), argue that the FTLRP disrupted family cohesion and ties in the family units in communal areas through the relocation of people to resettlement areas. This study challenges these claims through an in-depth analysis, and questions whether translocation or resettlement programmes, such as the FTLRP, disrupt links with places of origin.

There is a group of scholars that acknowledges that linkages between beneficiaries of the FTLRP and communal areas of origin are still maintained: Moyo (2009), (Murisa, 2009), Scoones et al. (2010), Matondi (2012), Murisa (2013), Mkodzongi (2013), Mutopo (2014) and Shonhe (2017). However, most of these studies do not provide an analysis that focuses solely on the links that exist between people in resettlement areas and their communal areas of origin. There is a need to identify factors that enable linkages and their implications on belonging for beneficiaries of the FTLRP that left communal areas. Therefore, this study explores the extent to which beneficiaries of land reform are connected or disconnected from their communal areas of origin, primarily through the conceptual framework of belonging. Thus, this study sought to fill the gap on the sustainment of linkages and the implications of belonging for beneficiaries of the FTLRP, who left communal areas, focusing on two interconnected issues: social relations and labour exchanges. This study contends with these problems using a case study of Machiroli Farm, an A1 villagised settlement, and Zvimba communal areas (Ward 6) in Zvimba District. The next section focuses on the background to the study.

1.1.2 **Background**

In Africa, colonialism forcibly displaced indigenous people from their places of origin, and Zimbabwe (called Southern Rhodesia before independence) is no exception (Moyo, 1995). During Zimbabwe's colonial period, various legislation, such as the Land Apportionment Act (LAA) and Land Husbandry Act (LHA), was enacted, which resulted in extreme land alienation. I will expand on these Acts in Chapter 3. These policies remained in effect up to the attainment of Zimbabwe's independence. At independence, various land reform policies were implemented to address uneven land distribution and historical injustices caused by the colonial state (Kinsey et al., 1998a, Kinsey, 2005). Between 1980 and 1999, there were various land reform programmes that sought to address inequitable distribution of land; however, they were deemed to be slow in nature and failed to address some of these land challenges, which led to the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) in 2000.

The FTLRP had a number of objectives, such as overturning the racially distorted land tenure system inherited at independence in 1980 (Chipenda, 2018). The FTLRP had two resettlement models, namely the A1 and A2 models, as will be fully discussed in Chapter 4. The A1 model is a small-scale model categorised as either self-contained or villagised and one of the objectives of this model was decongesting communal areas for landless people, using a villagised and self-contained variant, the A1 model (GoZ, 2001). The A2 model, on the other hand was regarded as a commercial farming land-use model intended to empower the indigenous black farmers (GoZ, 2001; Masiwa & Chipungu, 2004). In this study, the focus is on the A1 villagised model because most beneficiaries living there originated from communal areas (see Moyo, 2009). The villagised model comprises of beneficiaries allocated homestead, arable and grazing land in a closed village (Moyo et al., 2009:8).

The current configuration of communal areas is a creation of colonial settler administration. Black people were resettled on arid and impoverished land, called tribal trust lands or reserves and later changed to communal areas after independence in 1980 (GoZ, 2002). Communal areas historically functioned as a residence, home, fallback and food production areas for the majority of Zimbabweans (Paradza, 2010:19). The provision of land through the FTLRP resulted in the translocation of households from mostly communal areas, with some from urban areas, to new resettlement areas, such as A1 and A2 farms (Moyo, 2009). This is stated by Scoones et al. (2010) and Murisa (2013), who say that a large number of A1 beneficiaries originated from communal areas. Thus, in light of these assertions, this study sought to examine the extent to which people in A1 resettlement areas break or maintain linkages with communal areas of origin. This study argues that linkages exist between people on A1 villagised settlements and communal areas of origin, anchored on belonging.

The case study makes a grounded contribution to ongoing debates about the outcomes of Zimbabwe's FTLRP by demonstrating that belonging is important for beneficiaries of the FTLRP in A1 villagised settlements. Empirical evidence gathered in this study shows that, through linkages, the benefits of the FTLRP spill over to communal areas of origin because there are embedded in belonging. The study argues that land reform does not uproot people from places of origin or break bonds. Rather, the maintenance of links by beneficiaries of resettlement programmes, such as land reform, emphasises the importance of belonging through the maintenance of political, economic, spiritual and sociological ties among various groups.

1.1.3 **Research objectives**

The broad objective of this study is to investigate the linkages between beneficiaries of land reform in resettlement areas and communal areas of origin after the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) of 2000 in Zvimba District, Mashonaland West. This is done using the lens of two interconnected issues: labour and social relations.

The following specific sub-objectives guided the study to achieve its broad objective:

1. To investigate the role of belonging in sustaining linkages between beneficiaries of the FTLRP in an A1 villagised settlement and communal areas of origin in Zvimba District
2. To examine factors that enhance social relations and labour exchanges between beneficiaries of the FTLRP in an A1 villagised settlement and communal areas of origin since the Fast Track Land Reform Programme in Zvimba District
3. To explore the nature of linkages between beneficiaries of the FTLRP in an A1 villagised settlement and communal areas of origin since the Fast Track Land Reform Programme

1.1.4 **Research questions**

The broad research question is: What forms of linkages exist between residents of resettlement areas and communal areas of origin after the FTLRP of 2000 in Zvimba District, Mashonaland West? The following are research sub-questions:

1. How does belonging sustain linkages existing between beneficiaries of the FTLRP in an A1 villagised settlement and communal areas of origin in Zvimba District?
2. How do social relations and labour exchanges enhance links between beneficiaries of the FTLRP in an A1 villagised settlement and communal areas of origin since the Fast Track Land Reform Programme in Zvimba District?
3. What is the nature of linkages that exist between beneficiaries of the FTLRP in an A1 villagised settlement and communal areas of origin since the Fast Track Land Reform Programme?

1.1.5 **Significance of the study**

This study contributes to scholarship about land reform and belonging that have implications for scholarship policy and practice. The study seeks to contribute to a deeper understanding of land reform through the lens of belonging, which concept is mostly debated in migration

studies. Most studies about land reform examine factors, such as agricultural production or productivity, land distribution, and livelihoods, without taking into account social outcomes, such as belonging. This study expands the significance of land reform debates by demonstrating that belonging is a facet of social, cultural and economic factors that are linked to land. The concept of belonging within land reform debates provides an important insight into understanding attachment to places of origin and their multi-layered relationships, through the material, social and symbolic links with the homeland. This work, too, provides a unique contribution and insights into Zimbabwe's FTLRP, but extends the scope through the examination of linkages between beneficiaries of the FTLRP and their communal areas of origin using the conceptual lens of belonging (described in Chapter 2). This contribution is inherent in understanding land reform and post-FTLRP conditions in Zimbabwe. For policy and practice, the study illustrates that, for programmes that entail resettlement, policies must consider that people are connected to various networks, which very often provide support socially, emotionally and physically. The broad significance of this study is that linkages based on belonging reveal the importance of the social fabric and relations, which are part of people's everyday lives.

1.1.6 Contribution to scholarship

The study provides two broad contributions for scholarship. Firstly, it illustrates that, within land reform programmes that result in resettlement of people, maintaining ties with their place of origin is important for people that are resettled. Belonging is a thread that connects people with their places of origin. To begin with, the study demonstrates that belonging is materialised and strengthened through interactions at various levels. For people that receive land through land reform or resettlement programmes, the study highlights the need to remain attached to places people come from. Despite relocation, people have an inherent desire to maintain belonging with places of origin. The study also illustrates that social and cultural relationships are based on fixed assets, such as land. Belonging enables people to connect in different geographical or emotional spaces. Places of origin convey and attach essential symbols for traditions, customs and social relations. Secondly, this study demonstrates that, for beneficiaries of land reform, by maintaining links, there is an agency to remain associated and connected to areas of origin through belonging. This study brings to the fore that, people that are resettled or translocate desire to remain anchored in their social fabric through belonging. Broadly, it provides an empirical contribution through examining linkages using the concept of belonging within land reform debates. I will expand on this contribution in Chapter 8. In the next section, I will provide the political and economic context to the FTLRP in Zimbabwe.

1.2 Political and economic context of Zimbabwe's FTLRP

This section provides a brief overview of the political and economic context of Zimbabwe. It highlights critical events, relevant to this study, concerning linkages between communal areas and resettlement areas. However, it is not an attempt to provide a comprehensive overview, but rather a brief one of the economic and political context as a background to the FTLRP. The 1990s witnessed an increase in political unrest in Zimbabwe due to factors such as Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes (ESAP), lack of confidence in ZANU-PF, drought, and the demand for land and compensation by war veterans (Moyo, 2000a). By 1997, war veterans of the liberation struggle advocated for payment of Z\$50 000 dollars (worth US\$4 000 then), which was compensation for their participation in the liberation struggle (Chitiyo, 2000). What followed was the collapse of the economy through a mass exodus of investors and sudden loss of value of the Zimbabwean dollar by 71,5% to the US dollar, and the stock market crashed by 46% on the 17 November 1997, also known as "Black Friday",² (Moyo, 2000b; Kairiza, 2009).

During this period, an opposition party was formed, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), with the support of the workers through the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU), Commercial Farmers' Union (CFU) and international donors (Cliffe et al., 2011). The MDC was a threat to the political dominance of ZANU-PF and questioned the democracy levels of that party (Raftopoulos & Phimister, 2004). At the same time, there was increased demand for land from various groups, such as war veterans and people in both urban and communal areas (Moyo, 2004). However, between 1998 and 2000, no progress was made on the land question, despite the conference agreements (Moyo & Yeros, 2005). The declining Zimbabwean economy, formation of MDC and political tension led to ZANU-PF losing a constitutional draft referendum in 2000.

Due to unmet demands, war veterans mobilised dwellers in urban and mostly adjacent communal areas to invade white commercial farms. The ZANU-PF government yielded to the pressure by officially launching the FTLRP in July 2000. Thus, what followed was the decline in agricultural production, sanctions, and decline of the Zimbabwean dollar value (Sachikonye, 2005). Sachikonye (2011) observes that, between 2000 and 2009, wheat production declined from 270 000 to 62 000 tonnes. In the same period, the effects of the declining economy resulted in an increase in unemployment from 15% in 1990 to 94% in December 2008 (Tevera & Chikanda, 2008). This led to an increase in migration of people to other countries, such as

² <https://mg.co.za/article/2007-11-11-zim-marks-10-years-since-black-friday>

England, America, South Africa, Botswana and Namibia, to avert economic challenges and meet their needs (Tevera & Chikanda, 2008). Despite relocating due to economic challenges, studies by Dodson et al. (2008), Tevera & Chikanda (2008) and Hammar et al. (2010) indicate that Zimbabweans in the diaspora still maintain links. Thebe (2011) states that Zimbabwean migrants maintain links through the flow of remittances to rural Matabeleland North. Through various means, the social relations between people in the diaspora and those in Zimbabwe are maintained. Interlinked to a number of factors, the FTLRP also affected the political landscape in Zimbabwe.

There are various scholarly debates about the political nature of the FTLRP. Whether it was deliberate strategy or manipulated remains unclear. Cliffe et al. contend that

what is more a matter of dispute is the extent to which the farm occupations were a consequence of a coherent strategy articulated and orchestrated by the leadership of ZANU-PF and the Government of Zimbabwe (GoZ), or whether these two institutions had to be forced or manipulated into supporting them by a separate initiative taken by veterans. (Cliffe et al., 2011:213)

Scholars, such as Alexander (2007) and Tendi (2010), argue that fast tracking land occupation inevitably involved a top-down approach with significant restructuring of state institutions, which created a partisan and violent state. Zamchiya (2011), in his case study in Chipinge District in Zimbabwe, argues that the FTLRP was used to exclude members of the opposition party from the programme. Other scholars argue that the FTLRP reconfigured who belonged and did not belong, this was in the case of former farm workers that were largely excluded from the land allocation process (Rutherford, 2008).

The government of Zimbabwe adopted a number of economic strategies that sought to boost agriculture, such as providing farming equipment and inputs. However, these economic policies were meant to boost the political support of ZANU-PF among its supporters (Mazwi et al., 2019). The FTLRP also triggered international isolation for the Zimbabwe government mostly through the imposition of sanctions. As a result, the Mugabe-led government of Zimbabwe adopted the “Look East” policy as a way to avert the effects of the economic challenges (Mkodzongi & Lawrence, 2019). However, some of these economic challenges subsided as a result of the adoption of a Government of National Unity (GNU), which comprised MDC led by Morgan Tsvangirai, MDC (the split-off from the original party) led by Professor Arthur Mutambara and ZANU-PF led by Robert Mugabe, which existed between 2009 and 2013 (Mukuhlani, 2014). At the end of the GNU, the economic challenges re-emerged due to the contested elections, legitimacy issues and continued sanctions (Moore, 2014). In 2017, Robert Mugabe was removed from office by the Zimbabwe National Army

and replaced by Emmerson Mnangagwa, despite whose assurance to the international community, Zimbabwe has remained faced by economic challenges, which were largely triggered by the adoption of the FTLRP (Raftopoulos, 2019). At the time of the commencement of this research (August 2017), the Zimbabwean economy was on a continued downward trend.

Having outlined the political and economic background of the FTLRP, I move on in the next section to focus on land reform debates.

1.3 Land reform perspective

The FTLRP is located within the broader debates about land reform. As a concept, land reform is debated across several fields, such as geography, economics and development studies, amongst others. Land reform mainly comprises land tenure changes, land restitution and redistribution; and the analysis of land reform falls into the third. There are many definitions of land reform. Griffin et al. (2002), argue that land reform is not only redistributive but also establishes the communal or collective forms of farming. Ghimire (2001:3) also defines land reform as involving a significant change in the agrarian structure resulting in an increase in access to land by the poor with secure land title and rights. Land reform, in a number of countries, is centred on access to land, and land rights and entitlements (Ghimire, 2001). In other cases, land reform entails improving post-reform production structures and livelihoods (Ghimire, 2001). Adams (1995) delineates land reform as the redistribution of rights in land for the benefit of the tenants, landless and farm labourers. Land reform is a response to an unequal distribution of land resulting mostly from land concentration, land alienation, landlessness, urban bias, social injustice and landlordism (Mahlati, V. et al, 2019, Binswanger-Mkhize et al., 2014). Ntsebeza and Hall (2007) define land reform as the redistribution of property rights, in agricultural land.

Land reform, in broad terms, takes two forms: tenurial and redistributive. Tenurial reform is premised on refining the ownership type of land that is already in the people's possession but lacks secure property rights. Tenurial land reform tackles the issues of title and "registration and titling land can also be regarded as tenurial reform, as it entitles the occupier with ownership with enhanced tenure security and rights" (Tarisayi, 2013:195). Thus, such tenurial reform proceeds in multiple ways "without any change in the distribution of operational holdings, with occupants of both large and smallholdings (rich, middle and poor peasants) benefiting" (Byres, 2004:3). Redistributive land reform, in principle, is radical through redistributing operational holdings, that is, "taking land from those with large operational holdings and transferring it to those with no land at all" (Byres, 2004:3). It is argued that this

action helps to reduce rural poverty and is also a status symbol in rural communities. According to Krishna (1959:302), land is a “means of subsistence and security to borrow with...it is the essential token of status in rural society”. This is also argued by Ncube (2018) who argues that there is a sense of status in owning land and a rural home.

Economic, geopolitical and socio-political factors influence land reform for most developing countries. In parts of the world, such as Africa, Asia and South America, land reforms were co-opted into the national question as part of the decolonisation agenda. While, on the other hand, the division of the world during the Cold War was into socialist and capitalist blocs, which saw the United States of America and the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) influencing land reform programmes. Scholars, such as Warriner (1969:37), argue that the "[this Cold War period was] stimulating and also stupefying interaction of conflicting ideologies"; it was an era when America promoted capitalism contesting China and Russia's ideologies about land reform. In essence, the Cold War affected the definition of land reform. At the beginning of the 1980s, the influence of neoliberal and international financial economics led to the introduction of market-led land reform pursuant to the privatisation of land and market-based land transfers (Moyo, 2004). Despite the various economic, geopolitical and socio-political factors, broadly, there are four land reform approaches: market-led, state-led, peasant-led, and participatory driven (Borras et al., 2007:21). See table below:

Table 1. Perspectives on Land Reform

Perspective	Features
Market-led	Main consideration is economic efficiency/productivity gains; gives secondary or marginal role to central states; peasants/beneficiaries who are supposed to be in the [driving] seat of the reform are actually subordinated to the dominant market actors; in reality market-led means landlord/merchant/TNC-led in many agrarian settings today.
State-led	Main consideration is usually related to securing/maintaining political legitimacy, though developmental agendas are also important; strong political will necessary to carry out land reform agenda; usually treats peasants/beneficiaries as necessary administrative adjuncts; subordinates market actors or selectively deals with market actors depending on which actors are more influential within the state.
Peasant-led	The main assumption is that the “state is too captive to societal elements”, while market forces are basically dominated by elite interests. Thus, the only way to achieve pro-poor agrarian reform is for peasants and their organisations themselves to take the initiative to implement agrarian reform.
State/Society-driven	The main assumption: it does not romanticise the “omnipotence” of peasants/beneficiaries and their organisations; it does not assign a commanding role to central state; it does not provide sole importance to economic productivity enhancement issues; although it recognises the relevance of each of these perspectives, analyses state, peasant movements and market forces not as separate groups but as actors inherently linked to

	each other by their association to the politics and economics of land resources. It has three key features: “peasant/beneficiaries-led, state-supported and economic productivity-enhancing”.
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Adopted from (Borras et al., 2007:21)

The FTLRP was state-led land reform. State-driven land reform is designed to provide the state with a central role in the redistribution of land, as seen in the Philippines, Zimbabwe, and Ethiopia, where it was implemented as a way of addressing colonial injustice (Borras, 2003). In many instances, socio-political reasons, such as decolonisation, influence the state-based approach to land reform. This approach has been criticised as a programme that ignores the rights and the multiple uses of land, through unequal access to land (Shipton & Goheen 1992, Borras, 2003b, 2015). The state led land reform entails that the state may acquire land without compensation, as in the case of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme in Zimbabwe. Land occupations were led by war veterans, ZANU-PF structures, and people from both communal and urban areas (Sadomba, 2009, Bhatasara & Helliker, 2018). The state-led approach adopted by Zimbabwe led to the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) in 2000 (Chaumba et al., 2003, Moyo & Yeros, 2005, Mazwi., 2019). State-centred land reform approaches illustrate that the state overcomes institutional and structural obstacles through adequate “political will” for land reform (Dai & Tai, 1974:267). State-led land reforms have been criticised for their costliness, bureaucracy, and complexity with regards to planning. It is argued that state-led land reform is “considered to have a negative effect on the administrative capacity of the state, and of promoting corruption in the sense of officials benefiting people who do not qualify” (Lahiff, 2007:1411-1423).

Land reform has been used to gain political control, as in other cases of state-led reforms, which are used to gain political mileage (Zarin & Bujang, 1994). In the Zimbabwean case, ZANU-PF used the FTLRP as an axis to gain political power (Madhuku, 2004). As the key driver of the programme, the state had the power to alter or replace laws that applied to the distribution of land. According to Walker (2002), in order to maintain political relevance, ZANU-PF supported farm invasions in Zimbabwe. Land redistribution is intended as a means of improving the economy, but also a means of addressing underlying social and political processes that encourage inequality and social injustice that can best be corrected by the state. The multidimensional nature of land also suggests that, for effective land reform to occur, strong state intervention is required, since some objectives, such as “empowerment,” “social justice” and “purposive change”, cannot be reduced to monetary terms. As I showed in this section, there are various land reform approaches and types. This section provided various debates about land reform. While these debates have raised many insights for this study, the

concept of land reform will be engaged as a matter of land ownership, as will the implication of ownership of land for relationships with people in places of origin. The next section presents the methodology employed in this study.

1.4 Research design and methodology

This study used a qualitative approach based on a case study in Zvimba District to understand and interpret “everyday events, experiences, social structures and the values people attach to phenomena” (Collis & Hussey, 2009:56-57). This approach resonates well with the aim of this research, which is about understanding links between people in two areas. Denzin and Lincoln (2008:8) argue that “qualitative researchers stress the socially constructed nature of reality...they seek answers to questions that stress how social experience is created and given meaning”. In this regard, this study explored human experiences, values, feelings, and beliefs in order to understand issues related to linkages between communal areas and A1 villagised settlements in Zvimba. The multi-layered character of qualitative research empowers researchers to cultivate a holistic picture of the phenomenon in question (Mohajan, 2018). The qualitative research approach was utilised in understanding the interconnections between communal areas and resettlement areas. Thus, this approach privileges the narrative viewpoint, that is, the lived experience of the subject and the importance attributed to the phenomena (Scoones et al., 2010). Qualitative methodology enables a secure in-depth understanding of the social phenomena (Mutopo, 2014). This approach is vital in analysing the notion of belonging, as shown in Chapters 5 to 7.

1.4.1 Case study research design

A case study provided detailed information about linkages between beneficiaries of the FTLRP and communal areas of origin. Yin asserts that the case study is “an empirical enquiry that investigates contemporary phenomena within its real-life context, addresses a situation in which boundaries between phenomena and context are not clearly evident and uses multiple sources of evidence” (Yin, 1994:59). A case study is useful in research, as it enables researchers to examine data at the micro-level and can involve single or multiple cases (Zainal, 2007). Green and Thorogood (2018) state that “in-depth study undertaken of one particular ‘case’...could be a site, individual or policy” (2018:284). The degree to which a researcher can determine and influence activities in the field is very low.

A case study research design is not without limitations. One of the common criticisms of the case study is its lack of rigour (Yin, 2009). As a way of addressing this criticism, this study was guided by a conceptual framework of belonging and transparency throughout the research,

as suggested by Crowe et al. (2011). Another weakness of the case study method is the collection of evidence that does not relate to the case or is too little to contribute to the value of the study (Ponelis, 2015). In addressing this shortcoming, the research questions guided the collection of data. Yin (1994) highlighted the weakness of a case study as a source of evidence for a theory, and further argues that it is limited in contributing to its support of a theory. However, contribution to theory is beyond the scope of this study. This study did not focus on generating theory, but on contributing to scholarly debates about land reform, for which a case study design is appropriate. A case study was employed owing to its strength and appropriateness to describe, explain, or explore phenomena or events in the everyday and capturing information that is more explanatory: “how”, “what” and “why” questions (Sheikh et al., 2002; Yin, 2009).

1.4.2 Research process and selection of study area

As mentioned above, the focus in this study is on Zvimba District, Mashonaland West with specific attention to Ward 21, Machiroli Farm, an A1 villagised settlement, and Ward 6 communal areas. The case study area is one of the seven districts in Mashonaland West Province. Zvimba District lies in the south-eastern part of the province, sharing borders with Harare to the south-east, Mazowe to the east, Guruve to the north, Makonde to the west, and Chegutu to the south. I will expand on this context in Chapter 5. Machiroli Farm falls under Darwendale (land formerly under white commercial farms). Ward 6 communal areas fall under Zvimba (formerly reserves). This case study area is described in detail in Chapter 5.

I began my fieldwork in August 2017 and ended on May 2018, and I started by visiting the office of the District Administrator (DA),³ who guided the process of providing the approval to conduct research in the district. Land reform is regarded as a sensitive area of research, and clearance has to be sought from “gatekeepers”, such as government officials. This situation has also been faced by scholars, such as Chiweshe (2011) Mkodzongi (2013) and Ncube (2018), who encountered similar challenges. I was then directed to the Minister of State in Mashonaland West Province to begin the formal process. The Minister of State provided a clearance letter, which also covered security forces (police, army and Office of the President).

After interactions with the DA, I introduced myself to other government officials in the District, such as in the Ministry of Lands, Department of Livestock Production, Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (ZIMSTAT), Zvimba Rural District Council and the Agricultural, Technical

³ In the governance structure of local government, the DA is the most senior government employee at District level.

and Extension Services (AGRITEX). The Deputy DA also referred me to the Chief Zvimba, Village Heads, Headmen and Councillors. These local-level structures were to prove useful later, as they provided valuable information, such as relationships and leadership in the case study area, and referral to respondents in both communal and resettlement areas. Because, in Zimbabwe, land reform is still a sensitive matter, receiving clearance from the DA, Ministry of Lands, Zimbabwe Republic Police, Minister of State and Central Intelligence Organisation was important, particularly for researching in Zvimba District, where former president Robert Mugabe resided. Thirdly, I approached the Provincial Ministry of Lands Offices in Chinhoyi, where permission was granted through the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Lands in Harare.

The District Lands office in Zvimba District assisted with the selection of the case study area. Expert knowledge on the area and types of settlements was insightful in selecting the appropriate research area. Furthermore, the Lands Office provided maps and details of farms that would be appropriate for the nature of my study. These factors made it possible to select farms and communal areas that were easily accessible. Due to budget constraints, I could not select areas that were far apart, as it would have meant much travelling between two distant areas due to financial constraints. On the research site, the Chief introduced me to local village and kraal heads. Due to the close nature of communal areas and A1 settlements, village heads in the communal areas then introduced me to the Chairman of Machiroli Farm (with a committee of seven) and the local village head for Machiroli Farm. The assistance of a local research assistant, a recent graduate in Disaster Management from a local university with knowledge of the area, as well as land-related issues, made this process smoother. The research assistant's knowledge of the local landscape was useful in negotiating access and permission to interview respondents within communal areas.

Initially, I had set out to examine the labour exchanges between communal households and A1 villagised settlers on Machiroli Farm. Upon interviewing A1 beneficiaries on Machiroli Farm, I was made aware of a former farmworkers compound on the farm. The presence of former farmworkers provided important insights in understanding labour exchanges. Upon this realisation, in my analysis of labour exchanges between communal areas and A1 villagised settlements, I incorporated their narratives that enriched the depth of this case study even though they were not the focus of the study. The next section describes how data were collected.

1.4.3 Sample selection

As a qualitative study which sought to explore the ties between people in communal areas and resettlement areas in Zvimba District, Mashonaland West, purposive sampling was used. Purposive sampling technique allows a researcher to use cases that have the required information with respect to the objectives of his or her study (Lavrakas et al, 2019). As a case study, one farm was selected for the study, while there are many A1 villagised settlements that border communal areas, Machiroli Farm was chosen, as it was easily accessible for people both in communal areas and A1 settlements. Respondents on Machiroli Farm that were selected referred people in communal areas to be interviewed.

Machiroli Farm has 28 beneficiaries, 12 beneficiaries were purposively selected for interviews. Selections of respondents on Machiroli Farm were purposively done based on availability basis with an emphasis on the need to balance gender, age and class. Similarly, Ward 6 in the communal areas was selected, as several respondents on Machiroli Farm originated from Ward 6. Ward 6 in Zvimba communal areas is adjacent to Machiroli Farm and other former white commercial farms. 10 respondents were interviewed based on the links with people on Machiroli Farm. The next section describes how data were collected.

1.4.4 Data collection

Guided by research questions, the study used multiple sources of data collection, such as interviews, life histories, and participatory observations, as well as a review of Government of Zimbabwe reports and policies as secondary sources of data. Multiple qualitative data collections methods were used to curtail methodological weakness and to ensure that this study conforms to what Erlandson et al. (1993:317-318) call “triangulation”, in order to improve the credibility of research findings. In addition, to distinguish between what people do and say, I lived in the study area for seven months in order to understand the context of the research. By doing this, I was able to understand the complex nature of ties between people on Machiroli Farm and communal areas of origin in Zvimba. The section that follows describes the in-depth data collections methods I used in this study.

1.4.4.1 Interviews

Semi-structured interviews, as a tool, enabled the collection of narratives from respondents in the case study area. I used an interview guide, which followed a set of key questions, but which, nonetheless, also left room for me to “alter their sequence and to probe for more information” (Fielding, 1993:136). I was able to adapt the research instrument to the level of comprehension and articulation of the respondent to gather in-depth data from them. Most of the interviews

with people in the case study area were in Shona, a language spoken in Mashonaland West, which I can read and write. Respondents in communal and resettlement areas preferred Shona because it is the primary language spoken in Zvimba District, while government officials preferred English, the official language used for government and business purposes. Interviews were used to collect narratives and life histories. Where consent was granted, I recorded respondents using an audio recorder. The purpose of recording interviews was to transcribe them into text for analysis, as well to listen for gaps missed in taking notes during interviews. Since the focus of this research was on the linkages between people in resettlement areas and communal areas of origin, I sought to extract emotions, identities, memories, motivations and desires of the people interviewed. Themes that emerged from the interviews incorporated theoretical notions, which were pivotal to the study. I interviewed respondents in households, based on availability. Selections of respondents was purposively done. The interview guide directed the questions asked; this allowed for follow up and clarification of facts from the respondents. Interviews were useful for understanding the factors influencing why households moved or did not move to resettlement areas. I did not have a definitive number of respondents; I interviewed respondents based on their willingness to participate and until the saturation point was reached or when no new information emerged. The table below shows the number of people interviewed.

Table 2. Respondents interviewed

Category	Male	Female	Total Number
Machiroli Farm beneficiaries	8	4	12
Ward 6	7	3	10
Chief, Headman and Village Heads	4		4
Government Officials	5	2	7
Total	24	9	33

Source: Fieldwork data

The table above shows the categories of respondents that I interviewed. Respondents in Ward 6 communal areas were interviewed. Purposive sampling was used in the selections of respondents in communal areas. People were interviewed based on availability with an emphasis on providing a balance between women and men. Initially, respondents were interviewed based on recommendations by the District Administrator⁴ (DA), Chiefs or Village

⁴ In the governance structure of local government, the DA is the most senior government employee at District level.

Heads; as time progressed people in communal areas suggested relatives, friends, and neighbours in both communal and resettlement areas to interview. In addition, people that accommodated me in communal areas also provided referrals of people to interview.

The study also benefited from interactions with beneficiaries of the FTLRP on the A1 villagised model on Machiroli Farm. I began by interviewing the Machiroli Farm chairperson and Ward 21 councillor after being introduced to them by the DA. They later referred me to other respondents. Further respondents on Machiroli Farm were identified through transect walks using farm road networks. The information gathered from this category helped to shed light on the nature of interconnections between A1 beneficiaries and communal areas. Some of the narratives provided a preview of the nature of labour exchanges, agricultural production and social-relations transactions with households in communal areas of origin.

Government officials and traditional leaders interviewed comprised of the District Administrator (DA) and the Ministry of Lands and Agricultural Extension Officers, and the Chief, Headman and Village Heads, respectively. The government officials provided detailed information about the FTLRP in Zvimba District, and land patterns in communal areas. I asked questions that highlighted whether the FTLRP had contributed to the maintenance or disruption of ties amongst A1 beneficiaries and communal areas. Respondents provided insights into the nature of the movement of people between Machiroli Farm and communal areas. The Chief, Headman and Village Heads provided information on the socio-cultural activities that link households in communal areas and Machiroli Farm, as well as the role of the traditional leaders in both these areas.

1.4.4.2 Participant observation

I stayed in Zvimba for an uninterrupted period of seven months, hence, participant observation was predominantly important to distinguish what people say they do and what they do. My stay in Zvimba enabled me to observe, and extract notes from, the daily lives of the respondents as far as linkages were concerned. Participant observation is an important methodology for generating trust through emphasising everyday interactions and observations (Mutopo, 2014). I participated in activities, such as farming, herding cattle, church services, funerals, and social and leisure activities, and this helped in building relationships. During my stay in both Machiroli Farm and Ward 6 communal areas, I had the opportunity to record a range of experiences through observations that would otherwise have been inaccessible to me from interviews with household members and key informants.

Examining linkages entailed participating in activities on and off the farm, and I was able to gather information about the physical conditions of the farm, the infrastructure, everyday events in the area and other data that were important to my analysis. At the same time, I had the opportunity to build a good rapport with the local community in that I had access to some respondents, who were able to give some information that was not in the questionnaire. Staying with a household is important to understand the social organisation of households (Mutopo, 2013). In the image below, I participated in tobacco grading on Machiroli Farm.



Picture 1. Participating in tobacco grading,⁵ Machiroli Farm, February 2018

Source: Fieldwork 2017

Thus, through observation, I came to understand the nature of relations between households in communal areas and A1 resettlement areas. This study also entails intimate details about the culture, and the household economy divulged on the basis of trust. Participatory observation helped unpack various relations and their various textures within the case study areas. Participating in the day-to-day activities, such as grading tobacco and meetings, also assisted in building relationships within the community. History, particularly of translocation from communal areas to resettlement areas during and after the FTLRP, emerged after multiple

⁵ Consent to use picture was given by respondent.

engagements with the households in Zvimba District. Through these interactions, notes, events, and observations were recorded daily. The pitfall of the participatory observation was that I could not take notes as events or information unfolded, as this would make respondents uncomfortable. However, this tool was particularly useful for social gatherings and meetings, which included households from both communal areas and Machiroli Farm.

1.4.5 Secondary sources of data

Information about linkages was collected from several secondary sources, such as reports, newsletters, reviews, and baseline surveys that were carried out in Zimbabwe, Mashonaland West and, more specifically, Zvimba District. There are postgraduate studies that I also reviewed, and which provided insights on Zvimba (Murisa, 2009; Mazwi, 2019). I also reviewed secondary sources of information, such as documents from the Government of Zimbabwe (such as the Ministry of Lands and the District Administrator), Sam Moyo African Institute of Agrarian Studies and academic findings from Mashonaland West Province, and Zvimba District, in particular. There is additional information that helped to shape analysis of my work, such as studies on land and agrarian issues from organisations, such as Centre for Applied Social Sciences (CASS) and the Sam Moyo African Institute for Agrarian Studies (SMAIAS). Review of secondary sources of data helped to clarify and understand the research problem from the data reviewed.

1.5 Data analysis

Data analysis in a qualitative research approach can be described as the process of making sense from research participants “views and opinions of situations, corresponding patterns, themes, categories and regular similarities” (Cohen et al., 2007:461). This included pictorial and text data collected from various sources. The data was transcribed into English from interviews which were mostly conducted in the Shona language and photographs, into a computer. In the English transcriptions, where emphasis was required, direct quotes were in the local language, Shona. Themes were generated using NVIVO, a software for qualitative data analysis. The narratives were sorted into thematic categories and into finer sub-categories, which were mainly focussed on social relations, labour exchanges, belonging and agricultural production. After refining the themes, I grouped themes into empirical chapters five, six and seven. There was continuous engagement of research questions, conceptual framework of belonging and academic literature in the reporting of the themes (findings) of the study.

1.5.1 Data presentation

Presentation of data was through a narrative approach, which was supported by field pictures, interview excerpts, and extracts from policy documents. Interview excerpts, such as quotations, were presented in English with a few excerpts in Shona to maintain emphasis, in Chapters 5, 6, and 7. The identities of respondents in interview excerpts were protected through initialising names of respondents to maintain anonymity; for example, respondents were initialised as Mr C.K. or Mrs B.T. or, in some cases, C.Z. In other cases, respondents were referred to as anonymous respondents. Respondents, such as leaders, were referred to as Village Head or Local Heads.

1.6 Limitations of the study

My case study is limited to one district, which is Zvimba District. Also, even though there are two settlement models of the FTLRP, the A1 and A2 models, the case study used the A1 resettlement villagised model. This is mainly because most A1 beneficiaries originated from communal areas. Thus, findings from this study cannot be generalised for the whole of Zimbabwe. In both Machiroli Farm (A1 settlement) and Zvimba Ward 6 (communal areas), women were not forthcoming due to cultural barriers. As a result, female respondents were fewer than male respondents, but women were represented on issues that affected them. However, their active participation would have enriched research on intersections between communal areas and A1 settlements. Few women were willing to participate in interviews because most women wanted to get approval from their husbands before speaking to me. To overcome this challenge, I had to participate in activities in which most of the women participated, such as irrigation schemes, collection of firewood and burial clubs. Thus, I was able to share and engage with women and gain important narratives from them.

1.7 Ethics considerations

Prior to conducting research, ethical clearance was obtained from the University of Cape Town and the Ministry of Land and District Administrator in Zvimba District. During my research period in Zvimba District, ethical considerations were observed, as guided by the University of Cape Town's Research Ethics Code for Research Involving Human Participants. Research codes of ethics address individual rights to dignity, privacy, and confidentiality, and avoidance of harm (Glesne, 1988). Consent to participate in the research project was requested; the nature of participation and any other considerations expected to influence their willingness to participate were explained. This information was provided in a language that was understandable to the potential participants and respondents, and authorities were briefed about

the nature of the research; it was made clear that the research was for academic purposes. I also requested permission to conduct research from the Ministry of Lands in Zimbabwe. I was aware of the political nature of the FTLRP and avoided being involved in any political activities. Furthermore, as a researcher, I respected an individual's unwillingness to participate or, having agreed to participate, to withdraw his/her consent at any stage without prejudice. The nature of this study is intrusive, and it entailed probing into private lives; thus, I had to respect the boundaries of their privacy. I respected the rights of the respondents to engage in, or disengage from, the research, and consent was sought before engaging the respondents. The nature of this study involved having access to personal information of the respondents; in the thesis write-up and reporting, I protected this information, as well as the identities of the participants through pseudonyms and requested permission for the use of photographs.

1.8 Thesis outline

This chapter introduced the study and what it sought to achieve in examining the links between communal areas and resettlement areas. The chapter began by providing the focus and the background to the study on these linkages. It highlighted how there was limited in-depth attention in literature to the links that exist between communal areas and resettlement areas. Furthermore, this chapter set out the thesis objectives and the contribution of the study to the broader debates about the FTLRP and belonging. It provided an outlook of the research gap, which the study sought to fill. The chapter also provided an overview of the case study area and insight into the qualitative methodology, which was used in the study. The chapter concluded by providing an overview of the thesis outline. The next chapter engages in the conceptual lens used in the study.

The thesis is outlined in the following:

Chapter 2 provides conceptual underpinnings for the study. It engages the concept of belonging and its relevance to the study. It argues that, although belonging is a contested concept, it has facets that are important in understanding linkages. It shows that belonging is useful in explaining the nature of relations that exist between communal areas and A1 villagised settlements. It concludes by showing that belonging is essential for analysing ties and attachment to physical and emotional spaces.

Chapter 3 traces how links have always been maintained through different historical periods. It argues that colonialism distorted belonging through the removal of black people from their areas to reserves by the colonial government. It provides the broader context of Zimbabwe's land reform and belonging from a historical perspective. Secondly, this chapter also reviews

some of the colonial legislation, such as the Land Apportionment Act, Native Land Husbandry Act and Tribal Trust Land Act. It shows that, despite attempts to uproot people from places of origin, links have always been maintained. Furthermore, it goes further to show how the Zimbabwe government tried to correct the land question after independence in 1980. This chapter concludes by stating that, throughout various periods and either voluntary or involuntary translocation, Africans have maintained the desire to preserve connections to land and people.

Chapter 4 engages with debates about the FTLRP, particularly on the connections and disconnections between communal areas and resettlement areas. It shows how there are limited studies about the FTLRP that engage the concept of belonging to uncover links. This chapter also engages with policy objectives of the FTLRP, highlighting the models that comprised the FTLRP. The chapter also reviews debates about the FTLRP, explicitly showing how limited studies have engaged with the interconnection between land reform and belonging through linkages between communal areas and A1 villagised settlements. Most of the debates have not sufficiently raised the arguments on the linkages between these two areas based on belonging. The chapter shows how belonging has implications on linkages between communal areas and A1 villagised settlements. It also analyses literature that has highlighted links between communal areas and resettlements. It acknowledges that other studies have raised insights on connections; however, it notes that there is a need to show the implication of these connections for both kinds of households based on belonging.

Chapter 5 introduces the case study area, Zvimba District, the communal areas and Machiroli Farm. It begins by providing an overview of the social, political and economic background of Zvimba Rural District. The chapter further gives detailed information about Zvimba communal areas. An overview of Machiroli Farm is provided, showing its history and its subsequent repossession under the FTLRP. An overview of connections between communal areas and A1 villagised settlements after the FTLRP is given. This chapter further briefly shows the nature of agricultural activities in both communal areas and resettlement areas. It concludes by highlighting how belonging plays a key role in connections that exist between communal areas and Machiroli Farm.

Chapter 6 picks up on the descriptions provided in Chapter 5, using empirical evidence to show the nature of social relations between communal areas and Machiroli Farm. The chapter begins by exploring the various social relations, and then proceeds to describe the nature of connections between people on Machiroli Farm and communal areas of origin. The chapter

describes various social relations and how they enable connections between people on Machiroli Farm and communal areas of origin. It demonstrates that the FTLRP did not break bonds between communal areas and resettlement areas. It focuses on showing factors that enable links at various levels, such as social relations and labour exchanges. It shows how graves, burial sites, and totemic and familial relations enable links. It concludes by showing that not all people on Machiroli Farm are maintaining links with places of origin.

Chapter 7 describes the labour exchanges between communal areas and Machiroli Farm. It argues that beneficiaries of the FTLRP maintain links with communal areas of origin through labour exchanges. Furthermore, it proceeds to show how these social relations enable labour exchanges in both communal areas and A1 settlements. These labour exchanges occur mostly through family labour and, in some cases, hired labour of former farmworkers. This chapter argues that, through belonging, social relations and labour exchanges are the factors that enable links between communal areas and A1 resettlement areas.

Chapter 8 focuses on findings and discussion of insights and provides a conclusion on linkages between communal areas and resettlement areas. A recap of the focus captures the research gap and study objective. The chapter brings out findings emerging from the study. The study concludes that beneficiaries of resettlement areas maintain ties with places of origin. There are four major findings emerging from the study. These findings are, firstly, communal areas and A1 settlements maintain links, people embrace new land without forgoing relationships with places of origin. Secondly, belonging ties people together, and proximity is key in maintaining connections. Thirdly, labour exchanges enhance agricultural production. Fourthly, proximity enhances both agricultural production and social relations. Overall discussion emerges from the findings, which focuses on belonging, land reform and land as an asset. This thesis broadly argues that through belonging, beneficiaries of the FTLRP from communal areas still maintain connections with places of origin. Insights generated from this study highlight that people, who are resettled desire to maintain links with their places of origin. These key insights indicate that belonging is nuanced and that land reforms should consider its importance to beneficiaries.

Chapter 2

Conceptualising belonging: exploring linkages

2.1 Introduction

The previous chapter introduced the study and what it sought to achieve. In this chapter, I now turn to the conceptual framework used in this study. The concept of belonging is used to examine linkages between people on Machiroli Farm and communal areas. Belonging is conceptualised as being part of a broader community through familiarity, comfort and ease, alongside feelings of inclusion, acceptance and safety (Fontein, 2009; Anthias, 2006a). This concept is applied to examine connections between communal areas and A1 settlements in Zvimba District. The chapter broadly provides the argument that, through belonging, beneficiaries of the FTLRP from communal areas still maintain connections with places of origin. The chapter is divided into four sections beginning by defining belonging as a concept that entail social or emotional ties. The first section of the chapter explores the components of belonging, such as social relations, religion and graves. The second section explains the differences between belonging and the politics of belonging. The third section acknowledges that belonging is a contested concept; it highlights some of the challenges attached to belonging. The last part of the chapter shows how belonging was applied in this study to explore the links between communal areas and Machiroli Farm after the FTLRP, as well as the relevance of the framework. It draws the conclusion that physical resettlement does not break the bond with to place (land) of origin.

2.2 What is belonging?

Belonging as a concept is multidimensional and cuts across several disciplines. Historians, political scientists, sociologists and critical theorists engage with belonging. There are various scholars, such as Geschiere and Nyamnjoh (2000), Anthias (2006b) and Fontein (2011), who have used the concept of belonging. More often, belonging is applied within migration, mobility and translocation studies and it incorporates ethnicity, gender, nationhood and citizenship. Despite the use of belonging across various studies, belonging remains a contested term (Anthias, 2006:19). Belonging is a contested terrain in Africa, and many of these debates are located within the “autochthons and strangers” dynamic (Geschiere & Nyamnjoh, 2000). However, in burgeoning studies on globalisation and migration, belonging has been a critical feature (Moreno, 2006).

In addition, more recently, identity and belonging have attracted critical discussion. Even though identity is described as fluid and, in some cases, as multi-layered, Probyn (1996) argues that belonging has gained momentum as the concept of identity has lost its analytical relevance. The concept of identity does not adequately capture and go beyond positions and experiences associated with belonging. Furthermore, “identity has become a set of implacable statements that suppress, at times, questions about what identity is for” (Probyn, 1996:9). Belonging probes questions, such as “to what” and “with whom” you are a member, unlike identity that asks too little (Anthias, 2002, 2018). However, despite the conceptual differences of belonging and identity, I argue that these cannot be entirely separated, as the question of “Who am I?” or “Who are we?” is attached to “Where do I/we belong?” However, the conceptual term, belonging, will be used in this study. Yuval-Davis (2004:216) states: “Belonging is where the sociology of emotions interfaces with the sociology of power, where identification and participation collude.” Perhaps more intimately, belonging is felt in the realms of emotions. It is argued that belonging

captures more accurately the desire for some sort of attachment, be it to other people, places, or modes of being, and the ways in which individuals and groups are caught within wanting to belong, wanting to become, a process that is fuelled by yearning rather than the positing of identity as a stable state (Probyn, 1996:19).

Thus, to belong is to contain a sense of attachment; it denotes comfort, ease and familiarity, coupled with being part of the community or group, accepted and safety. The manner in which people belong to a location is more frequently informed by social, political and economic factors through which access to various rights and resources, such as land, are sought and contested (Koot et al., 2019). This sense of connection is important for analysing linkages between communal and resettlement areas. Belonging is displayed at various levels, it is expressed within the social space through ties with people and places on different scales, from within the home, community and right through to the nation (Yuval-Davis et al., 2006). Belonging is viewed as multiple in nature; it is not fixed. This view is argued by Chin (2019) who states that:

[n]ot all national narratives look alike; some are centred on a shared language or religion, others construct belonging through a historical struggle. Similarly, we belong to many different types of groups and communities (e.g. families, linguistic groups, religions, occupations, ideologies and national identities), that overlap and conflict to varying degrees and we often have multiple belongings to the same category, even those that claim exclusivity (Chin, 2019:34).

The case of beneficiaries of the FTLRP on Machiroli Farm, who maintain ties, illustrates that there are multiple elements that entail belonging.

Various scholars have defined belonging as people that share values, relations and practices. Scholars, such as Mujere (2011:1126), say that belonging “entails rootedness or being attached to a place, it involves an attachment to a place, being an indigene or having roots in a certain place as opposed to being a stranger”. Therefore, Mujere's understanding of belonging, “attachment to a place, people or group”, becomes significant to this study to explain the linkages, as well as articulating the importance of land for beneficiaries of land reform and communal areas.

Geschiere and Nyamnjoh (2000) and Nyamnjoh (2006) argue that belonging, in most cases, is about experiences of being part of the social fabric, social bonds and ties manifested in practices, experiences and emotions of inclusion. Thus, belonging in Zvimba illustrates the various social bonds that enable the maintenance of links in Zvimba District. Anthias (2006:8) states that “ethnic ties cannot be considered in isolation as delivering ‘belonging’ given that they are intersected with social relations of different types”. In this case, analysis of belonging through ethnic and social relations is key in examining the connections between communal areas and Machiroli Farm. Totemic links emerged as an essential factor of claiming belonging in Zvimba.

Analysis in this study is limited to understanding the ties or attachment to a place or people. While debates about migration and belonging in Africa have primarily focused on the dual process of exclusion and inclusion or the insider-outsider dialectic, this concept is not largely explored within the land reform studies. Attachment to a place or people made it possible to understand the factors that enable linkages between beneficiaries of the FTLRP in resettlement areas and residents of communal areas, from where the beneficiaries came. This study focuses on attachment or ties to people and place exhibited through the maintenance of linkages. The section below expands on factors that constitute belonging.

2.3 Facets of belonging

2.3.1 Spatiality of belonging

There are many facets that constitute belonging. Lähdesmäki et al. (2016) argue that belonging can be explored in relations in social, geographical and temporal spaces. These define spatial belonging, which refers to relations determined by space, place and boundaries (Lähdesmäki

et al. 2016). Spatial belonging focuses on racial, ethnic, or national minorities within a particular location. These scholars argue that other forms of spatial belonging are through “a wide range of interdependent spatialities, such as homes, domestic spaces, neighbourhoods, suburbs, villages or urban spaces, regions, countries, and continents” (Lähdesmäki et al., 2016:236). In this setting belonging to a place becomes very similar to belonging to a group of people. Similarly, in this study, spatial belonging is used to understand attachment to Zvimba communal homes, villages and domestic spaces, from which people relocated (see Chapter 6). In that regard, Yuval-Davis (2011) argues that belonging entails three key areas, which are social locations: people's identity and emotional attachment and ethical and political value systems. These three key areas are based on acquired experiences from people's previous places of origin. The section below focuses on the spatiality of belonging, and I will begin with the concept of home.

2.3.2 **Being at “home”**

Belonging is conceptualised in various ways and can be analysed as attached to a place of “home”. Antonsich (2010) argues that belonging is known as a place where a person feels at home. The qualitative approach of understanding linkages in Zvimba District enabled the provision of clarity on the notion of “home” as belonging. Hooks (2009:213) argues that the concept of “home” represents a symbolic space of familiarity, comfort, security, and emotional attachment, such as communal areas homesteads. This view is divergent to that of some feminists, who have argued that the concept of home has been domesticated or emasculated. They further argue that this view of home reproduces patriarchal relations and gendered oppression (Blunt & Dowling, 2006; Varley, 2008). However, belonging is not limited to patriarchal duties or roles, rights and membership, but also social places constructed by such identifications (Anthias, 2006). This factor was expressed as key by respondents in Zvimba District (refer to Chapter 6).

This notion of home is not limited to a physical space; it is an attachment to graves, mountains, groups, religions, places, rivers, old homes, or other local experiences. Attachment to communal areas in Zvimba emerged as crucial among the respondents. Thus, in the context of home, it implies the spaces in communal areas are referred to as “home” (Walsh, 2006). Scholars, such as (Antonsich, 2010), state that the place of a home can be manifested in numerous ways, such as language, physical space, practices, memories, food, religion and

history. The idea of a home involves one's experience at a family, individual and cultural level, accumulated over time (Njwambe et al., 2019).

The concept of home in migration studies is argued as belonging to a spatial area of a home, which is important. These views have been raised by Tevera and Chikanda (2008) and Cliggett (2014), who show the importance of home in their studies. Particularly, Cliggett, in study in the Gwembe Valley, illustrates that people that migrated to other parts of Zambia still consider the Gwembe Valley as their home. Furthermore, Potts (2010) highlights circular migration between urban and rural areas based on attachment to homes and how urban migrants are still considered as part of the rural household. Shipton and Goheen (1992:308) state that

[f]armers more densely settled on better lands often still need to move on and off to supplement their farming with other means of livelihood, and they may stay in towns and cities for many years or for good while maintaining houses and farms as symbolic markers of belongingness back in the countryside.

The concept of home is important, as shown how, in Kenya, communal areas are maintained to mark a symbol of belonging. This is shown through the importance of land. The notion of home in belonging is important to show the significance of communal areas for beneficiaries of the FTLRP.

2.3.3 **Belonging to land**

Belonging means different things to groups and individuals, is multi-faceted and operates on several levels. For most Africans, belonging is linked to their spiritual connection to the land and their ancestors. In fact, for Africa's varied ethnic groups, with particular reference to Southern Africa, belonging is largely centred on a link to nature and land as source of life. Land is among the most greatly valued resources and nowhere has this been more evident than during the liberation struggles across southern Africa. In the Zimbabwean liberation movement, fighters regarded themselves as "*vana vevhu*", implying children of the soil. This expression implies a connection with the land as the source of life. Magowan (1994:140) states that "children of the soil" implies "coming from, merging with and returning to the land". This means the land has been socially constructed to satisfy identity, needs and livelihood, to justify political power and economic opportunity, and to legitimise rightful belonging (Hassner, 2009). In Africa, a place of home is the attachment to the living and dead. Land plays a vital role in notions of identity and belonging (Shipton & Goheen, 1992:308-309). In addition, the value of land is also seen by Mtapuri and Benyera (2019:149) as follows:

Land is therefore regarded as a home and shelter in the Zimbabwean context and in Africa at large. It is in the land that minerals are buried. It is the land that produces the food that people eat. It is land that gives an identity.

Land plays a key role in defining belonging in the African continent. Claims to belonging often require relationships to nature and land, which, within neoliberal contexts, are defined in economic terms as highly commodified resources (Koot et al., 2019). However, land performs several functions, such as connecting both the living and the dead. This component is essential within African societies, as where the dead are buried entails where one belongs. Chitonge (2018:32) states that

[t]he collective (which is often referred to as “communal” ownership) was understood broadly to include the past (ancestors), those living at the time, and those yet to come (future generations). This intergenerational conception of land in Africa transcends the immediate imperatives of individual ownership of the solum, at any moment since the land was intricately connected to the past and the future, not just the present.

Land is not only a physical asset; but it is a point of history that reaffirms belonging for generations. For many Africans, the land is ultimately tied to past, present and future generations. Similarly, in this study, this component of belonging depicts the reasons why beneficiaries of the FTLRP are buried in communal areas of origin in Zvimba. The ownership and use of land are ideologically related to the spiritual realm of ancestors. Bourdillon (1982:70) argues that land forms a close and enduring bond between the living and the dead. Adejumobi argues that

[l]and is spiritual; people are connected to the land. The whole process of human living from birth to death has a linkage to land with Africa.⁶

Thus, as for the rest of Africa, land in communal areas, is regarded in this study as a space of belonging (Lovell, 1998). Belonging to land, be it in place of origin or elsewhere, is part and parcel of belonging to other people in groups, networks, or open categories (Shipton, 2009:110-111). In unpacking the importance of land, it is important to illustrate that belonging is embedded in generations of people. Thus, the notion of land in communal areas as an abode of ancestors is important to beneficiaries of the FTLRP, who moved from communal areas to resettlement areas. Thus, physical resettlement does not break the bond with, and the attachment to, ancestral land of origin.

⁶ <https://www.cnbc africa.com/news/2017/03/24/land-redistribution/>

2.3.4 Social, cultural and religious ties

Relational connections are another facet of belonging. These also entail performative acts of belonging, that is ideological and practical ways of belonging. Relational ties, in this study, denote the social and personal ties that enrich the life of an individual in a given place (Antonsich, 2010). Ties are varied, they are based on emotions, whether to familial or friendship networks. Social networks are “relationships outside those of immediate kin, upon which an individual can rely” (Murray, 1980:148). These include various social networks, which can be in different forms, such as neighbours and church. Scoones et al.’s (1996) study in rural Zimbabwe revealed that social networks are important for accessing labour, borrowing of draught animals, herding livestock and work parties, among others. In some cases, within social networks, these ties are occasional ties, which are often defined as weak ties, such as by Buonfino and Thomson (2007:16). Scholars, such as Anthias (2006b) and Antonsich (2010) argue that humans within societies, irrespective of location, value inter-personal relations that are important for people. Relational ties, as argued by Njwambe et al. (2019:419) “comprise individual, family and cultural experiences, both ordinary and defining, accumulated in a place over time. Experiences take on historical significance and tie an individual’s experiences to the history of a place”. These relational linkages are important to access labour from family and friends in communal areas of origin. In understanding linkages in Zvimba, relational ties are important to enable one’s personal, intimate feeling of belonging to a place. Within relational connections is spiritual attachment.

Spiritual attachment is encapsulated as a deep sense of belonging to a place that is difficult to articulate and “a unique process, separate from the sense of belonging that might emerge over time in a place” (Cross, 2015:508). Religion is one of the factors that constitute belonging. In this case study, belonging is defined through religion and spiritual beliefs, such as Christianity, Islam and appeasing the ancestors, and these are prevalent religious practices found in Zvimba District. Through religion and spiritual beliefs, humans create meaning in their lives, and if a sacred space is threatened, it threatens the identity of the group. Geschiere argues that religion is becoming as important as autochthony in the complex negotiation of belonging (Geschiere, 2009). Furthermore, Cumpsty (1991) argues that

religion is about belonging affectively and cognitively to the ultimately real and the ultimately real is understood as that to which the individual most feels the need to belong in order that life might have meaning, security, warmth, or to be otherwise enriched (Cumpsty, 1991:60).

Religion is relevant for people to ascertain their belonging. Additionally, Makura-Paradza (2010:28) states that

[r]eligion also acts as insurance against insecurity. Ancestral spirits are consulted through mediums to mediate, arbitrate and advise, explain deaths, illness and provide protection. People continue to practise religious tradition because of fear and the need to maintain family ties.

These religious links enable households to access help in both communal areas and resettlement areas. Religious networks enable access to goods and services. In Zvimba, religion networks provide for several roles, such as agricultural inputs.

Peters (2004:302) states that belonging acknowledges the differentiated nature of society particularly where “social conflict over land takes the form of stricter definitions of those who have legitimate claims to resources, or, in other words, group boundaries are more exclusively defined”. In constituting belonging, social identities contribute a significant role. Cousins and Claassens (2006:22) argue that “social identities are often multiple, overlapping and therefore ‘nested’ or layered in character”. In the case of beneficiaries of FTLRP that maintain links with Zvimba communal areas, belonging often is embedded in multiple social identities. Thus, the concept of belonging is used to analyse the maintenance of links by beneficiaries of the FTLRP and households in communal areas.

2.3.5 Familial relations and ties

Familial relations are an important component of defining belonging. Belonging is asserted in multiple notions and family and social networks are some of the facets that entail belonging (Cohen & Odhiambo, 1992; Ceuppens and Geschiere, 2005; Geschiere, 2009; Geschiere and Nyamnjoh, 2000; Shipton, 2009; Chabal, 2013). In Zvimba, familial ties are important in accessing labour from communal areas. Family comprises of a person, their immediate kin and or agnatic lineage or wider kindred (Murray, 1980). In addition, the family unit also comprises of the extended family, which is the traditional social security system responsible for the transmission of skills, knowledge and taking care of those in need. In Zimbabwe, these include security, support and care of orphaned children (Foster et al., 1997; May, 1987:81). This study affirmed that being connected to family was an essential element of belonging. The definition of family in the Zimbabwean context is constructed around patrilineal kinship. Chirozva et al. (2007:3) say that

[i]n Zimbabwe, the Ndebele and the Shona follow a patrilineal (descent through males) kinship and practice virilocality, that is, wives relocating to their

husbands' homes and become [sic] part of their husbands' families. Under the patrilineal system, the lines of descent and authority are traced through fathers, a man and his brothers; their children and their sons are counted as members of the same family due to common descent.

Thus, when the term “family” is used within the Zimbabwean rural setup, it is not limited to the nuclear or extended family but extends to include totemic groups based on ancestry. Family not only implies sharing a bloodline, but also incorporates relations through marriage and totems. Murisa (2013) defines family as follows: “In the Shona and Ndebele cultural context, the concept of ‘family’ has a broad meaning, including what has generally been called the ‘extended family’...” This study adopts this definition of family. The nuclear family cuts across bloodlines, totems and marital connections. In communal areas, the notion of the extended family network is not linear, and it too extends beyond bloodlines, totems and marriage relations.

The extended family incorporates neighbours and close friends (*sahwiras*), relatives' in-laws, church members and workmates. In some cases, familial relations based on kinship, which exist in African families, are influenced by cultural ties, such as totems. Thus, even though familial relations are based on building relationships, the social side of kinship is equally important. Family, then, remains one of the most important ways in which the concept of belonging is revealed. Belonging through the kinship networks, or family ties, which bind the different members of “traditional” or so-called “tribal” communities, was considered important by respondents, as I will show in Chapter 5. Chirozva et al. (2007:6) argue that

the extended family is a panacea for curing individualism and a guarantee for positive reciprocity... Seemingly, the extended family guaranteed a worthwhile degree of trust, reciprocity and harmony, especially amongst most Zimbabwean farming communities.

It is through these lenses that belonging manifests and is cultivated in the family.

Friendships (*sahwiras*) and community members are valuable in shaping social relations and affirming belonging. Social relations grounded on communal relations are built and maintained through the reinforcement of identity and the exchange of favours, either directly or indirectly (Morse & McNamara, 2013). This view of social relations accentuates an argument is brought forward by Woolcock and Narayan (2000:243) “that social relations provide opportunities for mobilizing other growth-enhancing resources”, thus the interactions between various groups enhance a sense of belonging. As this case study shows, relationships are important for various purposes: to ensure identity, belonging, assistance and reciprocation of goods and services. As

has been illustrated, social relationships entail access to resources and services (Coleman, 1988; Lin, 2001). Relationships can be a way people access different types of services or resources (Coleman, 1988; Lin, 2001). Familial relationships are a source of social influence and are central for identity formation, role modelling, sense of belonging, and social comparisons (Olsson, 2011:2). This is the framing that is used to understand familial relations for this case study. Insights from this study indicate that familial relations and interconnections provide an important component to ascertaining belonging.

2.3.6 Funerals and rituals

Funerals and rituals are another facet that defines a sense of belonging. Funerals are also performative acts of belonging. Funerals are important for the people of Zvimba, as they are gatherings that celebrate life, and relationships to the living and the ancestors (Isaak, 1998:59). It is important to demonstrate that funerals differ in circumstances, size and complexity, depending on the conditions of death, age, gender, and social, economic and political status of the deceased person (Isaak, 1997:38). Attached to funerals are gravesites that are an important component of defining belonging. Shipton (2009:20) notes that graves are symbolic places of human attachment, which are important in defining ties. Mujere (2011) and Fontein (2011) have indicated the importance and symbolism of graves as a sign of belonging. Although belonging is asserted in multiple notions, Cohen and Odhiambo (1992), Geschiere (2005; 2009), Shipton (2009), and Chabal (2013) emphasise that graves and burial sites are some of the ways of ascertaining belonging. According to Appadurai, “belonging involves not only being in a place...[where] one is a local or insider but also includes one’s relationship with the community and the landscape” (Appadurai, 1996:179). These landscapes can be physical spaces, such as graves. Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Mhlanga (2013:194) argue that “most Africans desire to be buried ‘at home’ when they die even though they would have spent their lives in towns or elsewhere and yet others are forced by tradition to be buried at family cemeteries.” Where one is buried reinforces where one belongs. This is demonstrated by Chabal, who argues that “the link to the ancestors, wherever they are buried, is an integral part of the meaning of origin, and of the texture of identity, which cannot be disregarded” (Chabal, 2013:29). In this study, as I will show in Chapter 6, the link to graves and ancestors is important.

In West Africa, Nyamnjoh and Geschiere (2003) argue that burial sites are important for Cameroonians to demonstrate where one belongs. Smith (2004), in his study in Nigeria, shows the importance of urban and rural links, and also that funerals are meaningful ceremonies for

the Igbo. This scholar argues that people in urban areas maintain links with communal areas to ensure that they have a burial site in their villages of origin. This is also echoed by Geschiere (2005), who states that, in Cameroon, funerals portray a crucial indication of reaffirming belonging for people that reside in urban areas. In Zimbabwe, Fontein (2011:713) argues that “despite the prominence given to funerals in this literature... [there is] the well-recognised fact that ‘autochthony’ implies a claim to a ‘special link to the soil’”, thus graves define the connection that people have to the soil and identity. In Zvimba, belonging is through the burial sites and graves. This is also stated by Geschiere and Nyamnjoh (2000:437) who argue that “somebody's home... [is] the place where he is buried when he dies.” Shipton (2009:20) further argues, “graves and burial sites are not simply passive and inert ‘criteria’ for assertions of belonging” but are “symbolic focal points of human attachments”. In Zvimba, burial sites and graves are an important facet of defining belonging. In the case study, this view of the significance of graves was important for understanding the linkages between people on Machiroli Farm and communal areas of origin. These factors are also strengthened by social relations, which are another facet of belonging, as I will show below.

2.3.7 Social relations

Broadly, social relationships refer to the social connections that exist between people who have recurring interactions. Lähdesmäki et al. (2016:237) demonstrate that social relations are inherently embedded in spatial belonging and are a form of ascertaining belonging. Lin (2008) argues that there are varying forms of social relations, which can be broken down into three components. These components are binding, bonding and belongingness (Lin and Dumin, 1986). Binding, the first component, is categorised as an inner layer. Lin (1986) exhibits that the inner layer is characterised by reciprocation of services and exchanges, and defined by intense and reciprocal interactions. The second component is the bonding, which is the intermediary layer. This layer is mostly based on social networks, which generally share resources and information based on weak to strong ties. The third layer is characterised by belongingness, which specifically entails institutions that define membership. These relations define groups and are exhibited through various institutions, such as clans, churches and clubs. Therefore, in this study, as per the different levels illustrated above, social relations will be used to define what belonging entails for the beneficiaries of the FTLRP.

Social relations, therefore, entail relationships between individuals in different societies and places. There are formal and informal relationships. In unpacking the linkages that exist

between the two areas in the study, different components of the relations will be explored. Janssens (2007) argues that social relations may be developed through reciprocity, trust, networks, and exchange, all of which generate trust, facilitate co-operation, and reduce transaction costs. Belonging is enforced through social relations, which enable access to agrarian labour, as I will show in Chapter 7. Reimer et al. (2008:261) argue that

social relations are rooted in social capital. They further argue that there four types of social relations: market, bureaucratic, associative, and communal. These four types of normative structures represent four relatively comprehensive ways in which people organise their interactions to accomplish tasks, legitimise their actions, distribute resources, and structure their institutions.

For this study, I will use the communal view, which applies to the study research setting. Communal relations in the rural economy are mainly based on a strong sense of collective identity (Reimer et al., 2008). Association and collective action within the communal relations are often reliant on recognised characteristics, such as ethnicity, birth or location, but they may also emerge as a result of shared life experiences or intense socialisation (Morse & McNamara, 2013). Generalised reciprocity is often a key feature of these relations and, in the case study, reciprocity is key (Sahlins, 1972). Thus, what makes social relations important is the ability to overlap into various relations.

2.3.8 Labour exchanges

Another facet of displaying belonging is through labour exchanges. Labour as a form of linkage is analysed as either family (nuclear and extended) or hired labour between A1 beneficiaries on Machiroli Farm and communal areas. An analysis is provided about how agrarian labour is exchanged between the nuclear family, extended family, neighbours and friends through the lens of belonging. Agrarian labour is explored as labour for cultivation, cropping, livestock and also off-farm activities, as argued by Van Schendel (2015). In post-FTLRP Zimbabwe, access to land in resettlement areas has transformed the agrarian labour relations regarding who sells or hires labour (see Bernstein, 2010; Moyo, 2011; Chambati, 2013). These relations, as this study shows, have resulted in labour exchanges between beneficiaries of the FTLRP on Machiroli Farm and communal areas of origin in Zvimba.

Labour exchanges are closely attached to a sense of belonging. Moore (1975) states that labour exchanges can be in multiple forms, such as traditional work parties, reciprocal labour and collective labour, with people that have a shared connection. Moore defines these labour exchanges as

[t]he joint performance of a task, or series of sequentially related tasks, by a group of persons practicing a minimal division of labour whose relationship to the beneficiary...of their work is other than that of employer to employee (Moore, 1975:271).

There are some scholars, such as Berry (1993), Ponte (2000) and Suehara (2006), who argue that labour exchanges are mostly between people, who are based in communal areas. In some cases, these exchanges are through group or individual arrangements both as kin or not related. Assistance is provided mostly on a non-payment system, which will be reciprocated in future. Although labour exchanges often occur within groups, in this study, labour exchanges will explore those between people on Machiroli Farm and communal areas of origin.

Labour exchanges are mostly among people that share a sense of belonging. Trawick (2003) suggests that belonging is central to relationships of exchange, as this study on Zvimba District illustrates. Other scholars, such as Geschiere (1995), argue that there is a link between labour exchanges, which are tied to the social fabric, that is not always limited to kin but extends to people outside kinship relations (in this study, to people in communal areas). This is asserted by Berry, who says that “despite the continued prevalence of family labour on small-scale African farms, farmers’ ability to mobilize labour through customary social institutions and relationships has declined over time” (1993:138-139). Ponte (2000) states that, although hired labour is easy to recruit, in cases such as Zvimba, where access to financial resources to hire labour is scarce, households must maintain ties with kin to access labour. Thus, shared labour among people that have a shared belonging is used to analyse the labour exchanges between beneficiaries of the FTLRP on Machiroli Farm and communal areas of origin. The section below provides a distinction between belonging and the politics of belonging.

2.4 Politics of belonging

Although belonging is often discussed within the frameworks of politics of belonging, Yuval-Davis (2011:4) argues thus: “It is important to differentiate between belonging and the politics of belonging. Belonging is about emotional attachment, about feeling ‘at home’...the politics of belonging comprise of specific political projects aimed at constructing belonging to particular collectivises.” In addition, Yuval-Davis et al. (2006:205) argue: “The politics of belonging involves not only the maintenance and reproduction of the boundaries of the community of belonging by the hegemonic political powers but also their contestation and challenge by other political agents.” Therefore, politics of belonging raises questions of boundaries and political power. Konings (2001:188) argues that “the autochthony-allochthony

discourse [in Cameroon] has not only become an important ploy for political entrepreneurs in their struggles for power. It appears also to have become part and parcel of the people's daily lives in south west Province.” This is emphasised by Chabal (2013), who argues that politics of belonging questions the issue of not belonging, which more often leads to conflict over resources. Thus, there is an essential need to disaggregate belonging “in order to scrutinise and analyse much more closely the shifting meanings of identity, ethnicity, immigration and nation; the ways in which they challenge traditional understandings of ethnic, religious and cultural affiliations; and how they are articulated in the longing for stable attachments and belongings” (Batainah, 2012:33). The politics of belonging has formed political projects in different places to define the nature and characteristics of groups that exist and the nature and characteristics of the people who belong to these groups. Yuval-Davis et al. (2006:3) explain: “The politics of belonging comprises specific political projects aimed at constructing belonging to a group, the members of which are themselves being constructed in these projects in very specific ways. Citizenships and identities...play central roles in discourses of the politics of belonging.”

Yuval-Davis argues that politics of belonging is “viewed as situated in three different but complementary ways” (2006:7-8). Firstly, the issues and context (historical, technological, economic, social and political) in society mean that the politics of belonging is situated “temporally”. At different times, different identities, needs and aspirations coincide to articulate specific forms of belonging and non-belonging. Secondly, although globalisation has meant that the interconnected nature of activities is a modern fact, the effects have not been homogenous and, therefore, different localities have been affected in different ways. Third, Yuval-Davis (2006:8) explains that the politics of belonging is situated intersectionally, meaning that “[e]ven at the same time and in the same place, not all people affect, and are affected by specific politics of belonging in the same ways...” The scholar also argues that if the politics of belonging is about “the dirty work of boundary maintenance”, then “some have to work harder than others, some get dirtier than others, and the boundaries can be more or less permeable and different people can find themselves on different sides of these boundaries” (Yuval-Davis, 2006:7-8).

Essentially, the politics of belonging illustrates the preferences, differences and boundaries that are created by people. Furthermore, the politics of belonging contends and challenges the idea of who belong where (Calhoun, 1999). This has been demonstrated by scholars, such as Geschiere & Nyamnjoh, 1998, 2000), in countries, such as Cameroon, where there is constant redefinition of autochthons. Page et al. (2010:354) argue that, in certain instances, the politics

of belonging entails “questions about land ownership, home, ethnicity and history. Rival claims over scarce resources (land) are being justified using ideas of ethnic rights over particular territory.” Lastly, John Crowley (1999:30) states that politics of belonging as “the dirty work of boundary maintenance”, implies that boundaries of the political community constitute belonging. This study is limited to a sense of belonging, and it does not venture into political boundaries debates, and mostly articulates elements of belonging, such as social and emotional attachments.

2.5 Critique of belonging

While there are several concepts that entail belonging, as mentioned above, belonging is not unsusceptible to criticisms. As a concept, belonging is clouded by criticisms; one of the recurring criticisms of belonging is its assumption of people being able to construct new belonging. Belonging as a concept has been criticised for the binary lenses. “Belonging and identity are often used simultaneously, overused and under-theorised in the context of population movements” (Anthias, 2006:19). This has occurred most in the context of the use of “home”, which feminists have criticised for reproducing gender patriarchal relations of oppression, violence and fear. However, in this study “home” represents a symbolic space of familiarity, comfort, peace and emotional attachment. Belonging has also been criticised as an unambiguous term that subdivides social orders into countries, societies, classes, ethnicities, and sexualities or that remains at the convergence of them (Anthias, 2006; Yuval-Davis, 2011). Antonsich (2010:645) argues that many scholars of the social sciences, geography and cultural studies assume that belonging is a self-explanatory term.

Malkki (1992), working amongst Rwandan refugees, criticised scholars for assuming people have a singular sense of attachment to a place, and thus failed to take account of de-territorialised people’s ability to construct new attachments to place and people. While there are other studies that have indicated that “newcomers seek to construct a place they can again call ‘home’ through negotiations with neighbours” (Castles & Davidson 2000:130). These studies have shown that belonging is dynamic, as people can define their identities when they relocate. In this case study, few beneficiaries indicated that they had “constructed” new belonging. Despite the criticisms mentioned above, the sections below highlight the importance of belonging in this study

2.6 The relevance of belonging

The section above illustrated that the notion of belonging is contested, and also discussed the criticisms levelled at it. I have also looked at various facets of belonging. For this study, belonging is important for highlighting the links that exist between Zvimba communal areas and Machiroli Farm. Belonging is engaged from a lens of scholars on belonging Antonsich (2010), Anthias (2006b) and Geschiere and Nyamnjoh (2000), who illustrate that belonging is attached to land, people, groups and nature. Belonging illuminates the various attachments that beneficiaries of the FTLRP on Machiroli Farm have with their communal areas of origin. As the literature showed, belonging is an attachment to physical and emotional spaces, and, in this study, is analysed as such. In this study, belonging is important to highlight the importance of physical assets, such as land (soil) and the relations based on land. The notion of belonging reveals how the economic, social and cultural fabric in communal areas is important for A1 beneficiaries of the FTLRP, who moved from these areas.

In this study, belonging uncovers the informal, formal, personal and group connections. In addition, belonging helps reveal the various groups to which people belong, such as religions, places, landscapes, families, linguistic groups, occupations and ideologies. Thus, belonging in this study examines the diversity of relationships to place, not just across individuals, but for individuals across space. I will build on this concept by showing other components of belonging, such as graves, land and familial relations. As people move between two areas, they enforce their bonds with their places of origin (communal areas) while residing in A1 settlements. Thus, the concept of belonging highlights, and is used to explain, the maintenance of links by beneficiaries of the FTLRP and households in communal areas.

For this study, belonging provides pertinent insights on linkages between communal areas and resettlements. This framework highlights the importance of relationships, which occur more often in various types, to reveal connections between communal areas and resettlement areas. Furthermore, belonging demonstrates how elements, such as religion, social relations, labour exchanges, family and friendships, funerals (burial sites) and socio-cultural gatherings, are factors that enable linkages. These insights are important for this study, as I show in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. Thus, belonging is not viewed in the abstract, but actively, through relationships and interactions, which emerged through the history of households in both communal areas and on Machiroli Farm. Scholars, such as Geschiere and Nyamnjoh (2000) and Mujere (2011), argue that, whilst belonging is knitted to elements, such as identity, belonging is varied amongst

groups and individuals; while some chose to belong others also chose not to belong. This is important to explain particularly for a small proportion of A1 beneficiaries that were not maintaining links with communal areas of origin. Therefore, this analysis will help articulate the role of social relations and labour through belonging.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter engaged the conceptual issues of belonging, which this study uses to analyse the linkages of people on Machiroli Farm and communal areas of origin. Such a conceptual framework illustrates the various factors that are used to examine how beneficiaries of the FTLRP, who relocated from communal areas to Machiroli Farm, maintain links. The chapter discussed the nuanced nature and the debates about belonging. The chapter also showed that belonging entails connection, which encompasses social, emotional and cultural attachment. Various factors of belonging, such as spatiality, relations, funerals and social relations, were explored in this study. While conscious of the importance of land (soil), the study explores social and cultural variables that constitute belonging. This chapter revealed the various components that constitute belonging. Also, the distinction between belonging and politics of belonging was provided. The chapter concludes by showing the relevance of the concept of belonging in examining the maintenance of links by beneficiaries of the FTLRP and households in communal areas. The various facets of belonging engaged in this chapter are important in this study to demonstrate that physical translocation does not break the bonds and attachment of the beneficiaries of the FTLRP in resettlement areas with their places of origin (communal areas) and the residents there.

Chapter 3

Retracing connections and belonging in Zimbabwe's land question (1890 to 1998)

3.1 Introduction

This chapter contextualises the research about linkages by providing historical background on Zimbabwe's land question and the attachment of people to land. It is divided into two parts; the first part focuses on the advent of the land question in Zimbabwe, its roots, colonial policies and their implications on links with the land. In addition, the section also shows how belonging was disrupted through land dispossession during colonial rule. The first section also argues that, throughout the colonial period, the colonial government used various policies and strategies to uproot Africans from their places of origin. Furthermore, it shows how belonging, through the maintenance of links with places people originate from, has always been important in the African context. The second section of the chapter begins by illustrating that the postcolonial state tried to address land shortages in Zimbabwe through land reforms after independence. The section argues that belonging is an inherent part of people, as the first beneficiaries of Zimbabwe's land reform, who, although they relocated to different areas, maintained links with their places of origin. The chapter argues that, although some of the studies have captured the maintenance of links from 1980 to 1998, their analysis is limited to land reform beneficiaries before the FTLRP. This chapter concludes by stating that, throughout various periods and either voluntary or involuntary translocations, Africans have maintained the desire to preserve connections to land and people.

3.2 Colonial rule

This section illustrates the implication of colonial rule on belonging and ties for Africans. It illustrates how, through various stages, Africans have maintained connections to land and people, mainly influenced by belonging. The land question has been at the centre of political and socio-economic development, and this land question dates to 1890 when Cecil John Rhodes colonised Zimbabwe. Colonisation changed who owned land as well as who belonged to which land. Neocosmos (1993:67) argues that land is more than a "mere legal relation of access to land; it also reflects the important relations between the state and the people". In the period before colonisation, land was in the hands of kings, who were the custodians of the land. Moyana et al. (1984:84) concur: "[T]he king or chief served as the Trustee who allocated land to newcomers and ensured that its use was in harmony with the traditional land tenure formula. The traditional land tenure system also accepted that land rights were inalienable." This

sentiment implies that land was an asset, which was not owned by an individual, but by the collective community. Land in the pre-colonial period was a source of connection for people. Moyana et al. (1984) state the following:

In African cosmology, such an important natural endowment as land does not have a marketable value. Prior to the advent of colonial rule in the country now known as Zimbabwe, the prevailing African land tenure system vested land rights in a corporate group which had overriding rights over those of the individual. The king or chief served as the Trustee who allocated land to newcomers and ensured that its use was in harmony with the traditional land tenure formula. The traditional land tenure system also accepted that land rights were inalienable. Land belonged to the living and to the unborn as well as to the dead. No member of a group could sell or transfer land to an outsider as land was considered a natural endowment in the same category as rain, sunlight and the air we breathe. In this economy, there could be no commodity more valuable than land and no circumstances in which it could be profitable to dispose of it. In short, land had no exchange value... The belief that to dispose of land was sacrilege was widely held. Individual ownership was inconceivable as every man was and still is entitled to the natural endowment mentioned above (Moyana et al., 1984:13).

Bullock (1913) argues that, in communal areas, belonging was embedded in land and land was a collective asset that was owned by the community in which one dwelt. Mamdani (1987) and Neocosmos (1993) argue that, in Africa, land in the pre-colonial era belonged to the past, present and future generations. Chitonge (2018) concurs, arguing that land had a dual meaning: owned as a collective, and the things linked to the land owned individually. The broad implication of this was that no-one had individual ownership of the land; thus, by residing in an area, one belonged to the land. Colonisation reconfigured the land system in Zimbabwe as people had to relocate from their ancestral land to poor, arid lands (Palmer, 1990).

The advent of colonialism disrupted people's attachment to land through their brutal uprooting from their ancestral land. Although displacement of Africans can be traced as far back as the slave trade, as argued by Amin (1972) and Mtapuri and Benyera (2019), however, focus on dispossession here will be from the period starting in 1890. Zimbabwe was colonised in 1890 through the British South Africa Company (BSAC) led by Cecil John Rhodes and named Southern Rhodesia (Machingaidze, 1991). The colonial period marked the beginning of the forced removals of black populations from their land, which they regarded as ancestral land. The agrarian question is the product of primitive colonial accumulation, which involved large-scale land appropriation (Tshuma, 1995). The expropriation of land was a precondition for the establishment of settler agriculture. The European settlers were granted individual property rights to land, while Africans moved to marginal and insufficient land called reserves, later changed to communal areas after independence. The creation of the first "reserves" in

Matabeleland was after the adoption of the Matabeleland Order-in-Council of 1894 known as Gwayi and Shangani. By 1896, 15 million acres of land had been expropriated by white settlers in Rhodesia (Riddell, 1978). The colonial state was set to wrest productive land from blacks, at the same time co-opting the Africans into the agrarian labour economy. Reserves were created, where every African was entitled to occupy and use a piece of land, which meant that labour was not freed from the means of production (Tshuma, 1998).

Between 1890 and the period of the First World War (1914 to 1918), African farmers supplied most of the grain, livestock, beer and vegetables in the commodity market (Arrighi & Saul, 1973). Drinkwater (1988) argues that this period reached as far as the early 1930s and appeared to have been the height of prosperity for the Africans. These prosperous Africans were regarded as competition by the emerging white farmers. Despite some of these successes by the Africans in Rhodesia, the Charter Commission argued that African areas were unproductive and contributing to the degradation of soils and depletion of resources (Arrighi, 1970; Phimister, 1977; Palmer, 1977). This led to the creation of policies, which divided land along racial lines, and Riddell (1978) states that, by 1930, the agricultural economy of the Africans was reduced to the extent of only providing labour. During this period, Africans were reduced to a labour-supplying class, as they moved between reserves and white commercial farming areas (Arrighi & Saul, 1973; Palmer, 1977).

The colonial government focused most infrastructural development in the European areas, whereas the native reserves experienced general neglect, with heavy taxation. Arrighi argues that these measures turned African populations in the reserves into migrant labour/subsistence farming households, and therefore, account for the destruction of commercial peasant production and development of the labour reserve economy in Rhodesia (Arrighi & Saul, 1973). The qualitative change, they argue, took place in the early 1920s; prior to that, the Africans' participation in the wage labour market had largely been "discretionary", but thereafter it "...became the normal and only way in which a growing section of the peasantry could obtain a significant proportion of their means of subsistence" (1973:214). This imbalance posed a challenge for the colonial government, as they had to protect and shield settler farmers from any competition. The Rhodesian government introduced several measures aimed at removing Africans from the produce market and making them dependent upon incomes from wage employment (Arrighi, 1973). Belonging, in this period, was distorted as Africans were removed from their ancestral land. At this time, the movement to white commercial farming areas was defined through the supply of labour. This was affirmed by the division of land

through the Land Apportionment Act of 1930, one of the instruments which removed Africans from their land, simultaneously consolidating control of land by the colonial government.

3.3 Brutal uprooting: the Land Apportionment Act

The Carter Commission recommended changes, which led to the adoption of the Land Apportionment Act (LAA) of 1930. The Carter Commission report was approved on June 20, 1927, by the Rhodesian Legislature and gazetted in 1928; it became law in 1930 and came into effect in 1931 (Moyana, 1984). The Land Apportionment Act of 1930 divided the country into black and white areas. At this stage, it was clear that there was a separation of areas between Africans and Europeans. The Act empowered European settlers to acquire much of the productive land, while Africans were confined to reserves (communal areas) with poor soils. Scholars, such as Ranger (1985), argue that the LAA legalised the allocation of 189,539 square kilometres of mainly prime agricultural land to 50 000 whites and 117 602 square kilometres to 1 080 000 Africans. The Land Apportionment Act reinforced and confirmed the separation of African and European areas, as confirmed by Palmer:

For whites in Rhodesia, the Act has become something of a Magna Carta, guaranteeing the preservation of their way of life against encroachment from the black hordes, whereas for Africans the Act is seen as blatantly discriminatory and palpably unjust (Palmer, 1977:186).

Thus, the LAA created separate areas, which served the interests of the colonialists regarding the distribution of land (Moyana et al., 1984). Africans were separated from their land; those in European areas were absorbed into the farm labour workforce. Thus, these policies resulted in the emergence of an African labour force (Arrighi & Saul, 1973). The policies of the Rhodesian government, as discussed above, forced the people in reserves (communal areas) to provide labour in either mines or farms. However, the connection to land by Africans was also contended by Alvord, who argued that

[e]very native farming practice has back of it a definite (and to the native a sensible) reason. These reasons are based on tradition, superstition, and worship of the departed dead and fear of the unknown (Alvord 1929:9).

During this period, the interconnections between Africans in reserves and white-owned large-scale commercial farmers was through the provision of labour. The general assumption of the Rhodesian government was that reserves were a temporary arrangement, and that the labour in the reserves would be absorbed into the colonial economy as “temporal makeshift” this notion was later dropped (Palmer, 1977). Scoones and Wilson (1989) argue that the LAA had a general effect of retarding rural production and maintaining communal areas as labour reserves for the

white-controlled economy. Africans were uprooted from their land, where they belonged, to European areas as labour.

3.3.1 The Native Land Husbandry Act: labour linkages

By 1940, the population increased in the reserves and the Rhodesian state argued that the African mismanaged the (reserves) land (Moyana, 1975). To address some of the challenges, the colonial state enacted the Native Land Husbandry Act (NLHA) of 1951, blaming customary tenure for its necessity. After official investigations indicated that there was overstocking of livestock in communal areas, the colonial state first crafted a Native Reserves Land Utilisation and Good Husbandry Bill in 1948, which was later adopted as the NLHA of 1951 (Phimister, 1993). More specifically, the Act sought to achieve the following:

To provide for a reasonable standard of good husbandry and for the protection of natural resources by all Africans using the land;

To limit the number of stock in any area to its carrying capacity, and, as far as practicable, to relate stock holding to arable landholding as a means of improving farming practice;

To allocate individual rights in arable areas and in communal grazing areas as far as was possible in terms of economic units, and, where this was not possible due to over-population, to prevent further fragmentation and to provide for the aggregation of fragmentary holdings in economic units

To provide individual security of tenure of arable land and individual security of grazing rights in communal grazing areas; and

To provide for the setting aside of land for towns and business centres in the African areas⁷

(Phimister, 1993:225-239).

The NLHA implied that the colonial state had strengthened their colonial policies of separation and exploitation, which left the African without land and livestock. Machingaidze (1991a:558) concurs by stating: “The fact of the matter is that the government-imposed improvements in the reserves wider system of exploitation in which a section of the peasantry, and stock, would make available a supply of cheap labour.” This policy implied that the meaning of land for the African had been redefined by the colonial policies; land now belonged to the state and Africans had an obligation to pay various taxes to the state. Furthermore, this policy led to the

⁷ Southern Rhodesia, Native Land Husbandry Act, Act No. 52, 1951 (Salisbury, 1952) cited in Phimister, I. 1993. Rethinking the reserves: Southern Rhodesia's Land Husbandry Act reviewed. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 19:225-239.

separation of families; it forced young men and able-bodied men to be co-opted into the growing urban industries, farms and mines.

Mamdani (1987) argues that colonial settlers in most African states had a system of forced labour. African old and young men alike, who were unable to raise money for taxes, were sent for *chibaro* (African mine labour) for several months each year. Forced labour was explained as:

[a] whole galaxy of compulsions, ranging from forced crops to forced sales, forced land alienation to forced cash contributions, and finally forced labour. Their targets too vary, from labour-power itself (forced labour) to the products of labour (forced crops, forced sales, forced contributions) to the very conditions of labour (forced enclosures). But together, whether direct or indirect, these compulsions constitute one single integrated web of controls on labour (Mamdani, 1987:200).

As Duggan (1980) put it, the colonial state wanted to freeze the numbers of people inside and outside the reserves. As much as the policy was formulated on the need to create “good husbandry” in the reserves, the overall objective was to create a stable labour force for the Rhodesian manufacturing industry, which was different from the agricultural industry, which relied on seasonal labour (Machingaidze, 1991). The agenda of the NLHA was to create two separate areas that were urban and rural, with an “urban worker” and rural farmer.

Despite some of these policies of separation that sought to separate urban and reserves, linkages were maintained through urban-rural ties, and this resistance contributed to the abandonment of the NLHA policy in the early 1960s (Potts & Mutambirwa, 1990). (It was replaced by the Tribal Trust Land Act in 1967.) Duggan (1980:229) argues: “The government sought to freeze the numbers of people inside and outside the reserves, dividing the population once and for all between ‘peasants’ and ‘proletarians’.” Implying that there was a deliberate policy to separate Africans, he states: “Africans themselves clung to the urban-rural ties” (Duggan, 1980:229). Despite these restrictive policies, households reinforced their belonging by maintaining links.

3.3.2 The Tribal Trust Land Act

By 1963, a new political party in Rhodesia emerged and took over. Known as the Rhodesian Front and led by then Prime Minister Ian Smith, it sought to re-divide land on racial lines (Chitiyo, 2000). In that same period, the Tribal Trust Land Act (TTLA) was enacted, which empowered law authorities to control land policy in reserves. The Tribal Trust Land Act was passed by Parliament in 1967, and it transferred the authority over land from the Native District Commissioners to traditional leaders (Nyambara, 2001). The Tribal Trust Land Act (1967)

replaced the Native Land Husbandry Act of 1951. The allocation and the use of land were based on the “tribal custom” (Tshuma, 1998:83). The Tribal Trust Land Act reinforced the chiefs’ formal authority to allocate land. In 1966, further statutes, such as the African Affairs Act, provided the chiefs with powers of arrest (Alexander, 2007).

The customary role of chiefs was used as a system that was part of indirect colonial rule. The Ministry of Internal Affairs took over the regulation of land and policies, at the same time recognising tribal law in communal areas, which made chiefs the state’s apparatus (Chitiyo, 2000). Similarly, in the FTLRP period, the prominence of Chiefs as weapons of mobilising land and governance in A1 villagised models has been documented (Mkodzongi, 2016; Murisa, 2009). There are debates on the nature of African societies before colonialism, which are not the subject of this study. Customary or traditional tenure is the creation of colonial policies. Nyambara (2001:772) argues that “the idea of ‘traditional’ land tenure was largely a colonial construction aimed at bolstering the powers of chiefs in order to construct an effective basis for indirect rule and the control of land resources through chiefs”. Generally, colonial policies sought to alienate Africans from their land.

The Tribal Trust Land Act (TTLA) was a creation of the Rhodesian colonial government, and defined communal tenure. The TTLA also gave chiefs the right to supervise cultivation, and the Tribal Courts Act (TCA) of 1969 went a step further in the invention of tradition by investing chiefs with legal powers. The TTLA re-divided the land along racial lines into white and African areas, and was intended to entrench a permanent division of land. The guerrilla war that followed in the 1970s between white Rhodesians and African nationalists was fuelled by the intention of addressing the uneven land distribution. However, by 1979, the TTLA, and the later renamed “Communal Land Act of 1982 continued the colonial process of subordinating custom to state control” (Cheater, 1990:201).

The Tribal Trust Lands Act of 1967, which replaced the Native Land and Husbandry Act (NLHA) of 1951, reassigned authority over land allocation and distribution to traditional leaders from the district commissioners (Bhebhe & Ranger, 1995). Belonging to land in communal areas was important as evidenced by circular migration between rural areas (communal areas) and urban centres, which was common. Potts & Mutambirwa, (1990:678) argues that “The migrant labour system in Rhodesia was, in fact, dependent both on migrants retaining access to rural subsistence production and on that production being insufficient to meet family needs”. This provision of labour continued up to 1980, when Zimbabwe attained independence.

3.4 Post-independence Zimbabwe

3.4.1 Overview of communal areas land issues in Zimbabwe

After independence, areas that were known as reserves or Tribal Trust Areas were renamed to communal areas with the adoption of the Communal Lands Act of 1982 (Moyo, 1995). Land allocation in communal areas, whether for residential or agricultural purposes, was through the Rural District Council in accordance with customary law. In Zimbabwe, according to the Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (ZIMSTAT) (2012), most of the population lives in communal areas. This was because of various colonial policies that confined people in these reserves. Moyo (1995:144) states that “Communal Areas occupy 42% of Zimbabwe's land area, with over 85% of them located in Natural Regions III, IV and V”. After independence, the challenge was to address the uneven land distribution and overcrowding, which prevailed in most communal areas in Zimbabwe.

The Lancaster House Agreement of 1979 made in Britain sought to broker independence and provide a constitution that would be used in independent Zimbabwe (Stoneman & Cliffe, 1989; Palmer, 1990; Mashingaidze, 2005). However, the Agreement set Zimbabwe on a neo-colonialist path through part of the constitution, as is argued by Sibanda (1990:10): “[T]he Lancaster House Agreement brought about a constitution which required the recognition of the sanctity of the institution of private property in the means of production.” In practice, this constitution protected the rights of many white farmers that held large tracts of arable and fertile land. The Lancaster House Agreement demanded that the new Zimbabwean government buy resettlement land that would be sold voluntarily. Madhuku (2004) contends that the Lancaster House constitutional scheme limited the scope of prospective land reform based on compulsory acquisition.

Several scholars on Zimbabwe's land question have put forth arguments on the limitations set out in the Lancaster House Agreement, such as Moyo (2000b; 2011a), Moyo and Yeros (2005), Scoones et al. (2010) and Murisa (2011), opining that it has been an obstruction in addressing the land question in Zimbabwe. Legal clauses within the constitution meant that the land distribution programme was going to move at a slow pace. Thus, any land reform programme that was to address land issues in communal areas was to be “carefully planned” and designed to increase “farming efficiency” (Cliffe, 1986). During this post-independence period, the new government was keen to gain international confidence and played by the rules and encouraged “conciliation” with the white farming community (Moyo, 1995). An extract of the Lancaster House constitution Chapter 3 Section 16 illustrates this:

No Property of any description or interest or right there in shall be compulsory acquired except under the authority that: Requires the acquiring authority to give reasonable notice of the intention to acquire the property, interest or right to any person owning the property or having any interest or right to pay any person owning the property or having any interest or right therein that would be affected by such an acquisition (Lancaster House Constitution, 1979, cited in Mazower et al. (1992:14).

As shown above, no land could be compulsorily acquired from the white commercial farmers. As Palmer (1990) notes, the constitution adopted at independence maintained the structure inherited from the colonial state and undermined the land issues in communal areas. Legislation, such as the Communal Lands Act of 1982 adopted after independence, did not change the structure or address land issues in communal areas.

Chaumba (2003:586) argues that “these areas were renamed ‘communal lands’ in 1982 but, beyond a shift in nomenclature, nothing much changed”. This was due to challenges, such as poor soils, a growing population and decreasing resources in communal areas. which were not addressed. The post-independence government adopted a legal and conceptual framework for controlling households’ access to land from white settler farmers. The objectives of the Communal Lands Act of 1982 were, among others, to provide for the regulation of the occupation and use of communal land. Communal areas were still defined as

[a]ny land that was tribal trust land subject to any land which may be added to or subtracted from it (section 3). The land vests in the President who is authorised to permit it to be occupied in accordance with the provisions of the Act (section 4). Communal land may be occupied and used pursuant to a previously acquired right or in accordance with the terms and conditions of any right, consent or permit granted or issued in terms of the Act or any other enactment. The right to occupy and use extends to spouses, dependent relatives, guests or employees (section 7) (Extract from Communal Lands Act, 1982).

As shown above, under the Communal Lands Act, land continued to be under state control. In addition to the state control of land, population increase was a challenge that affected most communal areas in Zimbabwe. By the early 1980s, about 66% of land in communal areas had more than double the recommended carrying capacity (Whitlow, 1980b; Moyo, 1995). Whitlow (1980a) argues that, in some districts, such as Zvimba, there was a demand for land, as stated in the quotation below:

Some indication of the rate and extent of deforestation in the T.T.L.s can be gained from... a portion of Zvimba [Zvimba] tribal area to the west of Salisbury. From 1954 to 1972 the region has been transformed from a predominantly wooded landscape to one almost devoid of trees. This has been brought about primarily through the extension of croplands, a process that has been repeated in many other tribal areas. The rural population in such areas are

already experiencing considerable difficulty in obtaining sufficient wood fuel and are resorting to burning crop residues and cow dung (1980a:9).

Thus, in order to address some of the challenges found in communal areas stated by Whitlow, the Government set up two commissions to address the problems in communal areas, namely the Riddell and Chavhunduka Commissions. Both commissions' investigations revealed that there was a land shortage in communal areas and recommended a change in land tenure in these areas. The Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rural Development adopted these recommendations in 1985. The recommendations are encapsulated in the following statement:

In February 1985 the Ministry produced draft proposals for a fifteen-year communal lands development plan, which it envisaged would become a major policy document for the communal areas. The draft plan reiterates the need for a 'more appropriate land tenure system in the communal areas' in order to control the 'two ecologically undesirable effects of the traditional land tenure system: that of the sub-division of the arable land into ever-smaller, nonviable units, and that of the constant overstocking of the grazing land' (Drinkwater, 1988:139).

However, recommendations by these commissions largely ignored some of the challenges, such as demand for land that people were facing in communal areas. It is important to state that access to land is varied across communal areas in Zimbabwe. Studies, such as that of Cousins et al. (1992), state that people in communal areas have unequal access to land, which contributes to the social differentiation in communal areas.

Land shortages in communal areas in Zimbabwe were some of the challenges that increased the demand for land in the early 1990s, as pointed out by Moyo (1995). This flowed from issues such as the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP), which led to job cuts and urban-to-rural migration (Potts & Mutambirwa, 1998). Another factor was population increase, which resulted in the subdivision of land and, in some cases, encroachment into grazing areas (Hill & Katarere, 2002, Chimhowu, 2008). The demarcation of most communal areas in Zimbabwe made it impossible to extend the boundaries of the areas. Chimhowu and Woodhouse (2010) state that areas, such as Svosve communal areas in Mashonaland East, were surrounded by white commercial farms, making it difficult to expand. Similarly, in Zvimba, white-owned commercial farms surrounded communal areas. Chimhowu (2010) notes that, since there was no room to manoeuvre in communal areas, demand for land in Svosve communal areas was met from within the communal areas. This largely applies to most communal areas in Zimbabwe. Furthermore, during this first period of land reform in Zimbabwe, communal areas were still fragmented, among and around large-scale commercial

farms and state land (Moyo, 1995). I now provide more information on the first phase of the land reform in Zimbabwe.

3.5 Land reform in Zimbabwe

3.5.1 “Willing seller, willing buyer”: 1980 to 1990

In order to address the challenges in communal areas, between 1980 and 1990, the government adopted a market-led land acquisition policy of willing seller-willing buyer land reform, stemming from the Lancaster House Agreement of 1979 (Palmer, 1990). The Agreement placed restrictions on the government, which produced the difficulties associated with the resettlement programme (Munslow, 1985; Moyo, 2000). Critics, such as Machingaidze (1991) and Moyo (1995), argue that the Agreement placed financial constraints on the government to acquire land on a willing seller-willing buyer basis. As previously stated, there were two commissions, the Riddell and Chavanduka Commissions, immediately after independence that provided an overview of land challenges in communal areas. These commissions informed the agrarian reform debate in Zimbabwe. Alexander (1994:332) argues that

[t]hey [Riddell and Chavanduka Commissions] recognised a pervasive demand for land and endorsed land redistribution but went on to make proposals similar to Rhodesian technical development policies. The Riddell Commission (Zimbabwe (1981,147-149) recommended consolidating arable land into blocks, fencing grazing areas, registering land with a title, and abolishing labour migration, thus creating permanent farmer and worker populations.

The commission’s findings were similar, revealing that “the main problem facing many communal areas in this country is one of land husbandry” (Zimbabwe, 1982:62). In order to address challenges in communal areas, land reform was adopted.

The first land resettlement programme started in September 1980, lasting up to 1983, through the support of the British government (Moyo et al., 2000). The objective of this programme was to resettle 18 000 families from the crowded communal areas on 1.1 million hectares of land over a period of three years, and was revised to 162 000 families on 10.5 million hectares of land over twelve years (Kinsey, 1982; Binswanger-Mkhize et al., 2009; Hanlon et al., 2012). Resettlement sought to achieve the following:

Provision of some relief from population pressure on overcrowded land; Expansion and improvement of the base for productive agriculture in the peasant sector; Improvement in the levels of living of the and poorest sector of the population; Provision of opportunities to the unemployed and those adversely affected by the war; and Bringing into full production abandoned or

underutilized farm land (Government of Zimbabwe, 1981c:2 cited in Kinsey 1982:96).

The redistribution of land was guided by four resettlement model schemes that were used to allocate land, which were:

Model A, which provided for a nucleus village settlement bounded by individual arable holdings and communal grazing lands; Model B, which involved 50 to 200 members living in a village and using the farmland and infrastructure collectively; Model C, which was based on individual settler plots averaging 10 hectares in size, surrounding a core estate owned by the state farm authority, Agriculture Development Authority (ADA), which provided research, training, credit, input supply and marketing services to settlers who produced a common crop with the core estate; and Model D, which was intended for Natural Farming Regions IV and V, to provide ranching land for use by communal area communities, with access to the land for each community being rotated every 3 to 4 years, while the communal area grazing lands were allowed to regenerate (Moyo, 1995:87-88 cited in Makunike, 2014-96).

Beneficiaries in the first phase were selected using specific criteria, which included the following:

(a) No land or too little land, (b) not employed, (c) poor, (d) married or widowed with dependents, (e) aged 18 to 55 years and physically fit, (g) returned Zimbabwean refugee, or (h) experienced and master farmer. Settlers must also be prepared to give up all land and grazing rights in the communal area of origin and wage employment elsewhere (Zimbabwe, 1985:23).

Moyo (1987:193) states that slightly over 60 per cent of beneficiaries, who received land during this phase, originated from communal areas. Equally, in the FTLRP phase, most beneficiaries on Machiroli Farm in Zvimba District originated from adjacent communal areas. Furthermore, part of the condition of the first phase of land reform, namely, giving up land in communal areas, meant that beneficiaries had to give up land, the asset that connected them to their kin and neighbours. Worby (2001:467) argues that, during this period,

[i]n theory, beneficiaries of resettlement were to be 'full-time farmers', a stipulation that ignored the fundamental role of wage remittances in providing timely sources of investment for the historically most successful communal farmers, as well as protecting all farmers against the periodic shedding of assets occasioned by drought.

This phase ignored the fact that people cannot be disconnected from their families or places of origin. The table below provides a summary of legislation, which addressed the land question in Zimbabwe.

Table 3. Land Legislations in Zimbabwe

Year	Legislation	Provision
1979	Constitution of Zimbabwe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Property shall not be forcefully acquired/expropriated • Willing seller -willing buyer approach to land reform introduced
1981-1984	Land Acquisition Act, No21	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enforces constitutional provision to land for resettlement • Prompt payment of adequate fair compensation
1985-1990	Land Acquisition Act, Amendment of 1985	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Issued certificate of no present interest, or government's right of first refusal
1990	Constitutional Act amendment no 30	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Denies power of the court to declare unconstitutionality of compensation decisions • Allows for land acquisition
1992-1993	Land Acquisition Act Amendment Section 10 of chapter 20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Right of first refusal abolished • Designation provision is introduced enabling addition of compulsory acquisition to willing seller-willing buyer
2000	Constitutional Amendment Act, no.16 Land Acquisition Amendment Act amended through the Presidential Emergency Temporary Powers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Absolves government from paying compensation for expropriated land (compensation now only made available for improvements on the land) • Elimination of dual designation route • Enables payment of compensation through 3-5 year bonds • State can refuse to buy land deemed too expensive • Allows for time-delay in actual acquisition

Source: Adopted from Gonese et al. (2000:15)

Kinsey (1982) defined resettlement as the relocation, with official support, of populations from the communal areas to former white-owned, commercial farms and ranches. The first land reform sought to provide a “solution” to the “overpopulation” problem, which had been advocated and even begun to be implemented (through the Native Land Husbandry Act) in Rhodesia in the 1950s (Moyo, 1995). This first phase of resettlement was rehabilitative, targeting returning refugees and families displaced by war, and mainly benefiting the poorest of the poor (Gonese & Roth, 2003). It had the financial support of the British government and had the overall objective of resettling 162 000 families from the crowded communal areas onto 9 million hectares of formerly commercial farming land (Weiner et al., 1985; Sachikonye, 2003b). In 1982, targets set in 1980 were increased nine-fold by the addition of a parallel programme, the accelerated resettlement phase (1982-1985), which mostly made resettlement

at that time and in the foreseeable future, the dominant rural development activity in Zimbabwe (Moyo, 2000).

Kinsey (1982:92) argued that the first resettlement programme was the only sustained public sector programme that had the most potential to affect “immediately and significantly the economic welfare of large numbers of rural dwellers”. This accelerated phase tackled some of the most serious problems of squatting and some of the severe cases of over-population. The premise and objective of this phase were to settle as many people as possible in the shortest period at the least cost by minimising planning and postponing the building of infrastructure indefinitely (Kinsey, 1982; Munslow, 1985).

Palmer (1997) points out that far too much of the resources allocated to the programme was spent on buying the land, rather than on the “follow-through” costs of resettling people. Beneficiaries of the resettlement programme were expected to make use of infrastructure developed in the adjacent communal areas. As a result, this fostered the maintenance of relations between beneficiaries of resettlement programmes and communal areas of origin. This programme was formulated as a resettlement programme that aimed at redistributing land to the landless people, which Kinsey defined as “a more rigorous socialist policy of co-operation, collectivization and state farming to counter the present power and monopoly of capitalist agriculture” (Kinsey, 1982). It is important to demonstrate that the first land reform programme was designed to fail from the onset, as much of the productive land was in the hands of white commercial farmers (Chiviya, 1982). Although this first phase of the land reform was relatively well planned and supported, it failed to achieve set targets, as very few white farmers were willing to let go of their land. It is, however, argued by De Villiers (2003) that the first phase of the land reform also failed due to the “scramble” for land by the black elite in government, coupled by corruption. Makumbe (2002:45) argues that “the ruling elite have made little more than token resettlement of the landless peasant farmers on acquired land”.

The United Nations Development Programme report (UNDP, 2002) on Zimbabwe stated that, despite challenges, early resettlement areas households (1980-1990) earned higher incomes per family than in their previous occupations (often also farming) in communal areas. These resettlement areas households initially had very large land area compared to communal areas farmers, thus resettled farmers were able to invest more, further widening the income gap between these two production systems. This was backed by the evidence from Kinsey released during 1982/83 and 1995/96 and Gunning, Hoddinott, Kinsey and Owens, showing that there has been an impressive accumulation of capital assets (Kinsey et al., 1998b).

There is various legislation that was brought into effect in Zimbabwe, as shown in the table above. In 1985, the Land Acquisition Act (LAA) No. 21 of 1985 was enacted, which was meant to revoke the Land Acquisition Act of 1979. The Land Acquisition Act of 1985 was framed on the precepts of provisions of section 16 of the Constitution and, thus, reproduced the provisions regarding the purposes for which land could be compulsorily acquired (section 3) (Tshuma, 1995). This was later addressed by the FTLRP, which changed the structure of the labour dynamic in the farms in Zimbabwe. Under this Land Acquisition Act of 1985, only underutilised and derelict (unused) land could be compulsorily acquired for settlement and agricultural purposes or on “willing buyer-willing seller” basis. All agricultural land for sale had to be offered to the government first, based on market-led principles. The acquiring authority had to pay adequate compensation promptly to the owner of the land and any other person suffering deprivation of rights as a result of the action (Kinsey, 1999). During this phase, the state acquired 3.1 million hectares of land on a willing seller-willing buyer basis, market-led land reform (Kinsey, 2005). Cousins and Robins (1994:34) state that, during this phase, 52 000 families were resettled. Land was redistributed to the beneficiaries on a basis of competence, productivity and resources. However, this first phase paid little attention to returning their ancestral land to Africans.

While the focus here is not on the early Old Resettlement Areas (ORAs), Dekker (2004) argues that settlers there had challenges, such as clearing land and starting agricultural production in areas with different soils and rainfall patterns than they were used to. Findings by scholars about ORAs, such as Dekker (2004), show that many households were able to develop their farms and invested strongly in building their communities. Evidence from the first land reform indicates that settlers in the ORAs initially kept social and productive connections to their home areas, suggesting resettlement is a process rather than an event (Dekker, 2004). Studies by Dekker (2004) indicate that, in the 1980s, land reform was not a disruption for people as they moved from one location to the other. The scholar’s findings indicate that straddling was a common occurrence, as women and children would be left behind in the communal areas. By 1984, as much as 40% of households, which had been relocated in 1980, still cultivated their land in communal areas (Kinsey, 1999). It is important to illustrate whether, in a different setting and three decades after the first land reform, households are straddling in the FTRLRP period. It is implied that, while new land was provided for households, belonging and the need to maintain contact with places of origin remained. This phase also marked the end of the Lancaster House Agreement, ushering in another phase of land reform.

3.5.2 Second phase land reform: 1990 to 1998

In 1990, the Government of Zimbabwe amended the constitution and the Constitutional Act amendment no 30 gave the state the mandate of land acquisition. This was because the Lancaster House Agreement period of ten years had ended. Thus, key principles during this phase were the gradual revision of the strategy and provisions for compulsory land acquisition and beneficiary selection (Moyo, 2000). By August 1990, the Zimbabwean government had announced a new land reform policy (Cousins & Robins, 1994). This phase implied that the state could repossess land and compensate the owner of the land. Cousins (2007:35) further argues that “the resettlement programme now aim[ed] to relocate 110 000 families on 5 million ha to be acquired from commercial farmers, and settler selection [would] give priority to trained Master Farmers from the communal lands”. During this period, the Zimbabwean government implemented strategies, such as the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP), whose impact on the economy and the general populace was negative (Kanyenze, 2003).

The Land Acquisition Act of 1992 empowered the President to acquire rural land compulsorily and set out the procedure for this.

Once a written notice had been given to an owner that his/her land fell within the acquisition category, he/she could not dispose of the land or make any permanent improvements thereon. Such a notice of acquisition had a one-year duration. Once it was published, ownership was “immediately” transferred to the state even though the question of compensation still had to be settled. The minister also had the absolute discretion to designate any land as “rural” land, which could be compulsorily acquired in the public interest. The minister had to specify the purpose for which the land was to be acquired and the period in which it was intended to be acquired. Such a period could not extend beyond 10 years. During such period of designation, an owner was not allowed, without the minister’s permission, to sell or otherwise dispose of the land (De Villiers, 2003:18).

The constitution of Zimbabwe provided for the following:

Payment for land acquired to be in local currency only; Government could now compulsorily acquire land that was being fully utilised; Government must pay fair compensation depending on the guidelines set by the Minister when acquiring designated land; Compensation to be assessed by a “compensation committee”; and Where there is a dispute as to the amount of compensation, the parties can appeal to the Administrative Court for arbitration (Adopted from Chitsike, 2003:8).

The second phase of land resettlement was altered to favour the technically capable as opposed to the merely needy (Moyo, 1995; 2000). The agenda moved from redistribution between unequally advantaged, historically racialised agrarian classes to indigenisation of agrarian

capital and land ownership (Dekker & Kinsey, 2011, Kinsey, 1999). Fewer than 200 000 new settlers received land between 1990 and 1997 amid official explanations from government that the slowdown in land acquisition was due to the land prices that were too high. The government could not afford to acquire available land, despite the new legislation that should have provided government with the means to do so (Moyo, 2003). The Zimbabwean government's dualistic economy, which was most visible in the agricultural sector, where the division of land was extremely inequitable, with 700 000 smallholders occupying 16.4 million hectares of land while 2 000-6 000 large-scale commercial farmers occupied 15.5 million hectares of prime land (Sachikonye, 2005; Hanlon et al., 2012; Kinsey, 1999). Between 1980 and 1997, over 70 000 households were resettled on land that previously belonged to white farmers (Barr, 2004). In comparison to other resettlement programmes in the sub-Saharan region during this period, only Tanzania's villagisation programme of the 1970s involved translocation of great numbers, but this programme was neither voluntary nor retributive (Kinsey, 1999).

3.5.3 The tipping points

An increasing demand for land in communal areas and pressure from political parties forced the government to seriously consider resuscitating the resettlement programme, which had slowed down over the years (Kanyenze, 2011). In the mid-1990s there was increasing pressure from labour bodies, such as the Zimbabwe Congress for Trade Unions (ZCTU), the downward spiral of Zimbabwe's economy and increasing demand for land for the government to address issues of land reform. ZANU-PF, in 1996, formed the National Land Acquisition Committee to identify land for resettlement. The Provincial Land Acquisition Committees at provincial levels complemented the tasks of this committee. The establishment of these institutions and the amendment of the Land Acquisition Act in 1996 empowered the government to select land in large tracts for resettlement, which accelerated the rate at which land was identified for acquisition. By 1997, the National Land Acquisition Committee had identified about 4 million hectares of land, as illustrated below.

Table 4. Land identified for occupation

Province	Number of Farms	Area in Hectares
Manicaland	122	144 788.50
Mashonaland Central	114	148 293.03
Mashonaland East	291	339 839.07

Mashonaland West	410	508 828.34
Masvingo	110	888 797.95
Matabeleland North	52	305 485.87
Matabeleland South	186	919 129.93
Midlands	203	550 129.93
Grand Total	1488	3 805 583.66

Source: *The Herald* (22/11/97)

One of the challenges that the government faced was lack of capital to acquire the identified farms for resettlement; as a result, the objectives of the committee failed to materialise (Masiwa & Chipungu, 2004). In September 1998, a donor's conference was organised by the government in Harare, mainly led by international Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and private sector communities, to raise \$US 1,9 billion (about \$ZW 42 billion) to acquire land to resettle 100 000 families (Rugube & Chambati, 2001; Masiwa & Chipungu, 2004). The land that was targeted was mainly land that had absent landowners, and was adjacent to communal areas or underutilised. It is stated by Masiwa (2001) and Masiwa and Chipungu (2004) that some of the agreements from the donor's conference were as follows:

The second Phase of the Land Reform Programme was to begin with an Inception phase covering 12 months and involving 118 farms. The implementation process was supposed to involve thorough consultation between the government and various stakeholders as well as learning from external experience. The programme was to focus on poverty alleviation with beneficiaries being selected from among the poor, those living in congested and marginal areas, as well as from the vulnerable groups such as farm workers. The programme was supposed to be implemented in a fair, transparent and sustainable manner. There was also need for full participation of the beneficiaries (Masiwa & Chipungu, 2004:8).

However, the conference failed to attract the needed funding; despite these agreements, of the \$ZW 42 billion sought, only \$ZW 7 339 000 was pledged. It is argued that the conference failed to yield results because donors were suspicious of the government policies, such as involvement in the DRC war and policies which allowed the state to compulsorily acquire land. During this period, it was reported that many households in communal areas started invading adjacent white commercial farms due to the demand for land. In 1999, the government drafted a constitution, which mainly sought to acquire land with compensation, amongst other provisions, but which was rejected. In April 2000, the constitution was amended giving room for the state to acquire land without compensation with a provision for compensating white farmers for physical improvements on the land. This led to the FTLRP. I will provide more

information in Chapter 4. This second phase was slow; however, it managed to provide land to several beneficiaries from communal areas, who, thus, benefited from land reform, and, despite the challenges, links with places of origin were maintained, as I will explain in the next section.

3.6 Reflection on Zimbabwe's pre-FTLRP land reforms

Evidence by Kinsey (1999) indicated that the initial group of resettlement areas from 1980 to 1999 were more successful than communal areas households, with resettled households earning twice as much from agriculture than communal areas households and benefits spilling over into communal areas of origin. Other empirical studies about communal households and resettlement households have emphasised comparison indicators between beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries to draw conclusions about the performance of resettled farmers. While it is important to distinguish if beneficiaries are actually better off than in their previous occupations, this study shows how, particularly in the post-FTLRP period, connections between communal areas and resettlement areas attest to the failure of the A1 model to achieve some of its objectives. Kinsey (1999) argues that, in understanding the land reform programme and movement of households, focus should be on the household participation and its livelihoods. Translocation between resettlement areas and rural or urban areas was a way to maintain links, at the same time averting risk. Kinsey (1999) states that, in the ORA, the resettlement agency prohibited migrating to urban areas as a way of coping with economic stress. This condition was relaxed in the 1990s with the proviso that the agricultural management of farms remained satisfactory, as evaluated by local extension and resettlement officers (Dekker, 1999). The planners and designers of the early land reform programmes in Zimbabwe assumed that the households would earn their entire income from agricultural productivity; they ignored the importance of remittances and transfers to the rural economy (Kinsey, 1999). Kinsey argues that the ORAs, given the fact that they were prohibited from working, had fewer remittances than communal areas where labour migration was common. Despite these challenges found in ORAs, evidence by Barr (2004), Dekker (2004) and Kinsey (2010) indicates that ties with places of origin were maintained.

Dekker, in her study, stated that, in the early land reform programmes, the beneficiaries were typically unrelated and unacquainted. These new communities had to deal with problems, such as inputs for agricultural production, natural resource management, inadequate management of risk, and uncertain access to financial services. To varying degrees, the households had to address these problems by setting up Community Based Organisations (CBO) and through inter-marriage amongst one another (Dekker, 2004a). The finding by Dekker also illustrated

that, while social relations between ORA households had emerged, they did not discard their relations with places of origin. Kinship relations in the rural economy are considered as one of the strongest sources of social support in most communal areas in Zimbabwe (Barr, 2004). Women and Law in Southern Africa (WLSA) research conducted in Zimbabwe argued that “the greatest laments of resettled households were their dislocation from their natal families and the lack of regular interaction with them” (Ncube, 1997). As such, there were deliberate efforts that were made to connect with the social fabric found in their communal areas of origin, which informed the basis of their belonging. Nyawo (2016) also argues that “[t]he rituals and traditions of marriage, rainmaking, of burying the dead, welcoming a new-born and more that kept people together in the communal lands were missing in the resettled areas and, as such, the vulnerable were the biggest losers”. This study, therefore, will unpack how these social relations have evolved and provided an axis of enforcing belonging.

The lack of power of rural people and landowners translates into insecure tenure rights.

Tenure security in terms of exclusive land rights for groups and individuals is the very basis of political and social power and status. When such rights are overly subordinated to the state, it follows that the political and economic rights of rural people are diminished and that the democratic institutions and processes are undermined (Rukuni, 2003:243)

The dynamics of agricultural investments after land reform were influenced by a wide variety of factors that are explored below. To start with, it has been argued (Kinsey & Binswanger, 1993) that “the benefits of programmes which involve large-scale human resettlement are unlikely to become apparent in less than a generation”; this means that it is too early to make judgments about the success or failure of the new farmers or the FTLRP at large given the fact that it is little more than a decade since the programme was implemented.

Dekker (2004) argues that beneficiaries of the ORAs were able to develop their farms and invested strongly in building their communities. Beneficiaries of the first and second land reform resettlements initially kept social and productive connections to their home areas, suggesting resettlement is a process rather than an event (Dekker, 2004). I acknowledge that the study of resettlement of people from communal areas to resettlement areas is not unique to this study; from the first land reform in Zimbabwe, it has generated some interest (Kinsey, 1999; Dekker, 2004a). Understanding past experiences will be useful in contextualising the current research setting. Studies conducted by Kinsey and Binswanger (1993), Barr (2004) and Dekker (2004) evaluated the early land reform programmes in Zimbabwe. Extensive work by Kinsey, Dekker and Barr has been done on links between ORAs and communal areas. Findings

by Dekker and Kinsey indicate that households cannot be easily uprooted from their places of origin. They further assert that debates post-FTLRP should include the earlier resettlement experience in Zimbabwe (2011:1017). Their study acknowledges that there are links between beneficiaries and communal areas post-FTLRP.

By the same token, Kinsey (1982), Barr (2004) and Dekker (2004a) indicated that beneficiaries of land reform programmes before the FTLRP maintained connections with communal areas. Their studies focus on the importance of kinship networks for most rural families to strengthen their social capital and resource-pooling strategies. While this study provides important insights for the relevance of these networks, it shows the links that exist between communal areas and A1 villagised settlements. Thus, post-FTLRP, the case study in Zvimba sought to provide an understanding of connections between FTLRP beneficiaries and communal areas households in a different period and economic context. This study expands further the implications of linkages in the post-FTLRP period as detailed in Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter provided an overview of the genesis of the land question in Zimbabwe, which started in 1890. It showed how belonging was distorted through various colonial policies that separated Africans from their land and families. It has shown how colonisation moved people from their ancestral land to reserves, which later became communal areas. Furthermore, the chapter argued that, as people were moved from reserves, they became a source of labour for white commercial farms. Those that moved to farms and urban areas continued to maintain links with communal areas. After independence, land reform sought to decongest communal areas, as this occurred, households continued to maintain links with communal areas, although social networks were also established in resettlement areas. Whilst extensive work has been done by scholars in understanding the connections with the communal areas that existed pre-FTLRP, there remains a gap in understanding the land connection between FTLRP beneficiaries and communal areas households in a different period and economic context. This chapter concludes by noting that, although people have been forcibly relocated during colonisation and voluntarily relocated after independence through land reforms, this did not break the links to the land of origin. Having analysed in some detail linkages and belonging within the Zimbabwe land question in a historical context, the next chapter engages debates about connections and disconnections of families after the FTLRP.

Chapter 4

“Connections and disconnections”: Fast Track Land Reform in Zimbabwe

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I provide an overview of the debates about the FTLRP within the context of linkages. This chapter argues that, although there are many studies about the FTLRP, there are limited studies that have comprehensively analysed the links between communal areas and resettlement areas. While other scholars argue that the FTLRP split families and weakened social ties, this chapter argues that the FTLRP did not break bonds between beneficiaries of the FTLRP and the communal areas where they originated. The FTLRP carried out in Zimbabwe warrants rigorous analysis within the global South. Various scholars have probed the FTLRP in Zimbabwe, with some focusing on issues that include agricultural production, gender, labour relations, livelihoods and tenure (Hammar et al., 2003; Murisa, 2009; Scoones et al., 2010; Mandizadza, 2010; Manjengwa et al., 2013; Mkodzongi & Lawrence 2019, Mazwi, 2019). Linkages are an important facet, on which few studies have provided in-depth analysis for beneficiaries of the FTLRP.

Without dwelling much on the process of the FTLRP itself, which a number of studies have exhaustively covered, such as Moyo (2000; 2011), Sachikonye (2005), Scoones et al. (2010), Chiweshe (2011), Matondi (2012) and Hanlon et al. (2012), this chapter focuses on the ties between beneficiaries of A1 villagised settlements and communal areas of origin after the FTLRP. The chapter is divided into three sections. It begins by setting out the objectives of the FTLRP, as well as the various models that defined the FTLRP in Zimbabwe, it concentrates on the A1 villagised model that the study focuses on. The next section explores literature that has critiqued the FTLRP and also shows the limited attention to belonging and links in literature. The third and last section of the chapter explores the extent to which the A1 villagised model led to disconnection or connection with households in communal areas of origin, which has been widely debated. The next section provides an overview of the FTLRP.

4.2 Reclaiming land through the Fast Track Land Reform Programme

Launched on 15 July 2000, the FTLRP became a defining programme in Zimbabwe’s history through the radical redistribution of land. Formally the programme was known as the Accelerated Land Reform and Resettlement Implementation Plan. The programme was part of

the Land Reform and Resettlement Programme, Phase 2 (1998), although it undercut the more collaborative partnership arrangement (including joint state and civil society initiatives) embodied in the Inception Phase Framework/Plan of 1999-2000 (Mudhara, 2002). The FTLRP involved the “first radical shift in agrarian property rights in the post-Cold War world” (Moyo & Yeros, 2005). Mamdani (2008:18) argued that the FTLRP was the “greatest transfer of property in southern Africa since colonisation. In its own way, the FTLRP became the solution to the land problem that the government had sought to address since the attainment of independence in 1980. The FTLRP, implemented between June 2000 and February 2001, was declared complete in 2002 (Chavunduka & Bromley, 2013). The FTLRP was distinctive, as it dismantled large-scale white commercial farm operations and transferred the land to small-scale agricultural production rather than nationalising land to the tiller distribution of pre-capitalist forms of landed property as part of a longer-term transition to capitalism (Bernstein, 2004). There are various accounts of the FTLRP, as I will show in Chapter 5 on the acquisition of land on Machiroli Farm.

The FTLRP, thus, provided a radical approach to the redistribution of land in Zimbabwe. Matondi (2012:1) argues that

[t]he FTLRP, therefore, comprises a complex mix of ingredients that have attracted the attention of both the domestic and the international community, in terms of what land reform means and how it should be delivered, but more importantly, of what model works best to deliver land to the people, without tinkering with broader livelihoods.

As complex as the process of the FTLRP was, this does not negate the importance of the Zimbabwean experience. For southern Africa more broadly, the case of Zimbabwe has highlighted one potential path for countries unable or unwilling to deal with unequal inheritance or apartheid of inheritance or colonialism (Bond & Manyanya, 2002). The future role of agriculture in Africa's development and livelihoods is also a much-debated topic in policy circles. Cliffe et al., (2011), state that the top-down approach of the FTLRP has been advanced as a dominant perspective. It is argued by some scholars as a programme orchestrated from the top in a desperate attempt by the political elite (ZANU-PF) to maintain power, which resulted in extreme violations of rights and triggered economic downfall (Moore, 2003; Hammar et al., 2003). Besides, some arguments contend that elites took advantage to allocate themselves land (Zamchiya, 2011; Matondi, 2012). There remains much academic dispute as

to whether this was a peasant-led movement, emerging from below and facilitated by war veterans of the liberation war, thus creating a “democratic revolution” (Moyo & Yeros, 2005).

The FTLRP was state-led land reform. Wegerif (2004) argues that successful land reform in countries, such as China, Taiwan, Japan and South Korea, has been achieved through state-led reforms, not through a market-based approach. The FTLRP of 2000 is based upon a complex colonial history and shaped by post-1980 land reform programmes. In general, the political pressures for land reform in the early and mid-1990s were less intense compared to early the 1980s. ZANU-PF claimed victory in the 1990 and 1995 elections, and up to 1998, there was little organised pressure from people and the landless (Sachikonye, 2003; Moyo, 2009).

The establishment of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in 1999 with the aid of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU), Commercial Farmers Union (CFU) and international Non-Governmental Organisations influenced the political landscape in Zimbabwe (Moyo, 2009). During this period, conflicts between ZANU-PF and MDC emerged, leading to a constitutional referendum in February 2000 on a draft constitution, which stated that people had rights to land (Cliffe et al., 2011). The draft constitution was rejected, which angered war veterans particularly, as most of the white commercial farmers campaigned against the referendum (Scoones et al., 2010). With ZANU-PF losing much of its support to the labour party MDC, as well as a rapidly deteriorating economy, deferred elections and a rejected constitutional referendum, war veterans invaded farms across Zimbabwe (Moyo, 2001; Scoones, et al., 2010).

4.3 **Jambanja**⁸ phase

The beginning of the FTLRP was characterised by chaos or *jambanja*. Activities in this period were mainly led by war veterans of the liberation struggle: Joseph Chinotimba, Francis Zimuto and Chenjerai Hunzvi (Chiweshe, 2011). This period was characterised by spontaneous invasion of farms, in some cases involving violence and murder. Farms that were invaded became base camps, and, in some instances, farmworkers were forced to attend night vigils of dancing and singing. Scholars, such as Hammar et al. (2003), Raftopoulos and Phimister (2004) and Alexander (2007), argued that the violence on the farms was orchestrated by the state, through the alliance of the ruling party and security institutions (police and army). It is argued that FTLRP “allowed the state and ruling party to try and control this land and its inhabitants

⁸ Chaos.

to an even greater extent than they have in the past” (Rutherford 2008:93). However, the farm invasions were considered unlawful by the High Court and Supreme Court of Zimbabwe on 21 December 2000. The following is a statement from the court:

The farm invasions are, have been, and continue to be unlawful. Each Provincial Governor, each Minister in charge of a relevant ministry, even the Commissioner of Police, has admitted it. Wicked things have been done, and continue to be done. They must be stopped. Common law crimes have been, and are being, committed with impunity. Laws made by Parliament have been flouted by the Government. The activities of the past nine months must be condemned.⁹

Despite these legal underpinnings, the invasions of white commercial farms continued with the support of ZANU-PF Members of Parliament that disregarded the judgements from the courts. An MP for Kadoma West stated that “[w]hen we are at this stage of pursuing our revolution, they [judges] need also to play the tune...They also need to bend down and do like what the revolution requires us to do.”¹⁰ Furthermore, in retaliation to the verdict of the judges, war veterans threatened to assault the judges and remove judges against the land reform. This was said by then Minister of Justice, Patrick Chinamasa,: “If they [judges] behave like unguided missiles, I wish to emphatically state that we will push them out.”¹¹ The ZANU-PF led government used the farm invasions to campaign for elections, diverting attention from the economy, and as a weapon to deal with political threats (Chiweshe, 2014; Selby, 2006). However, the violence on farms did not occur in all parts of the country, as argued by Sadomba (2009) and Mkodzongi (2013). In some instances, chiefs in communal areas worked together with war veterans for the occupation of farms (Moyo, 2009; Mkodzongi, 2016). Moyo further argues thus:

In this sense, the land occupation movement [FTLRP] that has emerged is politically organised but socially grounded. It might be instigated centrally but it is differentiated by the many different pulses driving it, including varied local interests of war veterans, traditional and other leaders, and informal community organisations. It is this broad social base, constituted by the existing economic hardships and marginalised political grievances, that has made it possible for the war veterans and ruling party to mobilise rural people. (Moyo, 2001:322)

⁹ Gubbay, CJ, McNally JA, Ebrahim JA, Muchechetere JA & Sandura JA, *CFU v. Minister of Lands & Ors*, 2000 (2) ZLR469 (S)ab 486G.

¹⁰ Hon. Zacharia Ziyambi, Parliamentary Debates 27, 44:4383-4.

¹¹ *The Daily News*, February 6, 2001, page 2.

While the war veterans led the occupations of the farms, it can be argued that there were a number of actors who participated in the FTLRP.

4.4 The FTRLRP formalised

After the chaotic phase, the FTLRP was formalised. Most of the farms occupations were spearheaded by war veterans. The Ministry of Lands, District Development Fund and District Administrators took over the process of formalising the takeovers. Chaumba et al. (2003a:545) argue that the “time of Jambanja of 2000 was to be replaced with the imposition of a particular type of ‘order’ and ‘planning’ and a shift in register from the political to the technical”. The planning process meant that, in many cases, it was overlooking the previous measurements made by war veterans on farms. Moyo (2009) argues thus regarding the introduction of the District Land Committees (DLC) to regulate control of land:

At the peak of the FTLRP, Government created a decentralised structure from national level to the farm level, of land administration...This approach was intended to replace the ascendance of war veterans’ power over land administration and other matters at the peak of the land occupations. The war veterans had made an effort to involve traditional leaders in identifying ancestral lands and also in leading cleansing ceremonies during and after the occupation of land, and traditional leaders were instrumental in mobilising ‘subject’ communities to occupy lands on the basis of restitution claims. The DLCs by 2004 had wrestled control over land administration, although local farm committees were kept in place on the redistributed farms (Moyo, 2009:148).

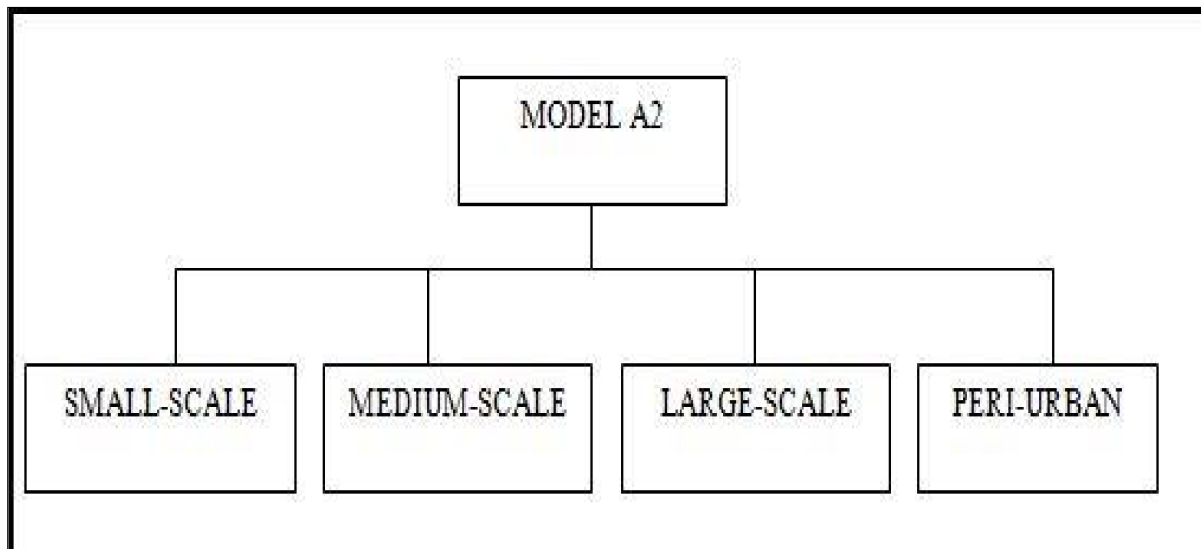
The introduction of the DLC was meant to regulate and formalise the distribution of land on resettled areas. The land allocation process was guided by a number of procedures, as argued by Matondi (2012:58-59) including: “survey and demarcation of the plots, invitations to apply for land (for the A2 model), identification of beneficiaries, election of the beneficiaries, and on-farm selection of the plots that had been surveyed”.

The government launched the FTLRP on July 15 2000, known officially as the Accelerated Land Reform and Resettlement Implementation Plan. The overall objective was to identify land for compulsory acquisition, demarcation and resettlement of people. In line with its endeavour, the government of Zimbabwe, between June 2000 and February 2001, gazetted a national total of 2 706 farms covering more than 6 million hectares for compulsory acquisition (GoZ, 2001:13). The section that follows critically examines the objectives of the FTLRP.

4.5 Objectives of the FTLRP

The FTLRP had two distinct settlement schemes, the Model A1 and Model A2. The Model A1 is described as “the decongestion model for the generality of landless people with a villagised and self-contained variant, which sought to provide about 160 000 families with land” (Masiwa & Chipungu, 2005:12). An average of seven to fifteen hectares was provided to each beneficiary in the A1 model. Model A2 aimed at creating a cadre of 51 000 small- to medium-scale black indigenous commercial farmers, as shown in the figure below.

Figure 1. A2 Model

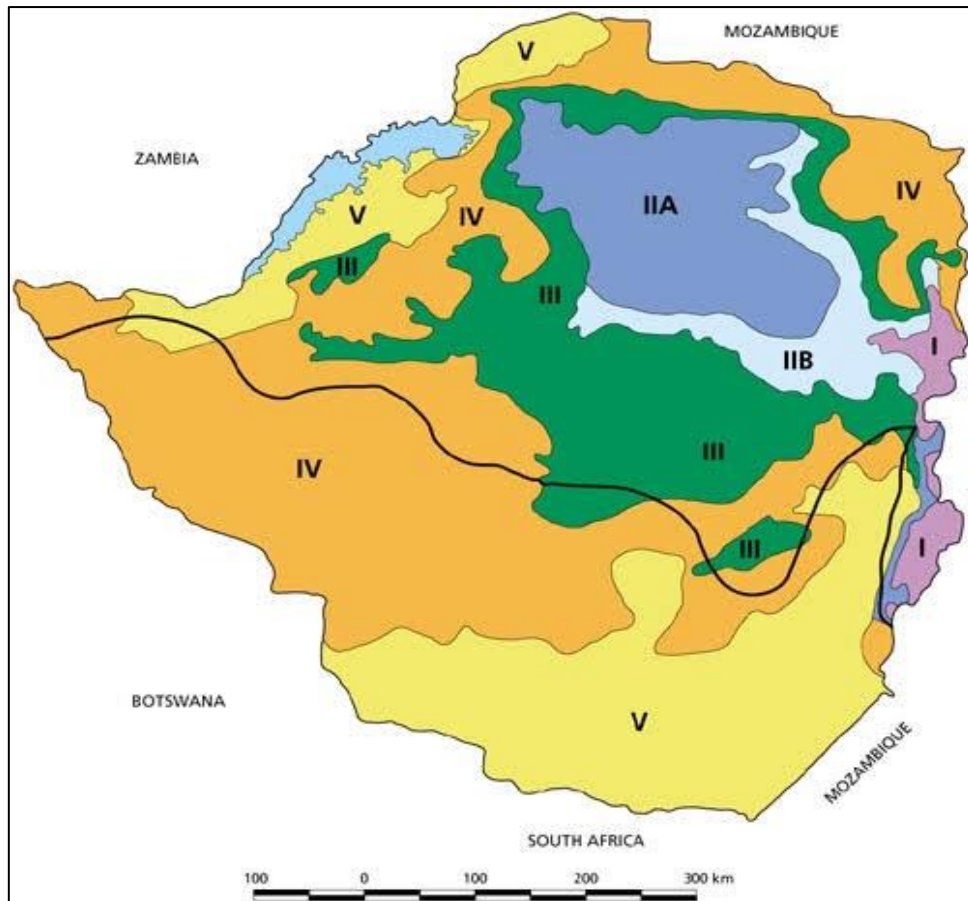


Source: Ministry of Lands, (2001)

4.5.1 Model A2

Model A2 (see fig. above) was designed to replace the white commercial farms by creating an indigenisation model referred to as the small-, medium- and large-scale settlement scheme (GoZ, 2001). The three categories of commercial settlement schemes included some peri-urban areas. Under the FTLRP, land in the country was sub-divided according to the agro-ecological zones covering plantations, different farming systems, conservancy and agricultural land under crop and livestock (Moyo, 2011). The main objective of the A2 model was to replicate the former large-scale white commercial farms (Moyo, 2011). The allocations per agro-ecological zone¹² were as shown in the map below.

¹² Zimbabwe is divided into 5 Natural Regions (Agro-ecological Regions) according to rainfall patterns, soil types and land-use patterns. Regions 1 and 2, covering only 17.2% of the total land area, are ideal for intensive agriculture. Regions 3 and 4 are suitable for extensive



Map 1. Zimbabwe Agro-Ecological Map

Source: FAO, 2006

The table below shows land sizes per agro-ecological zone.

Table 5. A2 Model land sizes

Type of Farm	Maximum Farm Size per Agro-Ecological Zone (in Hectares)					
	Zones					
	1	2a	2b	3	4	5
Peri-Urban	2-50	2-50	2-50	2-50	2-50	2-50
Small-Scale Commercial	20	30	40	60	120	240
Medium-Scale Commercial	100	200	250	300	700	1000
Large-Scale Commercial	250	350	400	500	1500	2000

agriculture (such as livestock rearing). Natural region 5 is very arid and there is little agricultural activity (Moyo,2009:12).

Source Government of Zimbabwe (GoZ, 2001)

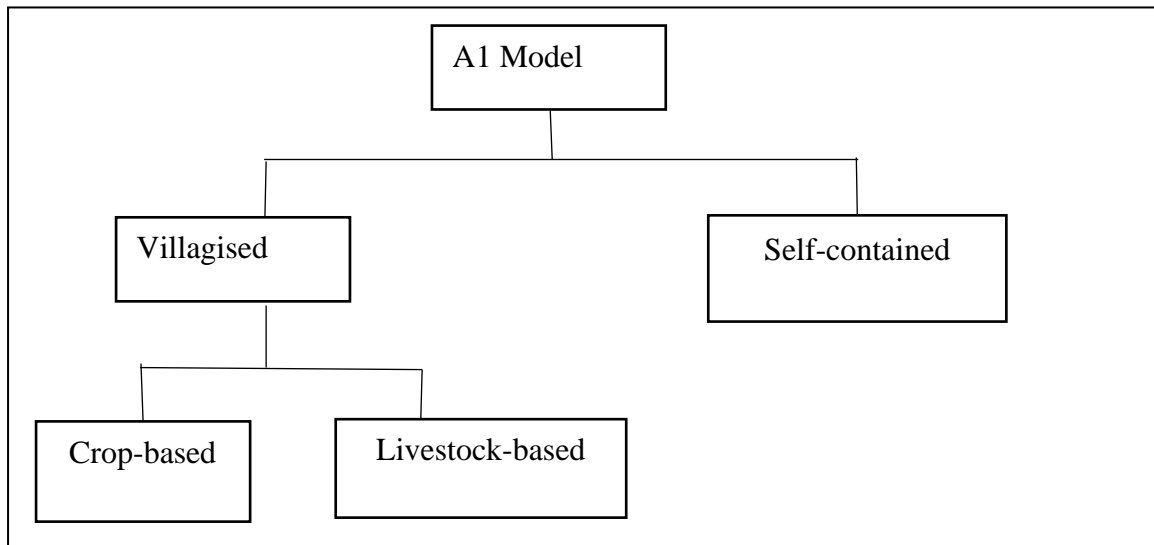
The A2 land redistribution model required potential beneficiaries (applicants) to provide evidence of financial means and considerable agricultural knowledge to develop the farms into viable enterprises (Chiremba & Masters 2003). After demonstrating the capacity to utilise farms, successful applicants were provided with leases with the option to purchase. Although other studies, such as Moyo (2009), argue that the A2 land allocation was guided by policy, Marongwe (2011) contends that it was highly complex, contested and politicised. Since this study's focus is on the A1 model, more attention will be devoted to the review of A1 settlements.

4.5.2 Model A1

The A1 model was meant to increase the small-scale farming sector, to cater for the unemployed, landless, and disadvantaged peoples from urban, communal, urban and other areas (Moyo, 2009). The A1 model is a three-tier land-use model divided into variants: self-contained and villagised (crop-based and livestock based). The self-contained units of the A1 model provide consolidated farm units for individual families on a 99-year lease with an option to buy. The target groups and objectives of the self-contained model are similar to the villagised model. In this model, only basic infrastructure and services are provided.

The villagised model is made up of the crop-based and the livestock-based variants. The livestock-based A1 model, on the other hand, is designed for the drier parts of the country, where there is no irrigation. These are mostly in regions 3, 4 and 5 characterised by very low to moderate rainfall. The objective in the livestock-based variant is to provide commercial grazing with the long-term aim of increasing the communal herd. The main target beneficiaries in this variant were people in communal areas adjacent to white commercial farms in drier regions of the country. Twenty per cent of the land in this model was reserved for war veterans. People in both crop-based and villagised variant received the same services. The figure below shows the breakdown of the A1 model.

Figure 2. A1 Models



(Source: Ministry of Lands, 2001)

Model A1 (see illustration above) was the decongestion model for the generality of landless people, with a villagised and a self-contained variant (GoZ, 2001). This study focused on the villagised model.

The FTLRP A1 model sought to provide a radical solution to the land question in Zimbabwe through several objectives listed below.

1. To relieve pressure in overpopulated areas while, at the same time, maintaining the social and the cultural fabric of the settlers by resettling as much as this is possible, households with a common origin in the same village
2. To extend and improve the base for productive agriculture in the peasant farming sector
3. To improve social and infrastructural services which facilitate the growth of a new cohesive society in the given resettlement scheme
4. To provide an administrative system for the social management of the new settlers
5. To eliminate squatting and other disorderly settlement in both rural and urban environs (Zimbabwe, 2001)

The targeted beneficiaries of this resettlement scheme were communal areas households that mostly resided in congested areas, with 20% of the plots reserved for war veterans (GoZ, 2001; Moyo, 2000b; Scoones et al., 2010). The government assumed that the movement from one

locality to another would alleviate the challenges of overpopulation. In his study, Sukume (2004) argues that no meaningful decongestion was attained in resettlement areas as most households still maintained their communal areas households. This study indicates that, through the maintenance of links, decongestion has not been adequately attained. (I will discuss this in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.)

It was assumed that the A1 model would improve communal agricultural performance and, therefore, improve incomes for people in communal lands. At the same time, those who moved to resettlement areas would equally benefit from better quality land, with an expectation of improved incomes (Matondi, 2011). Matondi and Dekker (2011) argue that, in Mazowe, the decongestion in the nearby communal areas has not been attained. They argue that

this thesis of improved agricultural performance and incomes in place of origin (communal areas) and place of settlement (new Fast Track Farms), was found to be a misnomer because other compounding factors conspired to negatively affect agricultural production as noted in different parts of this report. It would seem that after the reforms, the communal areas emerged worse off for a variety of reasons (Matondi & Dekker, 2011:23).

The livestock-based model A1 variant (Three-Tier Land Use) objectives were to provide land for commercial grazing and, thus, increase the communal herd, and to reorganise communal areas in line with the three-tier structure of this model. The Three-Tier Model no longer exists on the ground; it was implemented during the first phase of the Land Reform Programme but was disbanded during the Fast Track Land Reform Programme, as people without cattle felt cheated by those with cattle. The Model A1 self-contained units were upgraded and re-designated as A2 Model.

The Land Reform and Resettlement policy document of 2001 stated the objectives of the A1 programme (see the next section). The villagised model was the predominant model used to settle beneficiaries, mostly in northern parts of Zimbabwe. Hanlon et al (2012) argues that the A1 model was like the Model A resettlement model adopted in 1980. Gonese et al. (2000) further concur that the variants of the 1980 Model A were incorporated into the FTLRP A1 model.

4.5.3 A1 villagised model

The A1 villagised model is made up of smallholder farms in resettlement areas (Mutopo, 2014). In Zvimba District, an A1 villagised household has an average of six arable hectares. In this model, people allocated residential and individual plots share woodlots, water points and

common grazing. According to the Government of Zimbabwe, Ministry of Lands, Agriculture and Rural Resettlement Land Reform and Resettlement Programme, Revised Phase II Document of (2001:11):

The main objectives of the A1 model (villagised) are to relieve land pressure in over-populated areas while at the same time maintaining the social and cultural fabric of the settlers by resettling, as much as this is possible, households with common origins in the same village; to extend and improve the base for productive agriculture in the peasant farming sector; to provide basic social and infrastructural services which facilitate the growth of a new cohesive society in the given resettlement scheme; to provide an administrative system for the social management of new settlers; to eliminate squatting and other disorderly settlements in both urban and rural environs...the principal target group for this model are the landless peasants in the communal areas who form the majority among the land-hungry. Apart from this group, 20% of all resettlement stands under this model are reserved for war veterans.

Gonese and Roth stated that the A1 villagised model has the following:

0.5-hectare individual residential plot within a defined village block; 5-hectare individual arable land holding; communal grazing land (25 to 60 hectares, depending on village size and natural region of settlement), as well as communal infrastructure based on village water points, access roads, woodlots and other social services (Gonese & Roth, 2003:23).

The A1 villagised model was regarded as the decongestion model for communal areas. During the FTLRP phase, beneficiaries were given land based on eagerness to relocate, as I will show in Chapters 6 and 7. The A1 villagised model has been criticised for its failure to cater for the different soil types and landscapes by scholars, such as (Mabhena, 2010). The model failed to account for the different agro-ecological regions in the country.¹³ Furthermore, this model is regarded as similar to the Model A settlement model of the first phase of land reform in the 1980s. However, scholars, such as Ncube (2018), Matondi (2012), Moyo (2013a), Scoones et al. (2010) and Mkodzongi (2013b) argue that the villagised model has largely been successful, as it enhanced livelihoods of beneficiaries' households in various parts of Zimbabwe.

The Fast Track Land Reform Programme increased the area under smallholder farming by about 21 per cent, but, as pointed out by Sukume (2004:13), "despite a 21 per cent increase in new smallholder areas only 9 per cent of communal households were resettled implying lower decongestion levels than area increases may suggest". Kanyenze (2011:106) further argues:

¹³ Agro-ecological zone is a land unit, carved out of a climatic zone, correlated with landforms, climate and the length of growing period (Pal et al., 2009)

Decongestion of the communal areas, though desirable and rational, is a very static concept. It assumes that uplifting people from one locality to another would alleviate the challenges presented by overcrowding. However, in the absence of a deliberate economic development policy for the Communal Lands, decongestion did not achieve the poverty-reduction objectives of the Fast Track Land Reform programme. In fact, during the programme, resources were targeted at the newly resettled areas, implying a progressive decline in the capacity and quality of agriculture in the communal areas.

It is important to note that, although debates from scholars, such as Kanyenze, indicate that decongestion is not a static concept, people from communal areas acquired land during the FTLRP.

Sukume et al. (2004) argue that the limited nature of land attaining decongestion through a programme, such as FTLRP, shows the limitations of such programmes. The linkages exhibited in this study indicate that maintaining ties is a way to avert some of the challenges associated with land shortages in communal areas. Makwara argues that, in Zaka District, decongestion has not been attained in communal areas, and there has been a limited reduction in land pressure (Makwara & Gamira, 2012). The Presidential Land Review Committee on the implementation of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (known as the Utete Report) reported that, in the communal lands, decongestion had not significantly taken place. Although the studies mentioned above provide essential insight into lack of decongestion, in this study, focus is not on decongestion. Rather, using a lens of belonging to extract qualitative insights, it shows that, through the maintenance of links, there are multiple purposes in people maintaining linkages with places of origin. I will give more information in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

4.6 Linkages post-FTLRP

Empirical data gathered across Zimbabwe indicate that the outcome of Zimbabwe's FTLRP is complex and requires a nuanced analysis. Some scholars, such as Moyo (2009), highlighted that, across six districts of Zimbabwe, the significant beneficiaries of land are people predominantly from congested communal areas, and argued that they maintain links with places of origin. Some debates reveal that, in resettlement areas, labour is being reproduced as "social patronage" work employment by kinship ties, mostly by people from communal areas of origin (Chambati & Moyo, 2003). While this study is vital in providing important insights for linkages in Zimbabwe, the study was mostly limited to a political economy lens and did not probe further the rationale behind labour sharing. In this study, while I build on Moyo's (2009) linkage argument, I argue that, for A1 beneficiaries from communal areas, it is through

belonging that they can access labour from communal areas, a conceptual lens that has not been fully applied in examining linkages post-FTLRP.

4.6.1 **Origin of beneficiaries**

Findings by the AIAS (2007) research on six districts in Zimbabwe indicated that about 16.6 per cent of the households in resettlement areas were maintaining customary area (communal area) homes. These findings concur with Murisa (2009; 2013), who argues that communal areas and resettlement areas still maintain ties (Murisa, 2013). Murisa further argues that “most (57.5%) commonly cited reasons for the maintenance of a customary area homestead is because it is still home to other members of the extended family” (2013:270). Murisa’s study confirms that most of the beneficiaries still maintain connections with their places of origin. However, his study is limited in that it mainly focuses on the social organisation of resettlement areas.

Similarly, Moyo (2009), Scoones (2010), Matondi (2012) and Mkodzongi (2013) argue that the majority of A1 beneficiaries originated from communal areas. These findings are also reflected in this study. This study goes further to examine linkages using an analytical lens of belonging to exhaust factors that enable linkages, such as social relations and labour exchanges, which have received limited attention in these post-FTLRP linkages studies. This study expands on these links in depth, highlighting how elements of belonging, such as home, attachment and ties, are important factors that enable links between communal areas and resettlement areas. Moyo (2009), Scoones et al. (2010) and Murisa (2013) demonstrate that people in resettlement areas households are still maintaining their homesteads in communal areas through straddling across two areas. While insights generated by these scholars are essential, in this study, I built on them to explore in-depth underlying factors behind the maintenance of linkages in a different province of Zimbabwe. In this study, I further probe these links based on linkages through belonging between communal areas and A1 villagised settlements.

Some scholars acknowledge that the maintenance of links between communal areas and A1 settlements was to access labour. Scholars, such as Scoones (2010) and Matondi (2012), amongst others, have gone into great depth towards demystifying the myths and preconceptions around the Land Reform in Zimbabwe. Scoones et al. (2010:96) argue that, to characterise the FTLRP as an abject failure would be too premature in the new agrarian structure that has emerged without the old, colonial inherited dualistic agricultural economy. While agricultural production has decreased in some areas, their studies in Masvingo province show production

in A1 small-holder plots reflecting productivity potential. This growth was due to factors, such as linkages to communal areas to access labour, amongst other resources. Insights generated from Masvingo indicate that people on resettlement areas and communal areas still maintain connections after the FTLRP. Although, Scoones et al. demonstrate linkages in Masvingo, there is limited analysis based on belonging for people in resettlement areas and communal areas.

Matondi (2012:197), in his study in Mazowe, argued that, particularly for women, “[t]hey prefer hiring or bringing their own labour from the communal areas, which is cheaper”. The exchange of labour demonstrated in Chapter 5, 6 and 7 shows the impact of the FTLRP. Chambati (2013) provided an argument that the agrarian labour relations were not adequately acknowledged in the literature. The scholar argues thus: “The new form of social patronage based on kinship ties is being extended [to resettlement areas] as more relatives are brought in for farm work to minimise cash outlays on the [dollarized] farm wages” Chambati (2013:17). Whilst these scholars provide important insights into labour exchanges between resettlement areas and communal areas, the analysis in these studies is limited to resettlement areas. In this study, I broaden the analysis to explore the nature of labour linkages between the two areas, illustrating the importance of belonging in accessing labour.

4.6.2 Agricultural production

Scoones et al.’s (2010) study also illustrated that people on resettlement areas maintain ties with places of origin. Focus in their study is on constructions of success, viability and impact, which they argue, varies significantly in the new resettlements and may not tally with those in the minds of technocrats and planners. Scoones et al. (2010) and Hanlon et al. (2013) have mostly argued “success” by resettlement farmers based on agricultural production compared to communal areas. Scholars have endeavoured to address the question of whether resettled farmers are producing more than the people left behind in the communal areas, as well the white farmers whom they displaced. (Bangwayo-Skeete et al., 2010). Studies by scholars, such as Mbereko (2010), compared resettlement areas and communal areas. This scholar argues that resettled farmers were more productive than those in communal areas. He argues that the FTLRP, therefore, had a positive effect on the livelihoods of those who benefited, as can be seen by a comparison of the higher income, yields and assets obtained by the respondents from the Chirere resettlement and those of the Gudo communal area (Mbereko, 2010). However,

Mbereko does not examine the broader dynamics of ties with communal areas that aid production, as illustrated in Chapter 7 of this study. In addition, Mbereko's study is a comparative study of these two areas, focusing on agricultural productivity, while this research seeks to examine the importance of linkages between beneficiaries of the FTLRP and communal areas where they come from. However, limited studies explore in depth the ties between A1 and communal areas. This research examines the importance of linkages between resettlement areas and communal areas as complementary areas in aiding agricultural production.

Scoones et al. (2010) also argue that there are biases, which use standard economic analysis of farm production, which are prone to ignore the complexities found in the smallest scale farms, and artificially separates farm production from wide livelihoods. The FTLRP has also created some level of choice among the beneficiaries of the programme, farmworkers and people in communal areas with regard to selling their labour within a differentiated farming set-up and in local non-farm activities (Moyo, 2011b). Among the scholars are Shonhe and Mtapuri (2020) who argue that there is emerging farmer classification fuelled by capital in agriculture and reinvestment of agricultural sales proceeds, however the analysis mostly focusses of the beneficiaries of FTLRP with focusing on the links with communal areas.

Scoones et al. (2010:9-10) also argue that focus on formal channels of production misses the array of barter exchange and informal, sometimes illegal, transactions that go on, in some cases, between resettlement areas and communal areas. Scoones' study in Masvingo is important in surfacing these links. However, there is a need to surface how, through the concept of belonging, connections exist between communal and resettlement areas after the FTLRP. Furthermore, belonging in this study is important for acquiring labour, through family links, communal arrangements, exchanges and other informal systems. This study argues that the FTLRP has enabled a large section of A1 villagised households to access and use extended family labour.

Focusing on agrarian labour, scholars such as Rutherford have examined the FTLRP in Zimbabwe using the concept of belonging. He explores the different scales of belonging in what he defines as "modes of belonging," which are described as "the routinized discourses, social practices, and institutional arrangements through which people make claims for resources and rights, the ways (Rutherford 2008:79). Rutherford focuses on the discrimination of (former) farm workers from the FTLRP land allocation and reveals that a large number of

former farm workers have only had conditional claims to belonging to Zimbabwean commercial farms and the limited resources associated with them by operating through the cultural politics of recognition of domestic government. The scholar also illustrates that the FTLRP transformed the livelihood option for former farm workers as “territorialized mode of belonging of domestic government has been replaced on most commercial farms with competing forms of territorialized power in the form of different and overlapping land-giving claimants and authorities striving for some form of sovereignty (Rutherford 2008:95). However, while Rutherford reveals a number of important insights on belonging, it is mostly limited to farm worker and resettled farmers. This study goes further to explore the nature of belonging between people on resettlement and communal areas.

4.6.3 Livelihoods

Other contributions on linkages have been located within livelihoods debates. The maintenance of linkages based on belonging has enhanced livelihoods for people both on resettlement areas and communal areas. These debates point out that rural livelihoods are mediated through diversified activities. Bryceson conceptualises diversification as comprising of “change in labour form from peasant household labour to wage labour, individual self-employment, or reliance on remittances, pensions, rent or other income transfers” (1999:172). Likewise, there are several studies that have highlighted the multiple livelihoods that have emerged from the FTLRP. Studies by Mkodzongi (2013; 2018) and Mkodzongi and Spiegel (2020) argue that, for the beneficiaries of the FTLRP, land is broad and goes beyond the utility of land as a means of production. More often, the livelihoods benefits spill over to communal areas and beyond (Mutopo, 2014). Thus, this study picks up on this perspective, showing factors that enable sharing of benefits of the FTLRP between people on Machiroli Farm and Zvimba communal areas of origin.

Mkodzongi (2013), in his research in Mhondoro, surfaces pertinent discussion about the nature of linkages between the resettlement areas and communal areas in a mining environment. The scholar states that the FTLRP created opportunities for landless people to diversify livelihoods by “allowing them greater mobility and access to land and natural resources historically confined to, or enjoyed by, a white farmer minority under the racialized bi-modal agrarian structure” (2013:346). In addition, Mkodzongi demonstrated that land reform could transform the lives of poor peasants by removing distortions in the land ownership structure, which allows them access to land and other natural resources, which are critical for their social reproduction

strategies and livelihoods security. The focus of Mkodzongi's study is on outcomes of land reform in terms of its impact on the livelihoods of beneficiaries of the FTLRP, while insights on ties with communal areas of origin are explored in this study. This research highlights these linkages in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 by providing an in-depth investigation of the importance of the connection between two areas in a non-mining research area, as well as the importance of the social fabric for both communal areas and resettlement areas.

Some studies have characterised the FTLRP as having often been accompanied by brutal levels of violence (Chaumba et al., 2003). It is essential to argue that, although the initial redistribution process was not free from violence and abuse, there was a transfer of land (capital) to many Zimbabweans, which was a means of attaining a livelihood (Scoones et al., 2010). Despite the violence in the initial phases, Moyo and Yeros (2005) argue that the FTLRP has facilitated a process, which they define as "repeasantization", which has allowed many peasant households to access land and other natural resources.

Chigumira (2014:39) further concurs by stating that "the FTRLRP 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". Through the FTLRP, households had access to land in the A1 settlements in Zimbabwe. Thus, the FTLRP created diverse and inclusive farms by redistributing former commercial farms that had belonged to the white minority (Moyo & Yeros, 2005; Moyo, 2013). Studies on the post-FTLRP indicate that beneficiaries have continued to maintain the connections with communal areas. The dominant reason of the documented reasons for these connections was the uncertainty of tenure in A1 farms and beneficiaries needing not to lose out on land in the communal areas (Moyo, 2009; Matondi, 2012; Mkodzongi, 2013). This study shows how multiple factors, such as belonging, beyond lack of security of tenure in resettlement areas led to the maintenance of links between communal areas and resettlement areas.

4.6.4 Social outcomes

Similarly, scholars, such as Sinclair-Bright (2016), have done extensive research in Mazowe and written extensively about social relations between "new farmers" on an A1 resettlement area in Mazowe and farmworkers. Through an ethnographic approach, the scholar analyses changing notions of belonging and the way livelihoods are negotiated. Furthermore, she argues that, for a while, the farmworkers were accepted as part of the farm community, and even

incorporated into the cultural fabric of life, but when a group tried to formally claim the land that they had been cultivating, this was rejected by the A1 farmers. The scholar focuses on the relations between former farmworkers and A1 settlers. On the contrary, this study provides an extended analysis of the relations between communal areas and resettlement areas. Sinclair-Bright (2016) argues that land reform not only concerned questions of land redistribution but also the reconfiguration of people's social relationships. Moving people from communal areas changed the nature of the social relations in households.

Sinclair-Bright (2016) argues that social relations of the former farmworkers changed when white owners were evicted. The scholar argues that the departure of white farmers radically changed the social relations that made up "farms", and farms became spaces controlled and influenced by government and ZANU-PF to a much greater extent than before (Sinclair-Bright, 2016). While the departure of the white farmers altered the social relations on farms, this study also shows that social relations between those on A1 resettled farms and communal areas have been altered through relocation to A1 settlements. However, the focus of this study also encompasses former farmworkers, who are still connected to the land they worked. This view is confirmed by Chambati and Moyo (2011), who acknowledged that, after the FTLRP, the social relations evolved for former farmworkers. While their study provides insights into the nature and texture of social relations between former farmworkers and beneficiaries of the FTLRP, it pays limited attention to the labour exchanges between people on resettlement areas and communal areas of origin after the FTLRP.

4.6.5 Land as an asset

Other critical insights are from Mutopo (2014), who illustrates that beneficiaries of the FTLRP maintained relations with, and also received inputs from, their networks in communal areas. This issue of maintaining connections is also emphasised by Matondi (2011), who pointed out that beneficiaries of the FTLRP also maintain homesteads on communal areas of origin and access to their ancestors, by maintaining links. The maintenance of dual homestead, as argued in this case, reveals important insights, particularly on the importance of belonging. With regard to linkages, Matondi and Dekker argue that, in Mazowe, Mashonaland Central in Zimbabwe, the FTLRP led to dual households as families still maintained the communal area household (Matondi & Dekker, 2011). They further contend that households in resettlement areas maintained their communal areas households to return to in the event of an eviction. This view is shared by this case study in Zvimba District, which concurs that families were split,

and, in some cases, a new wife was married, or cohabitation occurred, in order to secure land. While these studies are significant for insights into land reform, what remains important is to contribute to debates on why beneficiaries of land reform maintain their identity in communal areas of origin. In this study, I provide a contribution to the literature on links between people in resettlement areas and communal areas within the FTLRP, as I will show in the empirical chapters, 5, 6 and 7. In them, I show the nuances around the maintenance of linkages and probe the factors, such as belonging, beyond insecurity of tenure that enforce connections between communal areas and resettlement areas.

The Utete Land Commission, which sought to review the FTLRP, noted that land in communal areas was an important asset and that land was a source of social security for rural-urban migrants (GoZ, 2003; Chavunduka & Bromley, 2013). Chavunduka and Bromley (2013) further state that land acted as a form of insurance. This notion about land highlighted how, at a policy level, the government acknowledged that land in communal areas carried multiple identities as a home, farm and social space, amongst other identities. Furthermore, the Utete report acknowledged that beneficiaries of the FTLRP were maintaining homes in both resettlement and communal areas; this was a reflection of the insecurity of tenure in resettlement areas (Volume I:56). Although this study concurs with these findings, there are limited studies that have explored beyond insecurity of tenure for reasons that resettlement areas and communal areas maintain links. Although debates mentioned above illustrate the maintenance of linkages, empirical evidence in this study provides in-depth evidence that focuses on the linkages between A1 farmers and their communal areas of origin. Thus, this study provides insights that highlight factors, such as social relations and labour exchanges, as some of the factors that enable links based on belonging. The next section engages around debates that hold that the FTLRP led to disconnections between communal areas and resettlement areas.

4.7 Critics of the FTLRP

The FTLRP is not free from criticism; several scholars have highly criticised the programme for a number of factors, such as decline in agricultural production, chaos, and disruption of family ties (Richardson, 2004; Sachikonye, 2005; Nyawo, 2015). Richardson (2004) argues that the FTLRP negatively affected agricultural production, since the programme was initiated in 2000 and, by 2004, agricultural production had dropped by 30 per cent. Contraction of the agricultural sector also saw the manufacturing sector and the whole economy shrinking by 15

per cent by 2003 (Richardson, 2004). Unfavourable economic policies have forced manufacturing companies to shut down, which resulted in unemployment. Critical reviews of the FTLRP and mainstream media have focused on analysing its impact on aggregate economic indicators, such as per capita Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Richardson, 2004) and the above-highlighted considerations. The violent seizure of land negatively affected the Zimbabwean economy, which saw the Zimbabwe dollar plummet and being replaced by the multi-currency system and, later, Zimbabwean bond (ZWL).¹⁴ Other critics of the FTLRP argue that the programme separated families as some communal areas' members relocated to resettlement areas (Mabhena 2010; Kanyenze, 2011; Nyawo, 2015). This thesis challenges these claims by showing that beneficiaries in resettlement areas and communal areas maintain connections. The position of this case study is contrary to that of scholars, who argue that the FTLRP destabilised the family unit.

Other scholars, such as Nyawo (2014), argue that men, who were allocated land, relocated to resettlement areas leaving behind their wives in communal areas, who doubled as mothers and fathers of households, while, at the same time, performing chores culturally associated with men (Nyawo, 2014). The scholar further contends that the relocation of family and friends to resettlement areas as a result of the FTLRP were disruptions, which destroyed the family unit. Evidence from this current case reveals that straddling or leaving members of the family behind in communal areas was meant to secure tenure rights in communal areas rather than disrupt the family unit. Furthermore, evidence by this scholar is limited to demonstrating that familial connections manifested through belonging are not restricted to a single physical space but through relationships maintained across two areas. This study argues that the family unit is not limited or defined by geographical location of members but rather transcends beyond geographical spaces, maintaining identity and connection, as expanded in Chapter 6.

Some of the criticisms of the FTLRP are that it failed to enhance livelihoods for the beneficiaries. Mabhena's study (2010) of the FTLRP in Southern Matabeleland is a critical study in southern Zimbabwe. He argues that, rather than enhancing agrarian livelihoods, the FTLRP drastically reduced them in what he describes as a "one size fits all" land redistribution model promoted by the state (Mabhena, 2010). Findings by Mabhena are contrary to Ncube (2018), who demonstrates that the A1 model in Matabeleland North in Zimbabwe has enhanced livelihoods. Focusing on Matabeleland South province, Zimbabwe, Mabhena argues that land

¹⁴ <https://www.herald.co.zw/government-outlaws-multi-currency-reintroduces-zim-dollar/>

reform under the FTLRP, instead of enhancing agrarian livelihoods, in Matabeleland systematically marginalised rural people, leading to reduced livelihoods. He argues as follows:

Suffice [it] to note that the A1 model is unacceptable to most residents of southern Matabeleland; but because the programme is top-down, [the] residents have found themselves deprived of grazing land; [and] when resettlement took place people were settled on farms adjacent to their communal areas (Mabhena, 2010:71).

It can be noted that his findings in Matabeleland indicate that conflicts arose between people in resettlement areas and communal areas; however, the analysis is limited in exploring the connection between beneficiaries and places of origin. While Mabhena captures the conflict between people on A1 settlements and communal areas, his study does not capture the connections between these areas and how they might promote spill-over benefits for communal households. Mabhena's findings suffer from the fact that they are mostly limited to agrarian livelihoods of resettled households in Matabeleland South in Zimbabwe. This case study filled in a gap in the literature by showcasing the intersection between land reform and belonging, enabling linkages.

With regard to disconnections through the FTLRP, Kanyenze (2011:105) also argues that

[t]he fast-track land-reform programme contributed to the disruption of society and brought fear, anxiety and uncertainty to community life in Zimbabwe. Apart from the social disruptions associated with the programme, the process of removing land-occupiers without offer letters created further social instability. Families were separated, as men and boys occupied farms, leaving women behind in the communal areas.

These sentiments are further echoed by Goebel (2005), who argues that families were disrupted as men moved to resettlement areas, as well as that women lost social capital in some resettlement areas. Nyawo (2012) argues that the FTLRP swiftly transformed the communal areas as young people left for A1 settlements. Mukwembi (2012) also argues that the FTLRP disrupted existing social networks within communal areas as beneficiaries moved from them to A1 settlements. These scholars contend that there are disconnections of the family unit as a result of the FTLRP. However, such explanations tend to overlook that familial relations continue to exist and are maintained beyond geographical boundaries. This study shows, as I will illustrate in Chapters 6 and 7, that the definition of family is broad; it further shows that, through belonging, families are accessing resources in resettlement areas. Findings also contradict Goebel (2005) and Nyawo (2012) by highlighting that it is difficult to uproot an individual from their place of birth socially and physically; thus, linkages are still maintained.

Nyawo (2015), on the contrary, also argues thus: “The rituals and traditions, of marriage, of rainmaking, of burying the dead, of welcoming a new-born and more that kept people together in the communal lands were missing in the resettled areas and, as such, the vulnerable were the biggest losers.” Evidence from Machiroli Farm (as I show in Chapter 6), contrary to debates that highlight disconnections through the FTLRP, sufficiently indicates that familial ties go beyond physical boundaries to provide social and material needs. Through the maintenance of links, some of the rituals were practised by beneficiaries of the FTLRP in communal areas. Families maintain connections, although they are in different settlements. While acknowledging the debates that argue that the FTLRP disrupted families, evidence from this study contradicts these debates. Narratives from Zvimba indicate that familial links are still maintained (see Chapter 6). Furthermore, findings reveal that familial links enable access to labour in communal areas for beneficiaries of the FTLRP. For people in communal areas, there is access to resources, such as firewood, on A1 settlements. This finding concurs with other studies by Scoones et al., (2010) and Mutopo (2014); however, this study argues that, despite some of these debates that have argued that the FTLRP disconnected family, narratives drawn from Zvimba indicate the maintenance of connections.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter examined the Fast Track Land Reform Programme in Zimbabwe with a key focus on debates about the maintenance and disconnections of linkages after the FTLRP. The study began by providing an outline of the FTLRP in Zimbabwe and the description of the two settlement models with a specific focus on the A1 model. The focus is on the A1 settlement model, as most beneficiaries of the FTLRP in this model originated from communal areas. The chapter argued that land reform beneficiaries from communal areas maintain links with their places of origin. The chapter examined various studies by scholars of the FTLRP that argue that links are maintained after the FTLRP. These studies reveal elements, such as insecurity of tenure and accessing labour in communal areas, as drivers of the connections.

Previous studies about the FTLRP have not dealt in depth with linkages particularly using a lenses of belonging focusing on two interconnected issues such as social relations and labour exchanges post-FTLRP. These studies provide limited in-depth analysis of the linkages between communal areas and A1 settlements from a conceptual lens of belonging. This chapter also highlighted that there are debates that argue that the FTLRP disconnected communal areas

and resettlement areas. Although extensive research has been carried out about the FTLRP in Zimbabwe, there are limited studies, which have adequately analysed the linkages between beneficiaries of the FTLRP and their communal areas of origin. Using empirical material examined in the next three chapters, the study provides, evidence that links are still maintained, as evidence reveals that beneficiaries of the FTLRP still maintain linkages with communal areas where they came from. In the next chapter, I introduce and provide an overview of the case study area.

Chapter 5

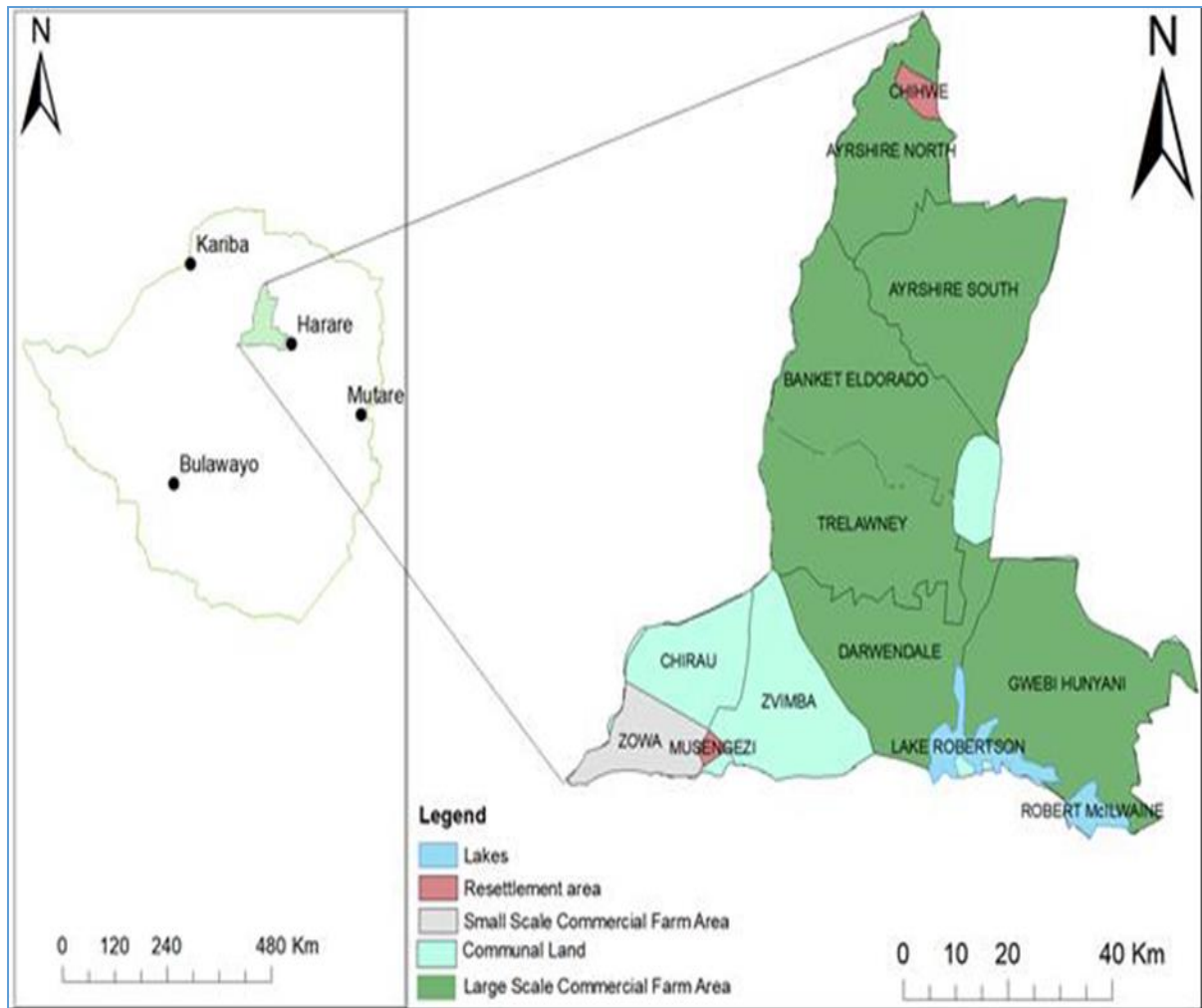
Linkages between Machiroli Farm and Zvimba communal areas: introduction to the case study

5.1 Introduction

Thus far, the previous chapters provided an introduction, conceptual framework, the origins of the land question in Zimbabwe, and the dynamics of linkages within FTLRP debates. In this chapter, I now turn to the case study area, introducing the study context and relevant materials that link beneficiaries of the FTLRP and communal areas of origin. An overview of linkages between people on Machiroli Farm (A1 villagised farm) and Zvimba communal areas is provided. The chapter examines the role of the Fast Track Land Reform in enabling connections between beneficiaries of the FTLRP A1 villagised model on Machiroli Farm and Zvimba communal areas, where they came from. The chapter is divided into three sections. Firstly, the chapter will begin by providing a detailed description of the study area, which is Zvimba communal areas, with a focus on Ward 6 as one of the research areas. The second section of this chapter offers a historical overview of Machiroli Farm (Ward 21) and how it was established. A description of how Machiroli farm was occupied during the FTLRP is provided, and reasons for settling on Machiroli Farm. An outline of who got the land and how the land was allocated is also provided in the study. The third section of the chapter concludes by providing an overview of how beneficiaries of the FTLRP maintain links with communal areas of origin.

5.2 Zvimba District overview

As has been described in Chapter 1, Zvimba District is in Mashonaland West and is located about eighty-five kilometres away from Harare, the capital city of Zimbabwe. Zvimba has a population of 245 489 people constituted of 122 562 males and 122 927 females according to ZIMSTAT (2012). Most communal areas have access to water; most households own deep wells and have access to boreholes. Zvimba District has mineral resources, such as gold and platinum mines. The district is made up of two parts, the north and south. Prior to the FTLRP, the northern part of Zvimba was characterised by white large-scale commercial farming, whilst the south was predominantly communal farming. Machiroli Farm is located in the area previously known as Darwendale (as illustrated in the map below). The district shares boundaries with Chegutu, Makonde and Chinhoyi.



Map 2 Zvimba District Map

Source (Ministry of Lands, Zvimba)

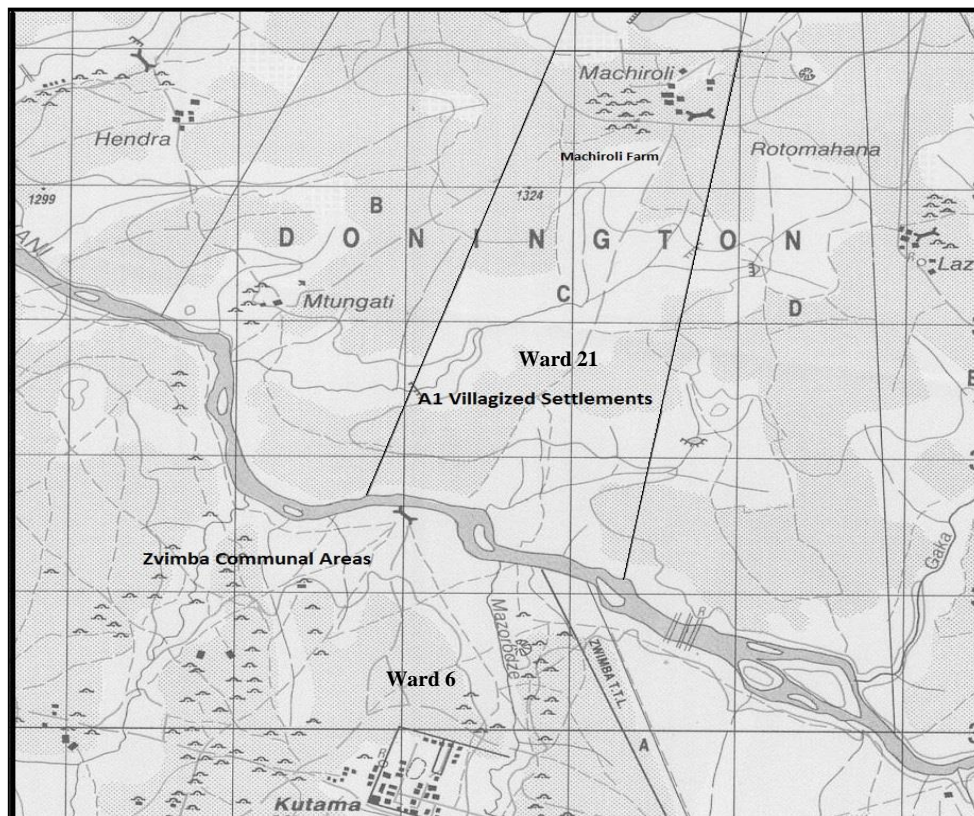
The map above shows the various regions which constitute Zvimba District. Communal areas were categorised as Chirau and Zvimba, while the other areas were grouped as small-scale commercial areas, and white commercial farms, such as Machiroli Farm, were in Darwendale. The district is made up of 35 wards and the figure below shows how the district is broken down.

Table 6. District ward profile

Zvimba District	Area	Agricultural land use
Ward 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 28, 29	Communal areas	Agriculture is the main source of livelihoods for the people in these wards district. Maize and groundnuts are the main crops grown in this area.
Ward 2, 22, 23, 16	Urban areas	Peri-urban maize production
Ward 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19 - 21, 24 - 26, 30 - 35	Resettlement areas	The main source of livelihoods is agriculture in these wards. The main crops grown in this area are maize, soya beans, tobacco, cotton and groundnuts. Tobacco and maize production are dominant, as I will show in Chapters 5 and 6.

(Source: Zvimba District Administrator, 2018)

Machiroli Farm (Ward 21) and Ward 6 communal areas are the study sites. These two areas are bordered by Hunyani River and connected by a bridge, which people use daily. (See map below.)



Map 3 Case study location

Source: Ministry of Lands

People in households within the District, particularly the study areas, are differentiated in terms of demographics, livestock, farming equipment, and income (ZIMSTAT, 2012; ZIMVAC, 2016). Ward 6 is in agro-ecological zone IIA; these are areas characterised by good rainfall confined to summer, and are suitable for maize, tobacco, and cotton and livestock production. Maize and sweet potatoes dominate agricultural production in communal areas. The communal areas mostly grow maize, finger millet, groundnuts, vegetables and sorghum.

5.2.1 Historical background

Zvimba District was part of the then Lomagundi District, where the Africans were displaced into ten small scattered reserves created by the 1900s. Major alterations had to be made to these reserves in 1913 “resulting in the abolition of Sipolilo, Tsheninga, Zwimba, Magondi and Bepura. These were replaced by two big reserves, namely Zwimba (renamed to Zvimba) and Sipolilo in 1914 and 1915, respectively” (Palmer, 1977:259). Historically, Zvimba has always been a farming area, focusing mostly on tobacco production. Zvimba communal areas served as a labour reservoir to farms in the Darwendale area. Darwendale, during the colonial era, focused on tobacco under Otto Christian Zimmerman (Rawson). Zimmerman arrived in Salisbury on the 15th of July 1891, participated in several patrols, and was part of the 1896 rising in Mazowe and pioneer column. O.C. Zimmerman was allocated his first farm, Darwendale Farm, in the early 1900s (Rhodesian Society, 1964, Rubert, S.C., 1998). The farm had about 3 000 hectares focusing mostly on tobacco and livestock production and relied on labour from communal areas and migrant workers.

The dispossession of indigenes of their land, as described in Chapter 3, started as early as the late 1890s, with dispossession by colonial settlers focusing on the removal of the Africans from their land, at the same time turning them into a labour force. During the late 1920s and early 1930s, white farmers realised that, in order to succeed in agriculture, they needed labour. As they did not have the resources to finance themselves, forced labour was a common practice. Indigenes of Zvimba were subject to forced labour, as confirmed by an anonymous respondent, who said that, in Zvimba communal areas, “[p]olice would forcibly take young men and older men. They would normally come in the morning before sunrise and take them to work in the farms” (Interview with Anonymous, Ward 6, August 2017). This forced labour was used in the mines and farms that were owned by the settlers. This required assistance from the colonial government to protect their market access and to ensure an adequate supply of cheap labour to the farms. A government official explained:

The areas with fertile soils were largely converted into white commercial farming enterprises. I would say about 86% of the land that originally belonged to Africans was taken by the settlers. About 14% of the land was declared reserve areas for Africans. Europeans through various policies and legislations created communal areas which were known as reserves (Interview with District Administrator, 9 November 2017).

The displacement of Africans forced indigenes to provide labour by working on platinum and gold mines, farms in Darwendale and Selous, and industries in cities, such as Salisbury (now Harare). Even after independence and up to the FTLRP, communal areas in Zvimba largely consisted of about 150 000 households, with an average of two hectares per household (Murisa, 2009; Chambati, 2009).

As previously stated in Chapter 3, the Land Apportionment Act (LAA) of 1930 empowered the settlers to take land forcibly from the Africans. This was also the case in Zvimba, as indigenes were removed from their land. Mr Z.P., commented about the movement of people from ancestral land (areas converted to white commercial farms) to present-day communal areas.

When these white farmers first came to Zvimba they saw the good soils that our ancestors had. The white settlers under the pretext of being missionaries surveyed the areas where our fore-fathers were staying and discovered that the soils were fertile. The places they saw as favourable were places such as present-day Machiroli, Kutama, Lazenby farms. All these areas have more fertile soils than adjacent communal areas. The white settlers then forcibly removed our ancestors from areas which had fertile soil to present-day communal areas. For the greater part of our ancestors came under the authority of Otto Christian Zimmerman. This region became known as Darwendale (Interview with Mr Z.P., Ward 6, August 2017).

The colonial government, through legislation, such as the Land Apportionment Act, gave room to the colonial settlers to move the people from their ancestral land to the newly created Native Reserves, which were later called Tribal Trust Lands and then, Communal Areas after independence. One respondent, Mr Z.P., explained that, in most areas, people were moved after the Second World War. The movement to present-day communal areas was explained by Mr Z.P. as follows:

Our forefathers arrived in these areas around 1939. This was also the period that the Second World War started. Our forefathers were removed from their homes, which later became commercial farms. They were settled here in the communal areas, where we are today. The soils are bad compared to the rich soils we had before our forefathers were violently removed (Interview with Mr Z.P., September 2017).

The view above illustrates how indigenes in Zvimba communal areas were dispossessed of their areas for the creation of white commercial farms, such as Mutungati, Kutama, and Lazenby. I now turn to the communal areas.

5.2.2 Ward 6 communal areas

Zvimba communal areas are situated about 95 km west of Harare, the capital, on the high veld, with altitude ranging between 1500 and 1800m above sea level (ZIMVAC, 2016). The area is generally flat with granitic basement complex of sandy soils, which are well-drained and low in organic content. Agricultural livelihoods are based mainly on maize, sweet potatoes and small grains (millet, sorghum). Leguminous crops are most common in this area with crops, such as beans, cowpeas, and groundnuts. Zvimba communal area, like most communal areas in the country, experienced population growth and, at the commencement of the FTLRP, land was already a topical issue in Zvimba District (ZIMSTAT, 2012, ZIMSTAT, 2015). Ward 6 communal area is a society which emphasises belonging, social and cultural norms and values.

Ward 6 falls under the authority of Chief Zvimba and the District Administrator. At a broader ward level, there are structures that regulate the governance of the ward, which comprise a Ward Councillor, Ward Development Committee (WADCO) and Village Development Committee (VIDCO). The leadership structures in both communal areas and Machiroli Farm operate within similar structures, such as village heads, with Headmen also present in both communal areas and A1 villagised settlements.

The family unit is equally important among households in both Zvimba communal areas and Machiroli Farm. The family systems are based on descent groups and patrilineal relations based on male descent and kinship. Respondents stated that; these patrilineal systems strengthen belonging among people in Zvimba. The use of the term “family” in Zvimba is not limited to nuclear and extended family or husband-wife relationships but encompasses the extended family based on ancestry. Within families, men and women have defined roles that give them authority within the family and society.

Social relations of kinship that exist in Machiroli Farm and communal areas are social, cultural and relational. These relations are mostly based on a sense of belonging. This applies to people in urban and diaspora that maintain ties with the communal areas. As a result, although family relations are based on building and maintaining relationships, kinship ties are much more important. Although factors, such as Zimbabwe’s economic hardship, are affecting families,

these have not affected the importance of family ties. In addition to the importance of family, friends (*sahwira*) are regarded as important within households in Zvimba.



Picture 2. Communal areas homestead

(Source: Fieldwork data 2018)

The image above shows an example of a communal area residential homestead in Ward 6. The layout of homesteads in communal areas is comprised of shared grazing areas, shared dip tanks and shared woodlots, which, in most cases, are limited. Observations in communal areas homesteads revealed that round huts made of mud and thatch, and brick houses. Generally, communal areas households in Ward 6 have multiple livelihoods sources, which include agricultural, off-farm and non-farm livelihoods. There are various networks of relations based on family, kinship and neighbours, which are useful in agricultural and non-farm activities.

5.2.3 Land challenges in Zvimba communal areas

In Zimbabwe, communal areas are generally characterised by poor soils, land degradation and in, some cases, overpopulation (Scoones & Wilson, 1989). In Zvimba communal areas, in most cases, young men together with their families live on their father's homestead, thus, parents and their children that have married share the homestead and the farms. In some cases, young men that marry are given farming land by their parents or residential plots by village heads. Land is inherited by the eldest son in the family, and this is the case in most communal homes

(Bourdillon, 1976). As these families grew, the demand for land also increased. Therefore, most communal areas in Zvimba areas are faced by challenges of shortage of arable land.

An overview of the land challenges in the study area was explained through a life history of a respondent on Machiroli Farm. Mr C.H. is a beneficiary of the FTLRP on Machiroli Farm. He was born in Ward 6 at Kutama Hospital in 1976 and is the third-born in a family of seven, comprising of four boys and three girls. Since land is passed on mostly to sons, when he and his brothers married they were allocated pieces of land to build their homesteads around their parents' home. He explained that, when he was growing up, before the subdivision of the plot of land, the plot was adequate to cultivate crops, such as maize, groundnuts, round nuts and millet, and have a moderate yield that, more often, would take them to the next harvest. He explained that, when his brothers married, the plot was subdivided, as they started families of their own. When his elder brothers married, the impact was felt, as they were each given a portion of the family farm. On average, the plot, which was used by a family, measured about 2.5 hectares.

Growing up, he explained, he had had a passion for farming and hoped to farm for his family. When he got married, like his brothers, he was allocated a piece of land to build his own homestead; however, he was allocated a smaller piece of land compared to his brothers. He explained that he was given land poor in quality, which required large amounts of fertilisers, which are expensive for most people in communal areas, who, hence, rely on subsidies from the government and ZANU-PF. However, the demand for land and unfulfilled promises of the provision of land, in 2000 resulted in several people in communal areas occupying adjacent white commercial farms. In Zvimba, the farm invasions were coordinated through village heads in conjunction with ZANU-PF and the war veterans. He explained that, through village heads, names of people that wanted land were gathered. He reported that, although it was a political process in the first days, the FTLRP provided many young people with land and access to natural resources (Interview with Mr C.H., November 2017). Mr C.H.'s account illustrates the challenges that a number of people are facing in communal areas

5.3 Socio-cultural context of Zvimba communal areas

Households in Zvimba communal areas largely rely upon an agrarian economy controlled by patrilineal lineages in respect of land and cattle. Family in the Zvimba communal areas context, as previously stated, is broad: it is defined by marriage, kinships, residence and parenthood. The family performs several functions, such as providing labour, taking care of the elderly,

providing care to the sick, reciprocity and dependence of kin. Largely, family in communal areas also plays an important role in the provision of labour on a family farm or for other duties, as required. In some cases, men marry multiple wives; having multiple wives in some cases, being a way of increasing farm labour and, in some, for cultural purposes.

Families in communal areas extend to include people, who relocated to urban areas, diaspora and resettlement areas, who are still considered to be part of the family unit. It was revealed that, even though some families do not reside together in communal areas, reciprocity (remittances), attending funerals, and weddings, amongst other functions, was expected of them. This is mainly through a strong sense of belonging. People, who originate from communal areas, have rights to access land through inheritance, marriage or kin.

Marriage is one of the ways young men are allocated land in communal areas. However, most households had limited access to land, which was subdivided to cater for growing families. While marriage and parents are some of the factors that determine family, in this case study, it was further revealed that the family was more than that; it entailed belonging to a clan (*rudzi*), followed by a sub-clan group, which is a totemic group (*mutupo*), and this was further broken down to sub-clan names (*zvidawo*). While there are many totems in Zvimba, the *Gushungo* (crocodile) totem was common as it was affiliated with the late former President Robert Mugabe. Generally, it emerged that households in Zvimba are knit in a variety of ways such as totemic, kinship, and communal relations.

Despite the shared totems and clans, it is important to note that households in communal areas are differentiated in various ways, such as amount of livestock, financial resources, and household's demographic, amongst other factors. Despite the differentiation of households' culture, ceremonies and practices incorporate different categories of people. Performative acts of belonging are also through attending ceremonies, these follow a routine, which can be marriages, funerals or other relevant ceremonies, which, in most cases, involve people in resettlement and urban areas. This was emphasised by the presence of landmarks, such as graves, in communal areas, where some of the ceremonies are conducted. Some of the people that relocated to urban and resettlement areas prefer to be buried in their communal areas of origin. Ceremonies, such as weddings, and *nhimbe* (work parties) are also opportunities to bring people together. Embroidered on the lives of the people of Zvimba is religion; some practise African traditional customs (appeasing ancestors), Christianity is popular, and a small proportion practise Islam. The Roman Catholic Church is a common denomination and is

embedded in the lives of the people of the communal areas as a church, as well as providing education and schools from the institutions, which they built. In the section that follows, I will retrace the relations of people in communal areas and Machiroli Farm before the FTLRP

5.4 Retracing communal areas and Machiroli Farm relations before the FTLRP

Although the focal point of the study is the period after the FTLRP, the connection between Machiroli Farm and the communal areas started before Zimbabwe's independence in 1980. After colonisation, indigenous people of Zvimba were removed from their land by the Rhodesian settlers, and were employed as farm labour in farms, such as Machiroli Farm. A local Chief gave an account:

After defeating the local people in the 1896 to 1897 war, the Rhodesians enforced mass expropriation of land [and] cattle, and many forms of taxes. Many of the rural people were forced into the labour market on mines and farms. Consequently, this was the period, which led to the creation of communal areas or reserves, as it was [sic] known back then. In Zvimba, the first interaction between whites and blacks was on farms, where most of our fathers were mostly to provide labour (Interview with Local Chief, Ward 6 September 2017).

Most of the men worked as labour on either the farm or mines; the initial point of contact and relationship between the farm owners and households in reserves was based on labour. Another respondent in the communal areas also shared his insight by explaining as follows:

Our forefathers worked on white commercial farms. They had various jobs, such as driving ox-drawn carts on tobacco farms in areas, such as Darwendale. People would also take up jobs, such as ploughing, herding cattle and driving tractors. Back then it was like slavery [*Kupambwa*] but as time went by, they saw that it was worth to give workers a salary and the salary was in the form of salt, maize meal and sugar (Interview with Mr Z.G., Ward 6, September 2017).

Over time, policies of the colonial government changed through engaging migrant labour from Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique in pre-independence Zimbabwe in the 1950s, which resulted in most white farmers relying on migrant labour. Machiroli Farm, during this time, recruited mainly migrant labour, together with casual labour from adjacent communal areas. People in communal households were limited to providing seasonal labour to Machiroli Farm, while migrant labour worked on a permanent basis.¹⁵ In the process of working with migrant labour, Zvimba communal households established relations with them. Migrant workers created

¹⁵ Interview with Former Farm Worker, January 2018.

friendships with households in communal areas, and, over time, these relations evolved, as some of the migrant workers married women from the communal areas, including those from Zvimba. Through the resulting households in both areas, social relations were established before Zimbabwe's independence. A respondent in the communal areas explained that,

[a]fter colonisation, a system known as *Mutandisi* or *Chibharo* was introduced, whereby migrants, especially from Malawi [which was known as Nyasaland], came to work in these farms. These workers were given a period to work; for example, they were given three months to make roads, after that [they had to] go back. However, with time, other groups that were recruited managed to stay permanently and even, in some instances, marrying women from the communal areas (Interview with Mr Z.P.. Ward 6, November 2017).

A local Headman confirmed this:

When these migrant workers came to Zvimba, most were saying that they will return to their country. However, very few managed to go back to their countries of origin; as a result, some married local women, as it was not easy for them to go back to their country. They made families here and got permanent jobs. This is how the white farmers became developed in their farms due to these hard-working migrants. Some of these migrants just came to stay here in communal areas because they were in love with our children whom they married, and that is how they got citizenship of this country (Interview with Village Head, Ward 6, November 2017).

These inter-marriages exhibited how migrant labourers were now establishing relations with Zvimba communal households through marriage. Furthermore, the War of Liberation in Zimbabwe (Second Chimurenga),¹⁶ provided a platform for people on Machiroli Farm (mostly farmworkers) and households in communal areas to collaborate and establish connections. In most cases, former farmworkers' compounds acted as safe havens for people escaping harassment from Rhodesian authorities. Respondents in both communal areas and Machiroli Farm indicated that, while these relations existed, farmworkers continued to be regarded as inferior and labelled as aliens by people in communal areas. Despite these factors, there existed a relationship between migrants and households from communal areas.

After independence, the relations that existed were between the owner of Machiroli Farm Sean Lowry (former farm owner) and people in adjacent communal areas. These relations were based on labour and, in a few cases, on assistance to nearby villages. This assistance was in the

¹⁶ The war of liberation is also known as Second Chimurenga, which started in 1966 and ended in 1979

form of helping some people in communal areas with tobacco seedlings and a tractor for tillage, where necessary. This was explained by a respondent, who stated that

Sean [previous farm owner] had good relations with people in adjacent communal areas, particularly the Mugabe family after independence. He provided jobs to people from communal areas on his farm, mostly with seasonal jobs (Interview with a former farmworker, Machiroli Farm, January 2018).

Another respondent explained that

Sean was a good white man compared to some of the white neighbours, although we did not interact with him that often, he would give lifts to us and in events whereby there was no transport he would often release his tractor. However, he was strict on cattle, he did not want any cattle from communal areas on his farm. If it was not for the late Chenjerai Hunzvi, the war veterans' leader who invaded his farm, he could have kept his farm (Interview with Mr K.T., Machiroli Farm, January 2017).

Furthermore, still another respondent related:

We had a good relationship with Sean. He was not as bad as some other farmers. Here in the communal areas, we did not meet him that often, but whenever we need assistance, he would help. More often, I would receive some excess tobacco seedlings from him (Interview with Mr G.S., Ward 6, January 2018).

However, in most cases, white commercial farms were considered as protected areas; in most cases, declared protected areas. This was evident in cases where cattle that strayed into Machiroli Farm were locked up, or the owner was made to pay a fine. A respondent in Kutama village had this to say: “[T]he white man was strict with regard to cattle; some people were made to pay fines, and some never recovered their cattle once they strayed onto his farm” (Interview with local Headman, Ward 6, September 2017).

Thus, after the FTLRP, although the land remained the same, the relations probed in this study entailed people from communal areas that relocated to Machiroli Farm. Therefore, I show the nature of relations between beneficiaries on Machiroli and Ward 6 communal areas of origin.

5.4.1 Entering Ward 6 communal areas

I conducted my research in Ward 6, which is adjacent to resettlement areas. This ward was selected, as a number of beneficiaries on Machiroli Farm originated from there. The ward shares most facilities with Machiroli Farm, such as health facilities, Kutama Hospital (Fr O'Hea) and educational facilities, such as Kutama College, Masiyarwa Secondary, Kutama Day Secondary and Chomutamba Secondary School. Livelihoods are based on rain-fed agricultural

production of cash crops, such as sweet potatoes. Off-farm activities in this ward include selling of wild fruits, petty trading, remittances and barter trade. Households are differentiated and have varied land sizes; however, there are limited grazing and forest areas. A respondent had this to say about the land use:

Our cattle face acute grazing shortages; here in Kutama village grazing areas are a challenge. We thought that the Land reform would give us a designated grazing area, but this has not been adequately addressed (Interview with Mrs V.I., Ward 6, September 2017).

Another respondent had this to say:

The challenge that we have here in Masiyarwa village is that, as you can see, our soils are sandy and not fertile. Those that have money use a lot of fertilisers in order to produce (Interview with Mr T.A.B., Ward 6, September 2017).

Another respondent further explained:

Our children have grown, and we have divided the pieces of land so much that we do not have much land to subdivide anymore. Our pieces of land are small now compared to what we used to own (Interview with Local Headman, Ward 6, October 2017).

This view illustrates that, although access to land for people in the communal areas is differentiated, the challenges associated with the type of land are similar.

Farming is the main livelihood, and diverse crops, as mentioned above, are cultivated. Decisions on which crops are planted per season varied amongst households. Mrs T.O.B. said that,

[i]n most cases, after harvesting my husband and I decide what we want to plant next season (Interview with Mrs T.O.B., Ward 6, October 2017).

In most communal areas in Zimbabwe, such as Ward 6 of Zvimba, households have been settled based on the concept of *bhuku* (village book), where those sharing the same surname, totem or clan stay as a community. This ensured that members of the same clan or kinship stay and maintain relations. An overview of the structure of households was provided by the District Administrator, who explained that the homesteads are structured in a linear way or “line”, which is also similar for the A1 villagised models settlement model. In some new resettlement areas, particularly A1 villagised settlements, farmers use settlement patterns similar to communal areas.

Communal areas in Ward 6 are not a homogeneous group; although they share some similar socio-economic and political elements, households are different. Families have different land

sizes, livestock, remittances, technology and non-agriculture livelihoods. Respondents in both resettlement and communal areas indicated that there are four categories of households in the area, namely, poor, middle, middle-to-rich and rich households, which reflected households' access or use of labour, productivity, livelihoods and income, which varied among the categories (Scoones et al., 2010; Shonhe, 2017; Cousins et al., 1992).

In Zvimba District, livestock ownership is important in communal areas, and livestock ranges through cattle, donkeys, goats, sheep and poultry. More importantly, access to cattle has a socio-economic significance, which also implies access to draught power and by-products, such as milk and manure. Cattle are a symbol, which determines the social and financial status of the household. The households that did not own cattle indicated the need to own cattle for many reasons. Mr M.U.T. gave more information on the value of cattle:

As man's respect is obtained by the number of cattle that you own. Also, the more cattle you have, the better it is for your children; they can use it to pay *roora*, bride price. If I die today, and I do not leave anything for my children, I would have failed in life" (Interview with Mr M.U.T., November 2017).

Cattle are more than a means of social status in Ward 6, they are an investment for future generations and draught power, amongst other functions.

Grazing land for cattle is a challenge for many households in Ward 6, however, some respondents stated that, through familial ties they are accessing land on Machiroli Farm. Mr Z.A.K. described how the FTLRP had some benefits, especially for some cattle-rearing households in communal areas:

In the early days, when cattle strayed into the commercial farms, the owners would be arrested by the white farmers. We don't have grazing lands; when our sons moved to the resettlement areas it was a blessing for us, in times where our cattle have no grazing we send them to our sons. What I see is some are making arrangements with others there for them to bring their cattle (Interview with Mr Z.A.K., Ward 6, November 2017).

The connections as either friends or family between the communal and A1 resettlement areas households enabled the movement of cattle between these two areas.

As mentioned above, communal areas households have multiple livelihoods sources, which include agricultural, off-farm and non-farm livelihoods, this is so too in Ward 6. A variety of crops are cultivated, even, in some cases, tobacco, though this is on a small scale compared to households in the resettlement areas. The most common crop is maize; the reason for this is that maize is a staple. Mrs T.O.R. reported:

In most cases, we plant maize because we can use manure for it instead of fertiliser. We are not always given enough fertiliser, so manure is good for the maize, and maize also is the staple we use for mealie meal (Interview with Mrs T.O.R, Ward 6 on 13 October 2017).

Maize production in communal areas relies mostly on animal traction (animal-drawn plough) and hoes, although, in a few cases, tractors are used. Unlike tobacco, maize production is preferred, as it is not as labour intensive; the communal households depend on family labour, and, in a few instances, hired labour. Family labour consists typically of the nuclear family labour and, in certain instances, extended family labour. The communal areas have labour gangs known as *nhimbe*,¹⁷ which are used normally to assist members of the community that do not have adequate labour to plough their fields.

Maize production is normally for subsistence use; however, some households produce for resale. I identified three markets where maize is sold: firstly, the Grain Marketing Board (GMB), secondly, side marketers from Harare and Chinhoyi that offer below the market prices, and thirdly, within communal areas where maize is sold or exchanged for goods or services by households. During my stay in Zvimba, there was a shortage of cash in Zimbabwe, and, in these circumstances, maize serves as a common medium of barter exchange between Machiroli Farm and communal areas of origin. This implies that not only does maize equate to food security, but it also serves as a medium of exchange. This medium of exchange is not limited to labour but also access to acquire livestock and services. The next section will provide a historical overview of the FTLRP in Zvimba.

5.4.2 **Reasons for not leaving Zvimba communal areas**

In Ward 6, not everyone desired to participate in the FTLRP by relocating to resettlement areas, such as Machiroli Farm. There are multiple reasons that some households in communal areas did not relocate to Machiroli Farm. While reasons varied, some of them included fear of the failure of the FTLRP, attachment to the customary land, and lack of desire to move. (I will expand on the importance of land in Chapter 8.) One of the respondents, a Headman, said that

[t]he reason why people did not move was that people were afraid of the unknown and some were not sure of their success as they did not have draught power. Big farms require tractors, and we did not have tractors (Interview with Local Headman, Ward 6, December 2017).

¹⁷ *Nhimbe* is a word from the Shona people of Zimbabwe referring to the residents in a community working together to help each other in daily life, for example, during planting, cultivating and harvest time.

Another respondent stated the reason that he did not relocate to the resettlement areas:

My wife and I have been married for some time. When we got married, we were given this area, which is about two and a half hectares of land. We did not have any boy child, we have only girls. Already this area is big enough for my wife and I, as well as our grandchildren. When the programme started, there was no need for us to move to the resettlement areas because we are not utilising the land that we have (Interview with Mr N.Y.E., February 2018).

Mr N.Y.E.'s account mentioned above, illustrates some of the reasons why people did not relocate to Machiroli Farm.

A sense of belonging to communal areas was also emphasised through graves and attending funerals, as land connects the dead and the living in Zvimba. For people in Zvimba, even after a person has died, a grave is an important sight in a homestead, that symbolises belonging. Many of the homesteads in Zvimba bury their family members within the proximity of their homesteads. Graves provide a strong connection to the living and the dead. One respondent stated that

[w]hen the programme started, I wanted to leave this area, but I could not leave, as my parents and some of my family members are buried here. Leaving the homestead would have meant that I would have abandoned my dead family, which is something which is not culturally acceptable in Zvimba (Interview with Mr T.B., November 2017).

This quotation illustrates that connection to dead family members was regarded as more important than moving to resettled areas.

A large number of respondents in communal areas stated that most people were either allocated land by a headman or had it passed on to them by their late parents. While communal areas have been marked as a creation of colonisation, as a point of consideration, households in communal areas have invested in various assets, both physical and natural, such as asbestos houses, gardens and orchards, which had financial and emotional value to the households. In addition, the political nature of the FTLRP made it too uncertain for some households to trust the programme. Narratives from some of the respondents indicated that people were sceptical about investing time working on plots, which could be repossessed by the state or white farmer. History and recognition of communal tenure provided a sense of ownership of the land compared to the unclear Government policy on resettlement areas in the first days. This was further explained by another respondent:

We heard that the government was saying to the new farmers, "Do not build any permanent structures." To me this was a big problem, if you cannot build

anything permanent, then it means the land is not yours. Here in the communal areas, we have our houses, which show that we are not going anywhere (Interview with Mr M.S., Ward 6, December 2017).

On transect walks, I observed that land congestion is situational within the communal areas; there are some areas that are not utilised here. Observations in the field indicated that there are some homesteads that have been left unoccupied after the owners had moved to resettlement areas. In conversation with the older respondents, it emerged that building physical structures in communal areas, whether occupied or not, indicated belonging to an area or group. The next section focuses on the FTLRP in Zvimba.

5.5 The Fast Track Land Reform Programme in Zvimba

The FTLRP in Zvimba began in the year 2000 through the acquisition of land from the white commercial farmers. More specifically, Machiroli Farm was invaded in the early phases of the FTLRP. As indicated in Chapter 4, there are various accounts of how land was seized in Zimbabwe during the Fast Track Land Reform. While there are varying accounts of how land was expropriated from the white commercial farmers, no one account of the occupation of land can be generalised for the rest of the country using narratives from Zvimba. The account from Machiroli Farm also contributes to accounts of land acquisition during the FTLRP. Machiroli Farm, previously owned by Mr Sean Lowry, was invaded on the 19th of November 2000 at the instruction of now late President Robert Mugabe at a rally in Murombedzi Growth Point¹⁸ in early November 2000. After the rally, the farm was occupied by war veterans under their leader, the late Dr Chenjerai Hunzvi.

However, the previous farm owner did not leave the farm immediately after the invasion; he was given time to harvest his tobacco crop and complete his operations before relocating to Harare. Between November 2000 and August 2003, occupations were not formalised, and the farm was officially gazetted on the 29th of August 2003. Narratives from Machiroli Farm and Zvimba Ward 6 communal areas indicated that the objectives of the FTLRP of taking back land was important in addressing land forcibly taken by the colonial state (Rhodesians); for example, a respondent had this to say:

In my own opinion, the issue of land was a major problem in Zimbabwe. As Africans, we are the owners of the land, yet we are told what to do by white settlers. There was a push, the major thing to show that you have been

¹⁸ The term “growth point” is widely used in Zimbabwe to denote settlements which are earmarked or designated for economic and physical development (Wekwete, 1990).

colonised was by losing our land as a nation. If you lose your land, the person that has the land has total control over you. The reason why Zimbabweans joined the liberation war was because of the land issue, that is the reason why we decided to take the land (Interview with Mr T.A.F., Machiroli Farm, September 2017).

This view illustrates that access to land would also entail access to resources that can be controlled through the ownership of land. It entailed diversifying to other livelihood strategies that required more land. The failure to address the land issue adequately at independence, coupled with an increase in population, was the driving factor that led the people from Zvimba communal areas and some from urban areas to occupy land.

5.5.1 Machiroli Farm historical overview

Machiroli Farm is in Ward 21, an A1 villagised resettlement area. The farm borders on Zvimba communal areas (as illustrated by Map 2) and is located close to amenities, such as schools and clinics. The farm is 9 km off the Kutama to Harare main road. Officials at the Ministry of Lands District indicated that, of the 28 beneficiaries that are at Machiroli Farm, 25 are from Zvimba Communal Areas. These beneficiaries are mostly from Wards 6, 3, 28 and 1, surrounding the farm. The farmers on Machiroli Farm are differentiated in nature. Farms, such as Machiroli Farm, for many years after independence, continued to be owned by a few white commercial farmers. After the FTLRP, the relations with Machiroli Farm were transformed, as ownership had mostly changed to inhabitants from communal areas. I will expand on this in Chapters 6 and 7. Most of the beneficiaries originated from Ward 6, while the remaining three, including the chairman of the farm, were from areas outside Zvimba. Machiroli Farm is under the leadership of a war veteran from Masvingo, a different province. The beneficiaries ranged between 35 and 60 years old, and most of them received land through the invasion of the farm.



Picture 3 Machiroli A1 resettlement area homestead

(Source: Fieldwork 2017)

Before the FTLRP, Machiroli Farm belonged to John Lowry and his family. Sean, John's son was the second-generation owner of the farm after colonisation. John Lowry had worked as one of the farm managers in Zimmerman's farms. Afterwards, he was given Machiroli Farm in the early 1940s, as his pension. John, thus, became the first owner of Machiroli Farm, which is approximately 573 hectares. John managed to establish his farm and infrastructure. Since his previous employer, Zimmerman, was a tobacco farmer, he also specialised in tobacco farming. John Lowry relied on labour from adjacent Zvimba communal areas and migrant workers from countries, such as Mozambique, Malawi and Zambia. As a strategy to increase labour on Machiroli Farm, a compound (residential settlement) for migrant workers was built, as they were the dominant source of agrarian labour, with people from communal areas working as seasonal labour. After John Lowry's death, his son, Sean, took over the farm until the commencement of the FTLRP.¹⁹

The Lowry family on Machiroli Farm focused mainly on tobacco production, livestock farming and maize production. The farm depended mainly on the labour from the compound, which

¹⁹ Interview with a former farmworker, January 2018.

was mainly from different areas, mostly Malawi and Mozambique. A former farmworker stated: “I arrived on Machiroli Farm with my brother in 1955 and was employed by John Lowry. My brother moved to Inyanga to work for another farmer there” (Interview with a former farm worker, 15 January 2018). Creation of labour bodies, such as the Rhodesia Native Labour Bureau (RNLB) and labour agreements, such as the Tete Agreement and the Tripartite Migrant Labour Agreement led to the mass movements of labour into Rhodesia as described in Chapter 2. These pieces of legislation enabled a flow of labour into the farms. Machiroli Farm, like many farms during this period, was capitalised on the labour coming from neighbouring countries.

A former farm supervisor on Machiroli revealed that, before the FTLRP, the farm employed 60 permanent workers and 40 seasonal workers from the communal areas, who worked in maize and tobacco fields (Interview with a former farmworker, Machiroli Farm, December, 2017). Furthermore, due to the labour-intensive nature of tobacco, the seasonal labour came from the communal areas around the farms, particularly during the farming season. After the FTLRP, former farmworkers remained on the farm, providing labour to A1 settlers, and some A2 farmers close by. Households in communal areas provide labour to their family members in A1 villagised settlements on Machiroli Farm. The structure of communal areas is different from Machiroli Farm.

5.5.2 Machiroli Farm invaded

On Machiroli Farm, land was initially acquired through a process of invasion, later formalised. Machiroli Farm was one of the first farms to be invaded in Zvimba District. On the 19th of November 2000, the invasion of the farm was spearheaded by war veterans. A respondent explained that “[h]ouseholds close to then-President Robert Mugabe’s rural homestead in Zvimba were told by the President to move into the farms across Hunyani River, Machiroli Farm being one of the farms” (Interview with Mrs C.I., Machiroli Farm 16 September 2017). It was only after this “go ahead” by Robert Mugabe that the people of Zvimba were led to invade Machiroli and surrounding farms.

One of the objectives of the FTLRP A1 villagised model policy stated that beneficiaries preferably had to come from a common area to maintain the socio-cultural fabric (GoZ, 2001). Evidence from this study shows that several beneficiaries originate from common areas, such as Wards 1, 3, 5, 6 and 28 close to Machiroli Farm. Among the many reasons that white commercial farms were invaded in Zimbabwe was proximity to communal areas. This was the

case with Machiroli and other farms in Zvimba. In the case of Machiroli Farm, it was reported that it was a speech of former President Mugabe that led people in communal areas adjacent to commercial farms to invade farms for occupation. In addition, the ZANU-PF political mantra during the FTLRP, “land to the people”, influenced the invasion of farms with the support of War Veterans, President Mugabe and ZANU-PF.

Another reason for the invasion of Machiroli Farm was because of an increased number of people from other provinces invading farms in the district, who occupied former white commercial farms, mostly A2 farms, which resulted in conflicts between people of Zvimba communal areas with the then DA (Shumba). A respondent on Machiroli Farm revealed that

[t]he then District Administrator Shumba started calling his kin from Masvingo to come and occupy farms here in Zvimba, a matter which was reported to President Mugabe. President Mugabe then told us to move into the farms, which were across Hunyani River, and into Machiroli, since this is our ancestral land (Interview with Mr Z.A.K., Machiroli Farm, October 2017).

Mostly people from communal areas and war veterans from Zvimba communal areas invaded Machiroli Farm as a way of “reclaiming” their ancestral land. The late war veterans' leader, Chenjerai Hunzi, spearheaded the sporadic invasion of farms, with Machiroli Farm being one of the farms scouted by him. A war veteran based on Machiroli Farm explained thus:

I was in the area at that time. I visited a white farmer called Husek, and I had come with the late Chenjerai Hunzvi, a war veterans’ leader. We had a disagreement with him [Husek], as we wanted people to move into his farm. We then decided to move into Machiroli. After that, people started to move in; there was a truck that was offered, which ferried people from the communal areas to the farm (Interview with War Veteran leader, 30 August 2017).

On Machiroli Farm, accounts suggested that, although war veterans led the invasion of farms, mostly it was with the support from the people of Zvimba communal areas.

Other scholars of the FTLRP, such as (Mkodzongi, 2013), have stated that not all incidents of the FTLRP were marred with violence on the farms, which is the case of Machiroli Farm; Sean Lowry was given time to conclude his farming operations.

It was in November. We were told that, since the farmer had already planted his tobacco, we could not evict him. He was given time to wind down his operations (Interview with War Veteran, Machiroli Farm, August 2017).

Respondents on Machiroli Farm revealed that there was a negotiated process of eviction of the former farm owner. Although the farm was invaded, a negotiated process allowed Sean Lowry to vacate Machiroli Farm smoothly.

Most beneficiaries on Machiroli Farm occupied land initially through a process of invasion, which was later recognised by the office of the District Administrator and formalised by the Ministry of Lands. On Machiroli Farm, land invasion was driven by a number of reasons, as stated above, and as I will show in the next section; however, the desire to return to ancestral land was dominant. Many commercial farms used to belong to the indigenous people before they were forcibly resettled to the communal areas by colonial dispossession, as described in Chapter 2. This was explained by respondents, one of whom had this to say:

Our ancestors were removed from these areas such as Machiroli Farm that were converted to now white commercial farms across Hunyani River. Up to now some of their graves are located there; some were destroyed, only a few survived, that was the reason we were supposed to claim back our land (Interview with Mr M.U.T., Ward 6, communal areas, December 2017).

This was further explained by the DA who stated that:

Wherever there was an invasion in the district, the office of the DA was informed. When the invasions started, they were spearheaded by the war veterans working together with the traditional leaders and government departments, including the DA. The first phase was the invasion phase, then the government had to regularise later (Interview with District Administrator, December 2017).

As the quotation above illustrates, responses from the DA show that, after the invasion, the DA worked with the Ministry of Lands to regularise the ownership of the farms through offer letters.

When the invasions started, farmworkers on Machiroli Farm tried to protect their livelihoods by attempting to block the war veterans from reaching the farm. Some former farmworkers stated that the FTLRP compromised their livelihoods through the eviction of their employer, which, in most cases, led to conflicts between them and A1 farmers, particularly in the first days of the FTLRP. A former farmworker provided the following detail:

When the new settlers arrived here, there was tension, as we knew that our jobs were gone. We had heard what had happened in other farms. When war veterans arrived here, we knew it was over. Some of us tried to confront the war veterans to stop them, but it did not work (Interview with former farmworker, Machiroli Farm, January 2018).

While the FTLRP provided access to more land to beneficiaries of the FTLRP from the communal areas, it also compromised the livelihood, which had sustained former farmworkers.

5.6 Relocating to Machiroli Farm

Several accounts from this case provided information about the reasons why people left communal areas of origin and translocated to Machiroli Farm. As stated in Chapter 4, the aim of the FTLRP A1 villagised model was to provide productive land mostly to landless people in communal areas. Thus, the occupation of land on Machiroli Farm was largely to gain access to land, to which people did not have access in the communal areas. One respondent related the following:

In the communal areas, as you can see, my son, the land that we have is minimal; we were squashed. The challenge was that, when the programme started, we had few areas to give to our children because the land is continuously being subdivided to accommodate a person that would have married and now wants to start his own home (Interview with Mr G.U., Ward 6, December 2017).

Thus, what the A1 villagised model sought to achieve was relieving land pressure in the communal areas. Land provided through the FTLRP was an asset, which could address some of the problems, such as poor soils, that people in the communal areas were facing.

Many of the beneficiaries from Ward 6 left the communal areas because of the limited land there, the elderly in communal areas felt that FTLRP was a good opportunity for their children to get land and extend the amount of land a clan owned. A local Village Head described the FTLRP as a good opportunity for their sons to go back to the ancestral land and for the tribe to be extended as well. He further stated:

The population has increased in the area; this has been a major challenge, which we are facing in this area. Most of the soil in the area is sandy soil with many gullies, which are not suitable for farming (Interview with Village Head, Ward 6, September 2017).

Another respondent stated:

The amount of land that we had in the communal areas did not allow us to farm. As you can see, here we have much better land than we had in our villages. The driving factor is that we did not have space to grow. For some that remained behind it was mainly because they had advanced in age and they saw fit to stay behind and relax in the communal areas. (Interview with Z.O., Machiroli Farm, November 2017)

As illustrated above, one of the major reasons people relocated from communal areas to A1 settlements was to access better land. Furthermore, an important aspect was not only receiving land, but quality land, as land in the former white commercial farms was regarded as more arable than communal land.

Decades after the attainment of independence in Zimbabwe, beneficiaries interviewed indicated that the chief reason for the War of Liberation (*Chimurenga*) was access to more land. One of the reasons for the movement from the communal areas was to enjoy the benefits of independence. This notion was emphasised by Mr N.C., who stated:

In my own opinion, the issue of land was a major problem in Zimbabwe since colonisation. As Africans, we are the owners of the land, yet we were told what to do by white settlers. Thus, there was a push to address this and the reason why Zimbabweans joined the liberation war was because of the land issue. The Fast Track Land Reform programme addressed this problem by providing land to our children (Interview with Mr N.C., Machiroli Farm, December 2017).

In addition, this notion was further emphasised by Chief Zvimba who stated:

In 1936, people were removed from this area; the FTLRP was a way for people of Zvimba to return to their ancestral land. If you can look, you can see that there are a lot of shrines around these white farms. These are the shrines of our ancestors. Most of the names of the farms were changed to have a white meaning. I have many names that I can give you. The areas include Sarahata and Murembwe, which are places that people were forced to be removed from by the white people (Interview with Local Chief, September 2017).

The views illustrated above indicate that the need to return to ancestral land was one of the reasons why people resettled on Machiroli Farm.

One major issue that emerged from the interviews was that inheritance issues influenced relocation. The eldest son, in most families, inherited the father's homestead; thus, for younger sons, it was evident that they would not inherit the homestead in the communal areas. Hence, the FTLRP was an opportunity for people to have a sense of security by owning an asset, such as land.

The truth is that for some of us, we knew that the oldest brother would inherit the homestead, and we were going to be under him. I wanted to have an area of my own. The FTLRP presented that opportunity for me to have my own asset (Interview with Mr Z.G., Machiroli Farm, January 2018).

Other responses revealed that relocation to Machiroli Farm was to ensure that households secured their own piece of land. Further, Mr T.A.M. explained how he relocated to Machiroli Farm:

When the land reform programme was announced in 2000, my father was the first person to come to this side of Hunyani. I later joined him. When I came to the resettlement areas, I stayed at my father's farm, which he had been given. I continued to stay with him, and during that time, I moved to Harare for some time to look for some employment. In Harare, I was working as a mechanic. It

was in 2004 when I received a telephone call from him telling me that I should come and apply for my own personal farm, as people had started being given plots of land. I came back from Harare, as I had already put down my name on the waiting list. This is where I am now since 2004. I have to say that my father returned to the communal areas in 2005 (Interview with Mr T.A.M., September 2017).

The comment above by Mr T.A.M. illustrates that, on Machiroli Farm, whereas invasions led to the occupation of the farm, there were formalised processes through communal structures that led to the allocation of land to the landless beneficiaries. The overwhelming majority of respondents indicated that access to land was the driving force for the relocation. In the next section, I will provide a description of who got the land.

5.6.1 Who got the land?

Twenty-eight A1 villagised settlers each received an average of six hectares of arable land on Machiroli Farm. As stated above, of the 28 beneficiaries, 25 originated from adjacent communal areas and 3 from other areas, and the chairman of the farm is a war veteran from Masvingo, a different province. The youngest beneficiary at the commencement of the FTLRP in 2000 was 19 years old; it emerged that mostly younger beneficiaries participated in the occupation of farms. A local Headman explained this:

When the Fast Track Land Reform programme began, we as elders encouraged our sons to get land in resettlement areas; some agreed to go, and some refused. Some remained on their parents' lands, especially firstborn sons, who had children, and that is how they were left behind. Some did not want to go. However, for some, it was by choice to go because they wanted a larger area to grow their crops (Local Headman Ward 6, 20 October 2017).

The notion of encouraging “sons” to relocate to resettlement areas represents a group of people in communal areas, who saw the FTLRP as an opportunity to extend the tribe, at the same time easing pressure on the land. The “sons” were one of the major groups that moved to Machiroli Farm.

The “sons” are a group of people that left the communal areas after being encouraged to participate in the FTLRP through the headman and village heads, as well family structures. This group of young people, who occupied Machiroli in 2000, were between 19 and 35 years old. Before relocating to Machiroli Farm, some were living on their fathers' homesteads in communal areas with their parents or guardians. At the advent of the FTLRP, most of these beneficiaries were encouraged by their parents to occupy land on Machiroli Farm. This land provided the beneficiaries from the communal areas access to more land; for some it was also

a platform to extend land claims for clans. Thus, this group of people relocated to communal areas to extend access for families and clans and, in some cases, at the inspiration of village heads and the headman. Mr M. stated:

When I moved here, it was at the inspiration of my father. He told me that the land was being given to people in Zvimba. Since the land that we had was inadequate for optimal farming, now was the best time to move to a more significant area, which would allow us to farm to our best (Interview with Mr M., October 2017).

Mr M. is one of the beneficiaries, who left the communal areas on the encouragement of his father. This group constituted the highest number of beneficiaries on Machiroli Farm from the adjacent communal areas.

The other category of beneficiaries comprises a group of people, who had limited or no land in Ward 6 communal areas. This group of beneficiaries came onto Machiroli Farm either because their small pieces of land, in most cases, did not yield much, or they did not have a place that they could call their own. At the commencement of the FTLRP in Zvimba, this group of people saw it as a perfect opportunity to secure their pieces of land in the resettlement areas for increased productivity and security. Mr T.A.C. explained this:

When we were in the communal areas, I had nothing; I lived on my father's compound (my father is late) and I lived in our rural home with my young brother's family and my two older brothers. However, while we were, there we utilised a small portion of land that did not yield much for my family and I. When I heard that Machiroli Farm was being invaded, I saw this as an opportunity to have a place that was going to be my piece of land that is fertile compared to the land in communal areas, which did not yield much (Interview with Mr T.A.C., Machiroli Farm, November 2017).

The account by Mr T.A.C. indicates that the land reform in Zvimba provided households in the resettlement areas a sense of security. The case quoted above shows that the FTLRP gave a chance to people, who had limited access, to acquire more land.

Another category of beneficiaries are the opportunists, who were allocated land during the FTLRP and mostly participated to access benefits on Machiroli Farm, such as wild animals, and, for some, occupation had no tangible reason. These beneficiaries merely heard about the programme and decided to participate, even though they had land in communal areas. Mr C.K. explained this:

It was in 2000, and I was sitting here at Mazunzanyika shops with some of my friends drinking beer. I heard people calling my name, as I was sitting inside the shops. I was told that we are going to Machiroli Farm to occupy the farm.

I then got into the truck to Machiroli Farm, where the white farmer was being evicted. I knew that there were many wild animals, antelopes and gazelles, which were owned by the previous owner; it was an opportunity to access some game meat. This is how I ended up here in Machiroli Farm (Interview with Mr C.K, Machiroli Farm, January 2017).

This extract from Mr C.K.'s narrative illustrates how some of the reasons behind the participation in the FTLRP were to access some benefits found in commercial farms. However, this group was limited in number; most of the categories of beneficiaries were those that required more land or were landless. The initial stages of the FTLRP were normally organised by the war-veterans, who mobilised people from villages bordering farms and, in most cases, some of the people joined the movement.

5.6.2 Allocation of land on Machiroli Farm

Initially, when the beneficiaries arrived on Machiroli Farm, the allocation of the land was conducted through writing numbers on bottle caps, which were placed in a hat. This process was carried out in the presence of the District Administrator, war veterans and traditional leaders from Zvimba communal areas. The beneficiaries randomly picked numbers, which they kept, waiting for the Ministry of Lands to peg the farms. This was because Sean was still on the farm; the beneficiaries were given a temporary place to farm before he left.

After Sean left Machiroli Farm in 2001, the Ministry of Lands, District Administrator and the officials from Zvimba Rural District Council came to peg the farm on 17 September 2001. The whole farm was divided into 28 A1 settlements, each averaging 6 hectares, for farming. This model comprised of individual residents with six-hectare arable plots and shared grazing land. A designated area was demarcated as a grazing paddock for livestock of all the beneficiaries at Machiroli Farm. The beneficiaries were given offer letters²⁰ to formalise their occupation of the farm. However, the offer stated that the land still belonged to the government and could be withdrawn at any time.

On Machiroli Farm, 15 people received pieces of land through the farm invasion. The remaining people sent their names through the village heads and were allocated plots through a formal process. The Ministry of Lands was also aware of the presence of the compound at the farm, where mostly former farmworkers lived. Despite the removal of the white farmer,

²⁰An offer letter is a document that is given to A1 settlers that gives the occupants the permission to own and use an allocated piece of land. The Government of Zimbabwe states that it can withdraw the offer letter and ownership rights and the government states that in such events it will compensate for any developments or improvements on the property.

former farmworkers were given permission to continue living on the compound. It was observed that, in some cases, farms close to Machiroli Farm had evicted former farmworkers from their compounds. The former farmworkers managed to stay on the farm by negotiating with the war veterans and traditional leaders in the communal areas to avail their skills to the A1 settlers. The former farmworkers, after the exit of the white farmer, provided labour to the new settlers and neighbouring farms.

5.7 Post-FTLRP Machiroli Farm

There are a number of activities that are being carried out on Machiroli Farm post-FTLRP by A1 farmers. These are mostly agricultural and non-farm activities. I will describe these in the sections below.

5.7.1 Agricultural activities

Machiroli Farm is suitable for growing a variety of crops, such as tobacco, soya beans and maize. The farm's agricultural activities are mainly centred on tobacco and maize, as well as livestock production. Maize is a staple food in Zvimba and, on the farm; maize is grown to provide food security to the household and as a way to get income by selling produce. A1 settlers supplement their maize production through a scheme known as the Command Agriculture Programme. Command Agriculture is a Zimbabwean government scheme with the Ministry of Agriculture and support from the armed services, involved in the delivery of fertiliser (along with seed and fuel) to farmers in higher potential areas, and especially with larger land areas and irrigation facilities. The scheme was introduced in August 2016 to ease food shortages, as well as to stimulate production levels in the farms. However, I realised that, whilst maize and small grains are being produced, tobacco production was at the centre of most agricultural activities on the farm, with an average of 25 farmers out of the 28 having planted tobacco. Machiroli A1 farmers mainly grow Virginia flue-cured tobacco. Flue-cured tobacco is a type of tobacco that is cured under artificial atmospheric conditions by a process of regulating the heat and ventilation without allowing smoke or fumes from the fuel to come into contact with the leaves (TIMB, 1999).

Tobacco farmers on Machiroli are differentiated; some self-finance themselves, while others receive their inputs from the contractors, which comprise well-known companies, such as Chidziva and ZLT, and some individual white commercial farmers. Contractors supply farmers with all necessary inputs, including seed and fertiliser; in return farmers will sell their crop to the contractor after the harvesting season. Non-contract farmers fund themselves, in most cases,

using proceeds from sales of the previous tobacco crop to buy seed, fertilisers and chemicals. I also observed that 18 of the 28 households in Zvimba were engaged with contracting companies. “What these contractors do is that they provide the farmer with fertilisers and herbicides; the farmer will be given a price for their produce” (Interview with Mr K.D.Z., Machiroli Farm, December 2017). Contractors provide farmers with farming inputs to finance their tobacco production. At the same time, there was an uneven relationship, whereby most of the contract farmers felt cheated by contractors, as more often, they were left with nothing after sales.

With regard to labour for tobacco production, people on Machiroli Farm explained that they rely on labour from communal areas of origin, due to the high labour demand for tobacco. The tobacco crop requires seven months to mature; this process involves the nursing of the crop in a seedbed, hardening (preparing the crop for planting), and transplanting to the field, cultivating, harvesting and curing. Curing the tobacco allows it to obtain a distinct taste and colour, as well as making it easy to pack. Curing of tobacco is labour intense; A1 settlers indicated that they had to supplement nuclear family labour with extended family labour from communal areas and hired labour from the former farmworkers’ compound in order to meet the demand of the tobacco crop. Mr M.Y. said that

[t]obacco requires a lot of labour; me and my wife we cannot do the whole process alone. We often hire labour from the compound, and when we are really under pressure, we ask our relatives in the communal areas to come and assist us. Tobacco, yes, has money, but it requires you to break your back. We nurse the seedbed and water it with cans, then transplant it to the farm. We must cultivate, weed, and apply fertilisers and pesticides. The most difficult part is the harvesting, curing, grading and baling. You really need many hands that have the experience, and these former farm workers have a vast knowledge of tobacco. One thing I can tell you is that, at times, I need about two scotch carts of firewood to cure the tobacco; surely, you cannot do that alone. I cannot let my wife cut firewood with me, so I get help from my relatives in communal areas (Interview with Mr M.Y., Machiroli Farm, November 2017).

Most respondents on Machiroli Farm utilise labour from their communal areas of origin to cut costs associated with hiring former farm workers. I will expand on this in Chapter 7. Curing of tobacco often requires firewood, and excess firewood is often sold or given to people in communal areas of origin that are confronted with firewood shortages. The image below shows woodlots used for curing tobacco on Machiroli Farm.



Picture 4. Machiroli Farm tobacco barn²¹

Source: Fieldwork, 2017

Livestock is integral for people on Machiroli Farm; this covers a wide range including cattle, goats, sheep, poultry (chicken, guinea fowls) and rabbits. I observed that, on Machiroli Farm, most households have poultry, but the emphasis is on cattle. The importance of cattle in the resettlement areas is very high, as in the communal areas. The reason is that cattle provide a status symbol that the household has a man. This was echoed by Mr T.A., who stated that “if, as a man, you do not have cattle, you have failed, a man must own cattle. Cattle are like a bank” (Interview with Mr T.A., Machiroli Farm, November 2017).

Another significant aspect of cattle on Machiroli Farm is that they strengthen kinship relations with communal areas of origin. This was confirmed by Mrs M.A., who stated that more regularly cattle cross over to A1 settlements, as there are limited grazing lands in the communal areas. She further highlighted that, more often, households in the communal areas make pasture arrangements with A1 settlers for their livestock to graze in the A1 settlements. Cattle are also a source of draught power for the household in the resettlement areas; they assist in the planting

²¹ The picture above shows a tobacco barn on Machiroli, with firewood collected ready to cure the tobacco. This barn is used collectively by all farmers on Machiroli Farm.

and cultivating in the fields. I observed that, during a drought, cattle serve as a medium of exchange for either food or money. Mrs M.A. further highlighted the following:

We often trade one cow for ten bags of maize, and we often do this in years where there would be a drought. In certain instances, we sell our cattle to the abattoir. Our cattle survive because they cross into neighbouring A1 farms for grazing through arrangements with family (Interview with Mrs M.A, Ward 6 November 2017).

This implies that, beyond the accumulation of cattle as a symbol of status, they provide more economic benefits to the households that have cattle than households that do not. Having demonstrated the overview of the case study area, the final section of this chapter shows the various non-farm activities that connect people on Machiroli Farm and communal areas of origin.

5.7.2 Non-farm activities

There are a number of non-farm activities that enable ties between people on Machiroli Farm and the communal areas of origin. Some of these are social and cultural activities, which bring together both people in communal areas and A1 farmers on Machiroli Farm. There are also other activities that people engage in, such as fishing, mechanics, selling of alcohol and fixing of vehicles that bring the two groups together. Mr T.M, related:

Since we came here on Machiroli Farm, I use my skills of fixing cars to supplement my income. I use that skill to fix cars for farmers and people from communal areas. In a season where I know that the rains were not good I relied on fixing cars. This managed to sustain my family (Interview with Mr T.M., September 2017).

As explained above, for people on Machiroli Farm, besides the agricultural activities, there are other factors that lead to the maintenance of links with communal areas of origin. Furthermore, the presence of a river (Hunyani River), which borders resettlement areas and communal areas, brings together people on Machiroli and Ward 6 for fishing activities, which are a common livelihood option.

Talking about these issues, the Zvimba District Administrator revealed that, on the farms, there are several activities that are happening, part of which is what he defined as integrating communities. Communities from former farm workers, resettlement areas and communal areas participate in a soccer league. Mr Z.Y., a former farmworker, stated:

Football is one of the biggest things happening in this area. We have a league, which has teams in communal areas, resettlement areas and here in the former

farmworker [compound]. I myself am a coach for a team, which has people from all three of these areas. Here I am known as chairperson. Even when I cross to the communal areas, they know me as chairperson because of football (Interview with Mr Z.Y., Machiroli Farm, January 2018).

Football provides a means of connecting all communities in this area, at the same time providing a platform to establish relationships.

Women on Machiroli Farm are involved in various activities, such as buying and selling clothes and food. In addition to that, they are also involved in social groups. There still exist strong collective relationship ties between people on Machiroli Farm and their communal areas of origin, which include church groups, burial societies and saving clubs. (I will expand on these in Chapter 6.) I observed that most people in the resettlement areas (including former farm workers) attend significant events, such as burials, that occur in the communal areas. There are burial societies that incorporate both communal areas and Machiroli Farm households.

Women in the study area participate in savings groups, which are known as “rounds”. The secretary, treasurer and chairperson are spread across the three areas. Mrs P.D. stated:

Rounds are very useful to us as women, as we give each other money that we either use to buy inputs or household property. We must account to the members of what we would have bought (Interview with Mrs P.D., Machiroli Farm, December 2017).

The presence of these saving groups provides a stage for women to socialise, at the same time, financially benefiting.

This section highlighted the various non-farm relations between beneficiaries on Machiroli Farm and people in their communal areas of origin.

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter introduced the research setting. It has provided a description of the study area that is Ward 6 communal areas and Machiroli Farm. An overview of Zvimba District was provided, that is, the social-cultural context of Ward 6, as well as the historical relations that existed between people in communal areas and Machiroli Farm. The chapter provided an overview of the case study and described the nature of events that led to the occupation of Machiroli Farm during the FTLRP. It demonstrated that the FTLRP did not uproot A1 households from social and cultural relations that existed with people on communal areas. This chapter also provided an overview of agricultural production, social relations and labour exchanges that are occurring in both Machiroli Farm and Zvimba communal areas. A description of these activities

demonstrated the links between beneficiaries of Machiroli Farm and people in their communal areas of origin. In the following chapter, I will examine the nature of social relations between Machiroli Farm and Zvimba communal areas.

Chapter 6

Social relations: examining the linkages between people on Machiroli Farm and communal areas of origin in Zvimba District

On Machiroli Farm, a respondent who provided me with accommodation during my stay, gave me an account of his life history and relations with his family in communal areas. Mr Z.B. is a beneficiary of the FTLRP on Machiroli Farm, being one of the first people that relocated to Machiroli from Kutama Village. At the time of inception of the FTLRP in 2000, he was 25 years old. His father encouraged him to participate in the FTLRP, as it was an opportunity for him to get more land. Mr Z.B. stated that his parents gave him part of the equipment (axes and hoes) to use on his new farm. Initially, some of his sister's sons (*vazukuru*) assisted him with the labour to clear his farm. It was also rewarding for him, as they had to hunt some game that was on the farm, which they shared with their families in Kutama Village. He explained that, because of the high costs of hiring former farm workers, he still receives assistance from his relatives in the communal areas. Respondent one stated that while he has friends on Machiroli, Kutama Village is his home. He stated that “*kumusha hakusi kwaunoganogara asi kwaunobva* [home is not where we live but where we belong]”, implying the importance of communal areas and people therein to former residents. He even assists his kinsmen from the same totem (*Gushungo*) with firewood, especially because firewood is a problem in communal areas. He explained that he makes sure that he still supports his parents with grain and money, if he has it, and attends social and cultural events at Kutama Village. Mr Z.B. further explained that an African cannot be separated from their roots; that is their legacy and way of life. Furthermore, he explained that he still maintains his old friends that he had in the communal areas; he explained that he met them regularly at *Mazunzanyika* shops, which are a popular social gathering place. He emphasised that, although he was living on Machiroli Farm, he was still intimately involved with his family through visits and even over the cellular phone. This experience provides a foundation for examining the social relations between beneficiaries of the FTLRP on Machiroli Farm and communal areas of origin.

6.1 Introduction

As illustrated in the vignette above, what emerged is that, for beneficiaries of the FTLRP, maintaining social relations with a place of origin was important. It also illustrates the context of the social relations between beneficiaries on Machiroli Farm and communal areas of origin. Having provided an overview of the case study area in the previous chapter, this chapter demonstrates that the FTLRP did not break bonds between people in Zvimba Communal Areas (Ward 6) and Machiroli Farm. The conceptual chapter pointed out that social relations are essential for demonstrating belonging; they are the regular interactions of various individuals and households for socialisation, exchange, consumption and reproduction, as family, friends, neighbours and workers. These social relations are examined in this chapter.

This chapter illustrates how social relations are factors that enable connections between communal areas and Machiroli Farm based on belonging. The chapter proceeds to examine the nature of these social relations, which emerged after the Fast Track Land Reform Programme. Focus is on two issues. Firstly, it describes the nature of social relations, such as familial links, totemic relationships, religious institutions, rituals and recreational activities. Secondly, it also describes how social relations are being maintained and, in some cases, why social relations are not being maintained. Broadly, it shows how social relations enable links between communal areas and resettlement areas in Zvimba. The following part of this chapter moves on to describe in detail the role of social relations in enabling ties with places of origin.

6.2 Exploring social relations

Social relations in Zvimba manifest in several ways, as this chapter shows. In 2000, households from Zvimba communal areas, mostly originating from adjacent villages in Ward 6, settled on Machiroli Farm. There are various reasons that people on Machiroli Farm from communal areas interact with their places of origin. Social relations are essential for households in both Ward 6 and Machiroli Farm. Narratives from the study indicated that social relations mostly emerged as relations between friends, family, workers and neighbours. These relations, anchored on belonging, more often are exhibited through social networks, which often provide support emotionally, materially, and through companionship and encouragement. Clearly, as seen from the above, there are various forms of social relations.

Respondents on Machiroli Farm reported that they maintained links with communal areas of origin to attend and participate in various social relations, such as familial events (marriage, church, funerals, clubs, and societies, amongst others), and maintain bonds and friendships.

Social relations are evident through institutions such as, family, friends and neighbours. These relations play an essential role in communal areas, as poor households have access to resources mainly through social relationships based on patronage and reciprocity. Thus, through these social relations, households in communal areas were able to gain or access resources (firewood, water, grass, herbs, wild fruits). I now proceed to discuss the various institutions, in which the social relations are embedded.

6.3 Connections with places of origin

6.3.1 The role of the family

The family is important in enabling interactions between beneficiaries of the FTLRP on Machiroli Farm and people in the communal areas from which they came. Most of the respondents on Machiroli Farm indicated that families in communal areas influenced their relocation to the farm. Family, as shown by an anonymous respondent, is not limited to the context of a father, mother and children, rather, people that live within the same household, whether they share a bloodline or not, are family.²² Thus, families, whether nuclear or extended, played a key role in enabling most beneficiaries of the FTLRP to set up their homesteads on Machiroli Farm. In addition, encouraging young people to occupy land in the newly established resettlement areas strengthened the familial relations. Households in both Ward 6 and Machiroli Farm indicated that family, both nuclear and extended, is the key reason for maintaining connections. A respondent confirmed by stating:

When our children relocated to the resettlement areas, they remained our children. When the Fast Track Land Reform began, we assisted them to gain the land as well as...to stand on their feet. We assisted by providing them with agricultural equipment, as well as seeds. When my son's family moved to the communal areas, I assisted him with some agricultural tools, such as an axe and some hoes, which he used to clear the land. My other children often went to help in clearing land and guarding crops against wild animals, wild pigs (Interview with Mrs T.M., Ward 6, November 2017).

A common trend among most beneficiaries that relocated to Machiroli farm was that they maintained their relations with their parents in communal areas. This was mostly due to the need to maintain a sense of connection and belonging to areas of origin. After the FTLRP, most family members have remained connected, unlike previous land reforms that had stringent conditions. A Lands Officer explained this:

²² Interview with Anonymous, Machiroli Farm, September 2017.

After independence in the 1980s, the government embarked on some land reform programmes. Although the scale was very low, people often moved to places far from their places of origin. Beneficiaries to these reforms were given stringent regulations, which secluded them from their families. When Machiroli was invaded, it was mostly people from nearby places like Kutama and Masiyarwa villages. People could manage to travel to their places of origin, as there were no regulations (Interview with Lands Officer, October 2017).

An important factor from the interviews was that a number of people translocated to Machiroli Farm, which was close to communal areas at the commencement of the FTLRP. Other people explained that even A1 beneficiaries that relocated to farms further than Machiroli Farm still maintain contact and ties with communal areas of origin. Apart from the need to belong, the overwhelming majority of interviewees attributed relocation to Machiroli to its proximity, as it was the closest farm to a number of beneficiaries. A respondent on Machiroli Farm, explained this:

Yes, we are connected; all our relatives are still back in the communal areas: my brother, my parents, uncles, and aunts are all back there in communal areas. We visit them as often as we can as we are close to them. I will say that our relations are still strong. My relatives also do come to visit us as often as we do. Our departure from the communal areas has not affected at all the nature of our relations (Interview Mr B.V., Machiroli Farm, January 2018).

This factor described above raises the view that constant interactions keep people connected; while these interactions are, in some instances, used for labour exchanges, social gatherings are the primary purpose. These interactions enforced the sense of belonging. A respondent in the communal areas explained this:

When the land reform began, most of the people came from adjacent communal areas; the close distance between A1 areas and communal areas is a contributing factor in maintaining social relations (Interview with Mr P.N., Ward 6).

Another respondent had this to say:

We are about 10 kilometres away from each other; as relatives, we see each other as often as possible. I can walk [sic] on foot because [of] this short distance. We attend funerals, weddings and all the family gatherings (Interview with Mrs P., Machiroli Farm, September 2018).

These views stated above demonstrate that familial relations for both beneficiaries of the FTLRP and households in their areas of origin are strengthened because of the short distance between the communal areas and Machiroli Farm. Relations are also strengthened by telecommunication technology, such as mobile phones. Mostly, the maintenance of familial links is still upheld years after relocating to Machiroli Farm. From the inception of the FTLRP,

familial links proved to be important. The family provided physical support to the beneficiaries of the FTLRP and assisted them in establishing themselves. A local chief explained this:

When the FTLRP started, most of the new farmers did not have resources to use for farming. As such, most of them borrowed their relatives' cattle, ploughs, money and even some of their labour to assist them in establishing themselves (Interview with Local Chief, October 2018).

In the long term, these relations and proximity have translated into an exchange of agricultural products. A respondent on Machiroli Farm had this to say:

People are working together in both communal areas and resettlement areas. A common occurrence is that, if my brother is in the resettlement areas [and] I run short of maize meal, my brother assists. Regarding our relations, there are still strong. We do visit each other, and the bond with our families is still strong. In some cases, relatives have been invited to stay or farm. (Interview with Mr C., Machiroli Farm, October 2018).

Through observations, it also emerged that most people on Machiroli Farm provide financial and material support, such as food and money, to their parents in the communal areas. Another respondent confirmed this:

We still maintain good relationships with our children in the resettlement areas; they often pay visits to us as their parents, and we visit them as well. Most of our children, who relocated to farms are mature enough, that is, they buy groceries for their parents after they have sold their agricultural products, such as tobacco and maize, should they have a good season (Interview with Mr V., Machiroli Farm May 2018).

These views surfaced mainly in relation to beneficiaries of the FTLRP, as they explained that social relations with families in the communal areas are still strong. One of the respondents, Mr Z., stated that some of his kinship relations enabled him to fully use his farm:

Concerning relationships with my relatives, they do come to see us and at times to cultivate here in Machiroli Farm. The majority of farmers are not utilising all their 6 hectares they were allocated, and we have some communal areas that rent pieces of land from us. We have some people, such as Mandaza, my nephew from the communal areas, who has planted his maize here in the portion of land I gave him (Interview with Mr Z., Machiroli Farm, January 2018).

These households in Machiroli indicate that, despite being separated geographically, assistance is provided across families. In scenarios of food shortages caused by droughts, households in A1 settlements send food to their families in Madzima and Masiyarwa villages as ways of assisting one another.

One respondent, Mr C., who was quoted earlier regarding beneficiaries assisting others with maize meal in times of shortage, further stated:

Households are working together in both communal areas and resettlement areas. It is a common occurrence in both areas. If I have a brother in the resettlement area and I run short of maize meal supply, my brother assists me with maize meal. ... In 2016, there was a serious shortage of rain, our produce in the irrigation scheme enabled us to survive through the year. We even managed to send some food to our families in Masiyarwa village. (Interview with Mr C., January 2018)

Mr M.Z also stated that

Regarding our relations, they are still strong. We do visit each other, and the bond with our families is still active. In some cases, relatives have been invited to stay or farm in A1 settlements. We have our individual portions in the irrigation scheme. In [the] event of drought, water is always guaranteed from our dam. When we know that our families did not harvest, we assist them with the products from the irrigation (Interview with Mr M. Z, May 2018).

These views stated above indicate that the relations between people on Machiroli Farm and people in their communal areas of origin are still maintained. Several factors could explain the observations and accounts stated above. Firstly, people on Machiroli Farm maintain ties with communal areas to preserve the familial relations, which are an important element of sustaining belonging. Secondly, there are also factors such as accessing land, social relations, labour and agricultural products. Some of the reasons for maintaining social relations were because some households were still maintaining households in both communal areas and the A1 settlement. The section that follows expands on this.

6.3.2 Insecurity on Machiroli Farm

Close to two decades after the FTLP, insecurity of tenure is common amongst a number of respondents despite infrastructural development on Machiroli Farm. Straddling between Machiroli Farm and communal areas was aligned to the insecurity of tenure as well as lack of a concrete assurance from the Government about the ownership of the land. All the A1 settlers in Machiroli have received offer letters; however, none have yet received a 99-year lease.²³

²³ An official at the Ministry of Lands in Zvimba stated that 99-year lease “is a legally binding document/agreement between the Government of Zimbabwe through the Ministry of Lands and Rural Resettlement and the A1 settlement beneficiary or farmer. The 99-year lease agreement is issued to the land beneficiary as a form of the long-term leasehold of tenure” (Interview with Lands Officer, December 2018).

Lack of this tenure security has resulted in some of the households maintaining their homesteads in communal areas. Respondents on A1 settlements, who had land in communal areas stated that they were no longer utilising their fields in the communal areas. However, these beneficiaries indicated that they were consistently in touch with their extended family members in communal areas should other people want to take over their homesteads. Emotional attachment to rural homes was common among respondents, combined with lack of trust in the FTLRP. As a result, although people relocated to resettlement area, not much land has opened in Machiroli Farm.

This research coincided with the November 2017 removal of late former President Robert Mugabe through military intervention in Zimbabwe. The removal of Mugabe from power brought anxiety and panic for beneficiaries of FTLRP on Machiroli Farm. Respondents had this to say:

When Mugabe was removed from power, we heard that white farmers were coming back to take their former farms. I heard my nephew say that, in nearby farms, some white farmers were spotted visiting their farms after hearing of the removal of Mugabe from power. That is the reason that I maintain my claim to my homestead in Kutama Village. With these farms you are never guaranteed; anything can happen (Interview with Anonymous, December 2017, Machiroli Farm).

Another respondent also stated that

[t]hese offer letters that we were given are not a guarantee that we will not be removed [from] here. Our elders say “*Natsa kwaunobva kwaunoenda husiku* [Leave in good standing, for the path ahead is dark]. So, we make sure, just in case this goes otherwise, [that] we are in good standing with our relatives back home (Interview with Mr Z.G., Machiroli Farm, December 2017).

On Machiroli Farm, A1 settlers have built permanent structures, such as brick and asbestos structures, and even though they have built these, there is still uncertainty on tenure. An explanation for the insecurity of tenure was based on the fact that conditions for an offer letter stated that the District Lands Committee had the right to withdraw or change the offer. Thus, maintaining ties with places of origin is a strategy in case an offer letter is withdrawn. Having described the role of the family, I now turn to describe the totemic relations.

6.3.3 Marriage ceremonies and polygamy

Familial links are strengthened through marriage ceremonies. Marriages are performative acts of belonging and connect households on Machiroli Farm and communal areas on two levels, the first being the marriage ceremony and the second being polygamy. Marriage ceremonies

contribute a big role in enabling linkages between communal areas and Machiroli Farm. Narratives from the case study indicated that *roora* (dowry) often is a ceremony that brings families together. Symbolically, dowry depicts the connection of two families through a customary marriage union. Payment is in the form of cattle or money made to the bride's family. This brought together households from both communal areas and Machiroli Farm, and such gathering predominantly marks the importance of belonging and an opportunity for families to meet. Respondents had this to say:

One of the most important things for us as black people is marriage. Marriage is not about two people coming together only, but it is also about uniting families together. In most cases, as families, we come together to celebrate the joining together of our children through the payment of bride price (Interview with Mrs P.D., Machiroli Farm, January 2018).

Furthermore, another respondent explained:

Since I moved to Machiroli Farm, I am still involved in the affairs of my family. Important events, such as weddings and funerals, are a must to attend. We still support each other at family marriages (Interview with Mr Z.G., Machiroli Farm, December 2017).

Respondents in communal areas also contributed:

Our family members that went to resettlement areas still cooperated with us on events, such as payment of dowry. Relocation to Machiroli Farm did not break the relations (Interview with the local headman, Ward 6, January 2018).

The continuous interactions between families at these ceremonies indicates a sense of belonging, particularly for the beneficiaries on Machiroli Farm.

Respondents both on Machiroli Farm and in Zvimba communal areas indicated that polygamous unions enforced linkages between these two settlements. Some of the respondents explained:

I have two wives; one is here in the communal areas and the other I left on Machiroli Farm. I am confident that, through my wives, I can keep both my homesteads (Interview Mr Z.K, January 2018).

Another man in a polygamous marriage, Mr T.M, concurred:

I have two wives; the young one stays here on Machiroli Farm and the older one in the communal areas. Because of that, I can move in-between these two areas. I rotate my stay in both these locations and, through that, I can keep in touch with what is happening on both my farms (Interview with Mr T.M, Machiroli Farm, November 2017).

These extracts from these two respondents indicate how men that maintain polygamous unions can maintain links with communal areas. Thus, as depicted, marriage plays a key role in enforcing connections in Zvimba.

6.3.4 Totemic relations

An important theme that emerged from the interviews was the importance of totemic ties. Interviews revealed that the family in Zvimba is totemic, bloodline and marital. Narratives revealed the importance of totemic relations in the social fabric of the people of Zvimba. A local Chief described a totem as a family symbol that could be an object, animal or plant held sacred, that provides a collective identity for a group of people. A local headman in Kutama Village also remarked that totems are an essential component for people in Zvimba, as it is a means to connect to kin and environment. Totems are based on the patriarchal side, as explained by a local Headman in Ward 6 in the following description:

Totems are an important element to us as they are a sign of collective pride and unity, and help guard against socially inappropriate behaviour. When we speak of totems, it is very broad, but I will explain what it means. We have *mutupo* (this is a clan name mostly a name of an animal and part of the human body), *dzinza* (family line tracing the father's line) and *chidawo* (a family name or sub-clan name/praise name). Here in Zvimba there are many different totemic networks but the *Gushungo* is most prominent (Interview with local Headman, January 2018).

This opinion supports the idea that totems are an integral part of the people of Zvimba. In Kutama Village, in an informal conversation, a respondent acknowledged that totem connections were important: totems provide a sense of a relationship between people in communal areas and A1 settlements. Even within Machiroli Farm, totem connections were revealed as important. More importantly, totemic relations enabled the maintenance of relations and provision of assistance by A1 households on Machiroli Farm and Ward 6 communal areas. This was explained by a respondent, who had this to say:

Although bloodline relations and kinship ties are important in communal areas, totems are equally important. These relations guarantee you that, in times of need, you will get assistance from your relatives. I do not have cattle to use on my field, I rely on my brother, who lends me his once he is done (Interview with Mr. T.B, Ward 6, October 2017).

As explained above totemic ties enable the provision of assistance for people in both Machiroli Farm and communal areas. In rural Zvimba, the notion of family goes beyond sharing the bloodline; sharing a totem provides a sense of interconnection among households.

6.3.5 Livestock and totemic relations

Most of the households in communal areas own livestock, such as cattle, goats and sheep. Cattle are an important livelihood strategy; they are a source of meat, milk, capital, draught power and social status. In addition, fines are paid using either cattle or goats. These fines could be appeasing ancestors in the case of a crime (*Ngodzi*) or paying for a crime, such as adultery.

As described in Chapter 5, in both communal areas and Machiroli Farm, people own mostly cattle, goats, chickens, and sheep. All these animals are kept for different reasons and benefits in the household. Respondents in both these areas placed great emphasis on cattle production/rearing. The popular cattle breed in the study area are the *Mashona*,²⁴ Brahman, Afrikaner, and Nguni; these cattle are mostly used as draught power or to transport with various goods by ox-drawn carts. Households in communal areas stated that, through the totemic network, they can access grazing for their cattle on Machiroli Farm as well as provide draught power to those that do not have cattle. In the communal areas, as revealed by most respondents, there are limited grazing areas compared to Machiroli Farm.

Due to limited grazing areas in communal areas, cattle stray into other people's fields on Machiroli Farm, resulting, in some cases, in conflicts. However, the connection that exists between people in communal areas and Machiroli Farm makes it possible for them to send their livestock for better grazing on Machiroli Farm. These arrangements are mostly based on kinship ties. Before the FTLRP, cattle that strayed into commercial farms were confiscated or, sometimes, the cattle owners would pay a fine. A respondent described this:

Since we are close to Machiroli Farm, our cattle now cross into Machiroli Farm. We normally ask for permission from our relatives after harvesting to allow our cattle to graze. It is different from the times when Sean used to own the farm. When our cattle strayed into his land, we would pay a fine; now this has ceased to happen (Interview with Mr B.N., November 2017).

This situation was, thus, alleviated after the FTLRP, through kinships ties, as described above.

²⁴ Indigenous cattle breed among the Shona



Picture 5. Livestock that straddles between communal areas and Machiroli Farm

Source: Fieldwork 2018

The image above shows the part of the livestock that straddle between communal areas and resettlement areas due to totemic and friendship networks.

Totemic ties have emerged as a strategy to fight crime in Zvimba. Livestock theft is high in Zvimba District, mainly due to the proximity to cities such as Harare and Norton, which offer lucrative markets for livestock sales. Totemic relations that exist between beneficiaries of the FTLRP in A1 villagised settlements and communal areas of origin assist in curbing theft of cattle in A1 settlements. It emerged that there was a period when incidents of livestock theft were on the increase on Machiroli Farm. As a way of protecting their cattle, they are taken to communal areas mostly during the farming off-season. When the farming season commences, cattle are taken back to the A1 settlements. In an informal conversation with one respondent on Machiroli Farm, he stated that he had been a victim of stock theft on Machiroli Farm. He reported that, after the farming season, he has resorted to taking his livestock to the communal

areas.²⁵ This is mainly facilitated by the totemic and familial relations that exist in the social relations between him and his family in the communal areas. In this way, he has been enabled him to have his cattle protected, which are a considerable part of his livelihood. Increased cases of animal theft have led to the creation of informal associations based on totems that monitor the movement of livestock. One of the respondents outlined this development:

We have agreed as residents here in Zvimba, particularly those on Machiroli Farm and those in the reserves, that we have set up a committee of people that monitor the movement of cattle in the area. We assist each other should there be a case where cattle are stolen or [there are] suspicious people. We are both affected by stock theft (Interview with Mr K, Machiroli Farm, January 2018).

These initiatives by households predominantly in Kutama and nearby Masiyarwa villages work as mitigating risk strategies that households use to counter the effects of livestock theft and lack of pasture. As depicted here, A1 settlers, who originated from communal areas, benefit from these totemic ties to affirm their belonging.

6.3.6 Burial sites and burial societies

The family ties are also evident in attendance of funerals, as well as burial sites. These are important performative acts of belonging. Funerals, within the context of Zvimba communal areas, although they are places of mourning and celebrating, are also places where one reaffirms belonging. Connections are also integral to burial societies.

6.3.6.1 Funerals and burial sites

Funerals in Ward 6 are regarded as sacred occasions, as explained by Mrs M.U.S. H., who said that “funerals present an opportunity for people to come together [and] pay their condolences to their families and neighbours. Here in Ward 6, funerals are a uniting factor, as people from Machiroli Farm come to mourn with us.” Participating in social gatherings such as funerals indicates one position within society; more importantly, that one belongs to that society. As noted by Mrs M.U.S.H, funerals are not limited to families but also incorporate the society at large: neighbours and friends.

Most participants agreed with the statement that a person should be buried in communal areas together with were their other kinsmen were buried. During my stay in Zvimba communal areas, I attended a funeral in Kutama Village. Among the people that attended the funeral

²⁵ Informal conversation with Anonymous, Machiroli Farm, October 2017.

included people that stay on Machiroli Farm and urban areas, attending a funeral was a sign to show that one belonged. Mrs M.U.S.H further explained that:

In our culture, one must provide comfort with those that are in a period of mourning. More importantly, when we lose a family member in the communal areas, we must show that we are one family, despite the fact we are in the resettlement areas (Interview with Mrs M.U.S.H, Ward 6, September 2017, Communal Areas).

This view was common among people in both communal areas and Machiroli Farm. Thus, participating in funerals was key to showing that a person belonged, especially for those that originated from adjacent communal areas.

Being buried in places of origin was regarded as important, as expressed by some respondents on Machiroli Farm, who explained that the importance of being buried in the communal area was meant to reconnect a person to their ancestors. However, a Lands Officer indicated that people had a choice of being buried wherever they desired. He further stated that land now constituting A1 settlements, namely, Machiroli Farm, had belonged to the people of Zimbabwe before colonisation. As such, traditional shrines used for rituals before colonisation are still present in resettlement areas. He expressed it thus:

For me, it is as if we are back to our roots. Concerning the burial of the people, it is not strict, and in most cases, it is a matter of choice. If the parents want the person to be buried in communal areas or resettlement areas, it is up to them. To us, you can be buried any way, as some of our ancestors are buried in former white commercial farms (Interview with Lands Officer, November 2017).

While the Lands Officer indicated that a person could be buried in the A1 settlement, many beneficiaries on Machiroli Farm held a different view. It emerged that communal areas were regarded as the abode of the ancestors and places of institutional memory for many people both in communal areas and in A1 settlers on Machiroli Farm, who came from communal areas. Thus, burial sites on communal areas are valuable landmarks that link people with their ancestors, which were not supposed to be abandoned. It also emerged that abandoning graves attracted curses and as a bad omen for the family.

Most respondents indicated that being buried in A1 settlements was synonymous with being buried with strangers. Respondents stated: “*Wakavigwa muno muma resettlement wakafanana nemunhu araswa* [Being buried in resettlement areas is the same as being cast away] (Interview with Mrs S., Machiroli Farm, January 2018). This suggests that, although some people moved to A1 settlements, communal areas are still regarded as their “home areas” and places where a

person connects to their ancestors, with A1 settlements regarded as “production areas”. Respondents whose umbilical cords were buried in the communal area revealed that they could not be buried anywhere other than the communal areas as they had been connected to their ancestors there. Being buried in a different place meant that they would have discarded their ancestors. Mr P.S. explained: “*Pano ndopanerukuvhute rwangu* [My umbilical cord was buried in communal areas so I will be buried in my communal area] (Interview with Mr P.S., December 2017). In addition, people in the communal areas, who stated that communal areas were their places of ancestry and, if a person died in Machiroli, they should be reconnected with their ancestors, further corroborated this feeling. One of the respondents stated that:

[t]hose that die in the A1 settlements are usually brought back home to the communal areas. In rare cases are people buried in the resettlements. Even other traditional rituals are done in the communal areas rather than resettlement areas because that is where most of the elders are, as well as the connection to the ancestors (Interview with Mrs E., Machiroli Farm October 2017).

This view indicates the significance of where one is buried in the area. Thus, even in death, a person remains connected to their family.

The majority of the respondents on Machiroli revealed that, although the FTLRP had provided land to people, a common theme was that people still wanted to be buried in the communal areas. A local Headman stated that people on Machiroli Farm are flexible; where to be buried was a personal preference. This view was confirmed by Mrs Z.I., who said:

When a person dies, it is a matter of personal preference, and some believe that family graves should be in one place. However, here in Machiroli over time, I realised that people are being buried here, but generally, many have been buried in their communal areas of origin (Interview with Mrs Z.I., Machiroli Farm, November 2017).

This position by the respondent on Machiroli Farm indicated that, despite most respondents stating the importance of burial in communal areas, some preferred Machiroli Farm. Observations on Machiroli suggested that, although there are demarcated burial sites for A1 settlers, there are few households that have buried their family members on there, rather adopting the same trend as the one used in communal areas of burying a person in the homestead. The Ministry of Lands allocated Machiroli Farm a burial site for all households on the farm to use. It is a common gravesite shared with former farm workers. The limited number of A1 settlers that indicated a reluctance to be buried on Machiroli Farm explained that they were not eager to share a cemetery with former farm workers. Former farm workers were said

to have cultural practices and burial norms, which were different to households in communal areas. Mrs B.K., a beneficiary on Machiroli Farm, expressed her views with regard to this issue:

We have a cemetery on Machiroli Farm that was allocated to us. If a person dies here, we bury them here. We have some that have been buried here that came from wards and places that are far. A1 settlers have been resistant to burying their family members in that cemetery together with former farmworkers. I think to be buried in that cemetery; it [sic] is being separated from your ancestors (Interview with Mrs B.K., November 2017).

Thus, this position illustrated that a few A1 settlers preferred to be buried on Machiroli Farm, the rest preferred to be buried on their homesteads rather than mixed with former farmworkers, who were regarded as strangers.

The former farm workers pre-dating independence have used the burial site on Machiroli Farm as a burial site. Some of the A1 settlers shared their sentiments with regard to the common burial site:

Mrs Z.I reported:

I am not comfortable to bury my family member there in that common gravesite. Grave sites are sacred places. Burying my relative there might make it difficult [for them] to find rest. Besides, former farmworkers have different customs, which might anger our ancestors (Interview with Mrs Z.I., Machiroli Farm, December 2017).

Mr. K. further said:

When a person dies, they should be reconnected with their ancestors. Here in the resettlements it is a farming area. When I die, I will be buried in the communal area (Interview with Mr. K., Machiroli Farm, November 2017).

However, not all respondents shared this viewpoint; a limited number of respondents felt that a person can be buried anywhere, as indicated here:

If a person relocates and resettles here in Machiroli Farm, when they die, they are buried here. Tradition says we cannot bury someone where he used to live when he/she has established a new home, unless that person is a visitor (Interview with Mr V., Machiroli Farm, December 2017).

While beneficiaries from nearby communal areas had an option to be buried either in communal areas or Machiroli Farm, three beneficiaries originating from other parts of the country stated that, while it is desirable to bury a person in their village of origin, for them it was costly because of distance. Mrs T.I. explained that her husband died a year after they relocated to Machiroli Farm from Harare (Interview with Mrs T.I, Machiroli Farm, January

2018). With the uncertainty of the future of A1 villagised farms, where she farms, she had to bury her husband in Silobela in Midlands Province, a different province. The other two respondents on Machiroli Farm, who do not originate from Zvimba district said that, in the event of death, transporting a corpse back to their communal areas was expensive; burying a person on his/her A1 farm was the best option. So, while not desirable, they are forced to bury them on Machiroli Farm. Observations on Machiroli farm showed that there are two homesteads, which have graves on their plots. A respondent, said she originated from Harare, and for her, it was difficult to bury her husband in the city, as she was already living in the farm, provided an explanation (Interview with Mrs T.I, Machiroli Farm, January 2018).

Over and above the burial site, there are sacred ceremonies associated with funerals, conducted by family members. Furthermore, there are essential elements, such as the distribution of the deceased personal clothes, which are done by members of the family. There are important elements, such as bringing back the spirit of the dead into the household (*kurova makuva*), which are also done in the presence of extended family members. A1 households believed that being part of such cultural activities was part of the identity of the people of Zvimba. Through these burial sites and ceremonies, interconnections with the communal areas are maintained and are the most important a way of affirming belonging.

6.3.6.2 Burial societies

There are also burial societies that connect people on Machiroli Farm and communal areas of origin. In the event of death within Machiroli Farm or communal areas, families and neighbours pool their resources through burial societies. The most common way to do this is through financial and material contributions, such as maize meal and vegetables. There are burial societies that exist between both Machiroli Farm and communal areas of origin. The maintenance of these burial societies revealed many factors, firstly, although households have moved to A1 settlement areas, maintaining these burial societies with kinsmen and neighbours in the communal areas provided a sense of belonging. Secondly, it was to ensure that people on Machiroli Farm would not lose financial investments made in the communal areas' burial societies. Thus, relocation to Machiroli Farm has not eroded shared social relations through burial societies that cater to people in both communal areas and resettlement areas. One respondent confirmed this view:

We were actively involved in burial societies. We are still active in the burial societies in our village. Leaving the society meant that I was going to lose all the investments I had paid (Interview with Mrs P., January 2018).

The respondents I spoke to in Zvimba revealed that familial links are strengthened through burial societies. Women participated in burial societies, which act as sources of connection between communal areas and A1 settlements.

Most of these burial societies are based on kinship and religious ties, particularly churches. As revealed in the section above, funerals provide a unifying force for households in the study area. These burial societies comprise of extended family and other community network members. In Zvimba communal areas, upholding of traditional customs is very important to ensure that the deceased has a safe passage into the next life, and illustrates one's belonging. This case from Zvimba reveals that for beneficiaries of the FTLRP, belonging was linked to the importance of communal areas homesteads, which have multiple purposes, such as burial sites. Burial sites and funeral ceremonies are essential elements in affirming belonging.

6.3.7 Friendship networks

Friendship networks are one of the factors that enable links to be maintained with communal areas of origin. People on Machiroli Farm maintain ties with neighbours (*sahwiras*) and friends (*shamwari*), who assist them in both good and bad times. Friends and neighbours collaborate in times, such as funerals, community projects, illness, food insecurity and traditional functions. There are many forms of social relations in Kutama Village, which the respondents explained:

We have many groups here in Kutama Village, where people work together to assist each other, like burial societies, saving groups, church groups; these assist people. We have labour gangs [*nhimbe*] to assist each during the farming season (Interview with Mr T.B.Ward 6, November 2017).

Friendships are also built on political lines, which cut across both Machiroli Farm and communal areas. As mentioned in Chapter 5 that ZANU-PF structures played a key role in the invasion of farms, and these friendships have been maintained over time.

A ZANU-PF councillor in the communal areas explained that he still maintains a friendship with his friends on Machiroli Farm, who were members of the networks responsible for mobilising farm invasions. The strong existence of ZANU-PF in Zvimba serves as a source of connection between the two areas. I observed that, in Machiroli farm, many respondents indicated that there were aligned to ZANU-PF. The influence of ZANU-PF cuts across both these areas, though it is debatable whether households support is willing or coerced, households in both share a common political party.

The friendship between people on Machiroli Farm and communal areas of origin is maintained through the provision of services. A person on Machiroli Farm stated:

Since we came here to Machiroli Far I am using my skills to fix cars for farmers and people from both Farms and communal areas most of them are my friends and people that have worked with me in seasons where the rains are not good, I rely on fixing people’s cars and this has managed to sustain my family in difficult periods. Interview with Mr. T.A.F, Machiroli Farm, September 2017

There are a number of services that are provided across both Machiroli Farm and communal areas, for example, the case of Mr T.A. and his motor vehicle repair service quoted above. When I was on Machiroli Farm, a number of people from communal areas had their vehicles repaired at Mr T.A.’s household, as the picture below shows.



Picture 6 Mr T.A.F's homestead with vehicles for mechanical repairs

Source fieldwork, 2017

The image above shows some of the vehicles that were repaired, mostly for people from communal areas.

Friendship relations, as shown above, are some of the factors that enhance the continuation of ties between people on Machiroli Farm and communal areas.

6.3.8 Religious ties

Religion plays a significant role in providing interconnections between A1 and the communal areas in Zvimba. As mentioned above, mostly Christianity and traditional African religion are practised, with former farmworkers mainly practising Islam. Religious ties are another way people maintain a sense of belonging.

6.3.8.1 The church as connection

The Roman Catholic Church is the most prominent church in the area, due to its long history in Zvimba. This history is embedded in the Zvimba community through the schools, hospital, and churches built by the Roman Catholic Church in the communal areas in Zvimba. Many beneficiaries came from communal areas that have strong ties to the Roman Catholic Church. Most of the respondents in the A1 settlements and the surrounding communal areas belong to the Roman Catholic, white garments, Methodist, and Pentecostal churches, while a small proportion of the respondents in both Machiroli and communal areas are Muslim. A fair number of respondents believed in African traditional culture.

A narrative of a respondent provided an account of the role of the church in enabling connections. Mr T.A.C on Machiroli Farm detailed that he relocated to the farm in 2000, when several people did. He explained that a big part of his life was religion; he is a firm believer in Christianity. When he relocated to Machiroli Farm, one of the most difficult things, he explained, was the thought of not going to church, the Roman Catholic Church. Back in the reserves, his life and the lives of most people in Zvimba revolved around church. The Roman Catholic Church in Zvimba has played an important role in the communal areas. Mr T.A.C explained that, while he is of the *Gushungo* clan in the communal areas, the church is his family. The church provides him with a family, assistance and spiritual guidance. Even after he relocated to Machiroli Farm, church members in communal areas visit him at his farm. He further revealed that his denomination provides assistance, such as food and agricultural inputs, to people both in communal areas and in Machiroli Farm.

The Roman Catholic Church, thus, remains a source of connection in the case study area, together with other denomination. Belonging to a church result in ensuring belonging to the

areas of origin. Most churches are in the communal areas and households in the A1 settlement travel there on most Sundays to attend church activities.

Takakurira mu Roma ndiyo church yedu, kunyangwe takaya kuno kuminda mirefu kusvondo tichirikuenda ku church. [We grew up in the Roman Catholic Church. Even though we moved to the A1 farms, every Sunday we make sure that we go.] (Interview with. Mr T.A.C, Machiroli Farm, January 2018).

Whereas the church was regarded as a source of spiritual upliftment, I observed that the church also provides materials, such as farm inputs and food, wherever necessary, for its members across both communal areas and A1 settlements. The church is a social network in itself; it transcends the geographical boundaries. Church members are from both areas, provide one another with assistance, and pass on knowledge on social, economic and political issues. Some of the A1 farmers belonging to same church networks lend each other money and farm inputs, such as seed. This was done to uphold the Christian ethos of love and unity. One of the respondents in the A1 settlements related:

When we moved to resettlement areas, one of the things that pained me was leaving my family. What provided me comfort was that the church was close; we could meet as often. The church is another family, which gives me advice and love. I do get seed and borrow money from my people in the church (Interview with Mrs. Z.I., May 2018).

Another denomination are the new Pentecostal churches, also known as “white garments”, as *mapostori*. Like the Roman Catholic Church, the white garments church accommodates households in both the communal and A1 settlements, with most of these churches in communal areas. These white garments churches on Machiroli have created and maintained a sense of unity amongst the members of the study area. Observations on white garments churches in Kutama Village indicated that they incorporated households from the A1 settlement in Machiroli Farm. The ethos of this church teaches love and unity amongst the church members. These church teachings have translated into trust, which is the basis of assisting each other.

6.3.8.2 Ancestral connection

Machiroli Farm households emphasised that connection to the ancestors in the communal areas is crucial to them. Ancestral activities conducted in communal areas in places, such as graves of grandparents, who were believed to be key channels to the ancestors and spiritual realm. Households in the A1 settlements stated that, as often as they can, they attend ceremonies in

the communal areas to appease or thank their ancestors. The connection through ancestors and religion is a source of connection for households in this category. Mr P.G. confirmed this:

Our ancestors have given this piece of land that we have because the elders are in the communal areas, so we make sure that we go whenever there are ceremonies to appreciate them (Interview with Mr. C., Machiroli Farm, May 2018).

Whilst land has been provided in Machiroli Farm, there remains a connection through the acts such as appeasing the ancestors, which still provides a linkage between communal areas and A1 settlements.

6.3.8.3 Church savings clubs

Mrs Z.G. stated that there is an initiative that includes households from both communal areas and Machiroli Farm. Women mostly drive these initiatives. Mrs Z.G.A. highlighted that there are women's saving clubs, known as *mikando*. I observed that most women have collaborated within their churches' networks that cut across communal areas and Machiroli Farm. These arrangements entailed informal saving or credit facility schemes. These can be for monetary saving, farming inputs or households' assets. Women are supposed to account to each other how they have used the money. There are verbal agreements that are binding on how the money is contributed, that is, on a weekly or monthly basis. Observation revealed that women worked within groups that had the same need. While they are saving or credit schemes, these acted as a platform for women to discuss and learn from each other. *Mikando* is also an avenue that women have used to buy assets within their households. A respondent on Machiroli Farm explained:

These church ladies have helped me through *mikando* [savings group]. This group started in 1994 and still running up to today. I observed that as church women, people think that all we do when we meet is to pray. *Mikando* helps us as women from the resettlement and communal areas to meet, plan and share ideas. It is easy for us as women from the church because we have the same belief and we regard each other as family. [With] the money I received, I bought a wheelbarrow, which was a need for my garden project. Even with the difficult economy, we find this very helpful (Interview with Mrs T.I May 2018, Machiroli Farm).

From this narration, it can be seen that social savings schemes are important in helping households to acquire assets but also bring together both communal areas and Machiroli Farm. Another woman further explained:

Mikando is a way for us to save money, and to buy assets. I even bought a cow using money from *mikando*. I thank my church sisters for coming with this idea. Besides our development, *mikando* is also a way for us to get to know what is happening in the communal areas. The ladies from the church... we meet more often about our progress and what we have done as well as to catch up on what is happening (Interview Mrs P.D, Machiroli Farm, January 2018).

The church plays an important role in connecting people in both Machiroli and Ward 6 communal areas, in different ways. These are some of the social initiatives that enable links between communal areas and Machiroli Farm.

6.4 Recreational activities

This section highlights the role of recreational activities, such as football, in providing linkages between Machiroli Farm and Zvimba communal areas. In Zvimba District, the provision of land has provided not only livelihoods but also avenues of new recreational activities that connect communal areas and Machiroli Farm. Most of the schools in the case study area are in the communal areas, and these include Kutama Day High, Kutama Mission, Masiyarwa Secondary and Madzima Secondary, amongst other schools. These schools incorporate learners from Machiroli Farm, the former farmworkers compound and communal areas. Football is a universal sport in these schools, and, before the FTLRP, most football competitions were limited to their students. Some of the other recreational activities that were conducted only in the communal areas included *jitis* (dancing vigils) and *biras* (ceremonies).

6.5 Football

Football is one of the activities that connected people both on communal areas and on Machiroli Farm even before the commencement of the FTLRP. The relocation of some people to Machiroli Farm led to the creation of a soccer team, which includes both communal and resettlement areas. This was because, unlike in Madzima and Masiyarwa villages, where there are more options for entertainment, in A1 settlements, there are limited recreational activities. This football team, known as Kutama Football Club, comprises of members from the former farmworkers compound, A1 settlers, and communal areas. The club includes players that range between 18 and 35 years old. The team coach is the chairperson of the former farmworkers in Machiroli Farm. The football club plays with other teams in Zvimba communal areas and resettlement areas. The team coach stated that, whilst it was difficult to play in the initial days, the football team has assisted team members to understand each other better. Football has helped these communities to develop relations and connections.

As a way of maintaining the relations between the households that moved from the communal areas to the A1 settlements, football has played a significant role in linking these two areas, as families are always in touch with each other. While the soccer team is limited to a few members, the active members indicated that soccer has helped maintain social relations. Further, football has enabled stronger ties to emerge between former farmworkers, A1 settlers and communal households. The team coach highlighted the role of football in providing connections:

I am well known here in Machiroli and the communal areas because of football, and it is something keeping our youth occupied. I have managed to develop new friendships, not only with the A1 settlers, but also with other households in the communal areas. The parents know me and respect me for the role I am playing in providing the youth with recreational activities. Through this team, we also share ideas on farming and business (Interview with Mr. Z.Y., Machiroli Farm, January 2018).

The presence of recreational activities, which, before the FTLRP were confined to one or the other area, enables these communities to work together. Football has changed the social fabric and social cohesion for both A1 settlements and communal areas. The land has created recreational opportunities, such as the formation of football teams, which did not exist before the FTLRP. A developing notion is that football provides entertainment to A1 settlements that are starved of recreational activities. Football has proved to be an essential social network and connections have been established, which permeate into the sharing of ideas on and off the farm. The households in both communal areas and Machiroli football team stated that some of the ideas that they share included farming methods, and, in a few incidents, they provided each other seed.

6.6 Access to social services

People on communal areas and people on Machiroli Farm access social services in both areas mainly due to the fluid boundaries that exist. In addition, contact was maintained with friends and family in the communal areas through straddling between the two areas. Respondents revealed that familial connections were the driving force for maintaining links; however, there are other factors involved, such as accessing services provided by Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). Largely, more NGOs are working in communal areas, providing social services, such as food aid, water and sanitation. On Machiroli Farm, while other households indicated that they are not maintaining their former homesteads and have given up the plots to

other family members, some households are still straddling between the two areas. Mrs D.P. explained why this was so in her case:

We do maintain two farms in both places on Machiroli Farm and our communal homestead. The reason is that, in the A1, I am cultivating a small portion so that we do not lose our plot and in the communal areas, we are also cultivating a small part because my husband was involved in a car accident some years back, which left him paralysed. My fear was that should we take him to the A1 settlements, if anything happened to him, it would be a substantial financial burden for us to come back and bury him. We decided to farm in both places while staying most of the time in communal areas. As also, here in the communal areas, there are more [NGOs] that provide welfare, which we cannot receive in the A1 settlements (Interview with Mrs M.U.S.H., January 2018).

Straddling is meant to secure rights (land and social) both on Machiroli Farm and communal areas. On Machiroli Farm, the involvement of the NGOs is limited; the most commitment has been through the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) in satellite schools. They provided books at an adjacent farm. In communal areas, food relief was provided by some NGOs, such as the World Food Programme (WFP) and Christian Care. NGOs also play an important role in health issues, such as HIV/AIDS. Father O'Hea Hospital is the central district hospital, which is in the communal areas Ward 6. The hospital partners with some NGOs, such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Global Fund and President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (Pepfar), which assist in the various HIV/AIDS programmes, which are available, but which were limited in Machiroli Farm. There are some NGOs, e.g., Chiedza Child Care that operate on Machiroli Farm but the major NGOs are mainly focused on communal areas. Thus, households continue to straddle between communal areas and Machiroli Farm in order to access the most social assistance possible.

Through familial networks, households in communal areas benefit from government programmes that are designed for A1 settlements. The District Administrator also reiterated that A1 settlements in Machiroli Farm received inputs through government schemes, such as Operation Maguta/Inala, which assisted households to increase their productivity and food, which they shared with communal households. Operation Maguta²⁶ was a programme, which assisted A1/A2 farmers to grow targeted crops, such as maize and wheat. Under the

²⁶ Operation Maguta was a programme financed by the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe in conjunction with the Ministry of Agriculture, Defence, parastatals, such as Agricultural and Rural Development Authorities (ARDA), and the government department Agricultural Research and Extension Services (AREX).

programme, A1 farmers were supplied with farming inputs, which comprised of seed, fertilisers, farming implements, herbicides and pesticides. The goal was to increase productivity on farms, mainly maize for A1 farmers thus ensuring food security. Many farmers in Machiroli Farm benefited from Operation Maguta and were able to harvest much due to the inputs provided. A respondent explained this:

With Operation Maguta, we had a good harvest that year; we were supplied everything that we wanted, from seed to fertiliser. The rains were also high that particular year and we managed to harvest at least four tonnes of maize from our field. The same with last year [2017], we had a good harvest due to command agriculture. We received input, as well as good rains. For the first time, I was able to send five bags of 50 kilograms of maize to my parents in Madzima Village, as they did not have a good harvest as we did here (Interview with Mr P.G., Machiroli Farm, January 2018).

Households in communal areas are, thus, benefiting indirectly from these programmes. One respondents confirmed this:

We have also benefited from Operation Maguta beneficiaries indirectly; most of our families on Machiroli assisted us with food, as we did not have the inputs. Their proceeds help us to cope with the lack of inputs in communal areas (Interview with Mrs T.M., Communal areas, December 2017).

Thus, through family networks, households can access indirect benefits from government-sponsored programmes. Therefore, through a number of ways, A1 farmers on Machiroli Farm and communal areas of origin are maintaining social relations. The section that follows highlights that there are also some people, who translocated to Machiroli Farm and are not maintaining ties with places of origin.

6.7 Weak ties with communal areas of origin

Some people on Machiroli Farm acknowledged that they have weak or limited ties with communal areas of origin. There were several reasons for these weak ties, such as family misunderstandings with either parents or in-laws, or claims of witchcraft. One of the respondents clarified what breaking free from the control of in-laws or other family members meant to her:

For me, the FTLRP was a blessing. I did not have the best relations with my husband's family. My husband cultivated his father's plot and we had to follow what they wanted us to plant. When this opportunity came to get farms, I saw it as the beginning of a new lease in my life. The good thing was that I could visit the family but not stay with them (Interview with Mrs M.C., Machiroli Farm, January 2018).

The opening of land in the A1 settlements served to solve some disputes amongst in-laws, jealous amongst families and cases of witchcraft. The FTLRP provided households with an avenue to solve conflicts of family disputes over control of the land. One beneficiary, Mrs. A stated:

When we were in the communal areas, we lived with my in-laws. While I enjoyed the excellent relations that we had, I always felt that I was under their control, as the farm was theirs though we had a portion that we used in the farm (Interview with Mrs. A, Machiroli Farm, May 2018).

For households in this category, there was a need to secure a plot that was under the direct control of the household. The Fast Track Land Reform Programme provided households in this category to acquire tenure that was independent of control from the family. One of the respondents stated that her family accused her of witchcraft, so it was imperative for her to start a new life. She related the following:

One of the most difficult and painful things to be called is a witch. This was life before we moved here with my wife. I can tell you that my brother suspected me of witchcraft after finding my herbs, which were normal herbs that people use. Since then, I was called a witch. For me coming here was breaking free from the stigma I was suffering (Interview with Mrs J, Machiroli Farm, October 2017).

In Zvimba communal areas, families in the villages expressed their dissatisfaction at people that do not return or maintain links with “home”. Shona names for a person that does not come back are *muchoni* or *zvichoni* (plural), meaning a person that has lost contact with his place of origin. Respondents in Ward 6, which lost or had weak links with their relatives that had translocated to Machiroli Farm, regarded them as *zvichoni* as they did not send money or produce or visit. Parents that had children on Machiroli Farm expressed their sentiments.

When my son married his wife, she did not have the best of relations with her mother-in-law. So, when the land programme [started], she pressurised her husband, my son to relocate. Because of these tensions, I rarely see them here, once in a very long time. We consider them *zvichoni zvekumaprazi* [people that have lost contact in resettlement areas] (Interview with Mr C.A, Ward 6, 23 October 2017).

These sentiments implied that his son had lost contact due to family conflicts. Another respondent in Ward 6 also shared this: “Ah, I don’t know whether my daughter is well in the farms there, she rarely communicates with us” (Conversation with Mrs V.I., Ward 6, 15 February 2018).

A few responded that connections were not important, as there are some conflicts between communal and A1 households. This study noted that these fluid boundaries have brought about some conflicts between communal areas and Machiroli Farm settlers. These fluid boundaries are also a source of conflict for the new beneficiaries that are on Machiroli Farm, and who do not originate from Zvimba District. These fluid boundaries imply that livestock cross into Machiroli Farm, in most cases damaging or eating crops and vegetables. Households on Machiroli Farm also accused people from communal areas of trespassing into woodlots and grazing areas without consent. The narratives stated above indicate that not all people are maintaining links with places of origin.

6.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, I highlighted that social relations between people on Machiroli Farm and communal areas of origin exist. Despite relocating to Machiroli Farm, people maintain various social relations with places of origin. The chapter demonstrated that places of origin convey and attach essential symbols for traditions, customs and social relations. People belong to many different types of groups and communities, such as families, religions, occupations and ideologies, which overlap in various places, including people that claim multiple belongings. Even for beneficiaries of the FTLRP, receiving land in A1 resettlement areas has not affected their belonging. A central message that emerged from the evidence outlined in this chapter is that communal areas are places regarded as “home” and places where most people want to maintain belonging. This chapter has shown that the FTLRP did not break bonds of social relations between households in communal areas and A1 settlements but that these have continued, although some social relations are changing to fit A1 settlements. The next chapter focuses on labour exchanges.

Chapter 7

Exploring linkages through labour exchanges

I conducted my fieldwork during the peak farming season in Zvimba District. On one of my walks to Machiroli Farm, I met a resident of Ward 6 communal areas on his way to his uncle's farm. We met at a local shop located at the border of the communal areas with Machiroli Farm. We had an impromptu discussion linked to my research. He explained that beneficiaries on Machiroli Farm were mostly allocated virgin (unused) land during the FTLRP. He further explained that land on Machiroli Farm was more productive for agriculture than the "tired" land in communal areas, which had been over-cultivated over the years. The advantage of the new farms on Machiroli, he explained, was the fertility of the soils: "[I]t is virgin land that provides more yields".²⁷ Most beneficiaries on Machiroli Farm confirmed that they were allocated virgin land.

Most of the A1 farmers were allocated portions that were not used by the previous farm owner. The respondent explained that the land required labour for clearing trees and removal of stumps (*kugobora*). He stated: "We assisted in the early days our relatives with clearing their farms. It also assisted us with firewood." Given a drought and economic challenges, beneficiaries on Machiroli Farm fared better than most communal areas. He explained that he still helps his uncle on his farm in Machiroli, mostly in exchange for seeds, foodstuffs or agricultural products after harvesting. He believed that "*Chara chimwe hachitsvanyi inda*" (One finger cannot crush lice), meaning that collectives produce results. This was not unique to him; he explained that a number of people from communal areas helped in the agricultural production on Machiroli Farm. This conversation provided me with important insights to understand the importance of people in communal areas for beneficiaries of the FTLRP.

7.1 Introduction

This narrative illustrated in the vignette above is an account of a respondent that has relatives on Machiroli farm. The narrative of the anonymous respondent whom I met on my way to

²⁷ Informal conversation with Anonymous, Machiroli Farm, September 2017.

Machiroli Farm is not unique; it was a reflection of the importance of labour exchanges between A1 farmers on Machiroli and Ward 6. In this conversation, I was made aware of the importance of belonging and nature of labour exchange relations between the two groups. It is a conversation that was echoed by most research participants. In this chapter, a description of labour exchanges, which entails labour provided to A1 Machiroli farmers through their various social relations and networks, either through familial obligation, or for remuneration, which may be monetary or non-monetary, or in the form of services. It shows how social relations enable labour exchanges as described in the informal conversation.

The chapter examines how labour exchanges based on belonging enable linkages between beneficiaries of the FTLRP and their communal areas of origin. In this chapter, I show that labour exchanges are based on attachment to the land of origin in Zvimba communal areas. Examination of labour exchanges is through family labour (nuclear and extended) and broader community exchanges, such as neighbours. Most of the beneficiaries, who left communal areas for Machiroli Farm did not break the structure and strength of the family and community networks. These networks make it possible to mobilise labour from the communal areas of origin. Labour exchanges analysed in this chapter are limited to agricultural activities, such as tobacco, livestock and maize production. The chapter begins by giving a short overview of the labour exchanges before the FTLRP. It proceeds to describe the use of family and community labour from communal areas of origin by beneficiaries of the FTLRP on Machiroli Farm as a way of enhancing connections. Overall, the chapter concludes that, although beneficiaries of the FTLRP physically translocated from communal areas to resettlement areas, they still maintain connections with places of origin also through the exchange of labour.

7.2 Labour exchange before the FTLRP

From the time that Machiroli Farm was established in the 1940s, relations that existed between it and communal areas revolved around the provision of labour. People from communal areas provided labour to white commercial farms, together with migrant labour staying on farm compounds.²⁸ People in communal areas were forced by colonial policies to provide labour. The connection that existed between these two areas was through hired labour. During an interview with one of the locals, the connection between the two areas was explained as follows:

²⁸ Compounds are cluster of houses/households living together on a designated area, normally of the same ethnic background.

To be able to pay for the taxes, men during that time had limited options either to work in mines or farms. The proceeds from the mines enabled the men to be able to pay for the taxes. Most people worked on farms. That is how most of the people in the reserves started working in farms like Machioli (Interview with Mr G.H., Ward 6, October 2017).

As time passed, most of the men migrated to urban areas, and most women started providing labour to the white commercial farmers, together with the men who remained. A local Headman explained this:

In the 1970s and after independence, most men went to work in Harare and other urban areas. During that time, most women worked on the white farms. Women from our communal areas would work on Sean's farm (Machioli Farm). Although farm workers did most of the work, people only went to white farmer's areas for part-time or seasonal work (Interview with Local Headman, January 2018).

A respondent in the communal areas explained the relations as follows:

Before the land was taken, we did have some people that would provide labour to Machioli, but these were few, especially after independence (Interview with Mrs V.I., Ward 6, October 2017).

The narratives above provide an overview of labour relations before the FTLRP. With the creation of A1 villagised farms, labour exchanges emerged based on mutual relations, as I will show in the section that follows.

7.3 Labour exchanges after 2000

This section describes the nature of labour exchanges on Machioli Farm with communal areas of origin. Various labour exchanges emerged after the FTLRP, between people in these two areas. Labour exchanges are in distinct categories, which is described as family labour (including extended family) friends and neighbours. I will begin by looking at family labour.

7.3.1 Familial labour exchanges

Family labour is the dominant source of labour and serves as a factor that ties people on Machioli Farm and communal areas of origin. For most beneficiaries of the FTLRP, provision of land implied a shift from mostly subsistence farming in communal and A1 households to

farming as a profitable enterprise on Machiroli Farm. During an interview with an A1 settler on Machiroli farm, he said that success on his farm was due to the assistance he received from his family and neighbours from his home in Ward 6, in exchange for food, money and natural resources, such as firewood. He emphasised that the success of most people on Machiroli was due to the labour provided by their relatives and friends in communal areas. This was because communal areas as the place of origin for many households in A1 settlers' households act as a source of family labour. On Machiroli Farm, most people indicated that they rely on family (nuclear) labour for their farms, with additional labour from extended family and former farmworkers. Households that were thriving as agricultural producers have, over the years, increased their agricultural labour by hiring additional labour for agricultural production.

Labour is mostly accessed through social relations with people in communal areas based on belonging. Interviews on Machiroli Farm revealed that people have three broad labour categories: those that utilise nuclear family labour, households that utilise both extended and nuclear family, and those that hire labour for a short time or on a more permanent basis. This was confirmed by an extension worker, who stated:

When you look at it, you could place the farmers into three categories. The first category of farmers cultivates their farms as families, the second category hires temporary labour when necessary, and the third hire temporary labour for a fixed supply of labour for longer periods. Generally, my observation is that most people rely on labour from their communal areas of origin since it is close by. That is how they do it (Interview with extension officer, Machiroli Farm, October 2017).

The demand for labour within these households is diverse. On Machiroli Farm, labour is required for intense tasks, such as planting, weeding, ploughing and harvesting. These tasks are performed by both the family (including extended) and hired labour.

The labour arrangements between A1 settlements and communal areas of origin, and, in some cases, former farmworkers, entail the movement within these areas of people providing labour to households. While respondents on Machiroli Farm acknowledged that they use hired labour, people predominantly use nuclear and extended family labour, as a means of reducing the cost of hiring labour. These interactions play an important part in interconnections. Linkages with villages of origin are central for labour provision.

Several beneficiaries on Machiroli Farm did not break the ties and strength of the family network. Maintaining ties has been important in accessing labour from communal areas of origin for most households on Machiroli Farm. These familial links made it possible to access

labour when it became necessary to request labour from the communal areas. This was confirmed by one respondent who stated:

Despite the fact that some people relocated to the other side of Hunyani River (Machiroli Farm), we remain attached as we are family and share the same blood. We do assist those in Machiroli should they want assistance on their farms (Interview with Mr Z.Y., Ward 6, May 2018).

Labour exchanges within the extended family network are mostly based on reciprocity of money, services, draught power and agricultural products, which elements enforce interconnections. This view was explained by a respondent:

When it is farming off-season in communal areas, households do come to help us with vegetable gardens, and when we do harvest we pay them in kind or from the crops that we would have harvested (Interview with Mr M., Machiroli Farm, October 2017).

Whilst there are limited financial payments that are provided to family members, payment in kind is mostly made; people are given a share in agricultural produce.

The shortage of money in the Zimbabwean banks has resulted in barter trade as the major source of trade, particularly in rural areas. A dominant view by respondents on Machiroli Farm was that labour from communal areas of origin was reciprocated for maize, money, sugar beans and seed (maize, groundnuts, round nuts) regarded as gifts or tokens of appreciation for the services rendered. A respondent stated:

My young brother, a good turn deserves another turn. Our country has no money now. When your relative asks for your help and pays you back with maize or vegetables, it is better because access to money is a challenge (Interview with Anonymous, Machiroli Farm, December 2017).

The nature of agricultural activities that people from communal areas participated in included planting, weeding and harvesting of both maize and tobacco. People on Machiroli Farm involved in labour exchange arrangements with communal areas of origin expressed that it enhanced their agricultural production, at the same time providing resources to households in communal areas that participated in these initiatives.

The social fabric of communal areas of familial, kinship and communal relations, described in Chapter 6, provides assistance to some beneficiaries of the FTLRP that originated from communal areas. The extension of this social fabric through the clan, totemic and friendship networks is important for assisting on farms and off the farms in Zvimba District. This is mainly because of a sense of belonging. On Machiroli, people receive assistance from their extended family networks mostly in cases where they cannot afford to pay hired labour. While these

exchanges were mostly during the farming season, the importance of the assistance from the extended family was emphasised by the respondents on Machiroli Farm, one of whom said:

We are not very far from our communal areas, I meet my extended family members at our local bar in Mazunzanyika, and that is where we discuss issues happening in both areas. When we meet, this is also a platform to ask for assistance. When our relatives are available, they do come to help me on my farm, in most cases, in exchange for goods in kind or favours owed in the past (Interview with Mr Z.Y., Machiroli Farm, October 2017).

This illustrates that social relations between A1 farmers on Machiroli Farm and people in their communal areas enable access to labour for agricultural production. It also emerged that in-laws mostly based in communal areas are another source of labour that provides assistance to farmers on Machiroli Farm. Another respondent noted:

I do get assistance from my in-laws that come to assist me; in fact, my success on this farm has been because of the assistance that I received from my in-laws. When I was given this farm, it was a thick bush; with their assistance, I managed to clear a large area (Interview with Mr G., Machiroli Farm, September 2017).

Another respondent also described this practice:

When we left the communal areas, we did not have the capacity to cultivate our farm. We received assistance from our family member in the communal areas. We are now better off than we when we started the production we have here on our land also requires us to seek help from our extended family. We do provide tokens of gratitude to them in cash or kind (Interview with Mrs P.D., Machiroli Farm, December 2017).

These views illustrate the importance of family in providing labour to clear their farms in early days of the FTLRP. Family (both nuclear and extended) in communal areas contributes towards production on Machiroli Farm. At the time of the commencement of research, the economic meltdown was affecting production for most A1 farmers there. Labour on Machiroli Farm from extended families provided a cushion for the high labour cost charged by former farm workers ranging between US\$4 and US\$5 per day. Thus, labour exchanges supplemented high labour charges by former farm workers.

After the translocations to Machiroli Farm, extended families still provide a considerable amount of labour. One respondent explained:

We used to have labour gangs, *nhimbe*, in the communal areas. Labour was a common denominator in the areas. We would assist those that had labour deficiencies. When we moved to the A1, we mostly used our family labour as

it was readily available and less expensive (Interview with Mr C.H., 18 January 2018, Machiroli Farm).

Another respondent related:

When we are pressed, we ask our family members back home to send *vazukuru* [grandchildren] to come and assist us. In most cases after harvesting we send them something to thank them for the help. (Interview with Mr M.D., Machiroli Farm, 18 January 2018).

Given the importance of these relations respondents on Machiroli Farm emphasised that people from communal areas that provide labour to either A1 households on Machiroli Farm or communal areas (well-off households) are not treated the same as former farmworkers. This was mainly because people in Ward 6 (well off households) and A1 farmers on Machiroli Farm that are better off financially than poor households might require assistance from poor households in the long run. This could be in social and cultural issues. Even though labour is a means that connects communal areas and A1 settlements, labour is not a means to exploit kin. This was explained by one respondent:

On Machiroli, I realised that I could not be giving money to the farmworkers while my kin in the communal areas are struggling. In most cases, these members of the extended family assisted in planting in exchange for fertilisers and seed. In that way, I know they have a portion they manage to plant in their fields (Interview with Mrs Z.O., Machiroli Farm, November 2017).

The existence of family in the communal areas provides households in A1 settlements with a secure sense of connection to communal areas with a source of labour, as they can easily reach out for assistance in times when there is a need for labour. Labour is important, and particularly in the early days of moving into A1 settlements. This assistance was labour to clear farms, as most A1 farmers were given areas with trees. Some of the labour provided were people to assist with building housing, as well as transporting farming equipment, such as ox-drawn ploughs. Interviews with respondents on Machiroli Farm revealed that, even after eighteen years, labour exchange from communal areas is a common occurrence. During the off-farming season period, family labour moves from communal areas to A1 settlements to assist in the market gardening, cultivating crops such as cabbage, tomatoes and spinach.

A sense of belonging enables access to labour for people on Machiroli Farm. Through social relations, members of the extended family were also employed for tasks, such as herding cattle, cultivation of crops, weeding and harvesting. Compared to former farmworkers, extended family members were believed to be loyal and a part of the family. A respondent related:

When I came here, I hired some of the former farmer workers to help me with my livestock and fields. I suffered huge losses as some stole from me, and I lost some of my livestock. I had to go and ask for my sister's son in the communal areas that had finished his Ordinary Level two years ago to help me on my farm. I pay him here and there, whenever I can (Interview with Mrs Z.M., Machiroli Farm, January 2018).

Extended family members are often paid by their employers in money or food. On field interviews with “employees” in this category, the author observed that more often kinship ties are used to manipulate these workers by being paid little or no salaries. A respondent gave an insight into this:

I work for my uncle; he is a good man. However, the challenge has been that I have not been paid for a long time. The initial agreement was that I would be given an allowance, but ever since I got here, it has not been the case. When we harvest, I do get about five bags of maize, which I send to my mother in the communal areas (Interview with Mr D.B., Machiroli Farm, May 2018).

This strategy implied that, in some instances, social networks are used to obtain additional labour through kinships ties at the expense of those providing it. Although this strategy provides access to labour by people on Machiroli Farm, the use of family labour from adjacent communal areas perpetuates inequality and exploitation. In the next section, I will explore the notion of split households by beneficiaries on Machiroli Farm

7.3.2 ‘Feet in both places’ split households

Split households are another strategy that is used to maintain ties, relations and access labour from communal areas of origin. On Machiroli, there are households that are polygamous, and, in these cases, the women live in both communal and A1 areas. This has been the case to maintain belonging specifically to communal areas. While these households maintain multiple households for various reasons, such as risk mitigation, the division of labour is one of the primary reasons for split households.

This was notable in one participant's response:

I have two wives, one in Madzima and one in Machiroli Farm. When the land reform started, I moved to Machiroli Farm in 2000 with my second wife, I then came back to the Madzima in 2010. I do maintain the two homes and cultivate in both areas; my wives are actively involved in agriculture production. My wives are the main people responsible for cultivating the plots (Interview with Mr Z.K., September 2017).

In addition, Mr Z.K.'s two wives indicated their roles. The first wife pointed out the following:

I am responsible for the A1 farm here in Machiroli. We received the farm in 2000 and effectively started farming in 2001. I am responsible for the Machiroli Farm. We mainly farm tobacco and a small portion of maize. I normally work with my children on this farm; in limited instances, we hire labour from the compound (Interview with Mrs Z.K [1], September 2017).

Mr Z.K's other wife also further explained:

We have a piece of land in the communal areas. Before the land reform, I shared this piece of land with my husband's wife. Afterwards, my husband's wife left for the A1 farm. I, together with my children, cultivate this plot. In the early days, we would assist my husband and the second wife with cultivating the land (Interview with Mrs Z.K [2]., September 2017).

The evidence above illustrates some of the strategies that household use to exchange labour between the two areas. While the title of the farm on Machiroli farm and ownership in the homestead are held by the man, women provide most of the labour between the two areas. Thus, having wives in-between two places was a strategy used to gain labour for both Machiroli Farm and communal areas.

7.3.3 Reciprocal labour exchanges

Friends and neighbours perform an important role in mobilising labour for practices, such as *nhimbe* (work party), where a group of people from one locality work together in their kinsmen's field mostly for weeding and harvesting. This practice was normally conducted in communal areas; however, it was exported to resettlement areas. In the case of Machiroli Farm, *nhimbe* included mostly family members from communal areas, who, in turn, would be paid with seeds, grain or fertilisers. This practice is not exclusively limited to farming but also practised in funerals. *Nhimbe* was mobilised through social and kinship networks in the communities. In Kutama Village [Ward 6], one respondent stated that, whilst the number of people engaged in *nhimbe* has diminished, the household hosting would provide food, bread or home-baked bread or *maheu* (a traditional drink made from maize meal, sorghum, sugar) traditional beer. *Nhimbe* has been reproduced in Machiroli Farm whereby people on the farm come together to work on initiatives, such as fixing the farm roads, tobacco barns and the dams.

In exchange for labour on family farms, there is reciprocity in the form of scarce resources in the communal areas. A1 settlements reduced the financial labour burden by exchanging labour for resources, such as land and firewood.

Firewood is a challenge here in the communal areas, we mostly get firewood from our relatives on Machiroli farm. Even though EMA [Environmental Management Authority] discourages cutting down of trees on Machiroli Farm.

We reciprocate by assisting our relatives on their fields. (Interview with Mr. T.A.B, Ward 6, February 2018)

Thus, A1 farmers on Machiroli Farm are also using resources such as firewood and land as an asset to bargain for labour. Most respondents highlighted that extended families from communal areas and former farm workers help the A1 settlers in the cultivation of either tobacco or maize.

The family members generally are paid after harvest or given access to natural resources, such as firewood, which is scarce in the communal areas. It has been established that the reason that relatives in the settlements maintain the relations within families in the communal areas for various reasons. However, respondents on Machiroli explained that they use their family labour to ensure their food security; most households in communal areas provide labour to their kin on Machiroli Farm in exchange for produce, cash or favours in future. This exchange is enabled through the proximity of communal areas of origin, as they are adjacent to Machiroli Farm. Households in communal areas rarely hire former farmworkers to help them on their farms as a result of the high fees charged by these workers for their services.

The next section examines the texture of the interconnections as revealed through agricultural production.

7.4 The texture of labour exchanges

Labour exchanges are for a variety of reasons. In this case study, it is mostly for agricultural production, with a focus on tobacco and maize production, as I will illustrate in the sections below.

7.5 Agricultural production

People on Machiroli and Zvimba communal area of origin engage in several agricultural activities, such as production of maize, tobacco, legumes, small grains and livestock. Labour exchanges are mostly for maize and tobacco production. The translocation to Machiroli Farm by people from communal areas implied access to more land and production of crops, such as tobacco, which were financially rewarding. On average, a household in the communal areas has one-and-a-half hectares of land, while on Machiroli Farm households have an average of 6 hectares of arable land and 14 hectares of grazing land. The increase in farm size in A1 settlements implied an effect on the amount of labour that the households required. Since tobacco and maize production are the most prominent activities on Machiroli Farm, I will examine how these agricultural activities enable linkages.

7.5.1 Tobacco production

In communal areas, agricultural focus is mainly on maize and legumes with few households focusing on tobacco, while, in resettlement areas, the emphasis is on tobacco production. It was only after moving to Machiroli Farm that households shifted to tobacco production motivated by the financial returns of the tobacco crop. The acquisition of land through the FTLRP enabled people to engage in tobacco production by both A1 settlers and households in communal areas on various scales. The majority of beneficiaries that relocated onto Machiroli Farm from communal areas ventured into tobacco production, which, for most of them, was a lucrative agricultural farming option. Most of the A1 farmers had limited knowledge about farming tobacco; in most cases, assistance in growing tobacco was provided by agricultural extension officers and some former farm workers. This was further emphasised by Mr T.X., who noted that knowledge that extension officers assisted with was information and some skills about seeding and curing tobacco. Labour for grading and curing tobacco was mostly offered by former farm workers on Machiroli Farm. However, most labour-intensive activities were provided by their families, including relatives from communal areas. Most households on Machiroli Farm received assistance for their tobacco production from communal areas, in some cases, for exchanges of monetary or material gifts. In most cases, some of the output from tobacco production is remitted to communal areas. Although, most former farmworkers provide temporary labour to these households, in most cases, it is for grading and harvesting of tobacco. Family ties with the communal areas have been the dominant source of labour for tobacco production.

The economic challenges in Zimbabwe have negatively affected A1 farmers. Some of the challenges, such as limited access to money from the banks, make it difficult to pay for services associated with agricultural production like fertilisers, seeds and labour. Despite the presence of mobile money services such as *Ecocash*, *One Money* and *Telecash*,²⁹ cash is preferred as a mode of payment. In turn, respondents on Machiroli largely rely on family labour and labour from extended family members to avoid the high labour costs charged by former farmworkers. In most cases, young men assisted with cutting down trees for fuel used in drying barns/furnaces, and with harvesting and baling, whilst women assisted in harvesting. In most cases, these members of the extended family are from communal areas. This was emphasised by respondents.

²⁹ A mobile network electronic money service which transfers money from one mobile phone number to another.

One respondent related the following:

I cannot afford to pay the former farmworkers. As a result, I work with my family and relatives in the communal areas. Although they do not have a lot of experience in tobacco, I see this as a way that my family saves money on labour (Interview with Mrs T.A., Machiroli Farm, December 2017).

Another respondent further highlighted the following:

I do not have to pay for everything in tobacco production, and I have my brothers from the communal areas with whom we work as a partnership. This reduces the cost and expenses of tobacco production (Interview with Mr.T.A. Machiroli Farm, October 2017).

This was also emphasised by a respondent who said:

I requested my sister's son, who had nothing to do in the communal areas, to come [and] help me. Since I am a widow, he works as the manly figure in the household and mostly...on the manual tobacco production (Interview with Mrs B., Machiroli Farm, January 2018).

Some of the issues emerging from this evidence relate specifically to how familial networks in communal areas assist to provide labour on Machiroli Farm. Even though households engage extended family labour, this alone is not adequate to meet the demands of the crop as well as timelines; in most cases, paid labour is sought from the former farmworkers with their technical skills, such as tobacco grading.

7.5.1.1. Tobacco labour exchanges on Machiroli Farm

One household on Machiroli Farm depicted how labour provides a connection between the A1 farmers and their communal areas. I spent a lot of time with the Mr and Mrs M.Y. on Machiroli Farm. which has been involved in tobacco production since 2004. The M.Y. household comprises of husband and wife, their two daughters, his two brothers' sons from Kutama Village, niece and two grandchildren. The family, with the assistance of an AGRITEX extension officer living on the farm, was provided technical knowledge on growing tobacco and has also been assisted by former farmworkers in growing tobacco. A fundamental component of the production is labour, which includes mostly family labour (including extended family) and limited hired labour to sustain tobacco production on the family farm. The M.Y. household is a cultural family, which respects and observes the aspects of the African family, such as visiting their relatives in communal areas. These visits are an opportunity to seek assistance from the extended family there. Even after the many years of cultivating tobacco, assistance from communal areas is still sought.

Tobacco is a labour-demanding crop, with production starting as early as June with the preparation of the seedbed. Mr M.Y. highlighted that his wife's relatives assist with tobacco production. Mr M.Y. explained that his wife's niece [from Ward 6] is the one who most often comes to assist. Observation revealed that most women are involved in the cultivation process of tobacco, such as planting, pest control through fumigation with pesticides and fungicides, and application of fertiliser, which, apart from planting, are done at various stages of the crop, and make up a critical component in cultivation. Family labour is usually used for these repetitive activities. Another respondent on Machiroli Farm confirmed this:

For cultivation, pest control and application of fertilisers, we normally work as a family. I prefer to ask for help from the family in communal areas. Of course, it brings challenges, such as the quality of work is reduced, but you are guaranteed that you can meet the deadlines before the rains disappear. Even some of my neighbours here depend on their extended family from their communal areas villages, who come to assist them (Interview with Mr Z.V., Machiroli Farm, January 2018).

The M.Y. household harvests their crop five times. Most of the tobacco is planted in October, and the harvesting of leaves starts in January. There are different stages at which the crop is harvested. The lugs, cutters, leaf and tips are the harvested leaves whilst the primings are, in most cases, thrown away.

The leaves are stored in a barn (a place where the tobacco is cured), before starting the curing process. More often, labour comes into play in transporting the tobacco leaf as well harvesting of the tobacco crop, which requires expertise, the knowledge of which leaf is ready for harvesting, as wrong leaves might affect the total mass of the bale. Mrs M.Y. explained:

In the first days, we used to hire former farm workers because of experience. Yes, I must agree they have a lot of knowledge about tobacco production, but over the years we have managed to become equally knowledgeable. However, after they realised that their knowledge is sought after, the amounts they charge are too expensive. Therefore, I decided to take my nieces, who finished school and are no longer doing anything, to come [and] help me. After harvesting, I give them a token to appreciate them (Interview with Mrs M.Y., Machiroli Farm, January 2018).

The importance of belonging is through accessing labour from family members in communal areas mostly enables the reduction of cost in the production of tobacco. Harvesting of tobacco requires expertise knowledge on grading the various tobacco leaves; many households interviewed preferred to hire labour from the former farmworkers, while a few households depended upon family labour, both nuclear and extended. The M.Y. family usually harvests an average of nine hundred kilograms per hectare. The extension officer said that the average

production per hectare on Machiroli Farm was nine hundred kilograms. In the case of the M.Y. household, there is trust that has developed between the farmworkers that they hire. In most cases the workers request that the family buys them assets, such as a TV, radio or solar panels, from the money owed, once the tobacco has been sold at the auctions. Mr M.Y. further noted that some of the proceeds from tobacco production are remitted to his parents in the communal areas. Other respondents concurred:

The thing that I love about tobacco production is that the returns are good. Over the past years, the output and the payments have been good. Last season, the output that we had was good. Even though I have relocated, I remain connected to my parents in communal reserves. I was able to send my parents money and maize. Through tobacco production, I have been able to take care of my parents (Interview with Mr T.O.B., Machiroli Farm, February 2018).

This was further highlighted by another respondent, who had this to say:

One of the things I have learnt over the years is that family is important. God has been faithful to give me this lucrative tobacco farm. With the help of my extended family in communal areas, I have been able to get good returns. From the proceeds of my tobacco production, I have been able to pay fees for my niece and nephew in communal areas. Through this crop, I have managed to make sure that my family is taken care of (Interview with Mr T.R., Machiroli Farm, October 2017).

Mrs S.V also stated the following:

I am a beneficiary of tobacco production. My children on Machiroli Farm after every season make sure that they send me money or food. I have realised that the FTLRP is also benefiting us as parents, particularly through tobacco production. Every year my children ensure that they send me something after every tobacco harvest (Interview with Mrs S.V., Ward 6, May 2018).

Lastly, another respondent corroborated by stating the following:

I do not want to lie, my brother; tobacco has been a blessing to us. Of course, not all the years are the same, but if I compare where I was and where I am now, there is a vast difference. As much as we are prospering, I have not forgotten my roots and where I belong. *Kumusha hakuchinje vabereki tinobatsira*. [Our home never changes, and we must continue taking care of parents in communal areas] (Interview with Mr. E.,Machiroli Farm, November 2017).

As I have shown above, tobacco production has multiple benefits, firstly for the farmers on Machiroli and, secondly, for the family in communal areas as they received remittances from Machiroli Farm. The attachment and sense of belonging to communal areas facilitates the extension of benefits acquired from tobacco production to family members there.

An informal conversation with an anonymous respondent highlighted that youth in communal areas look forward to the tobacco season as they get to visit the A1 settlements. When I was on Machiroli Farm, Mr M.Y. was keen to show me how to grade tobacco, and he highlighted that this process requires more hands; in most cases, for baling and grading, he hires labour from the former farmworkers. Baling is the last stage before tobacco is taken to the auction floors. I observed that the former farmworkers were actively involved in assisting the A1 farmers with most grading and baling. Mr M.Y. stated that, after baling, he transports the tobacco bales to the tobacco auction floors, where the tobacco is sold. In an informal conversation with a former farmworker, he stated that former farmworkers are experienced in grading tobacco; they do this in a manner that enhances both its use and value to buyers by sorting out leaves of similar characteristics into uniform lots for sale.



Picture 7 Tobacco grading

Source: Fieldwork data, 2018



Picture 8 Baling and grading on Machiroli Farm

Source: Fieldwork 2018

Social connections that had been cultivated over time enabled the household to negotiate that payment of labour is provided after the selling of the tobacco at the auction floors. In addition, Mr M.Y. noted that, after the farming season, he normally gives an average of \$50 to \$100 each (depending on the season) to his children and extended family members as a token of appreciation for the challenging work. Through ties with communal areas, Mr M.Y. noted that his family members in communal areas make it possible to save money on labour and meet his targets. Whilst no monetary value can be attached to family labour, household heads acknowledged the importance of family labour from communal areas in the production of tobacco.

This section provided insights into how a sense of belonging to communal areas is important for tobacco production and highlighted through labour exchanges with Ward 6 by A1 farmers on Machiroli Farm. In the next section, the labour dynamics in maize production will be examined.

7.5.2 Maize production

Much of the land on Machiroli Farm has been dedicated to tobacco production. However, maize continues to be grown by most households. Maize plays a significant role in the rural

household; it is used for the following: household consumption, family functions, livestock feed, barter trade, food for work, and currency for labour. Whilst other crops, such as tobacco, have a higher financial output, maize provides food security, as well as a mode of payment for labour and exchange. Due to the significance of this crop, it attracts labour from both communal areas, and the former farmer's work compound. Particularly, households in communal areas that assist with labour are provided maize as tokens of appreciation. Households depend mostly on family labour to produce on farms.

In Zvimba, as noted by some respondents, maize is a staple that is cultivated by a number of households. People on Machiroli rely on various sources of labour for maize production. Totemic and familial relations are important in providing labour for maize production among households. Households value totemic and familial relations, in most cases, even though families are living in both communal and A1 settlements. These familial totemic networks help households to avert risks, as well as to pool their resources. One respondent noted that the following:

We as the *Gushungo* clan, we are one. Whether one is in the A1 settlements, when they want help, we assist each other (Interview with Mr M.U.T., Ward 6, 9 November 2017).

On Machiroli Farm labour requirements for the maize crop are differentiated depending on the nature of the household. The process includes planting, weeding, harvesting, shelling and storage. Maize cultivation starts in October when the rains begin, and this is preceded by the preparation of the fields, which comprises the use of hoes and ox-drawn ploughs. Households, which are in the rich category, hire the tractor that is owned by the Machiroli irrigation scheme. Hiring the tractor costs an average of seventy dollars per hectare and with the farmer having to buy the fuel for the tractor. Most of the households do not hire a tractor; instead, they rely on family or hired labour using ox drawn ploughs. I noted that tasks, such as tilling the land, were done by family labour. In a few cases, this included a member of the extended family from the communal areas, who would also assist with the planting of maize.



Picture 9 Maize field on Machiroli Farm

Source: Fieldwork data, 2018

Weeding of maize is labour-intensive as is the harvesting, done between April and June. I observed that harvesting is a preserve of the family in Machiroli Farm. A local Headman on Machiroli explained:

We have [a] couple of households that receive assistance from families in communal areas during the harvest season. As you know, everyone would be focusing on his or her field. Those that come mostly work on a reciprocity basis. I have realised that most of these are paid in the form of maize (Interview with Local Headman, Machiroli Farm, December 2017).

This labour reciprocity is also common in communal areas, as stated by Mr N.Y.E. in Masiyarwa Village:

As you know, money is a problem in Zimbabwe; most people that I employ prefer to be paid using maize. I normally employ my neighbours, who are most poor. For me, we all benefit, as they get food and my crop is harvested. These neighbours rely mostly on working on people's farms around the area. I have three people that normally help me with planting and harvesting. I normally monitor what they are doing when they are in fields (Interview with Mr N.Y.E., Ward 6, February 2018).

In communal areas, as shown by Mr N.E, households that are in the poor category in the communal areas are the major source of labour in the maize fields.

After harvesting on Machiroli Farm, the process of shelling is done, which is the removal of maize grains from the cob. Shelling of maize is divided into two stages, the first one is the removal of maize from the cob, which requires manual labour, and this is a preserve of men, and, in most cases, former farmworkers are hired for this task. The second task is the storage, which requires the removal of debris from the maize and packaging. I observed in Machiroli Farm, that mostly nuclear families performed these tasks with minimal assistance from the extended families in communal areas. The Grain Marketing Board (GMB) is the official institution that buys maize from the farmers. The shortage of money in the banks has prompted the farmers to sell to side marketers, who buy maize at lower prices than those paid by the GMB. In order to pay for the labour that had been employed, most respondents stated that they sold a portion of their maize, an average of six 50kg bags, to the side marketers. More often, stored maize is shared or exchanged for favours with other family members in communal areas. Various respondents commented on this practice:

We share our maize crop with our family members; in most cases, we send maize to our parents. Whenever I visit, I make sure I take something with me to my parents and my brothers' family, who often help me (Interview with Mrs S.V., Machiroli Farm, 5 May 2018).

The grain we store here is used to exchange for favours with our relatives in communal areas. Obviously, I harvest better yields than them, so, for me to continue maize production, they assist me here. I must admit, at times, it's a cheaper option, but I must beg at times for them to come even though they also benefit (Interview with Mrs Z.M., Machiroli Farm, 17 February 2018).

I have realised that receiving this farm has helped my family. In most cases, people in the communal areas have poor soils. We came here because of better soils and, because of that, we have managed to have better yields, as well as to supplement our families with maize (Interview with Mr Z Machiroli Farm, September 2017).

The quotations above illustrate that in addition to the assistance provided during the production of maize, the gifts of maize with people on Machiroli enforce the relations with places of origin. Maize production plays a key role in enabling linkages between communal areas. As I have shown in this section, maize enables labour and food supplements. Belonging has been important for A1 households that benefit from labour from communal households. In turn, communal areas also benefit through remittances of maize and financial benefits.

This evidence illustrated here shows that belonging enhances access to agrarian labour. Analysis of data shows that the practice of recruiting labour from communal areas is still prevalent. Labour is provided in exchange for goods, money or services. Analysis of evidence, as illustrated above, reveals that labour from communal areas of origin is preferred because of they are largely deemed as honest, cheap and loyal. Thus, labour exchanges enable both A1 farmers to benefit from labour while, at the same time, sharing the proceeds in various ways with communal areas of origin.

Given the economic meltdown in Zimbabwe, labour exchanges are engaged to avert the use of monetary transactions. This is very useful for most A1 settlers, who find it difficult to access money from banks. It also emerged as a strategy for most cash-strapped A1 households. Connections with places of origin enabled the provision of a cheaper alternative to hiring labour from former farmworkers.

7.5.3 Reverse labour exchanges with Ward 6

Evidence from this study illustrates that labour exchanges between people on Machiroli Farm are not limited to one area. Although much of the labour flows largely from communal areas to Machiroli Farm, people on Machiroli Farm stated that, they provide labour to their families in communal areas. However, this was on a limited scale. A respondent stated that

Although time is always challenge for farmers. When we have time, we go and assist our families [parents] in the communal areas on their fields. My wife normally goes to assist my parents. (Interview with Mrs. S, Machiroli Farm, March 2018).

Another respondent stated that

Because of the short distance that is between Machiroli and our communal village it is easier to commute. When I am done cultivating I send my cattle to my brother to cultivate his plot. This is normally done by my children. (Interview with Mr. S, Machiroli Farm, March 2018)



Picture 10 Cultivating in relative's farm Ward 6

Source: Fieldwork 2017

The image above shows Mr. S's children cultivating on his brother farm in Ward 6. The quotations stated above illustrate that through social relations, labour is exchanged. The exchange of cattle is part of the loaning system (*kuronzera*) which allows families without cattle to use cattle to cultivate as well enjoy benefits such as milk. This also illustrates that through labour, linkages are maintained between people on Machiroli Farm and their communal areas of origin.

Although the focus is on A1 settlers on Machiroli Farm that maintain ties, there are households well off category in communal areas that hire former farm workers to work on their farms. This labour is mobilised through A1 beneficiaries that are on Machiroli Farm. Households in the well-off category mainly depend on remittances from their children that have migrated to urban areas such as Harare, Norton, and Chinhoyi or to the diaspora such as South Africa, Botswana, Namibia and the United Kingdom. This was explained by a respondent:

My house is being built at the moment, my son in the city is paying the people that are building this house as well as people that assist me in the fields. As you can see my leg is injured I am not physically able to plough the fields. The money I receive monthly from my son helps us to pay for the labour

from former farm workers. My brother's children on Machiroli Farm help me recruit the right people (Interview with Mr Z, October 2017)

This illustrates that through networks of people on Machiroli Farm labour is being supplied to communal areas. Another possible explanation of the limited labour exchange is because of the demanding nature of agricultural activities on resettlement areas such tobacco productions, which labour demanding.

7.6 Disconnection with labour from communal areas

It is important to note that, while most families relied on labour exchanges with communal areas, there is a small number of beneficiaries that rely only on labour within Machiroli Farm. For some the sense of belonging has been weakened. Even though several households still maintain social relations with communal areas of origin, the deteriorating economy has affected labour exchanges. The economic environment, coupled with the financial crisis, has affected the family fabric in Zimbabwe to some extent. Some families are concentrating on the nuclear family, with less attention to the extended family. A1 and communal households both acknowledged that the economy had affected the structure of the rural family, as most families are slowly becoming nuclear-oriented. Other respondents felt that engaging a large number of family members from communal areas was going to affect their harvest and profits, thus they focused on using only their labour on Machiroli Farm.

People that have a weak sense of belonging are mostly not maintaining social relations. They stated that the reason that they do not use labour from communal areas was because of jealousy amongst families and unwillingness to share agricultural products. Hiring from, or labour exchange with, communal areas of origin often implies providing agricultural products. Respondents on Machiroli Farm explained to me that asking for help from communal areas, whether from friends or family, implies them coming to ask for sacks or buckets of maize on a frequent basis, something they are not prepared to do very often, as it entailed giving away a substantial portion of their harvest.

Other communal family members were regarded as jealous of the progress that some beneficiaries have attained on Machiroli Farm. This was explained by a respondent on Machiroli:

I want to be honest with you, not everyone is happy with us. As you can see, we have built beautiful houses, we have livestock that we did not have while in the communal areas. I stopped using my family from communal areas especially from my father's side because they were now jealous of me. I think

some have tried to bewitch me also; that is the reason I stopped asking for their help. It is better to hire labour from here in Machiroli Farm (Interview with Anonymous, Machiroli Farm, February 2019).

7.7 Social networks on Machiroli Farm

Whilst family communal areas are not very far away, they are not always available to assist with labour for the A1 settlers. Interviews with respondents on Machiroli Farm revealed that there is a group of households that preferred working with labour from Machiroli Farm and from their households on the farm. Belonging is not constant: some households that are not maintaining links with communal areas have established new relations with other A1 farmers. Some of the households from Machiroli Farm provide labour amongst each other. Some of the networks within religions are some of the ways, in which labour is provided within Machiroli Farm. This is evident through some religious institutions, such as white garments churches, which have been based on mutual religious beliefs and shared identity and sense of belonging. Mrs F confirmed this situation:

In the communal areas, I do not have many friends; however, my late husband had many friends in the communal areas. I have strong relations with other farmers that are on this farm, who have a white garments church here. These are those that I regard as my family. In most instances, they assist with tasks like tobacco production (Interview with Mrs F., Machiroli farm, May 2018).

On Machiroli A1 settlement, as in the case of Mrs F.'s household, social networks are emerging, with a focus on sharing labour. This has been strengthened by the fact that Machiroli Farm has a significant proportion of households from the same ward locality. When the FTLRP commenced in Zvimba, people from different districts were perceived as "strangers". However, over the years relationships with other A1 farmers have been established on the farm. The relations on Machiroli Farm have produced into multiple initiatives such as irrigation schemes.

Some of the labour exchanges within Machiroli Farm are through relations built through Machiroli irrigation. On Machiroli Farm there is an irrigation scheme, which comprises 26 households. It is important to note that the project was a top-down approach, as the Ministry of Lands, Department of Irrigation and District Administrator supplied this scheme with the pipe and created Machiroli irrigation scheme. I also took time to view other irrigation schemes in the district, which were started around the same time. Although these projects were imposed upon the beneficiaries, Machiroli irrigation is one of the 3 out of 10 still functioning in Zvimba.

The formation of the irrigation was explained by the Farm Chairman,

The Irrigation scheme was an initiative led by the Department of Irrigation and the Brazil More Food for Africa (BMFA) project. The Department of Irrigation gave us the irrigation pipes and BMFA offered to give us a tractor on credit. At that time, we did not have a tractor on this farm, the people on the farm agreed to buy the tractor that is owned by all the beneficiaries in the farm. We are paying back the debt. At the same time a committee was formed to oversee the operations of the irrigation. The Ministry of lands then came and officially allocated to us this irrigation place. An official event was done to handover the pipes and tractor to the people of Machiroli that is how this irrigation came into existence.

(Interview with Farm Chairperson, Machiroli Farm 18 September 2017)

The secretary of the scheme Mrs J stated:

Yes, I am involved. This year we are behind, we have a tractor that we use to plough if we have money on the farm. This is the other way we sustain our livelihoods on this farm. This year we had planted wheat; however, we did not have access to a combine harvester to cut the wheat for us. We have built relations among each other because of working together in the irrigation [scheme], often helping each other on our farm (Interview with Mrs J., January 2018).

Thus, for people on Machiroli Farm that are not maintaining ties with Ward was due to factors such irrigation schemes which provide them with alternative social networks to mobilise labour.

This irrigation scheme has further developed to the extent that A1 households in the farm assist others that are struggling. In an informal conversation with a beneficiary in the scheme he stated that “there is one man that lost his family; he lost his wife and sons and is now only left with his daughter. We have pledged to give him seed and fertiliser to help him.” This form of assistance in the irrigation scheme reveals that people are assisting each other through this social network on the farm.

7.8 Familial conflicts

Other people on Machiroli Farm stated that they were not engaged in labour exchanges with communal areas due to the availability of former farmworkers. People revealed that former farmworkers were easily accessible and, at times, worked better than relatives. Respondent on Machiroli Farm explained:

Relatives are difficult to handle at times. Sometimes, it is difficult to control them because of the fear of damaging relations. That is why I prefer labour from the former farmworkers or church members from Machiroli Farm (Interview with Anonymous, December 2017).

I do not want to lie; relatives are a big problem. I took my brother's sons to come help me here, instead they started stealing from me. This caused a huge fight between me and my brother. I decided that in order to work with former farm workers here on Machiroli Farm, Interview with Mr. CA, Machiroli Farm, January 2018

The evidence above illustrates that family conflicts are some of the reasons for the breakdown of ties with places of origin as well as limited labour exchanges.

Thus, although there are households that prefer former farmworkers, these are limited in number. Generally, a number of respondents indicated that they preferred labour from their relatives from communal areas, as this was a cheaper alternative and way to maintain connections with places of origin.

7.9 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the nature of the labour relations between Machiroli Farm and Ward 6. It has argued that the physical translocation to Machiroli Farm did not disrupt the connection and sense of belonging to communal areas of origin. Labour exchanges are used to maintain links with those places. This chapter also illustrated how agricultural production in the research area creates a demand for labour. Several types of labour, such as nuclear family and extended family, and their importance, have been distinguished. The chapter detailed the importance of family labour (nuclear and extended), how inter- and intra-household relations in communal areas and A1 settlements complement each other in labour provision and how it is supplemented by hired labour for households on the farm to produce optimally. In addition, this chapter demonstrated how labour provides a linkage between people on Machiroli Farm and communal areas of origin through kinship ties and social relations. It illustrates how labour exchanges within this study are based on belonging are enabled through various social relations. This chapter therefore shows that belonging has influences in labour relations as well as agricultural production. I will discuss the implications of these insights in the discussion chapter that follows.

Chapter 8

Land reform and belonging: findings, discussion and conclusions

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I provide an overview of the study findings, then their implications on land, land reform and belonging. Key insights from this study articulate the importance of belonging and land reform, relevant to two areas: land reform policy and scholarly debates. To this point, empirical evidence provided in this study has shown that beneficiaries of the FTLRP A1 villagised settlements maintain ties with communal areas of origin. Primarily, this study argues that people, who are resettled, maintain ties to either land or place of origin. The chapter is divided into four main sections, it begins by outlining the study focus, as well as the research questions this thesis sought to answer. The second section proceeds to sum up key findings of the study based on empirical material, which was discussed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. A discussion on the broad implications of the study on land reform and belonging then follows. The last section concludes by focusing on how belonging draws together people in different geographical or emotional spaces. The section that follows describes the focus of the study.

8.2 The focus of the study

Broadly, the study sought to explore the extent to which beneficiaries of land reform are connected to, or disconnected from, their communal areas of origin through the lens of belonging since the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) of 2000 in Zvimba District, Mashonaland West. As stated in Chapter 1, the study emerged out of limited scholarly debates about the FTLRP that have analysed in-depth linkages between beneficiaries of the FTLRP and communal areas of origin. Critical debates about the FLTRP argue that it separated families, displaced former farmworkers and led to reduced productivity through the insecurity of tenure, and was a political instrument of the ruling party, ZANU-PF, which was comprised of violence (Mabhena, 2010; Zamchiya, 2011; Nyawo, 2015). However, analysis of evidence drawn from this case study in Zvimba District demonstrates that, through belonging, linkages are manifesting through social networks and labour practices. The study fills a gap in the literature about linkages between resettlement areas and communal areas of origin.

There are some studies about the FTLRP that have shown that people in resettlement areas maintain links with communal areas from which they come, such as those by Moyo (2009), Cousins and Scoones (2010), Scoones et al., (2010), Chiweshe (2011), Mkodzongi (2013), and

Mutopo (2014). Although these studies have recognised the existence of linkages, detailed research was essential to systematically examine ties in depth through the lens of belonging. The study was guided by the following research questions:

The broad research question is: What forms of linkages exist between residents of resettlement areas and communal areas of origin after the FTLRP of 2000 in Zvimba District, Mashonaland West? The following are research sub-questions:

1. How does belonging sustain linkages existing between beneficiaries of the FTLRP in A1 villagised settlement and communal areas of origin in Zvimba District?
2. How do social relations and labour exchanges enhance links between beneficiaries of the FTLRP in A1 villagised settlement and communal areas of origin since the Fast Track Land Reform Programme in Zvimba District?
3. What is the nature of linkages that exist between beneficiaries of the FTLRP in A1 villagised settlement and communal areas of origin since the FastTrack Land Reform Programme?

In answering the questions above, this case study demonstrates that the FTLRP did not uproot households from the social fabric in communal areas. The study goes further to highlight the importance of belonging in enabling linkages. The study contribution is that land reform does not only benefit the immediate beneficiaries of land, but the benefits also spill over to family members in communal areas, though on a different scale and magnitude. Thus, studies on land reform should draw their outcomes from both the beneficiaries and their families, who remain in their places of origin and who remain connected culturally, socially and economically. Consequently, land reform has far-reaching positive effects on places of origin. In the next section, I discuss the findings emerging from the study.

8.3 Findings

A summary of the findings from this study on linkages is hereby given. This section revisits the research questions, showing how this study answered them.

8.4 Social, cultural and religious effects strengthen ties

The most prominent finding that emerged from this analysis is that people embraced new land without forgoing old relations in places of origin. This outcome is similar to findings observed in earlier studies, which held that ties with places of origin are maintained (Moyo, 2009;

Scoones et al., 2010; Mkodzongi, 2013; Murisa, 2013). However, in this case, belonging was a common trend in the analysis of narratives, as communal areas were regarded as a place where people in both communal areas and resettlement areas develop a sense of belonging. Machiroli farmers regarded belonging to communal areas through such factors as being buried in communal areas. Although it has been eighteen years since the FTLRP beneficiaries left communal areas for A1 settlements, evidence points out that beneficiaries of the FTLRP maintain ties with families and/or friends in communal areas of origin. An example in Chapter 6 clearly illustrates this point; belonging is evident through the maintenance of church groups and women savings clubs, which include women in both resettlement areas and communal areas. This intriguing result is attributed to the importance of belonging to communal areas by beneficiaries FTLRP on Machiroli Farm.

A common trend, in this case, was that most households in A1 settlements are still closely connected, as they still identify with, and participate in, social and cultural activities in communal areas of origin. Traditions, such as the burial of umbilical cords, act as important facets of strengthening belonging. This view is also shared by Vorster (2019:4), who argues that belonging to land in communal areas is maintained through such practices, namely, the burial of the umbilical cord of a “new-born baby near the location of the birth to root that person in a place of origin, which is shared with the ancestors”. On the contrary, Nyawo (2015) holds that the FTLRP disrupted family ties. However, outcomes from this case show that most of the beneficiaries in A1 settlements areas are maintaining ties with places of origin. Belonging was evident through familial relations, such as totemic and extended familial relations, which were important in sharing livestock, and maintaining communal homesteads for A1 beneficiaries.

The findings from the study illustrated the importance of links, particularly as a way of maintaining the identity of the A1 beneficiaries. Results from this case revealed that, in limited cases, these links were also used to maintain households in the communal area. While ties are evident, more importantly, belonging is a key element that ensures that land reform beneficiaries maintain links with households in communal areas. This unique contribution of examining relations across both communal and resettlement areas is missing in most post-FTLRP studies, which focus largely on resettlement areas. Social relations, a point I discuss in the next section, also play a key function in the maintenance of relations.

8.4.1 Social relations enforce linkages

Another important finding is that social relationships strengthen links with places of origin. Social relations based on belonging are some of the factors that enable links with communal areas of origin. It emerged that belonging is also demonstrated within familial relationships, such as extended family and kinship networks; familial ties were a dominant factor in maintaining links, as shown in Chapter 6. Familial relations are instituted at various levels and include extended and totemic family ties. Evidence from Zvimba District indicated that households still maintain familial relations based on a sense of connection. This is contrary to studies by (Nyawo, 2015), who argues that the FTLRP split families. This case study shows that, in most cases, relations are reciprocal amongst familial networks. Familial links are maintained in various ways, such as attending marriage ceremonies (paying of bride price), funeral ceremonies, rituals and social visits. Through these familial links, households in communal areas avert some of the challenges found in communal areas, such as shortages of firewood. This outcome is similar to findings by Mutopo (2014), who noted that links with communal areas are kept through the sharing of resources, such as firewood, in resettlement areas through their social relations. Similarly, Mandondo and Kozanayi (2006) argue that some people in resettled areas use natural resources to maintain social relations. In this case, the importance of belonging is an avenue to strengthen social relations and links, which are a path to access resources in resettlement areas and labour from communal areas of origin.

The study found that the family unit transcends the geographical location; whether persons are in the communal area or A1 settlement, they are always connected as a family, often assisting each other. Shipton and Goheen (1992) share a similar view, noting that social relations can have legitimate or informal rights to access land, grazing land and resources. Through belonging, families in communal areas have maintained links with A1 settlements. A possible explanation could be that there are various social connections, which act as links between communal areas and resettlement areas, namely, family, friendship, sport and religious networks. Analysis of data revealed that, although beneficiaries of land reform have established permanency through building and investment in resettlement areas, linkages are maintained based on attachment to communal areas. While permanency has been established on Machiroli Farm, belonging manifested through family ties is still important for the ties with places of origin. Geschiere and Gugler (1998) state that belonging is a bond between people and places. This study illustrates that, while permanency is established through building on Machiroli Farm, ties with communal areas is important. This view is also discussed in other fields, such

as rural to urban migration, where urbanites maintain links with communal areas of origin, which, in certain instances, provide a fall-back option for urban households that lose jobs in the city (Potts & Mutambirwa, 1998; Potts, 2010).

Social relations through friendship networks are also a factor that ensures that connections between communal areas and A1 villagised settlements are maintained. Findings indicated that households are differentiated; they also comprise friends and neighbourly networks (*sahwira*), which still maintain connections between households in communal areas and A1 settlements. Respondents indicated that belonging to these networks was important to ensure connections. Within these *sahwira* networks, households help each other during weddings, funerals and social-cultural gatherings in both communal areas and A1 settlements. It emerged that, through these *sahwira* networks, there are savings groups and burial societies, which are still being maintained by both A1 and communal areas households. These friendship networks were useful in borrowing money and seed, as well as for the dissemination of political- and economic-related information. This resonates with findings by Mutopo (2014), Murisa (2009) and Chiweshe (2011).

8.4.2 Burial sites strengthen a sense of belonging

An important finding from this case is that burial sites or where one is buried were regarded as an important element for belonging. A common trend among beneficiaries on Machiroli Farm revealed that being buried in communal areas was regarded as crucial. This view was further emphasised because most of the family members were buried in communal areas. Thus, it was regarded as “un-African” to abandon or not be buried in communal areas. Burial sites and funerals are some of the ways households ascertain belonging. This concurs with Murisa (2013), who states that links with communal areas by beneficiaries of the FTLRP were maintained, as, in Shona custom, abandoning graves was synonymous with abandoning one’s people. Mkodzongi (2013) also states that, even in A1 resettlements not close to communal areas of origin, beneficiaries of the FTLRP preferred to be buried in their communal areas of origin as security in the afterlife. A possible explanation for this was that graves are a sense of connection for both the living and the dead. In my study, I illustrate that, besides the fear of abandoning graves, the desire to be buried among kinsmen in communal areas emerged as important.

This study found that some of the major reasons beneficiaries on Machiroli Farm are maintaining links with communal areas are to ensure that, upon death, they are still recognised

as being part of the clan or family. This can be explained by the fact that communal areas from this case were regarded as the abode of the ancestors. Where one is buried strengthens and defines one's belonging. These results agree with scholars, such as Geschiere and Nyamnjoh, who illustrate that, in Cameroon, even people in the urban areas place emphasis on where they are buried, with most preferring to be buried in the villages (Geschiere & Nyamnjoh, 2000; Geschiere, 2009). Therefore, although households were allocated burial sites in A1 settlements, links through burial in communal areas portray an important role of belonging and maintaining links. Evidence highlighted that graves are an important asset and symbol of maintaining connections and belonging. Scholars, such as Geschiere (2009) and Chabal (2013), emphasise this by stating that "the link to the ancestors, wherever they are buried, is an integral part of the meaning of origin, and of the texture of identity, which cannot be disregarded" (Chabal, 2013:29). Evidence showed that communal lands, in this case, are regarded as a point of contact with the ancestors, a burial site and carriers' physical assets on it. Thus, funerals and graves reaffirm a sense of belonging. This unique analysis is missing in other post-FTLRP studies.

Interview data revealed that funerals are some of the reasons households maintain links. Beneficiaries on Machiroli Farm attend funerals in adjacent communal areas and most of the A1 beneficiaries preferred to be buried in communal areas. This highlights that, although people relocated to resettlement areas, they remain connected with kin through attending funerals and ceremonies attached to funerals. Geschiere (2009) argues that funerals, in most cases, are conducted in places where a person was born rather than where he lived. The maintenance of these linkages, through burial in communal areas and attending funerals, indicates that households in resettlement areas still belonged in communal areas, as insights above showed. The narratives from Zvimba have highlighted the importance and symbolism of graves as a sign of belonging. Similarly, views of other scholars in Zimbabwe, such as Mujere (2011) and Fontein (2011), are along the same lines, noting the importance of graves in the African social-cultural fabric. Thus, a grave provides a sense of identity; respondents on Machiroli Farm indicated that they wanted to be buried where their umbilical cords, grandparents and parents were buried. This concurs with Shipton (2009:20), who notes that graves are symbolic places of human attachment. With regard to burials, thus, the burial of beneficiaries on Machiroli Farm in communal areas completes the circle of belonging. However, other respondents wanted to be buried in resettlement areas. Koot et al. (2019) note that one can determine where to belong. While these constitute a small proportion of respondents, it indicates that belonging is not fixed to a location.

8.4.3 Religion institutions sustain linkages

Evidence unequivocally shows that churches are an essential factor that enables links connecting households in both communal areas and A1 settlements. Most of the Christian denominations and ritual sites are in communal areas. This is not surprising considering that, until the land reform programme, Machiroli was a private farm where privilege by residents from the communal areas would not have been possible. Prominent churches, such as the Roman Catholic, are in communal areas. By attending these denominations, households on Machiroli Farm still maintain interconnections with communal areas of origin. These church organisations have enforced networks, such as cell groups and savings groups, which more often were regarded as “families”, which cut across both A1 and communal areas. Most households in Zvimba practice Christianity and traditional African religion, with former farmworkers mainly practising Islam. These religious networks continue to act as a platform to assist households in communal areas and A1 settlements through either cell groups or networks. These religious networks continue as linkages, as, even though some members relocated to A1 settlements, they are still assisted. The religious networks driven by their ethos, share agricultural inputs and give each other loans. This resonates with Scoones et al. (2010:71), who note that “religion and church affiliation have emerged as a vital component in the construction of social relations and networks on the new resettlements”. Evidence from this study shows that religious networks across both communal areas and Machiroli Farm are important for accessing labour and farming implements, amongst other resources.

It is evident that belonging is enabled through factors such as religion. As a form of social relations, religion is one of the factors that enables links between communal areas and resettlement areas. This draws attention to the fact that religion enforces a sense of belonging for beneficiaries of the FTLRP. Evidence from this study showed that the religious institutions, such as church, play a leading role in this case study in linking households in communal areas and A1 settlements, despite their being in different areas. This was with specific reference to the Roman Catholic Church and white garments church, which are the dominant religious groups in the study area. Churches are important elements of claiming belonging. Other studies within the FTLRP debates acknowledge that the churches in several areas of religious affiliation are the most significant sources of social organisation (Murisa, 2009; Chigumira 2010; Chiweshe 2014; Scoones et al., 2010; 2018). Thus, the church plays a vital role in ensuring that households in both communal areas and A1 settlements are still in touch. Therefore, this study argues that social relations are the thread that ties together households in

communal areas and A1 settlements, and this contribution is missing in many FTLRP studies. Thus, in defining social relations and affirming belonging, land is an essential factor for beneficiaries of the FTLRP.

For the limited number of people that are not maintaining links with communal areas of origin, various factors, such as churches and A1 farmer networks, create belonging on Machiroli Farm. Belonging is not fixed; scholars, such as Castles and Davidson (2000:130) argue that new belonging is created “through ‘negotiations with neighbours’”. Thus, evidence from Zvimba shows that belonging is dynamic, as people can define their identities when they relocate. In this case study, religious institutions played a crucial role in the development of networks within Machiroli Farm. Religious institutions have been regarded as “moral custodians of the community” (Bell & Newby, 1971:24). The church networks play an essential role in accessing labour, agricultural equipment and economic capital. The sense of belonging through the church also provides a cushion for risk in the event of death, famine and drought. As noted above, religion provides a sense of belonging.

Through belonging, there are social, economic and cultural effects particularly on people that relocate from places of origin. These effects are important for a number of reasons. More importantly, spiritual effects revealed the important link that people have to graves as illustrated in this case study where abandoning graves was synonymous with abandoning one’s people and that graves are a sense of connection for both the living and the dead. For cultural effects, it illustrates that despite being resettled being buried among kinsmen is important. This study also illustrates that communal areas serve provide a security effect in cases where security of land tenure as in this case of most A1 villagised households in Zimbabwe.

8.5 Women as active agents for maintaining linkages and belonging

Women in the case study emerged as active agents that enable the maintenance of relations. Observations from the case study show that, in most social networks, women actively participate in the maintenance of social relations between Machiroli Farm and communal areas of origin. This case demonstrated that women from Machiroli Farm actively participate in social networks, such as savings clubs, and family and community initiatives. In some cases, evidence from this study has shown how women’s church saving clubs enable the maintenance of links between Machiroli Farm and communal areas. This is mainly because women, unlike men, are more involved in social activities that result in the interconnection of people. These links enable households to access labour and increase agricultural production. This is similar

to Mutopo (2013), who states that the women in communal areas adjacent to A1 resettlement areas use their social networks to access land, resources and institutions in resettlement areas.

Belonging, thus, entails attachment to people, families and cultural experiences, both ordinary and defining, accumulated in a place over time. Through belonging, connections have assisted households in times of famine, labour shortages, and funerals, and in the need for draught power, labour and finances. In communal areas, households are more likely to receive assistance from their kin, more of whom are in communal areas than on Machiroli Farm. Kinship networks are the defining source of linkage in the communal areas, and the presence of the social networks in communal areas assists them in coping with the challenges listed above. Most of the stories indicated that they live close to their relatives from either extended family or marriage. As a result, the assistance provided amongst the households is free or based on reciprocity. Interconnections overlap to include families in an A1 settlement, and I observed that the interconnections are still active between communal households and A1 settlers in Machiroli.

Belonging most often entails sharing emotional and physical spaces. Households straddle between Machiroli and Zvimba Communal areas. This is mainly because of the importance of familial links. Family networks provide valuable links to access social services, which is one of the ways of affirming belonging. Thus, through family networks, communal areas households can access indirect benefits from government-sponsored programmes. Studies by Scoones et al. (2010), Mkodzongi (2013) and Mutupo (2014) also note straddling by land reform beneficiaries. However, in this case, beneficiaries on resettlement areas revealed that straddling with communal areas of origin, besides maintaining relations and claims to land, made it easy to access social services, such as medication and food from NGOs, which have limited activities in resettlement areas. Studies by Mufandaedza and Matondi (2008), and Magaramombe and Chiweshe (2008) have also shown the limited activities of NGOs in resettlement areas. This study shows that, in order to access services provided in communal areas by other NGOs, households maintain links. Evidence analysed in Chapter 6 and above highlight that, while straddling evolves to maintain a sense of security, it goes beyond that. Within this context, belonging to a place “becomes the same as belonging to a group of people, that is, belonging becomes synonymous with identity, both social and individual” (Lovell, 1998a:1). Furthermore, straddling between communal areas and resettlement areas shows that there are fluid boundaries that exist between these areas. While these areas have structural differences, they have similarities, which enable people to move and reside freely.

8.6 Proximity strengthens links

Proximity provides a critical element in explaining the linkages between communal areas and resettlement areas. From this case, it was revealed that proximity played an essential part in giving support in multiple forms, such as livestock, agricultural equipment, labour and moral support, particularly in the earlier period of the FTLRP. The way proximity strengthens belonging is through physical and social closeness. Some of the benefits have been access to farming equipment, family and labour for A1 households. This is contrary to findings by Mabheba (2010), who notes that proximity has not enabled links; instead there are conflicts between households in communal areas and A1 settlements, specifically with regard to livestock pasture. Like findings from this case, Murisa (2013) notes that proximity played a role in associations with neighbouring customary areas for both economic and social needs. However, this case reveals that, in addition to the physical closeness, the importance of social proximity is key for families or communal ties that enable the maintenance of links. People with the same totem are socio-culturally and socially connected and obliged to help one another (Dekker, 2004; Chiweshe, 2011). The close nature of these two areas provides benefits for both beneficiaries of the land reform and communal areas. Moreover, in the A1 settlement areas, kinship networks provide attachments through building a sense of belonging and community. The case study revealed proximity to familial networks provides a key role in linking families in communal areas and A1 settlements. Familial networks are maintained through visits and attending socio-cultural events, such as burials and payment of bride price. On the other hand, proximity enabled access to resources, such as firewood, grazing areas and farming land, in the A1 villagised settlement through familial networks.

Proximity enabled the maintenance of parent-child relations. It was facilitated by the short distance between these two areas. The age groups that benefited from the FTLRP were mostly offspring of primary landowners in communal areas. Most of the beneficiaries on Machiroli had not owned land in communal areas. Before translocating, most A1 beneficiaries were living in communal households under their parents, siblings or guardians. Findings highlighted that the beneficiaries, in most cases, have obligations of a social and a physical nature back in the communal areas. This was through either the provision of food, firewood and/or vegetables, and visiting parents and attending socio-cultural gatherings in their home villages. Therefore, the familial network plays a critical role in interconnections between communal households and A1 beneficiaries. Similarly, Mutopo (2014) notes that households in communal areas benefit from the resources in resettlement areas due to proximity.

However, it is important to note that the analysis of findings reveals that maintenance of links does not only occur in cases where there is proximity. Even in cases where people translocated or resettled in areas that are far from their places of origin, ties are maintained. This is demonstrated in the case of the Gwembe Tonga people, in Zambia, who were resettled to the Gwembe Valley after being dispossessed to make room for the Kariba Hydro-Electric power station (Cliggett, 2014). In 1979, after the opening of new Game Management Areas, people from the Gwembe Valley migrated to the new areas. Cliggett (2014) states that, despite migration to other areas, people still maintain links with places of origin. Cliggett (2003:546) also says: “If a migrant wants to maintain his good standing with his family and community in the village, he must somehow maintain his connection to rural origin.” This view is also maintained in diaspora studies that argue that people in the diaspora maintain links with places of origin (Dodson et al., 2008; Tevera & Chikanda, 2008). Evidence from this case shows that, where there is proximity, it aids agricultural production and social relations.

8.7 Not all beneficiaries of the FTLRP maintain links with communal areas

One unexpected finding from the analysis of evidence was that not all beneficiaries are maintaining links with communal areas. A few of the respondents indicated that they have disconnected from communal areas of origin due to family conflicts and misunderstandings. Findings revealed that, for these households belonging is not fixed, as these beneficiaries indicated that they are now belonging to Machiroli Farm. The findings from this study indicate that communities that have received land are not static but dynamic and inclusive. Kinship networks play an important role among communal households; in general, the absence of such has resulted in networks being created in the A1 settlements. A1 beneficiaries have created networks among themselves as a measure to deal with the absence of kin. A1 farmers created networks to help them to avert risks, as well as to pool labour and resources. In the case study, A1 farmers have formed an irrigation scheme. Thus, new social relations have arisen among A1 settlers and former farmworkers (see below for more detail). This is emphasised by Geschiere (1998) and (Malkki, 1992), who note that the idea of belonging is not universal and not equally strong across the African continent. These findings are similar to findings by Potts (2010) in her migration studies that note that there are migrants that have no desire to maintain links to rural or urban areas of origin.

Analysis of narratives indicated that not maintaining links was due to the establishment of new social relations among A1 settlers and former farmworkers in Machiroli Farm. There are savings clubs and farming arrangements, such as provision of labour and work gangs, that have emanated within Machiroli Farm. This concurs with studies by Barr (2002), Dekker (2004) and Dekker and Kinsey (2011), who argue that, as a way of coping with being away from their kin households in Zimbabwe's Old Resettlement Areas (ORAs), people increased their stock of social capital by developing associations and clubs. While these studies reflect on the period before the Fast Track Land Reform, I note that, after the FTLRP, households also created or joined networks in their new areas to cope with or mitigate the risks of being away from kin. Therefore, group networks comprised of non-lineage households have emerged in A1 settlements to cope with the risks of breaking ties or being away from families. However, these views constituted a small proportion of responses from the study. Insights, in general, indicate that belonging plays a key role in the maintenance of linkages at various levels. The main findings indicate the nuanced nature of belonging, as well as its value for communal areas and A1 settlements.

8.8 The FTLRP provided the young generation with land

Qualitative analysis of fieldwork evidence revealed that the maintenance of connections between communal areas and Machiroli farm is indicated. The FTLRP provided households access to more land in resettlement areas without them foregoing rights in communal areas. Evidence from this case shows that the majority of beneficiaries were the younger generation, who did not own land in communal areas and received land in resettlement areas. Households were split strategically through the sending of younger beneficiaries to access land and firewood. This concurs with findings by Scoones (2010), who stated that, in Masvingo province, younger men sought resettlement land and primary owners of land remained behind. This is explored by Mkodzongi and Spiegel (2020) who demonstrate that young people as beneficiaries of land reform who are also involved in livelihood activities such as artisanal and small scale mining. Thus, such factors made the attainment of decongestion difficult. Evidence showed that part of the reasons for the maintenance of links was to avert some of the challenges that are being faced by households in communal areas. This unique contribution has been missing in most FTLRP studies in Zimbabwe.

In addition, findings from this study show that, in most cases, the resettlement of people from communal areas to resettlement areas did not lead to the abandonment of communal areas

homesteads. This was mostly due to the importance attached to communal areas, the presence of graves and other physical and emotional investment attached to communal areas. In practice, few households were prepared to forego their land rights in communal areas due to the risk posed by the lack of security of tenure in resettlement areas. As the evidence here showed, in practice, for most, the FTLRP was a platform to acquire more land for communal families. This concurred with the Utete report (2003) regarding the few households that relocated from communal areas to resettlements, whose land has been taken up by the many landless people in communal areas and by an influx of families from urban areas, who have become unemployed owing to the sharply reduced growth in the manufacturing industries. The findings of this study show that, under the FTLRP, the majority of the older generation remained in communal areas.

8.9 Labour exchanges facilitate maintenance of links

Analysis of evidence revealed that labour exchanges are another factor that enabled the maintenance of linkages with places of origin. Labour is exchanged between A1 villagised households and communal areas of origin. It emerged that, on Machiroli Farm, labour is mostly provided by nuclear and extended family members from communal areas. Equally, Scoones (2010) argues that, in Masvingo Province in Zimbabwe, there are some households that engage labour from communal areas as an economic strategy. In other parts of Africa, scholars, such as Moore (1975), state that these labour exchange arrangements allow poor households to participate in labour arrangements for mutual obligations. Evidence from this case shows that, after the FTLRP, although the practice of recruiting labour from communal areas for agricultural production is common, this practice is a way of strengthening familial connections. Evidence gathered here shows that households in communal areas provide labour to survive by receiving agricultural produce, monetary gains and support in return. Although these arrangements are prone to the exploitation of relatives that provide labour, they serve as a survival strategy, while resettled households eliminated, or reduced costs associated with hiring labour from former farmworkers. Essentially data presented here show that a strong sense of belonging among people in resettlement areas and communal areas plays a critical role in mitigating risks, such as food shortages.

In this study, findings revealed that A1 households depend on family labour as the main source of labour, supplemented by former farmworkers and extended family labour. In the resettlement areas, the invasion of farms disrupted livelihoods for the former farmworkers.

Although some former farmworkers are evolving through engaging in a number of livelihood activities, most have lost livelihoods as a result of the FTLRP. Most A1 settlers depend on family (including extended labour) except where specialised skill is required. This concurs with Sachikonye (2003c), who argued that, in resettlement areas, “new farmers” have been the primary beneficiaries of land reform, while farmworkers have lost a livelihood. This also indicated a lack of consideration from the government for former farmworkers. Furthermore, while most of the former farmworkers did not benefit directly from the FTLRP, there are multiple benefits that are emerging from the relations with A1 settlers and some communal households.

The study found that, through belonging, households on Machiroli Farm can access labour in communal areas. The study revealed that there are labour exchanges between families in both communal areas and A1 settlements in Machiroli Farm. Family labour still plays an important role as a source of labour particularly. To a large extent, women constitute most agrarian labour in both communal areas and A1 settlements. The extended family network supplements the nuclear family labour and reduces the labour burden for the households. While former farmworkers have expert knowledge on mostly tobacco production, most A1 farmers cannot afford to hire former farmworkers. As a result, A1s depend on mostly nuclear and extended family labour. The findings from this study indicated that labour is an asset for both types of households, which could only be shared when there is excess labour or when there is a financial or (reciprocal) material need. Furthermore, among A1 farmers, there are kinsmen that assist each other with labour. This resonates with Moyo (2009), who highlights that there exist inter-family arrangements of reciprocal labour exchanges: under these arrangements households team up to work on each other's plots of land within resettlement areas. In this case study, the significance of belonging enabled the maintenance of these connections. However, most extended family members from communal areas provide labour to A1 households on Machiroli Farm.

Evidence from this study shows that women contribute to petty-commodity production in the communal areas and subsidised labour deficiencies (Ranger, 1993; Phimister, 1993; Arrighi & Saul, 1973). This case study showed that, after the FTLRP, women, still the dominant labour source, have turned into subsistence producers in rural households. Moyo (2011) and (Toro, 2016) note that women work in fields, which, in most cases, they do not own although they have the right to use the land, as more often, small farms depend on household labour. Although

labour provided by women promotes the maintenance of relations between communal areas and A1 settlements, it highlights the uneven labour distributions within households in communal areas and A1 settlements, as tasks such as planting, weeding and harvesting are done by women. Through these findings, the study answered research questions by providing empirical material presented above.

8.10 Discussion

Having presented findings from the study, this section engages insights within the broader debates focusing on belonging, land, land reform and labour.

8.10.1 Belonging

A key implication emerging in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 is about the importance of belonging for the maintenance of linkages. This research outcome suggests that the significance of belonging is that it is not confined to physical boundaries or territories but transcends them. An explanation of this insight provided in Chapter 6 is that beneficiaries of land reform show that belonging is plural and not limited to a single area in which they reside, as people straddle across different areas. The maintenance of linkages, in this case, provides an explanation on the plurality of belonging. This view is expressed by Antonsich (2010), who asserts that belonging is often visible beyond territorial or boundary limits. This view emerges despite criticisms against belonging, which argue that people have a singular sense of attachment to a place (Malkki, 1992). This study on linkages brings to the forefront the importance of belonging between people in resettlement areas and communal areas by showing how belonging ties together people in different locations.

Seen as such, belonging in Zvimba enabled flows of images (memories), goods and people between two places (Geschiere & Nyamnjoh, 2000). Ehrkamp (2005) states that there are multiple forms of belonging between places of origin and places of relocation. Groups, family and social networks are some of the facets that entail belonging (Shipton, 2009; Chabal, 2013). This view is emphasised by Cousins et al., who note that networks of kinship, such as relational connections, are important as a source of cooperation and support in times of need (Cousins et al., 1992). Thus, belonging, specifically for beneficiaries of land reform, enables benefits of the FTLRP to spill over to places of origin. In this case, belonging was key in maintaining ties among institutions, such as churches, burial societies and familial relations.

8.10.1.1 Belonging and place

These insights further draw attention to the importance of place, particularly land, in defining belonging. A common view, in this case, is on the importance of land in places of origin for beneficiaries of the FTLRP. In the case of Zvimba District, the land provides an important source for defining a person within place, that is, social and cultural context. Debates on the importance of land include scholars, such as Chabal (2013), who argue that land as an asset marks the origin of an individual. Unlike studies in other parts of Zimbabwe by scholars, such as Nyawo (2015), who argue that families are disrupted because of the FTLRP, evidence from this case study shows that the issue of land is interwoven with complexities, which are linked with belonging and which enhance social relations and agricultural production. Similarly, a report by the Utete Commission in Zimbabwe, which reviewed the FTLRP, found that land in communal areas was an important place for defining belonging (GoZ, 2003). As such land is important for expressing belonging.

The land belongs to the dead and the living, as shown in this case; as such, the link between the living and the dead may not be ignored, as it is a point of identity for the people (Chabal, 2013). The connection to communal areas indicates the importance of the dead in places of origin. The importance of graves in places of origin is not only unique to this study, Geschiere (2018) argues that graves and funerals are “festivals of belonging”; it is in these places where belonging is emphasised. By the same token, in this study, graves are important signs of affirming belonging, as shown in Chapter 6. As the case showed, the burial of people in places of origin is an affirmation of belonging to the land in Zimbabwe. Other studies have revealed that the attachment to the land is through spiritual and physical connections, mostly through gravesites (Mujere, 2011). This insight is mirrored in other parts of Africa; for example, Geschiere and Nyamnjoh (2000) state that, for many Cameroonians, burial locations are a symbol of belonging. As such, the link between the living and the dead may not be ignored, as it is a point of identity for the people. Chabal (2013) emphasises this by stating that “the link to the ancestors, wherever they are buried, is an integral part of the meaning of origin, and of the texture of identity, which cannot be disregarded” (Chabal 2013:29). In this case, resettled households in A1 villagised settlement models still value and respect communal areas of origin. Indisputably, belonging is multi-layered: it is evident in multiple locations.

Land is also revealed as the abode of the ancestors through burial sites and ceremonies in places of origin, which emphasise belonging. Other scholars, such as Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Mhlanga (2013:194), argue that, within the Zimbabwean context, where one is buried reinforces where one belongs. (See also, the reference to Chabal in the previous paragraph, which refers to elsewhere in Africa.) Thus, the significance of burial sites in communal areas, as most of the respondents reflected in Chapter 6, exhibits how belonging is interwoven with a place of origin. Drawing from Mujere and Fontein, graves are a sign of belonging; land in places of origin serves as a symbol of belonging (Mujere, 2011; Fontein, 2011).

People, as illustrated in this case, have the capacity to belong in two or more different places. This view illustrates that the FTLRP has also brought about dual-belonging, as beneficiaries of the FTLRP straddle between resettlement areas and communal areas, physically, emotionally, socially and socio-culturally. This insight is reflected in immigration and translocation studies by scholars, such as Gugler (2002:21), who contends that “most rural-urban migrants maintain significant ties with their communities of origin in Africa south of the Sahara. Contrary to ‘modernist’ assumptions that these ties would fade away, they often continue to be strong.” The scholar argues that links are maintained despite the translocation of people to urban areas, thus, belonging occurs in various spaces concurrently. Wilson (1972) also argues that there are push and pull factors for the relocation of migrants to urban areas. Although cognisant of the push and pull factors in the rural landscape, as well as dual belonging, land in places of origin is key in defining belonging.

Places of origin provide various attachments for people who relocate. In as much as people migrate either to urban areas or farms, a person is always connected to their “home”, thus, the importance of maintaining links. Evidence from this study shows that places of origin constitute various socio-cultural factors that define it as a “home”. Scholars, such as Antonsich (2010), argue that a place such as a home can be manifested in numerous ways, namely, language, physical space, practices, memories, food, religion and history. Evidence from Zvimba revealed that places, such as communal areas, embody factors, such as language, physical space, memories and history centred on land, which engender the feeling of belonging. Thus, most prominently, land is a critical component of social relations and labour exchanges, which is traced to history. This is through the history of communal areas, despite people being forced to provide labour in colonial times to mines or farms, links with communal areas have always been maintained. Duggan (1980:229) argues that, despite restrictive policies during the

colonial state, “Africans themselves clung to the urban-rural ties”. Even in post-colonial Zimbabwe, communal areas’ role as home is still significant.

Land reaffirms a vital component for belonging through social relations, as people, who translocate to new areas, do not discard their identities. Accordingly, insights generated from this study demonstrate that resettlement does not break belonging . Beneficiaries on Machiroli Farm indicated that land on the farm is an asset for them, with some spill-over benefits for households in communal areas. This view concurs with that of Ahluwalia (1985), who argues that the provision of land engenders an increase in people’s way of life and livelihoods for rural households. Also, while beneficiaries of the FTLRP in this case, acknowledged the value of resettled land, land in communal areas equally carried a high social and cultural value. The presence of burial sites plays an essential role in affirming belonging, as they symbolise the spiritual and metaphysical, as well as the physical benefits that emerge from the land. Mujere (2011) also notes that graves are a significant sign of belonging. Insights from this study are in line with Geschiere (2018:30), who argues that belonging “allows for the circulation of persons between groups that make any claim to belong relative and contingent”.

8.10.1.2 Material exchange and belonging

Evidence from this study illustrates that there are various material exchanges that are engaged in between people on Machiroli Farm and their communal areas of origin. Evidence in Chapters 6 and 7 illustrated that people exchange livestock, money and agricultural products in these two areas. Although most of the people, who send material assistance to places have limited resources, they are mostly driven by the need reinforce their belonging. Evidence gathered in this study, particularly the sharing of maize with communal areas of origin, illustrates how these exchanges are based on a sense of belonging. These insights are also shared by Mutopo (2014) in Zimbabwe, where she argues that people in resettlement areas are sharing natural resources, such as firewood, with family members in communal areas.

In migration and diaspora studies this is also argued. In Zambia, Cliggett (2003) argues that despite the limited resources, people that have migrated send gifts to their places of origin. These are mostly done to show that a person still belongs to the family and, in cases, the society. In most cases, material exchange or gifts “are remittances [which] are symbolically meaningful as a form of gift exchange” (Cliggett 2003:549). Thus, based on belonging, material exchanges are another component in maintaining ties or social relations with families or friends in places of origin. Although the evidence provided in this case illustrates that material exchanges are

provided in various ways to place of origin, these emphasise the need to maintain a sense of belonging. I end this discussion by stating that belonging is multi-layered and equally attached to land through various social relations.

8.10.1.3 Multiple identities of land

In addition, belonging is equally attached to the multiple identities of land. Insights drawn from this study show that land has multiple ties that are to the living, dead and future generations (Chitonge, 2018). Analysis of data demonstrated that land in communal areas, apart from providing security for land reform beneficiaries, constitutes space in the past, present and future, which determines one's belonging. Equally, Okoth-Ogendo argues that "land has several other dimensions, it connects the past, present, and future generations; hence, the transgenerational dimension of land" (Okoth-Ogendo, 1989:25). Thus, as illustrated in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, places of origin convey historical, emotional and physical attachment to land through belonging. This insight is also shared on Zimbabwe by Matondi (2012), Moyo and Chambati (2013) and Mbereko (2010), who note that most of the beneficiaries did not give up their ownership of land in the communal areas. Studies in other parts of Africa also place emphasis on the social relations and cultural values that revolve around land (Atefoe & Kugbey, 2014).

Analysis of evidence illustrates that land is at the centre of social, political and economic life. The maintenance of links showed land has historical and spiritual meaning for the beneficiaries of the FTLRP. Chimhowu argues that, in Zimbabwe, land as an asset plays a role in the lives of the rural poor (Chimhowu, 2006). Despite the importance of land as an asset for rural people to exit poverty, beyond that, land provides a space for emotional, physical and spiritual relations. This argument that land is important beyond agricultural production through elements of belonging is also stated by Mkodzongi and Brandt (2018). Land does take on different meanings articulated in different languages of belonging. In other cases, scholars, such as Vorster (2019:4), argue that, in South Africa, land has social meanings, as it is a "a locus of life and a place of history-making where identities are formed". The linkages that exist between beneficiaries of the FTLRP and their communal areas of origin illustrate the value of land in places of origin, which shapes and maintains identities, which extend beyond economic value to include social and cultural dynamics. This is contrary to scholars, such as De Soto and Taylor (2011) and Richardson (2005), whose "dead capital" thesis focuses on economic value and ignores the multiple meaning of land beyond economic conceptualisation. These scholars ignore the multiple identities that land has in Africa through various overlapping social

relations, such as kinship networks, households and communities, as argued by Cousins and Claassens (2006).

Although land is economic, sociological, political and cultural in nature, it is a place for history-making. The maintenance of links shows the history and attachment to places of origin that emphasise one's belonging in this case. In a case in South Africa among the San, Tomaselli (2012) demonstrates that land has a deeper meaning to Africans beyond economics, through history and people's nativity, of the psycho-spiritual significance of land. As analysed by Tomaselli (2012), land forms a causal link with one's nativity and history. Borrás and Fianco (2011) posit that land is both a critical resource with economic significance to people and at the same time has cultural, social and political values. Aryee et al., (2005) also view land in Africa both as an asset and a resource with economic, political, social and cultural ramifications. There are studies by scholars, such as Mabandla (2013), Connor (2014) and (Mkhize, 2014), who argue that land is an important place for belonging.

Another identity of land is a space to build and maintain social relations. Access to more land in this case by beneficiaries of the FTLRP largely did not affect family and communal relations or networks. Chabal (2013) notes that there are kinship relations, among groups, which, in most cases, are closely related, such as family and clan members linked through marriage, who are bound by a connection to the land. In this case, kinship networks enable people in places of origin to access benefits. This study shows that people in communal areas accessed grazing areas, firewood and agricultural produce on resettlement areas. Chabal (2013:47) further states that "kinship, therefore, is not the (negative) burdens or (positive) opportunities it implies, which are real enough, but the ways in which it contributes to a sense of socially meaningful belonging". Additionally, for most beneficiaries, access to land in the A1 settlement was through social relations in communal areas. Berry (1993) also argues that, in other parts of Africa, despite the governments' attempts to regulate land, land access and benefits are through social relations. Connection to the land plays a key role in maintaining kinship relations and identity.

8.10.2 Land reform and linkages

Land reform is often associated with agricultural production and livelihoods, although not limited to these two issues (Borrás et al., 2007; Griffin et al., 2002). These discussions tend to focus on redistribution of land, agricultural production and livelihoods, omitting elements, such

as belonging, which are important in the social fabric of people. Land reforms have an implication on people's social, cultural and economic life through resettlement. The maintenance of links between communal areas and resettlement areas reveals some of the implications of land reform on the social fabric of societies. Most land reform programmes are mainly focused on the distribution or restitution of land; however, the important element of belonging must be considered. Overall, there are important lessons that can be drawn from the case study: land reform goes beyond productivity, and it entails social and cultural relations. The translocation of people often impacts belonging: for households that relocate to far places through the land reform element, there could be a negative impact on their social fabric. The maintenance of links, as illustrated in this case, shows the importance of enforcing belonging by beneficiaries of land reform. Although belonging goes beyond physical boundaries, it can be attained through participation in production, social networks and cultural events, as shown in this case.

Land reform has different meanings for different people. For some, it is a source of private accumulation, a useful asset as part of a wider range of activities. For others, it is the first time they have had productive land, and it is their main source of livelihood. For others, it is a source of security for later in life or for their children, whilst for some, it has particularly symbolic value as an achievement from long-term political struggle. Debates about land reform should acknowledge that land has multiple meanings and uses, which cannot only be limited to agrarian production. Land reform in Zimbabwe, as noted by Moyo and Yeros (2005), was driven by the state. However, this study argues that land reform should be multidimensional in character, as it interlinks political, economic, social, and cultural functions. This view notes that land reform should provide an axis for people to build and maintain relationships at various levels with places of origin.

Insights from this study show that the impact of the FTLRP is not limited to resettlement areas. The benefits of the FTLRP spill over to communal areas through the maintenance of connections. Moyo (2011) concurs by noting that redistributive land reform would break down the territorial and social segregation of communal areas from the former white farming areas and allow free movement of livestock, people, goods and services. Land reforms more often separate people, but this study's main contribution is that there is an agency for beneficiaries of the FTLRP to remain connected and relevant in the broader social fabric, which is anchored in communal areas through belonging. The provision of land through land reform not only provides a natural asset, but it also goes beyond to create socio-economic connections between

beneficiaries themselves. The insights generated from this study thus illustrate that land reform should particularly be multi-disciplinary and go beyond the technical components of land to that which is human-centred.

8.10.3 Labour exchanges

A broad implication of linkages in this study is labour exchanges. There are various studies about labour that have focused on increasing agricultural production and livelihoods, such as those by Scoones et al. (2019) and Bernstein (2007). These studies broadly look at how, increasingly, people are forced to engage in forms of self-employment, such as farming, to reproduce themselves through various forms of petty production and wage-labour, which are increasingly becoming scarce. Bernstein (2010) locates the reproduction squeeze facing small-scale farmers today within the global reality of the increasing (structural) fragmentation of “classes of labour”, by which he means a set of people depending, directly and indirectly, on the sale of their labour-power for their daily reproduction. The narratives from this case demonstrated the exchange of labour between communal areas and resettlement areas. In order to access labour in communal areas, households, through belonging, engage extended families in communal areas in return for payments in cash or goods. Emphasis on labour exchanges revealed the array of transactions, informal or formal, which assist people. Equally, in Masvingo District, Scoones et al. (2010:9-10) argue that formal channels of production miss the array of barter exchange and informal, sometimes illegal, transactions that go on. In addition, focus on employed labour does not assess the different informal arrangements for acquiring labour, through family links, communal arrangements, exchanges and other informal systems.

Although labour exchanges perpetuate inequality and exploitation of family members as demonstrated in this case study chapter seven. Analysis of insights demonstrated in this case study illustrates that labour exchanges enhance agricultural production. More specifically, in cases where there is proximity, there is increased assistance from places of origin and strengthening of relations. However, other scholars, such as Berry argue that, “despite the continued prevalence of family labour on small-scale African farms, farmers’ ability to mobilize labour through customary social institutions and relationships has declined over time” (1993:138-139). Although Berry argues that there has been a decline in labour exchanges, evidence from this study provides a different picture: these strategies are meant to avoid hiring farm labour, which is often expensive, thus labour exchanges attest to the strong relations and

sense of belonging that beneficiaries of the FTLRP seem to maintain. This also reflects the importance of belonging as a factor for labour exchanges.

It emerged that belonging is through affiliation and collective action, which is a basis for labour exchanges often reliant on recognised characteristics of birth, ethnicity, or location. Morse and McNamara (2013) state that, in certain instances, affiliation may be revealed through shared labour, life experiences or intense socialisation. Scholars, such as Moyo (2009; 2014) state that, in other parts of Zimbabwe, labour from extended families continues to be provided to resettlement areas, with districts in the southern part of Zimbabwe relying on 81 per cent of labour from extended family. Post-FTLRP, the tendency to recruit labour from customary areas is still prevalent. Studies in other parts of Zvimba also demonstrate that beneficiaries were engaged in the practice (see Chambati, 2009; 2013). However, as noted, the labour exchanges are one of the factors enabling links. The implication of these linkages is that households on Machiroli Farm's use of labour from communal areas perpetuates inequality and exploitation, as argued by Amin (1991). In most instances, labour exchanges benefit resettlement areas more than communal areas respondents through benefit accrued through tobacco production, as demonstrated in Chapter 7.

Labour exchanges in the case study are particularly one of the numerous survival strategies for households in communal and resettlement areas to maintain family links. Chapter 3 demonstrated that, historically, customary areas have served as a reservoir of cheap labour for the large-scale farms, mines and the urban formal sector. This case study has shown that, while agrarian labour exchanges are some of the factors that enable links, they are still a livelihood option for households in communal areas. Evidence from Zvimba shows that labour exchanges are based on familial relations and communal relations. In order to access labour, households, through belonging to familial networks, engage extended families in communal areas in return for a payment in cash or kind. Belonging is reinforced by labour exchange, both formal and informal, between the two areas.

Analysis of data from this case study indicates that, while resettled households primarily depend on family labour, distinct types of labour are used to supplement family labour and increase productivity. Family labour is an asset to the rural household, since the intense agricultural activities in Machiroli Farm and communal areas demand labour for farming activities, which affects the sharing of labour and resources, such as agricultural equipment. The new land structure in Zimbabwe on FTLRP farms does not purely depend on family labour but also engages informal labour from neighbours and friends that is qualitatively different

(Chambati, 2017). This is endorsed by Bryceson (2000), who highlights that family networks and reciprocal relations are increasingly becoming ambiguous, as family units are being transformed.

Studies on agricultural production after the FTLRP often emphasise the agricultural output from the land and economic variables that emerge therefrom. There are scholars critical of the FTLRP, such as Richardson (2004), who argues that the FTLRP negatively affected agricultural production: since the programme was initiated in 2000, by 2004, agriculture production had dropped by 30 per cent. Contraction of the agricultural sector also saw the manufacturing sector and the whole economy shrinking by 15 per cent by 2003 (Richardson, 2004). In this discussion, I note that there has been a decrease in agricultural production; however, I argue that the benefits of the FTLRP are not limited to agricultural production. The evidence here illustrates that labour exchanges for agrarian labour have enhanced relations with places of origin. Agricultural production is embedded in notions of belonging through families, religion, social networks and labour exchanges. Labour exchanges thus show agency to remain connected and are relevant in the broader social fabric, which is anchored in communal areas or places of origin.

8.11 Contribution of the study

Having analysed and discussed insights emerging from this study, in this section, I now turn to the contribution of the study. The study contributes to land reform debates by applying the concept of belonging, which has mostly been applied to border and migration studies. This study stretches the application of the concept of belonging to this form of translocation necessitated by land reform. Most land reform debates typically focus on land redistribution, agricultural production and livelihoods without considering belonging, which is also attached to land. These debates miss several functions of belonging, as demonstrated in this case study, such as access to labour, mitigation of economic challenges and enhancement of social relations. Belonging, as illustrated in this case of land reform, is emotionally constructed, multi-layered and situated simultaneously “here” and “there”, as people desire to maintain their attachment to places of origin. The framework of belonging within land reform reveals the importance of social, cultural, religious and economic effects, even in a setting where there has been land distribution. These effects in cases of land reform are important in accessing labour and enhancing agricultural production. This is the study’s unique contribution.

Secondly, this study contributes to Zimbabwe's FTLRP debates by extending the debates about the FTLRP through the examination of linkages between beneficiaries of the FTLRP and their communal areas of origin, which have received limited scholarly analysis. The study demonstrates that the FTLRP did not break links between beneficiaries of the FTLRP and their communal areas of origin. However, it contributes in that it shows that a land reform programme, such as the FTLRP, has a far-reaching impact beyond the direct beneficiaries, such as access to land and livelihoods by people from the communal areas. It also has an effect on social and cultural ties with places of origin. The maintenance of links by beneficiaries of the FTLRP with their place of origin shows the importance of social issues, such as questions of belonging, which have received limited attention in scholarly debates. A resettlement programme, such as the FTLRP, demonstrates that the linkages between people on resettlement areas and households in communal areas of origin are built on social and cultural issues that inform their relationships and belonging.

This study demonstrates that programmes, which relocate or resettle people, should consider that people have an aspiration to maintain links with their places of origin. Furthermore, for policymakers, insights emerging from this case illustrate that, beyond production, land has different meanings to people that live and work on it. People seek to maintain ties with places of origin at various levels and networks, which, more often, provide support socially, emotionally and physically. While, in most cases, land has been assumed to be a productive asset, this case shows that land goes beyond production; it reaffirms a personal identity and a source of belonging. Despite the location of land, whether on communal areas or resettlement areas, people depend on broader social units, such as nuclear families, extended families, kinsmen, village heads, chiefs and friends.

Land reforms more often are biased towards redistribution of land, economic value and livelihoods, providing limited attention to questions of belonging. Most land reforms socially engineer societies and uproot people from their networks and connections. This study illustrates that resettlement beneficiaries of land reform want to remain relevant to places of origin through maintaining linkages. This case shows that debates about land reform must recognise that land reform is an axis for social, cultural and economic relationships at various levels. Land reform is also attached to other factors that can determine access to land. These are relationships, such as familial, kinship, and social networks.

For land reform debates, this case also illustrates that, although land reform or resettlement programmes socially engineer societies and remove people from their networks and

connections, the notion of maintaining and strengthening belonging is embedded in people's everyday lives and should be considered in any such programme. Benefits of land reform more often extend to where beneficiaries originate from through linkages, which can be cultural, social and/or economic. Socio-economic benefits of land reform are understood in the context of the relations between communal areas and resettlement areas. The study shows that, for people, relationship to land is a basis for claiming belonging, rights and title. Also, beyond multiple identities of land in communal areas, this study argues that people cannot be uprooted from their areas of origin. Lastly, this case provides important insights for future resettlement or relocation programmes to recognise that people are dynamic and desire to maintain connections with places of origin that inform the basis of their relationships.

8.12 Recommendation of the study

I recommend some crucial areas that are outside the scope of this thesis and need further research. The first is that a study of this nature might need to be conducted over a longer period to adequately examine in detail the facets of linkages between communal areas and resettlement areas. Secondly, whether beneficiaries of the FTLRP, A2 programme still maintain links with communal areas or places of origin, could be explored. Thirdly, one of the objectives of the FTLRP was to decongest communal areas. Decongestion as one of these objectives needs further research and analysis. There is a need for an in-depth study that explores whether decongestion was achieved or not in communal areas. Such a study will be valuable in ascertaining the impact of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme's A1 villagised model, particularly, for communal areas that have been congested since colonial times. Outcomes of such a study will help inform the management and development of communal areas, as well as challenges of decongestion that go back to the colonial era.

8.13 Conclusion

Using empirical insights from the case of Zvimba District, Mashonaland West, Zimbabwe, this study examined the maintenance of links between beneficiaries of the FTLRP and their communal areas of origin. Returning to the research questions posed at the beginning of this study, it is now possible to state that analysis of data revealed that beneficiaries of the FTLRP still maintain links with communal areas of origin in Zvimba. In doing so, this case study illustrated that belonging is a relationship of interconnections and multiple entanglements of people that embraces the new without giving out on the old. Furthermore, the examination of linkages showed that belonging is not in the abstract but achieved through relations, which ensure that people maintain ties with places of origin thus strengthening the social fabric and

cultural connections. In so doing, the study argues that places of origin convey and attach essential symbols for traditions, customs and social relations. Therefore, this study showed that belonging mutually binds people in different locations. This shows the importance of belonging to the social fabric through embracing the new without discarding the old relations within translocation or resettlement programmes, such as land reform.

Secondly, for FTLRP debates, acknowledging and capturing connections give a holistic picture of the impact of land reform in Zimbabwe. Mutual relations between beneficiaries of land reform and place of origin are strengthened through the embodiment of language, environment, belief, economy and historical narratives. The small-scale farmers, who maintain a number of ties with places of origin, are important for a number of roles, such as access to labour, mitigating economic challenges and enhancing social relations. When ties are maintained through social relations, as well as labour exchanges, they are pivotal in enhancing the social fabric and agricultural production through belonging. The agency to remain connected and relevant in the broader collective composition of communal areas of origin remains important for beneficiaries of the FTLRP. Although land reform is nuanced, complex and subtle, it unequivocally encompasses relations through performative acts of belonging.

Thirdly, resettlement or translocation policies should consider that belonging is at the centre of social, political and economic life. More so, for land reform beneficiaries, belonging is an important element for enhancing production, particularly in the rural agrarian areas. Thus, while land reform programmes must address the provision of land, essential elements, such as belonging, which are part of people's everyday lives, should be recognised and supported. Land has political, economic, spiritual and social meaning to different groups and is the basis for both building and breaking a host of social relationships. Therefore, the examination of linkages between communal areas and resettlement areas provides an important lens into understanding the importance of belonging within land reform debates. Overall, the study has shown the importance of belonging between new places and places of origin for fostering and maintaining linkages through social relations but also labour exchanges as shown through this case of land distribution.

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