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Running head: NARRATIVE ANALYSIS OF ZIMBABWEAN LANDOWNERS.

A Narrative Analysis of Zimbabwean Landowners' Experiences of Displacement from their Land as a Consequence of the Land Redistribution Programme.

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Abstract

In this mini-dissertation, the experience of forced expropriation of Zimbabwean farmers from their land is explored. Key questions that are asked are firstly what are the stories that are presented or told by Zimbabwean farmers about expropriation, and secondly how these stories are used to construct identity around the experience of expropriation.

The study was conducted from a qualitative perspective, namely social constructionism. Social constructionism offers a framework where the idea of 'objective truth' is replaced with the predominance of language and construction of meaning in a given society and context. The process of meaning-making is embedded in a social context, and identity construction is impacted by the context, culture, history and language in a certain area and situation.

Given the use of a social constructionism approach, the emphasis within the research is to include the listener in the on-going conversation when considering expropriation and the construction of identity around that experience. The question of how the experience of expropriation contributes to the construction of meaning and identity for the Zimbabwean farmer is posed.

Gergen (1994) emphasised that identity is not an entity that is possessed by the individual nor a product of an individual's cognitive processes; rather it is a possession of social interchange and relationships in a given context. The "self" or identity is "a linguistic implement embedded within conversational sequences of action and employed in relationships in such a way as to sustain, enhance or impede various forms of action" (Gergen, 1994, p.188).

This particular story from farming to eviction offers the reader a unique look into the construction of reality by Zimbabwean farmers as well as an opportunity to examine the fluidity of identity as it is constructed around agreed meaning or conversations and context.

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
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3

Table of Contents

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1   Introduction

"He didn't say a word as Whitehat stepped forward. 'We are the new owners of Mato Farm,' he said menacingly, as he pointed to the other three. 'You have got 24 hours to get off…Now move it!' [Bill]

Since 1997/1998 Zimbabwe has become a frequent news piece with its political practices and land reform policies. Both the acquisition and possession of land have formed a significant part of Zimbabwe's history. Conflicts surrounding land in Zimbabwe stretch back to the 1890s, when the British pioneers were compensated with land by the British South African Company (BSAC) for a lack of gold found in the area (Chitiyo, 2000). The BSAC's dispensation of land culminated in conflict between the settlers and the indigenous Shona and Ndebele people, who saw land as communal property (Chitiyo, 2000). It would be this clash of perspectives regarding land that shaped part of the history of Zimbabwe (Chitiyo, 2000).

This study presents the research undertaken to document and explore Zimbabwean landowners' experiences of Zimbabwean land reform between 2000 and 2007. These experiences are viewed as a narrative of the Zimbabwean farmer's identity. The expropriation narrative is explored from a social constructionist position to enable comprehensive exploration of identity construction.

1.2   Context

In 1965, Rhodesia gained independence from Britain and acquired control of the majority of Zimbabwe's fertile land (Human and Constitutional Rights, 2003). In 1980, minority rule ended with the election of President Robert Mugabe. To address land ownership at the time, the Lancaster House Agreement was implemented (Human and Constitutional Rights, 2003). This agreement granted landowners 10 years of protection from land redistribution, and stated that land would not be seized at a later date without compensation (Human and Constitutional Rights, 2003).

When the Lancaster House Agreement expired in 1990, the constitution was amended to permit land redistribution within Zimbabwe, whilst allowing for the fair compensation of landowners (Human and Constitutional Rights, 2003). However, by 1997, the majority of Zimbabwean land was still possessed by a few thousand Caucasian farmers, and the land that had been gained for redistribution was controlled by a few African elites, this excluded the lower- or middle-class Zimbabwean (Human and Constitutional Rights, 2003). Subsequently, international donor governments contributed financially to land reforms in 1998, spurring 'Phase II' of land reform in Zimbabwe (Human and Constitutional Rights, 2003). 'Phase II' of the land reform was to be guided by the principles of 'respect for legal process, transparency, poverty reduction, consistency and ensuring affordability for acquisition and allocation of land grants' (Human and Constitutional Rights, 2003, p.1).

In July 2000, President Mugabe initiated a 'fast-track' land reform process (Human and Constitutional Rights, 2003). This involved the government revising the constitution to allow for commercial farms to be compulsorily acquired without compensation (Manby, Miller & Takirambudde, 2002). Following this in February 2000, Zimbabwean Liberation 'War Veterans' embarked on a politically-driven campaign to forcefully occupy privately-owned commercial farmland and ranches, which became known as farm invasions (WorldLII, 2000). At the end of May 2000, Zimbabwe's President Mugabe carried out his threat to seize land without compensation to owners (Tiscali, 2005). These farm invasions progressed at a rapid rate, with up to 522 of the 4 500 properties being forcefully occupied by March 2000 (Commercial Farmers Union, 2000). In the process, at least 10 farmers were seriously injured in confrontations with 'war veterans' in Chinhoyi, a tobacco-farming town northwest of Harare. It was estimated that up to a dozen farmers lost their lives at the start of the farm invasions in 2000 (Bridge, 2005). President Mugabe brushed off suggestions that he was forcing farmers out of the country, despite estimations that up to 300 farmers and their families had fled from 100 raided farms in the Chinhoyi area within a week (Tiscali, 2005). President Mugabe solidified the divide in his speech at the 20th anniversary of Zimbabwe's independence, where he declared that white farmers were enemies of the State of Zimbabwe and that they were to blame for the farm invasions and violence (Tiscali, 2005).

Violence levels escalated in the run up to the 2002 presidential elections, with numerous and consistent reports of forced evictions, arbitrary arrests, beatings, torture and political

killings (Amnesty International Report, 2002). Most violent acts were carried out by individuals then labelled as 'war veterans' along with groups supported by the police and the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF), who were able to act with impunity (Amnesty International Report, 2002). Police members often failed to intervene in assaults by 'war veterans' and were also reported to be taking part in a number of attacks (Amnesty International Report, 2002).

As a result, many commercial farmers were exposed to differing levels of political violence and racism. When it was suggested that these farmers return to their farms, one farmer said, "They seem to think they can hit us, murder, plunder our houses and attack our wives and then expect us to come waltzing back to help them after they have messed up everything" (Mulder, 2005).

From 2000 to 2005, the Zimbabwean government forcefully seized up to 4 000 farms and redistributed them without any compensation under the land redistribution programme (Fin24, 2005). On the farms selected for expropriation and settled by 'war veterans', the farm workers and farmers were often reportedly subjected to continual intimidation, theft of personal belongings, vandalism and destruction of their homes (Hill, 2003). The internal upheaval and human rights abuses formed an extensive history in Zimbabwe between 2000 and 2007, and have been noted to cause social upheaval and unrest (Knight & Wallace, 2005).

It is from within this context that the experiences and narratives of the Zimbabwean farmers are drawn for the purpose of this study.

1.3   Aim

"The significance of the problem selection is the rationale for a study. It tells the reader why the study is important and indicates the reasons for the researcher's choice of a particular problem" (McMillan & Schumacher, 1993, p. 100).

The political situation and land reform policy in Zimbabwe from 1998 have exposed numerous farm owners to intimidation and organised violence, where organised violence is "violence which deliberately inflicts pain and suffering to achieve a political objective" (Human Rights Forum, 2003). In a number of the expropriations, Zimbabwean farmers and farm workers either witnessed or directly experienced organised violence, grave loss and trauma as they were forced to leave their farms.

This research stemmed from the perception that there is a considerable gap in the knowledge related to the subjective experience of Zimbabwean farmers' expropriation from their land, and how this has impacted on their 'story'. That being said, this study aims to act as an exploration from a social constructionist perspective of the experience of farmers who were forcefully expropriated from their land in Zimbabwe. In exploring the narratives around expropriation and gaining a comprehensive picture of how Zimbabwean farmers interpret and present their stories, greater insight can be gained into how meaning and identity are created around events.

The central objectives for this research are set out as follows:

1. The initial research intent is to explore and determine the stories and realities constructed by Zimbabwean farmers surrounding their expropriation via the narratives they present.

2. The second study objective is to explore how a narrative analysis of Zimbabwean farmers' stories provides an understanding of the process of constructing identity around their actual experiences of expropriation.

1.4 Research Question

This research explores the experiences and stories of both male and female Zimbabwean farmers who were displaced from their land under Zimbabwe's land redistribution programme between 2000 and 2007. The following key questions are asked:

Firstly, what are the narratives or stories constructed by Zimbabwean farmers' displacement from their land?

Secondly, how have displaced Zimbabwean farmers constructed their identity around their actual experience of expropriation?

1.5 Overview of Research Design and Approach

The epistemological point of departure for this research emanated from social constructionism, where knowledge and 'truth' are seen to be established and maintained within social interactions (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). From this perspective, meaning-making and reality are contingent on human interaction and a process of reaching a meaning which is shared between subjects (Schwandt, 1998:240).

This approach to knowledge diverges starkly from a realist ontology, with reality seen as a product of society members who construct it around experiences and their interactions with one another (De Koster, Devise, Ida & Gerrit, 2004). In this particular research, social constructionism enabled an exploration of the farmers' experiences with associated recognitions that those experiences had an impact on the construction of meaning and reality in that society.

In a social constructionist approach, it is acknowledged that obtaining stories or accounts of shared meaning is central to exploring the meaning-making process within a given context. Further to this, Zimbabwean farmers' stories were collected through a qualitative, narrative approach.

Qualitative research offered a naturalistic, interpretative approach, which enabled an exploration of the meanings that people attach to actions, decisions, beliefs and values within their social world. The research also provided an understanding of the mental mapping process that people use to make sense of and interpret the world around them (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). In line with the aim of understanding a participant's interpretation of the world around them, a narrative method borrows and reflects upon experiences to arrive at a deeper understanding of the significance or meaning associated with that experience (Van Manen, 1998).

From this perspective, human beings are presented as interpretive beings who make sense of their experiences through narratives or stories (Moore & Rapmund, 2002). Unlike more objective approaches, narrative inquiry is not concerned with an objective

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'truth' but rather how people interpret the social world in which they find themselves (Cladinin & Connelly, 1994). A further important consideration was that a narrative inquiry presented an opportunity for the 'voice' or 'story' of the narrator or participant to be effectively represented (Phendla, 2004).

Overall, the research objectives and the nature of the research context lent themselves to a qualitative enquiry where a narrative approach was used to explore and analyse the stories presented. Furthermore, a social constructionist epistemology guided the interaction with realities presented.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

With increasing attention being paid to the political context and living standards in Zimbabwe, the status of the individuals within Zimbabwe had become a primary focal point. This paper aimed to explore the experiences of politically-displaced Zimbabwean farmers, and how these narratives provide an understanding of the farmers' identity construction around their experiences.

As noted previously, the research objective lends itself to a qualitative research approach where enquiries are done within a natural setting and the position of the research respondent can be privileged (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).

The following chapter provides a basis or platform from which the Zimbabwean farmers' stories can be explored and the origins of the thought processes can be clarified. In writing this chapter, the intention was to take the reader through a deductive process from the broad and general origins of qualitative research, through to the paradigmatic choices this delivers and how these viewpoints impact on the interpretation of identity.

This chapter is presented as an invitation to the reader to follow the journey not only of the research participants but also the narrator as I attempt to indicate the origins of the thought processes used and the research question itself and how these led to the specific approach and interpretation of the research problem.

2.2 History of the Land Question in Zimbabwe

The history of land use and reform in Zimbabwe can be stretched back to the early 1890s when colonisation began all the way through to present where possession of land is still contested. The following chapter gives a brief overview of some of the narratives produced about the history of agrarian reform in Zimbabwe.

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2.2.1 Colonisation

Zimbabwe's colonisation began in the 1890s with the movement of settlers north from South Africa, they were searching for further gold deposits after the discoveries made on the Rand (now Johannesburg) (Lebert, 2003). The 'pioneer column' lead by Cecil John Rhodes at the time was one of the first to cross the Limpopo river heading north in search of gold, hence the naming of Zimbabwe as Rhodesia (Lebert, 2003).

The British South African Company (BSA) had at that time obtained concessions from the British Crown to settle and search for minerals across Zimbabwe, to enable this the first European settlers were sponsored and given land by BSA in what was then Fort Salisbury (now Harare) (Lebert, 2003). However after mining in the area for some time, BSA discovered that unlike South Africa, the gold deposits in Zimbabwe were not concentrated in reefs, and as such were not profitable to extract (Lebert, 2003). Follwing this, in an attempt to generate profit outside of mining gold, BSA then encouraged 'white settlement for farming purposes' (Lebert, 2004, p.1).This policy lead to the 'need to dispossess indigenous peoples of even more land and coercively force them into labour on settler farms'(Lebert, 2004, p.1).

Land allocation by European settlers conflicted with beliefs held by local Zimbabweans regarding land allocation and ownership. Land ownership amongst indigenous Zimbabweans was traditionally a communal process with chiefs essentially allocating land which contrasted with the approach used by the European settlers at the time (Chitiyo, 2007). It was this clash of indigenous beliefs surrounding land as a cultural and material resource and the settlers allocation for farming purposes which lead to initial tensions between settlers and local people (Chitiyo, 2007).

As a result of increasing tension between indigenous Zimbabweans and European settlers, the Anglo-Ndebele war of 1893 erupted followed by the first Chimurenga of 1896-1897. The first Chimurenga was largely the result of land seizure and a belief held by the local Zimbabweans that settlers had brought disease, in the form of rinderpest as well as locusts and drought with them when they settled and started farming (Chitiyo, 2007).

13

By 1923 BSA wanted to leave Zimbabwe because profits from mining gold in the region had remained elusive. As part of the exit strategy, settlers were asked to vote for one of three governance choices for the territory, these ranged from becoming part of South Africa, becoming a full British colony or to establish self governance (Lebert, 2003). The settlers opted for self governance and set up the Morris-Carter Commission of 1925 to ensure Rhodesia's success as a self-sustaining colony (Lebert, 2003).

Following the Commission, regulations surrounding land ownership were amended, in 1930 the Land Appointment Act was established which separated land allocation along racial lines in Zimbabwe, an approach which persisted through to the post-independence period (Lebert, 2003). While the figures differ across sources, Lebert (2003) noted that according to the Land Appointment Act, up to 50.8% of land was reserved for the European settlers while the indigenous Zimbabweans were allocated 30% and the outstanding 20% was either owned by the government or commercial companies.

While the land available to indigenous Zimbabweans did increase to 40% between 1930 and independence, the population density and level of state intervention or support differed vastly between racial groups (Lebert, 2003). According to Moyo (2001), in the 1960's European and African divisions of population density, average wage and education expenditure were as follows:

	European	African
Population Density	1/square mile	46/square mile
Average Wage	£ 1,200/month	£ 110/month
Educational Spend	£ 340/child	£ 30/child

(Moyo:2001)

The unequal distribution of land and resources and the consequent racial inequalities spurred on a second uprising in Zimbabwe, labelled the Second Chimurenga (Chitiyo, 2007).The Second Chimurenga began in the early 1960's, lead by ZANU and ZAPU nationalist parties and ended with an estimated 50 000 people dying in Zimbabwe (Chitiyo, 2007). This civil war only ended in the late 1970's when negotiations for a resolution drove the realisation of what was termed 'Independence' (Lebert, 2003).

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2.2.2   Independence and the Lancaster House Agreement

Solutions to the conflict and land ownership in Zimbabwe was spurred on by the conflict in Kenya at the time. Kenya which had been through a similar process to Zimbabwe of colonisation and later 'guerrilla war fuelled by land grievances' however the British government at the time made 500 million pounds available for land acquisition support and redistribution in an attempt to defuse the situation (Lebert, 2003). In a similar attempt to resolve conflict in what was still Rhodesia at the time the British Government started negotiating a similar agreement for the redistribution of land in Zimbabwe (totalling 75 million pounds) (Lebert, 2003).

In 1979 negotiations towards resolving conflict in Zimbabwe began, labelled as the 'Lancaster House' negotiations (Lebert, 2003). The funding for land reform from the British Government was used at the time to motivate a resolution between liberation movements and the Rhodesian authorities, however by the time that Lancaster House negotiations had been agreed, a change of government in the UK meant that the land reform fund was withdrawn (Lebert, 2003). A compromise was reached where 'in exchange for guaranteeing existing property rights in the new Zimbabwe, the UK would underwrite half of the costs of resettlement. The Zimbabwe government had to match that funding to make up the full costs of the programme' (Lebert, 2003, p4)

In April 1980, minority rule ended with the conclusions of fighting and election of President Robert Mugabe, in a transition labelled 'Independence' (Human and Constitutional Rights, 2003). To address the ownership of land at the time constitutionally, the Lancaster House Agreement was finalised and implemented (Human and Constitutional Rights, 2003). The agreement was set up to enable government to approached land reform on a willing-seller-wiling-buyer basis (Moyo, 2004). It also granted land owners ten years of protection from land redistribution (expiring in 1990) and provided that land would not be seized at a later date without compensation (Human and Constitutional Rights, 2003).

At Independence, the legacy of previous acts and regulation surrounding land meant that racial differences in land ownership were still very evident with six thousand European farmers owning 42% of the farming land available (Lebert, 2003) while one million indigenous Zimbabweans remained consigned to 41.4% of the farm land

15

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available (Moyo,2004). The implication of this was that the European minority, constituting approximately 3% of the population at the time, controlled about two thirds of the national income (Moyo, 2004). The Lancaster House agreement meant that between 1980 and 1996 land reform in Zimbabwe as approached with a 'state centred but marketbased' (Lebert, 2003, p.4) approach with land owners identifying available land while government acted as the buyer, purchasing land and distributing it to beneficiaries identified by district officials (Lebert, 2003).

2.2.3 Land reform in post-Independence Zimbabwe with the Lancaster House agreement.

The Lancaster House agreement allowed for the supply of land after Independence to be driven by the private sector as they identified available land and controlled supply while the government acted as a reactive buyer (Lebert, 2003).

Governments strategy at Independence was to reduce the 16 million hectares of land held by European farmers by 50% to promote entry into the sector by local Zimbabweans and to resettle approximately 162 000 families (Lebert,2003 and Moyo 2004). However the Lancaster agreement was structured in such a way that the pace of land reform was largely determined by availability of land, this in turn meant that the pace of land reform between 1980 and 1990 was slow (Moyo, 2004). Approximately 52,000 households had been resettled by 1989 under the Lancaster structure, this was less than half the targeted number of households at Independence (Lebert, 2003).

2.2.4 Land reform in post-Independence Zimbabwe after the Lancaster House agreement expired

When the Lancaster House Agreement expired in 1990, the constitution was amended to allow for state based selection and redistribution of land within Zimbabwe, while allowing for the fair compensation of landowners (Human and Constitutional Rights, 2003). The amendment lead to a disagreement between the UK and Zimbabwean government over land reform, the UK insisted that for their co-financing of land reform to

continue it would have to be on a willing buyer-willing seller basis, as the Lancaster House agreement had been set up (Lebert, 2003).

Up to 1996, the acquisition of land was still driven by principles of the Lancaster House agreement, based on availability and largely market driven (Lebert, 2003). This approach had resulted in a land reform programme which was limited in terms of the quality of land it could redistribute and the pace at which reform could be achieved (Moyo, 2004).

Post 1996, Zimbabwe entered a phase of state lead land reform where it broke from the Lancaster House agreement structure, entering a phase where the state would select land for redistribution and compensate the farmer accordingly. This approach was met by resistance from both external donors contributing to land reform and internally by commercial farmers (Lebert, 2003).

Between 1990 and 1993 the government made a couple of key constitutional changes which would aid in their transference from market based approach to a state lead land acquisition approach. These have been listed by Moyo (2001) below:

Year	Legislation	Provision
1990	Constitutional Amendment Act, no. 30	Amendments denied power of the court to declare unconstitutionality on compensation decisions for land. It also allowed for compulsory land acquisition by the state.
1992-1993	Land Acquisition Act (amendment to section 10 of chapter 20)	Right of first refusal by the landowner abolished. Designation provision is introduced enabling addition of compulsory acquisition to willing seller/willing-buyer

(Moyo, 2001)

This phase of land reform is Zimbabwe is sometimes referred to as 'Phase II'. "Phase II" of the land reform process was to be guided by principles of "respect for legal process, transparency, poverty reduction, consistency and ensuring affordability for acquisition

17

and allocation of land grants" (Human and Constitutional Rights, 2003, p. 1). In other words while the Zimbabwean government could identify land for redistribution, they would still compensate the farmer fully for the land acquired.

2.2.5 Compulsory acquisitions in Zimbabwe by the state

By the late 1990's, the majority of farming land in Zimbabwe was still owned by a few thousand farmers, and the land that had been gained for redistribution was rumoured to be controlled by a few African elites; this excluded the lower or middle-class Zimbabwean (Human and Constitutional Rights, 2003).

Lebert (2003) estimates that between 1993 and 1995 only 26 farms had been aquired through the state lead acquisition programme, all of which had received market related compensation at the time. By 1997, 1471 farms were designated for state acquisition, of those 109 were offered for purchase and aquired by the state (Lebert, 2003)

Spurred on by disagreements with international donors and an increasing pressure to effectively redistribute land, the Zimbabwean government amended the Land Acquisition Act in 2000.The amendments made provision for key changes, the most relevant being that the government could compulsorily acquire land and longer had to pay compensation for unimproved land (Manby, Miller, & Takirambudde, 2002). Following the constitutional amendments, 2159 farms were publically gazetted for acquisition by the state (Lebert, 2003)

2.2.6 Farm occupations

Aside from the state lead changes to the constitution and listing of land to be aquired for resettlement, landless people in Zimbabwe started to take action through forced occupation of land (Lebert,2003). The people based occupations started on a small scale from 1997, 'the explicit aim of these actions was to redistribute land from the white farmers to the landless war veterans' (Lebert, 2003, 15).

The occupations came to be know in the media as farm invasions, driven by liberation War Veterans (WorldLII, 2000). These 'land invasions' progressed at a rapid rate with up to 522 of 4500 properties being forcefully occupied by March 2000 (Commercial Farmers

Union, 2000). Lebert (2003) estimates that up to 1000 farms were occupied in this manner by the end of 2000.

In the forced occupation process, at least ten farmers were seriously injured in confrontations with war veterans in Chinhoyi, a tobacco farming town northwest of Harare. It was estimated that up to a dozen farmers lost their lives at the start of the farm invasions in 2000 (Bridge, 2005).

At this time President Mugabe brushed off suggestions that he was forcing farmers out of the country, despite estimations that up to three hundred farmers and their families had fled from one hundred raided farms in the Chinhoyi area within a week (Tiscali, 2005).

Levels of violence escalated in the run-up to the 2002 presidential elections, with numerous reports of forced evictions, arbitrary arrests, beatings, torture and political killings (Amnesty International Report, 2002). Most of these violent acts were carried out by individuals then labelled as "war veterans" and groups supported by the police and the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF), who were able to act with impunity (Amnesty International Report, 2002). Police often failed to intervene in assaults by "war veterans" and were also reported to take part in a number of attacks (Amnesty International Report, 2002).

Many commercial farmers were exposed to differing levels of political violence and racism. One farmer was quoted as saying "they seem to think they can hit us, murder, plunder our houses and attack our wives and then expect us to come waltzing back to help them after they have messed up everything" (Mulder, 2005), in reply to suggestions that they should return to their farms.

From 2000 to 2005, the current Zimbabwean government forcefully seized up to 4000 farms and redistributed them without any compensation under the land redistribution programme (Fin24, 2005). On the farms selected for expropriation and settled by "war veterans," the farm workers and farmers have often reportedly been subjected to

continual intimidation, theft of personal belongings, vandalism and destruction of their homes (Hill, 2003). Following the land reform between 2000 and 2007, numberous instances of internal upheaval and instances of human rights abuses were reported across Zimbabwe(Knight & Wallace, 2005).

It is within this context that we pick up on the experience of the farmers who were expropriated from their farms and part of the land acquisition programme within Zimbabwe.

While the above section has given you a brief outline of the context in which the research is located, the following section seeks to embed the research academically by exploring the history of qualitative research and the paradigmatic approach used.

2.2 The History of Qualitative Research

In order to describe both the purpose and use of qualitative research in this paper, the origins of the research approach must be explored.

The history and origin of qualitative research can be traced back to several intellectual forerunners, the earliest being Giovanni Batista Vico (1668-1744). Giovanni set the scene for qualitative research because he understood human history as a process reflecting the development of the human mind in its understanding of God's nature. As a result, he stressed that the study of inanimate nature and the study of man in society should be approached differently, as the latter involved a subjective understanding of the subject (Hughes, 1990).

In tracing the history of qualitative research, one can discern five phases as described by Denzin & Lincoln (2000). These phases include the traditional period, modernism, blurred genres, crisis of representation and the present.

The first phase, the traditional period, stretched from the early 1900s up to World War II. In championing objectivity and a positivist paradigm, this phase was still closely aligned

20

with a quantitative approach. Central concerns to researchers during this period included the reliability and validity of results and research performed, and how results could be generalised. The subject of study was still considered to be timeless and fixed during this phase, allowing findings to be constant and applicable across contexts (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).

Dilthey (1833-1911) was also important at this stage in the reaction to positivism. He asserted that positive methodology was not adequate enough to study human phenomena, except as natural objects (Hughes, 1990). Furthermore, Dilthey positioned history and society as human creations, and he proposed that humans were the creators of their own lives and were bound by a reality of their own making (Hughes, 1990). These ideas were again furthered by Weber (1864-1920) who proposed that the everyday lived experiences of humans needed to be studied in context (Neuman, 2000).

The second phase, labelled the era of modernism, spanned the post-war years into the 1970s; however, remnants of the movement still survive today. Similar to the traditional era, this phase made use of a positive language and mindset, however, primary to this phase was the formalisation of qualitative technique and ensuring rigour in qualitative research. This phase also saw the emergence of participant observation as a move from the positivist approach. Researchers immersed themselves in the respondents' activities instead of being objective observers viewing respondents from the outside (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000)

Following in the footsteps of championing the subject within context, Edmund Husserl (1859-1938) founded phenomenology. Husserl rejected the notion that there was a primary reality which existed behind experience, and said that experience should rather form the basis from which psychology drew its concepts. He maintained that experience was a system of interrelated meanings bound up in a "life world". Human meanings were the essence in the study of lived experience (Ashworth, 2003).

The third stage, called blurred genres, extended from the 1970s up to 1986, and saw naturalism, post-positivism and constructionist paradigms gain popularity (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). More confidence and competence were gained in qualitative research approaches and paradigms during this time.

Forming part of this movement were George Herbert Mead and George Kelly. George Herbert Mead (1863-1931) developed a form of constructionism called symbolic interactionism. Central to symbolic interactionism is language and how linguistic symbols are a system of shared, and not idiosyncratic, meanings. This approach focused on thought as originating in social processes and it becoming individualised in later development. The person is seen first of all as a member of society and then becomes an individual. Mead stressed that people were constructed and were also constructors (Ashworth, 2003).

George Kelly (1905-1967) maintained that people acted in accordance with their construction of the world, thus making them constructionists. People view the world by way of categories of interpretation, which can be modified by experience. Although each construction of meaning is individual, for group actions we must understand what others' constructs are. People relate to reality through their developing systems of constructs (Ashworth, 2003).

The fourth movement, labelled the crisis of representation, occurred in the mid-1980s. It was during this stage that research became more reflexive and focused on the issues of gender, class and race.

The fifth movement is the present (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000), and the "aloof researcher" is somewhat an abandoned concept. The search for grand, all-encompassing, generalising theories has been replaced by the search for local, small-scale theories fitted to specific problems, circumstances and populations (Lincoln in Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).

As stated by Neuman (2000) in opposition to positivism's instrumental approach, qualitative research focuses on the practical orientation. Neuman (2000) defines qualitative research as "the systematic analysis of socially meaningful action through the direct detailed observation of people in natural settings in order to arrive at understandings and interpretations of how people create and maintain their social world" (Neuman, 2000, p. 71).

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2.3 Qualitative Research in Psychology

Both qualitative and quantitative research play a fundamental role in the progression of psychology as a discipline; however, there will always be arguments for and against each approach to exploring human phenomena. The following section presents a brief overview of some of the key arguments for the use of qualitative research in psychology.

While qualitative and quantitative methods have been and still are used extensively in psychological research, one of the fundamental criticisms of a more positivistic approach is that it does not capture the full spectrum of human experience. Considering the subjective experience of a participant may be irrelevant or a threat to the integrity of a more scientific, controlled experiment. As a result, a more positivist approach is often seen as limiting because the participant is studied without the researcher understanding the experience or the meaning it has for the subject or the researcher (de Koning, 1986).

The researcher de Koning (1986) was of the opinion that human psychological phenomena, such as feelings, tend to be left out of traditional quantitative research because they cannot be quantified. He proposed that psychological research should not reduce itself to studying questions and issues that can only be dealt with via quantitative or statistical approaches (de Koning, 1986). This, in turn, implied that dealing with experiences and meanings thereof cannot be done using methods that do not provide a space for the subjective experience to be explored (de Koning, 1986). In contrast to positivistic approaches, qualitative research allows the researcher to investigate topics that are ill-defined, deeply-rooted, complex, specialist, delicate, intangible or sensitive (Ritchie, 2003).

One argument used to justify qualitative approaches in psychology is the thought that the research completed should do justice to the phenomena as they are experienced, as well as maintain a critical dialogue with its own assumptions (de Koning, 1986). In order to explore experience the reasoning is that context, time and people involved in the experience have to be considered. One criticism is that traditional positivist research tends to discount these issues (de Koning, 1986).

Ashworth (2003) summarises this argument well when stating that "…psychology itself needs to be seen as part of cultural activity - a science which emerged from a particular period in the history of a certain society, and which cannot be detached from the interests and concerns of that society" (Ashworth, 2003, p. 15).

When considering context and subjective experience, qualitative research in psychology provides an understanding of individuals' diverse experiences and gives those who are oppressed, or have been excluded in the research process, a voice (Ashworth, 2003). Some qualitative researchers believe that the universal laws sought by positivists to explain human action and behaviour may only be found once we understand how people create meaning systems and apply common sense to situations. Other qualitative researchers hold that there are no universal laws that govern behaviour - so attempting to discover these "truths" is absurd (Neuman, 2000).

For the purpose of this research, empowering the participants as part of the research and exploring subjective experiences are key, thus the arguments presented for qualitative research remain pertinent.

2.4 Qualitative Research and Paradigmatic Choices

A qualitative researcher must make various decisions prior to approaching a research problem. In the observation of any phenomenon, the researcher approaches reality and the world from a certain point of view. He/she asks a set of questions and analyses the data in a specific way. As a result, it is important that the researcher decides on an ontology, epistemology and methodology at the outset (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).

Ontology generally stems from a branch of philosophy which is concerned with "that which exists" and focuses on an understanding of reality. With that in mind, a researcher chooses an ontology by basing his/her decision on what his/her beliefs are with regard to the form in which the world and reality exists. The foremost issues associated with considering an ontology is the opposition between materialism and idealism. Materialism is the belief that reality is fixed and external to humans, whereas idealism sustains that reality remains in one's mind and is constructed. When considering the social sciences,

24

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
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materialism comes into question as we are no longer dealing with things that are directly perceivable by our senses. Where the focus is on human construction and subjective experience, idealism is generally accepted as an ontology. Idealism is usually followed by qualitative researchers (Potter, 1996).

Epistemology relates to how the researcher comes to know a phenomenon. Potter (1996) names the main types of epistemology as realism and constructivism. Realism believes that it is possible to get to know all reality or that reality remains separate from the human mind while constructivism proposes that reality is constructed through people's creative processes. The constructivists propose that the world is constructed by people and by the meanings that people assign to the observations, they reject reductionism and prefer to view the world holistically (Potter, 1996).

The methodology or research design focuses on the purpose of the research, what information will best answer the research questions and the most effective way of obtaining the information (LeCompte & Preissle in Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). The research design is a set of guidelines that link the paradigmatic framework to the methodology and the collection strategies. Research designs connect the researcher to specific groups, sites and institutions containing relevant material (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).

The ontological, epistemological and methodological approaches that a researcher chooses, guides his/her research and forms a paradigmatic framework (Guba in Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). According to Denzin & Lincoln (2000), the interpretative paradigms in qualitative research are positivist and post-positivist, constructive-interpretive, critical (including Marxist and emancipatory), and feminist post-structural. The positivist/post-positivist paradigm relies on rigorous methodologies (such as experiments, quasi-experiments and surveys), realist ontology and an objective epistemology. The constructivist paradigm assumes an ontology involving multiple realities (idealist ontology) and a relativist epistemology. Critical and feminist paradigms assume a materialist-realist ontology (such that the world is materially different in terms of race, gender and class), a subjectivist epistemology and a naturalistic methodology (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).

Potter (1996) states that the assumptions made by qualitative researchers about their research can be divided into five self-evident perspectives. Firstly, the phenomenological perspective holds the belief that a researcher must approach an object for research without any expectations. The researcher tries to understand what the actor believes, and then attempts to understand how the actor constructs reality. The second approach, or the interpretive approach, assumes that meaning is constructed by the person. The researcher also plays a part in interpreting the actor's meaning, and no two researchers have the same interpretations or understandings of the actor's constructed meaning system. Thirdly, the hermeneutic approach states that humans see the world as an interaction of its parts and wholes; for example, smaller aspects of a text are interpreted as part of the text's overall framework. The smaller parts cannot be interpreted as separate to the larger context. Within the fourth approach, Denzin and Lincoln (in Potter, 1996) state that in this approach the world or participants should be studied in their natural state and be undisturbed by the researcher. The fifth approach comprise humanistic studies where texts are studied from a particular cultural and historical perspective (Potter, 1996).

2.5 Paradigmatic Point of Departure and Post-Modernism

The point of departure for this research stems from post-modern and social constructionist perspectives. Post-modernism often eludes a clear definition because there is no unified post-modern theory or coherent set of positions or principles to refer to when analysing this perspective (Best & Keller, 1991). Consequently, the individual who is not familiar with the notion of post-modernism, will find that the most explicative place to start understanding post-modernism is to view it as a move from modernism.

Modernity is said to have arisen as an epoch after the middle ages, while the modern era is associated with European enlightenment which roughly began in the middle of the 18th century (Best & Keller, 1991). The theory underlying modernism championed reason as the source of knowledge and progress, privileged the locus of truth and the foundation of systematic knowledge (Best & Keller, 1991). Consequently, reason was seen as an adequate means to discovering theoretical and practical norms upon which

26

knowledge and progress could be structured (Best & Keller, 1991). Sim (2001) sums this notion up well when he states that "the philosophical rationalism of the modern period holds human reason, or subjectivity, responsible for the validity of its own beliefs, values and decisions" (Sim, 2001, p. 154).

Best and Keller (1991) propose that post-modernism is a result of the contemporary high-tech media environment which has changed society and socioeconomic systems (Best & Keller, 1991). Post-modernity is said to stem from criticism and scepticism towards the modernist notion of progress, reason, objectivity and grand narratives. Post-modernism criticises modernism for searching for an absolute foundation of knowledge, totalising claims and apodictic truth (Best & Keller, 1991). At the base of post-modernism's criticism of modernism is the notion that theory mirrors reality (Best & Keller, 1991). Post-modernism takes on a perspectivist and relativist position, where cognitive representations of the world are not considered a mirror of reality, but are historically and linguistically mediated (Best & Keller, 1991). Post-modernism also embraces multiplicity, plurality, fragmentation, and the notion of a socially- and linguistically-decentred subject (Best & Keller, 1991).

In contrast to this, a move towards post-modernism brought with it a threat to the subject as central. This notion can be traced back to Kant's transcendental philosophy which was 'historicised' and 'collectivised' by Hegel (West, 1996). Hegel presents the subject as embodied in a particular historical community, and, consequently, as only being able to make rational assessments in terms of "the historical culmination of a dialectically unfolding series of forms of life and worldviews" (West, 1996, p. 156). In a similar manner, Marx proposed that consciousness is dependent on a collective subject, which in turn is dependent on class or social and economic development within a given context (West, 1996). Marxist theory rejects the notion of individual subjects who are supposed to have reliable access to rational criteria, rather presenting the collective historical subject as ultimately having access to true consciousness (West, 1996).

Intellectual developments which further influenced post-modernism were hermeneutics and linguistics which provided a decisive break with humanism (West, 1996). The hermeneutical approach highlights the historical reconstruction of past events, the

criticism and interpretation of texts, and the difficulties involved in mutual understanding (West, 1996). It also presupposes that to understand any text, the context from which it was produced needs to be considered; in other words, meaning is not within the control of the individual (West, 1996).

Gadamer (in West, 1996) also demonstrates a break from humanism when he presents the subject as ontologically-derived and only existing within the intersubjective medium of understanding and language (West, 1996). In summary, understanding is the medium in which the subject exists (West, 1996).

Other important themes in post-modernism that have briefly been touched upon above are anti-essentialism and anti-foundationalism. Prior to post-modernism, philosophy often proposed that absolute truth existed and that it was underpinned by logical formula (Sim, 2001). In other words, it was proposed that there was an essence that existed within phenomena (Sim, 2001). Post-modernism movements claim to be anti-essentialist because they reject the idea that any form of element can have an essence or an absolute truth (Sim, 2001). Rather, post-modernists see phenomena as being in a process of continuous change, and so a constant essence is impossible (Sim, 2001). Similarly, more modernist approaches also view the self as consisting of an essential self which is constant (Sim, 2001). Whereas post-modernist thinkers question the notion of an essential self, rather seeing the self as fluid (Sim, 2001).

Post-modernism philosophy is also characterised by a movement towards scepticism of authority, grand narratives and political norms (Sim, 2001). As its name implies, anti-foundationalism is a reaction against foundationalism. Foundationalism is based on the notion that there are fundamental beliefs or principles which form the basic foundation of knowledge (Sim, 2001). Anti-foundationalism uses logic or historical attacks on the notion of foundational concepts, and suggests alternative methods for intellectual inquiry (Sim, 2001). Similarly, anti-foundationalism rejects the idea of single unified truths and claims rather that knowledge is created (Sim, 2001). Anti-foundationalists tend to challenge the validity of the grounds or basic principles upon which beliefs are based (Sim, 2001). Anti-foundationalists point out that foundationalists base their beliefs on

foundations that are self-evidently true and beyond doubt, yet these beliefs are also based on prior assumptions (Sim, 2001).

From the above, one may note that some of the basic principles held by post-modernism include decentring the subject, breaking away from humanism, and ideas of anti-essentialism and anti-foundationalism.

2.6 Paradigmatic Point of Departure and Social Constructionism

When considering the field of psychology, social constructionism represents a post-modern move from traditional psychological views (Du Preez, 2004). Social constructionist philosophy is based on the post-modern premise that an individual's knowledge or any knowledge is obtained and maintained by social interactions. As a result, there are no universally-accepted interpretations of reality or truth (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). In other words, knowledge is acquired or constructed when people interact because they do so with the understanding that their perceptions of reality are related, which in turn reinforces this perspective (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). Consequently, as in post-modernism, social constructionists do not assume pre-existing realities or grand narratives, rather they look at how reality is co-created as products of social interaction (Du Preez, 2004). Social constructionism also proposes that knowledge is conveyed through language in social interactions, and consequently rejects the notion of a singular truth (Du Preez, 2004).

Post-modern theorisation of language and the dimensions of reality have had a significant impact on schools of thought surrounding psychology (Edley, 2001). Basically, social constructionism, as a perspective towards psychological phenomena, is largely concerned with the ways in which individuals and groups participate in the construction of realities (Du Preez, 2004).

It is important that a careful distinction be made between social constructionism and constructivism, for although both approaches hold that reality is a construct, their theoretical backgrounds and focuses are different (De Koster, Devise, Flament & Loots, 2004). Social constructionism is a community philosophy which focuses on group

interaction and group members, whilst constructivism focuses on an individual's perception (De Koster et al, 2004). Furthermore, social constructionism positions knowledge construction as an inherently social activity which emerges from a dialogue between individuals who are historically and discursively embedded in their context (Crotty, 1998). The social constructionist focuses on "the world of intersubjectively shared, social constructions of meaning and knowledge" (Schwandt, 1998, p. 240), while social constructivists focus inward on "epistemological considerations that focus exclusively on the meaning-making activity of the individual mind" (Crotty, 1998, p. 58).

The basic assumptions of social constructionism as set out by Gergen (1994) include:

1. "The terms by which we account for the world and ourselves are not dictated by the stipulated objects of such accounts" (Gergen, 1994, p. 49). Therefore, from a social constructionism approach, meaning, interpretation and knowledge are not viewed as a socially-agreed meaning as opposed to a reflection of an individual's internal cognitive processes or as a representation of external reality.

2. "The terms and forms by which we achieve understanding of the world and ourselves are social artefacts, products of historically and culturally situated interchanges among people" (Gergen, 1994, p. 49). From this perspective, individuals are born into communities with established cultural and linguistic systems which have been constructed as a means to communicate and listen to one another (Gee, 1996).

3. "The degree to which a given account of world or self is sustained across time is not dependent on the objective validity of the account but on the vicissitudes of social process" (Gergen, 1994, p. 51).

4. "Language derives its significance in human affairs from the way in which it functions within patterns or relationships" (Gergen, 1994, p. 52).

5. "To appraise existing forms of discourse is to evaluate patterns of cultural life; such evaluations give voice to other cultural enclaves (Gergen, 1994, p. 52).

6. "There are no principled constraints over our characterization of states of affairs" (Gergen, 1994, p. 49). As a result, within social constructionism there are no universally-accepted interpretations.

In summation, a fundamental assumption or point of departure in social constructionism is that reality is not fixed, but rather constructed as a product of social interactions, experiences, perceptions and values (De Koster et al., 2004). The constructs that are derived about reality or the world around us are only made through interactions with others. In other words, knowledge is co-constructed, negotiated and agreed upon to create a liveable environment (De Koster et al., 2004). Due to knowledge being co-constructed, language is given a primary establishing role in social constructionism (De Koster et al., 2004). Language is an instrument used to generate, share and negotiate meaning (De Koster et al., 2004). Gergen (1994) summarised the importance of language in social constructionism by noting that "it is human interchange that gives language its capacity to mean, and it must stand as the critical locus of concern" (Gergen, 1994, p. 52).

Construction and negotiation of meaning in social constructionism can be contrasted to the nature of the self and identity in pre-modern theories. These were characterised by solidity and stability, where identity and self were characterised as a centralised entity consisting of fundamental unchanging properties (Du Preez, 2004). In other words, the pre-modern period saw the self or identity as coherent and integrated, and as decontextualised and separate from the social world (Du Preez, 2004). In contrast to this, post-modernism and social constructionism imply that reality is a construction and is constantly being constructed via relationships and language within a given social context, culture, community or time (Burr, 1995).

2.7 The Construction of Identity: A Narrative and Social Constructionist Approach

The construction of self, identity and human interpretation of experiences have long been a subject of debate amongst scientists, psychologists and philosophers alike. In a search for the "self," narrative approaches emphasise the interconnection between self and social structures, more particularly language (Crossley, 2000). Narrative and social

constructionist approaches both see human behaviour and experience as meaningful and the notion of "self" to be drawn from the interpretation of both behaviour and experiences (Crossley, 2000). As a result, humans are considered to essentially be interpretive beings, portraying their reality with language. Subsequently, the basic assumption behind a narrative approach is that individuals understand their reality, create their reality or portray their reality through the medium of language (Crossley, 2000). Thus the story given by the respondent is the central phenomenon.

From the narrative approach, human beings are considered to be interpretive beings who make sense of their experiences through narratives or stories (Moore & Rapmund, 2002). Narratives are used to order experiences, give meaning and coherence to events as well as provide a sense of history and future (Rappaport, 1993). Lawler (2002) notes that we have to attend to the "stories" told by people if we are to understand how people construct identity or make sense of the world. Consequently, narrative inquiry is not concerned with an objective "truth" but rather how people interpret the social world within which they find themselves (Cladinin & Connelly, 1994).

Social constructionists and narrative approaches emphasise the interconnection between self, language and social structures (Crossley, 2000). Central to the "self" in constructionist approaches are the notions that the "self" is a process or activity which takes place through social interactions or engagements, instead of the self being considered intrinsic and fixed (Crossley, 2000). Therefore, the "self" is a construction which is obtained via a comparison of different images of the self taken from the past and desired future as well as the interaction of the self with others (Crossley. 2000). This notion of a constructed self is further illustrated by Gergen and Gergen (1997) when they refer to identity and consequently the self as a continuous and evolving process (Gergen & Gergen 1997).

Narrative approaches share the notion that identity and self are inextricably linked to language, narratives and others, in other words the self takes on meaning through interaction with social, linguistic and historical structures (Crossley, 2000). A narrative approach assumes that humans do not have objective access to the world; rather interpretation is inevitable because narratives are structured via a perceptual processes (Riessman, 1993). Riessman (1993) notes: "(n)ature and the world do not tell stories,

32

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
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individuals do" (Riessman, 1993, p. 2). Similarly Gergen (1994) proposes that by telling stories individuals enter into a process of social construction of meaning about themselves and others. Thus narrative analysis looks at how individuals portray events and actions in their lives and why they told their story in that particular way (Riessman, 1993). A narrative approach also allows for the dominant cultural or societal narratives surrounding the individual at that time to be taken into consideration as potential definitions of reality for the individual (Fredman & Combs, 1996). Consequently, a narrated life story can be considered to represent a combination of past experiences, current events and future expectations intertwined with the individuals' context and interpretation of the social system that they find themselves within (Gabriele, 1993). This approach and focus on the story of the individual is consistent with the constructivist view of reality and knowledge (Rogan, 2005).

Consequently the object of investigation or data to be collected when doing a narrative analysis is the story itself (Riessman, 1993). Riessman (1993) notes that narrative analysis examines stories in terms of how they are put together and why they are told in a certain way with regards to cultural and linguistic resources. Riessman (1993) also emphasises that narratives 'are essential meaning-making structures, narratives must be preserved, not fractured, by investigators, who must respect respondents' ways of constructing meaning" (Riessman, 1993, p. 4).

The aim of the narrative approach is to study the stories or narratives which constitute the self and the implication of those narratives for individuals and society (Crossley, 2000). In this instance the narrative approach is used to understand the way in which the Zimbabwean farmers adapted to the experience of expropriations and what role this narrative plays in their identity and lives.

2.8 The Construction of Identity: Narrative Tensions

As seen in the previous chapters, a central premise of social constructionism is that reality is negotiated within a culture, context and society (Gergen, 1994). Both narrative and social constructionist approaches see reality and consequently the construction of

33

identity or self to be drawn from the interpretation of both behaviour and experiences in a relational context (Crossley, 2000).

Narrative forms both a 'method of knowing and an ontological condition of social life' which accepts stories as cultural resources that shape individuals (Smith & Sparkes, 2006, p.170). However it is important to note that when considering narrative 'we can not assume a stable and homogenous community of scholars sharing common theoretical assumptions, goals, values and procedures (Smith & Sparkes, 2006, p.170). Instead narrative inquiry and understanding has a long and contested tradition with a range of approaches and theoretical stains emanating from divers disciplines. The inherent heterogeneity of a narrative approach creates tensions across the field in different areas of understanding. Exploring all of the tensions across narrative theory would go beyond the scope of this research and most likely require a dedicated study of its own, so of particular interest and focus here is the theoretical understanding of self and identity.

Within the heterogeneity of narrative psychology, the basic assumption that the story remains central to shaping 'identity, guiding action, and constitute[s] our mode of being' (Smith & Sparkes, 2006, p.170) remains key. It is in the finer understanding and assumptions within the relationship between the story and individuals identity that there are multiple contrasts and tensions.

Attempting to cover all of the narrative tensions with regards to self and identity construction would require a separate study on its own. Consequently I have drawn from Smith and Sparkes' article 'Narrative inquiry in psychology: exploring the tensions within' (2006) to highlight three key tensions within the field when considering identity construction, namely 'relation between narrative and the self/identity', 'the unity of self' and 'the coherence of the self'.

The first tension can be seen in the theoretical relation between narrative and the self or identity. Some researchers see narrative and identity as being inseparable, closely linked and feeding into one another, essentially positioning narrative as identity (Smith & Sparkes, 2006). In these instances, an individual's narrative is their identity and they cannot? exist outside of it. This perspective essentially aligns with a constructionists

philosophy and distances itself from essentialism or a notion of inherent or transhistorical elements within individuals which may make up an aspect of the 'self'.

However this view is not shared across the field of narrative scholars, in contrast to the above some researchers (such as Crossley, 2003) see the position as an extreme view which 'conceptualize life essentially in terms of language, thereby drawing equivalence between narrative and identity, result[ing] in a kind of linguistic and social determinism or reduction (Smith & Sparkes, 2006, p.174). As alternative string of thought is that identity, while it may be ordered and structured by narratives, is not without 'manifold? registers of neutral, psychological, social and cultural self experience' (Eakin 1999 in Smith & Sparkes, 2006, p.147). In these instances the concept of self or identity is more than the story alone.

Following form the above, Smith & Sparkes (2006) list the second tension as one that circulates around the 'unity of self'. Essentially two broad schools of thought emerge here, one that is largely influenced by the post-modern turn and views the self as fragmented and constantly reconstructed as the individual is exposed to multiple realities and truths and the other which assumes an integrated self which allows us to 'orient towards the world with an implicit sense of temporal coherence, order and experiential unity (Crossley, 2003 in Smith & Sparkes, 2006).

The final tension listed by Smith & Sparkes (2006) regarding narrative and identity is that of 'coherence of self'. This tension amongst scholars emerges from differing notions of coherence. For some scholars coherence is something that people have an 'inherent demand for' (Smith & Sparkes, 2006, p.176) and will consequently seek in their stories as a means to wellbeing. In contrast to this some scholars also see coherence as a 'defence against, for example, one's own inner uncertainty' (Smith & Sparkes, 2006, p.176). While other researchers see coherence as an aspect of the story which may alter when told in differnet contexts, it is an act or 'achievement' as opposed to an inherent need (Smith & Sparkes, 2006, p.176).

With these tensions in mind, I have drawn on a couple of key theorists in the following chapters to act as a base from which the stories given by the Zimbabwean farmers can be viewed.

2.9 Gergen's Concept of Identity in Society

Innermost to social constructionism is the notion that humans exist both within society and relationships that are used to define themselves. Society and individuals cannot be considered to be two separate entities, rather humans are impacted by the society that they are exposed to from the moment they are born; they are constantly in social relations and remain within social relations throughout their lives (Burkitt, 1991). In exploring identity from this point of view, particular weight is given to the interconnection between "self" and "social structures" (Crossley; 2000). That being said, any interpretation of narrative would have to take into consideration the social and cultural context from which the narrative originates (Riessman, 1993).

Crossley (2000) summarises the process of identity construction as a "temporal process through which we have dialogue with different images of the self taken from the past and future, and mediated by the anticipated responses of significant and generalised others" (p. 13). Given that identity is derived from relationships and context, it stands to reason that identity becomes an ongoing and evolving process as the context of the individual changes, implying that identity is fluid and not fixed (Gergen & Gergen, 1997).

As a result there are multiple theories of identity development which span the spectrum from more individualistic approaches, where identity is a more stable, inherent feature of the individual to more social theories where identity is seen as being developed or impacted upon by the society in which the individual exists. While there are arguments both for and against the different conceptualisations of identity, for this particular research, focus has been given to the social construction of identity given the particular research topic and the paradigmatic point of departure. More specifically, Gergen's (1971) positioning of the self concept is central here given his intense focus on socially constructed realities and positioning on social constructionism.

36

Gergen (1994) gives a relational view on self conception, seeing the self concept not as an individual cognitive process but as a discourse about the self or "the performance of language in a public sphere" (Gergen, 1994, p. 185). In other words the "self" is seen as a "narration rendered intelligible with ongoing relationships" (Gergen, 1994, p. 185).

From this perspective individual are seen as using the story form to story their identity to others and themselves. This does not imply that the self is a story told by an individual, there is also an important sense in which the narratives are embedded in social actions and relationships (Gergen, 1994). In other words "narratives of the self are not fundamentally possessions of the individual but possessions of relationships-products of social interchange" (Gergen, 1994, p. 186).

Importantly, this approach can be contrasted to other theories that champion the individual. In Gergen's (1994) writing on the relational theory, he emphasises that when constructing a self-narrative, people do not consult an "internal script, cognitive structure or apperceptive mass of information or guidance…..they do not author their own lives" (Gergen, 1994, p. 188). Instead "the self-narrative is a linguistic implement embedded within conversational sequences of action and employed in relationships in such a way as to sustain, enhance or impede various forms of action" (Gergen, 1994, p. 188).

According to Gergen (1971), from a perspective of social comparison, people are seen as having a continuous need to establish the correctness of their beliefs and so where there is limited factual information they turn to others. They compare their own viewpoint and values to the community around them to validate their beliefs. This impacts on the self-conception in that the individual will not be able to find much factual information relating their sense of self, so a process of social comparison is heavily relied on to confirm or dispel their position.

Another type of social comparison stems from an individual forming a sense of internalised standards of comparison which may be more stable than the perceptions of a community at that time. This standard could be established over time starting with childhood socialisation where the values of a community are introduced and taught to a child. These values can serve as a set of internal standards by which an individual can

37

determine where his or her behaviour lies on the continuum of acceptable and unacceptable. It is significant that one recognises at this point that despite these being internalised values or measures, they were still obtained from the community in which the individuals found themselves (Gergen, 1971).

Gergen (1971) states that during the normal course of development, an individual may seek out certain "identity aspirations" or certain ways of being identified in a society. These aspirations are often associated with concepts that are valued by the community surrounding the individual, for example a person may wish to be identified as "good" or "popular" which are qualities that may be valued by the society in which he finds himself. In such cases, if the individual's behaviour measures up to the socially accepted definitions of the aspirations set out, his or her identity could be confirmed. In other words, in terms of identity a person would seek gratification from the society in which he exists by paying attention to cues that confirm the desired identity, failure of confirmation is more painful and would be avoided (Gergen, 1971).

Responding to cues in society brings us to the notion that there is a sense of reinforcement that may become associated with the concept of self as a consequence of social interchange and relationships. The theory here is that if a person is defined as "good" for behaving in a particular manner through social interchanges, he or she may prefer the definition and come to think of her/himself in those terms. In contrast to this, disapproval from the surrounding community or a definition as "bad" for a given behaviour would be more uncomfortable and individuals may begin to distance themselves from that identity. Hence, a positive definition from the surrounding community can produce identity within an individual at some level (Gergen, 1971).

Social disapproval is somewhat more complex in that it does not necessarily always distance an individual from an identity, in some cases it may cause a person to identify even more closely with behaviour. Occasionally individuals may scan their memories for support of their behaviour or even intensify their behaviour (Gergen, 1971). The reaction to disapproval from society is an important consideration when looking at the Zimbabwean farmers' expropriation as they move from a point of integration and acceptance in their communities to rejection and expropriation.

A final key concept when considering identity in this light is the role of dissonance. Alongside memory scanning and reinforcement, an individual may desire to maintain consistency around the concepts of self and avoid inconsistency or dissonance. Inconsistent notions of the self may be seen as noxious and avoided; Gergen (1971) reasons that the stronger the dissonance the stronger the attempts to reduce it (Gergen, 1971). The notions of how identity is formed and how reinforcement, disapproval, memory scanning and dissonance play a role in reinforcing or moving from a given identity are central in considering the changes the Zimbabwean farmers went through as they were expropriated.

2.10 Identity and Place

While Gergen (1971, 1994) offers a good basis from which we can examine the construction of identity, it is important in this case that the unique nature of the context and situation of the farmers be considered. Associated with the experience of expropriation in this case was the action of the farmers leaving a place they had grown accustomed to or identified with, namely their farms. This, in turn, brings into question the impact that identifying with a given geographic location has on an individual.

The concept of place-identity is debated across a number of fields, ranging from environmental psychology to human geography. It is a concept that sets out to capture the meaning of social and geographical landscapes to individuals and groups, and how individuals or groups relate to a given location (Steadman, 2003).

The degree to which meaning is associated with a place is related to the degree of detachment or familiarity with that place and experiences in that place (Relph, 2002). With that being said, the meaning or experience of a given location can differ from individual to individual, implying that a sense of place-identity can be shared and contested at one locality (Relph, 2002). Place-based identity results when meaning is associated with the landscape to the degree that individuals or groups start to equate their behaviour or self-identity with a location (Pratt, 1998).

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While there are multiple conceptualisations and approaches to place-identity, and how it may best be investigated, of particular interest here is how individuals may construct an aspect of their identity around their attachment to a given place. In other words, the focus here would move from the more individualistic presentations of self and place to a construction of meaning and association of meaning with a place. As Taylor (2003) established, the "positioning of someone who is of a place can connect a speaker to the multiple established meanings and identities of that place" (Taylor, 2003, p. 193). In other words, when negotiating and constructing meaning, a person's origin or association with a given place could carry a shared meaning and contribute to their identity.

Given the Zimbabwean farmers' association with their land and the importance of place in this particular research, the intention here was to provide a space where the construction of meaning and identity could be associated with place.

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CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In exploring the experiences of expropriated Zimbabwean farmers, a qualitative, narrative approach is used. Narrative analysis embraces the notion that experiences are storied or constructed by their human counterparts, positioning the life story as the object of investigation in research (Riessman, 1993). The methodology and approach used here reflect the narrative mind-set.

The following chapter will give an overview of the approach used in terms of the respondents chosen, how they were approached, obtaining their stories, expanding on their stories, the ethics abided by, and the analytical approach used.

This introduction to the research process invites the reader into the research and gives them an overview of the approach.

3.2 The Narrative Approach

At this point one must also appreciate that the concepts of narrative and narrative analysis are not a unified concept, but a collection of multiple and interdisciplinary elements that constitute a variety of narrative methods (Rogan, 2005). As a result, narrative analysis does not represent a single method, but rather a range of approaches to text (Riessman, 1993).

With this in mind, the life story approach presented by Reissman (1993) seemed most appropriate for this particular research project. This is because the life story approach allows for the plot structures and common themes of different first person accounts of experiences to be identified (Riessman, 1993).

In relation to the research topic chosen, Riessman (1993) notes that narratives are a core way in which individuals may make sense of certain experiences. This may be particularly applicable to traumatic or life-altering experiences, for narrators give disordered experiences, plots and a sense of unity (Riessman, 1993). Thus the analysis

41

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
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of 'life stories' here will allow the researcher and reader to follow how the meaning of distressing events in the Zimbabwean context have evolved through time.

Accordingly, the 'voice' of the participants is seen to be important as well as how their narratives are told. In other words, the manner in which white Zimbabwean farmers have constructed their experiences of expropriation is explored.

Consistent with the life story method of narrative analysis, the report includes excerpts and quotes from interviews, summaries of the content of speech, and statements regarding theoretical issues and substantive themes rather than entire narrative transcripts (Riessman, 1993). As a result, the reader is directed by the researcher's interpretive commentary on the narratives (Riessman, 1993). Critics may point out that this subjective influence of the researcher may tilt the findings (Reckson & Becker, 2005).

Attempts to combat the above criticism include two alternate elements in the research process. Firstly, as the researcher and consequent interpretive voice in the given study, my origins lie in the same context as the participants who will be giving their narratives. Being the daughter of a Zimbabwean farmer who was expropriated from his land, I have a similar narrative regarding my experience of the event and the context that it occurred in. Furthermore, the participants will be included as an integral part of the interpretation of the narratives and be given space to disagree with the output.

Moreover, the life story method also establishes a difference between the story and the plot in the narrative (Riessman, 1993). The story is the "raw, temporally sequenced, or causal narrative of a life" (Riessman, 1993, p. 30). The plot on the other hand, is unexpected twists in the main narrative (Riessman, 1993). Riessman (1993) notes that the life story approach allows the researcher to compare plot lines across narratives in order to examine causal sequences and locate turning points in the text.

In this approach, language is viewed as a medium which is primarily useful in providing access to underlying content (Riessman, 1993). Keeping in line with this, the central themes and plots are derived from the narrative by the researcher, who presents the

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reader with snippets or relevant sections of the respondent's life story to support the developing theory.

3.3 Research Question

Given that this research seeks to explore the experiences and life stories of Zimbabwean farmers who were forcefully expropriated from their land, the research questions to be addressed are as follows:

Firstly, what is the narrative or story constructed by Zimbabwean farmers concerning displacement from their land?

Secondly, how have displaced Zimbabwean farmers constructed their identity around their lived experiences of expropriation?

3.4 Author as Narrator

Despite our continuous attempts as researchers to reach and accurately represent the respondent's experiences, the reality is that as the investigator we cannot directly access their experiences, rather, we try to get as close as possible to those experiences with representations of them (Peller, 1987). As a result, the role of the investigator or researcher becomes central in a research endeavour because it is through their point of perception that the research is presented. As Peller (1987) states, objective observation of the world around us is not possible; a study of any sorts is a representation as well as an interpretation of events.

Given the narrative approach used in the research and the nature of the research question, it is essential that the position of the narrator or researcher be introduced at this point. The reasoning behind introducing the narrator is that "the construction of any work bears the mark of the person who created it" (Riessman, 1993). Consequently, presenting the researcher's perspective will give the reader context to the research.

As the researcher in this case, I originate from Zimbabwe and spent my childhood on a game farm outside of Bulawayo in Matabeleland. My family moved to the game farm, namely 'Greenlands' (pseudonym), when I was two years old in 1985. At this time, the.

43

Dissident or Bush War was still rife in Matabeleland, so the farm was purchased as an abandoned cattle farm. It is worth noting at this point that I am directly related to one of the farmers who's narratives are explored below, more specifically the farmer from Greenlands.

While I spent a happy childhood on the ranch, my family built the farm from an abandoned cattle ranch into a thriving game ranch which acted both as a conservancy for endangered species and a safari destination for international clients.

By the time I had reached high school I became more aware of the politics surrounding land in Zimbabwe. There would often be news clips and presidential speeches regarding land and land distribution.

By the time I was reaching the end of my high school career, forceful evictions of farmers without compensation had begun. My fist vivid introduction to this process was when my karate instructor at that time, a farmer close to Bulawayo, lost his life during a violent eviction from his land.

Soon after that my family received a section two document, this at the time served as a notice of pending land seizure for Greenlands. This was then followed by alternating intervals of objection to the notice, issuing of new notices and so forth. During this time we also had a number of individuals who had labelled themselves as 'war veterans' and moved onto Greenlands illegally.

Soon after moving onto the farm, the 'war veterans' began to build their houses, dig out crop lands, poach the wildlife and take possession of whatever they pleased on the farm. Seeing the land and infrastructure you had built up over years destroyed in a matter of months was a considerable challenge for both my family and I.

During this time and amidst rising political tension in Zimbabwe, the pattern of farm invasion by the then labelled 'war veterans' became the norm. Most of our neighbours also had 'war veterans' move onto their land and set up homes there.

This process of farm invasion was two-tiered, with the arrival of 'war veterans' being followed by a process of eviction for the farmer. Once on Greenlands, the 'war veterans'

44

began a process of multiple meetings with my family, multiple demonstrations, intimidation and threats in an attempt to get us to move off the farm. During this time, a number of farmers had been killed during the eviction process; similarly, there were five attempts on our lives as we stayed on Greenlands Ranch.

The situation on Greenlands peaked when they gave my family two days to move off the farm. We were only allowed to move the contents of our yard, consequently we were forced to leave behind farming equipment, generators, boreholes and livestock that then became the possessions of the war veterans.

My family then moved to Bulawayo and, through a series of events, has settled in Botswana.

Having lived through this process with my family and neighbours at the time has given me a unique position for this research. First hand experience and an awareness of the context and setting of the events will aid in bringing the reader closer to the experiences of the Zimbabwean farmers interviewed here as it is portrayed by the researcher or narrator.

You will notice in the following text that I use italics on occasion. While a narrative analysis inherently includes the voice of the researcher, these italics indicate my direct personal voice where I have used my personal experience within Zimbabwe to clarify or add to the narrative being presented.

3.5 Respondents

In terms of the sample picked for this research, displaced Zimbabwean farmers were invited to participate in the research. The participants for this research were not randomly selected, but were individuals that I knew had experienced forceful removal from their land between 2000 and 2005, in other words convenience sampling was used.

The inclusion criteria for the displaced farmers included:
1) They had to have owned or considered the land from which they were displaced to be their home;
2) They had to be Zimbabwean citizens;

3) They had to have been displaced for 18 months or more from their land.

While obtaining access to the displaced farmers did not present any difficulties, challenges in retaining their participation throughout the process were experienced. In a number of cases, a farmer who was approached with the research would agree to take part and then fall out while completing the story process. Given the nature of the situation that the Zimbabwean farmers were exposed to, they would fall out of the research due to reasons such as relocation to another country, a lack of access to communication infrastructure, and a hesitancy to revisit the trauma experienced through their displacement and relocation.

After approaching five displaced farmers and initiating the research process, three final respondents were obtained. The drop out of the additional farmers was often due to logistical issues given their transient movement at the time.

The initial approach to these farmers was a verbal one to give them a brief overview of the research and enquire whether or not they would be interested in taking part. If the farmer then agreed to participate, he or she was sent a consent form.

3.6 Data Collection via Written Accounts

A narrative approach is used here to explore the lived experiences and life stories of the Zimbabwean farmers. Vital in this approach is the notion that narratives and stories are the primary form by which human experience is made meaningful (Roberts & Holmes, 1999).

The beginnings of narrative analysis are routed in the traditions of formalism, new criticism, structuralism and hermeneutics (Czarniawska, 2004). Central to all of these traditions is the interest in the text as opposed to the author's intentions or the circumstances in which the text was produced (Czarniawska, 2004).

Narrative analysis then spread into the humanities and the social sciences with the "interpretive turn" (Riessman, 1993). This resulted in the rejection of the notion that

researchers could provide an objective account of forces in the world (Riessman, 1993). Alternatively, narrative analysis adopts the story metaphor, implying that humans construct texts or stories of their experiences in certain contexts and environments (Riessman, 1993). As a result, narrative analysis considers this story as the object of investigation in research (Riessman, 1993).

Throughout the evolution of psychology and qualitative research, there have been multiple arguments for the use of verbal accounts as a source of data. The reasoning behind this is that it has largely been assumed that a face-to-face interview allows the researcher to obtain a deeper meaning and preserve the context from which the data originates (Patton, 2002).

However, a counter-argument for written accounts is presented by Nygren and Blom (2001) when they point out that qualitative researchers often assume that the use of face-to-face interactions with open-ended questions and a good researcher/respondent rapport is the best means of obtaining good quality data. Conversely, written data presents itself as a more permanent manner in which to relate a personal experience or story, and consequently is more likely to have a greater degree of temporal ordering, coherence and self-reflection (Ong, 1982). In comparison, the verbal relation of an experience is transitory as is the respondent's short-term memory, so respondents could lose their train of thought and provide less coherence and order to their story (Handy & Ross, 2005).

Furthermore, using a written approach may resolve tensions created by age, culture or topic that could exist in the research relationship with the respondent (Handy & Ross, 2005). This is particularly pertinent when the research topic is of a sensitive nature, as is the case with this particular topic. This was seen in research conducted by Letherby and Zdrowski (1995) where the women taking part in a study exploring eating disorders were willing to provide detailed written accounts but were reluctant to complete a face-to-face interview.

Handy and Ross (2005) propose that the limited personal contact in producing written text is actually conducive to fuller texts regarding sensitive topics. Where a face-to-face

interview is predetermined and does create some pressure in that a respondent often has to answer sensitive or personal questions in front of a stranger, writing out a response relieves that pressure and enables the respondent to answer in their own time and at their own pace (Handy & Ross, 2005). Preventing any form of pressure or additional stress was important for this research where farmers were asked to relay their experiences of being forcefully expropriated from their land.

Given that the farmers were each presented with a unique context in terms of communication infrastructure, constant relocation and their ability to make use of technology, the use of face-to-face interviews for this research was limited by access to the respondents. Similarly, the political dispensation of Zimbabwe at the time of this research rendered face-to-face interviews on or close to farms both dangerous and almost impossible at times. Consequently, the farmers were asked to write out their narratives and send it in the form that suited them best. In most cases the farmers wrote out their stories by hand and sent the written script through.

3.7 Consent Form

On agreeing to take part in the research, a consent form was issued to the respondents. The consent form (appendix A) gave a brief introduction to the research. The research was introduced as:

"This research seeks to explore how Zimbabwean farmers experienced forceful eviction from their farms and the process of land redistribution within Zimbabwe."

The consent form then addressed the forms of communication that could be used for the farmer's stories, as well as the fact that this was a narrative enquiry and as such may require more than one contact session with the researcher.

Similarly, given that the topic was a potentially traumatic one for the farmers, issues of voluntary participation were addressed. The farmers were informed that participation was a choice they had to make and that they could withdraw from the research at any point.

48

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

Finally, given the sensitive nature of the topic addressed, the consent form also addressed anonymity for the farmers. The farmers were assured that all identifying elements such as names and farm names would be replaced with pseudonyms to protect their identity. The farmers that participated in this process all signed the attached (appendix A) consent form.

Once the consent form had been completed, the farmers were issued with the following research question:

"Describe (a) your experience of the events that concluded in the forced eviction of you from your farm, and (b) your experience of the eviction itself. Portray how this affected you on a personal level."

This question served as a starting point from which the narrative of expropriation could begin. The narratives obtained from this question were expanded upon during the process of the research.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

The ethics discussed below are drawn from the American Psychological Association (APA) Ethics Code for 2002. This ethics code was drafted in 2002 and came into effect in 2003; it is presently used as the most updated version of the ethics code. The Health Professions Council of South Africa (HPCSA) (2006) also has its own set of regulations with regard to psychological practices in the South African context. These factors were taken into consideration when performing this research.

Informed Consent to Research

When conducting any form of psychological research, the researcher is obligated to obtain informed consent from the participants prior to the commencement of the research. The APA code of ethics (2002) and the HPCSA regulations (2006) compel the researcher to inform the participant of the following in language that is reasonably understandable to the participants (HPCSA, 2006);

a) Informed consent needs to be obtained from research participants at the beginning of the research process (HPCSA, 2006). Informed consent within this research entails informing the participants of the points listed below, before they make a decision to fully participate. Informed consent for this particular study was issued as the consent form which each farmer participating signed. The consent form included an outline of the points below.

b) The participants have to be informed as to the duration, procedures used and purpose of the research (APA Online, 2002)

c) The participant's right to choose not to participate as well as their right to leave or not participate at any point needs to be explained to them (APA Online, 2002).

d) The participants also have to be informed as to possible factors or procedures that may occur during the research process that may cause discomfort or adverse effects (APA Online, 2002). In terms of the research that is to be completed for this paper, the Zimbabwean farmers could experience significant emotional discomfort when relaying their experiences of expropriation.

e) The participants also have to be informed of any possible research benefits (APA Online, 2002).

f) The limits and extent of confidentiality where applicable to the research also have to be explained to the participants (APA Online, 2002). In terms of the current research, confidentiality and anonymity are particularly important given the personal content of the information and the potential political nature of the research. Consequently, names of people and places have been changed in the paper presented to protect the identities of the participants.

g) Participants have to be informed with regard to the incentive, or lack thereof, that will be offered to the participants for taking part (APA Online, 2002). The APA code of ethics stipulates that when compensating participants, researchers may not offer excessive or inappropriate inducements in order to try to coerce participants (APA Online, 2002). Similarly, in offering inducements the researcher

has to be clear as to the nature of the research (APA Online, 2002). Unfortunately no incentive will be offered for this research.

h) The participants will also be informed as to who they can contact for further information regarding the research and research participants' rights (APA Online, 2002).

Deception in Research

The APA code of ethics (2002) also stipulates that deception may not be used when conducting any form of research unless the deception is deemed essential for the information-gathering process. There was no need for any form of deception within this research.

Debriefing

According to the APA ethics code (2002), participants taking part in research have the right to be debriefed after the research process. Debriefing involves informing the participants about the nature, results and conclusion of the research (APA Online, 2002; HPCSA, 2006). Given the nature of this research, the participants formed a constitutive part of the research processes and outcomes, and were consequently privy to the results and conclusion of the research.

3.9 Completing a Narrative Analysis

The object of investigation or data to be collected when doing a narrative analysis is the story itself (Riessman, 1993). Riessman (1993) notes that narrative analysis examines stories in terms of how they are put together and why they are told in a certain way with regard to cultural and linguistic resources. In other words, the narrative approach allows one to explore the experiences of the Zimbabwean farmers and the narratives that they have created in their given context. Riessman (1993) also emphasises that narratives "are essential meaning-making structures, narratives must be preserved, not fractured, by investigators, who must respect the respondent's ways of constructing meaning" (Riessman, 1993, p. 4).

The process of narrative analysis using the life story approach is embedded in the rhetorical conventions initially established by Bertaux and Kohli in 1984. These conventions entail producing a text with a mixture of direct quotes, longer summaries and key themes that cut across the narratives (Riessman, 1993). The authorial voice of the writer and individual who has been exposed to a similar context is used to pull the themes of the narratives together.

In completing a narrative analysis it is also important that cognisance be given to the impact of time on the narrative's structure. The narratives of the farmers here are presented as a sequence of events progressing through time. In line with Ginsburg's (1989) use of the life story approach, the representation of the farmers' experiences will move through time.

A primary criticism of the life story approach, as noted previously, is its focus on summarising the story presented by the individual, where the process behind the transition from raw story to analysis is not necessarily expanded on (Riessman, 1993). While the life story approach offers the option of championing the author's position in terms of identifying themes and plots, it does not necessarily detail a process by which the author comes to those themes. Consequently, while the life story approach is optimal here in that it allows the author who speaks from a similar context of events to guide the write up, there is no clarity in the process.

In acknowledging the limitations of the life story approach and the inherent multiplicity that is embraced in narrative approaches, the guiding framework of Crossley (2000) is adopted in conjunction with the life story approach to give a comprehensive view of the narratives at hand.

Crossley (2000) suggests the following steps and the identification of central concepts when performing a narrative analysis:

Firstly, reading and familiarising oneself with the texts on multiple occasions is essential to get a notion of emerging and significant themes (Crossley, 2000). Secondly, Crossley

(2000) identifies central concepts to look for when searching for the principle elements of the narrative, namely narrative tone, imagery and themes.

Identifying narrative tone entails examining the narrative in context and recognising the underlying quality or manner of the story (Crossley, 2000). In other words, the predominant mood or incantation of the narratives provided by the farmers as they were being expropriated will have to be established. The tone is largely conveyed in the content of the story and how it is told (Crossely, 2000).

Crossley (2000) also argues that "every personal narrative contains and expresses a characteristic set of images" (Crossley, 2000, p. 89). Personally-meaningful imagery, symbols and metaphors are used in narratives to make sense of the storyteller's identity or the process through which identity is constructed (Crossley, 2000). In line with the conventions of social constructionism and narrative methodology, images are considered to be both discovered and made, therefore a product of context and the construction of reality (Crossley, 2000).

Finally, dominant themes in a narrative can be derived from an exploration of prominent motivations or meaningful elements in the narratives that form a recurring pattern (Crossley, 2000). Within this particular research exploration, the dominant themes will be drawn from the three farmers' experiences of expropriation, a point where their identities as farmers may have been threatened.

In combining the life story approach and Crossley's (2000) more systematic approach to analysis, the farmers' stories can be explored in greater detail and presented in a more effective manner to the reader. Where the life story approach offers the benefit of embracing the author as integral to the representation of the narrative, Crossley (2000) offers a methodical approach to analysing the text and extracting tone, imagery and themes.

With the traditions and processes of the life story approach and Crossley's (2000) methods in mind, an analytical process was used here to illuminate narrative themes, images, tone and tensions. The process used consisted of the following steps:

1. Written data

As described earlier, the narratives provided by the farmers were in a written format. If additional questions were asked or clarification required, this was also done in writing and the farmers then responded in a written format.

Once received, the handwritten narratives were transferred to typed text. This initial reading and retyping of the text offered an opportunity to become more familiar with the text. The narratives provided by the participants were then read four or five times to provide a degree of familiarisation with the text. With the readings, I also made notes to begin to thread the stories together.

Following the advice given by Riessman (1993), once the narratives had been transcribed I returned to the texts and re-transcribed selected portions for detailed analysis.

A considerable amount of time was spent scrutinising, typing and retyping the narratives to provide a greater familiarity with the texts. It is in this process that "a focus for analysis often emerges, or becomes clearer" (Riessman, 1993, p. 57). Similarly, no aspect of this process was outsourced simply because "the task of identifying narrative segments and their representation cannot be delegated. It is not a technical operation but the stuff of analysis itself, the unpacking of structure that is essential to interpretation" (Riessman, 1993, p. 58).

2. Allowing the plots, themes, images and tone of the stories to reveal themselves

As Riessman (1993) notes, the process of narrative analysis cannot be easily distinguished or distanced from the transcription process. Consequently, this step is closely linked to the first step and includes reflecting on the notes made during the multiple readings and recognition of the essence of the narratives coming through the readings.

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During the multiple readings, extensive notes and re-transcriptions began to clarify and deepen an understanding of the text and so central elements in terms of plots, themes and tone began to emerge.

The first element identified was the narrative tone. The narrative tone here refers to the tone obtained from the context of the story, as well as the form or manner in which it is told (Crossley, 2000).

Following from the narrative tone, imagery and symbolism in the text were also established at this point. Imagery here refers to meaningful images, symbols and metaphors used by the narrator to convey meaning (Crossley, 2000).

Finally, the predominant themes were established in the narratives. These themes can be considered to be the main motivating factors at that point in the text (Crossley, 2000).

3. Completion of the narrative grid

Once the themes, images and tone had been established, the information was portrayed in a table to bring all of the information together.

This grid allows for certain themes, images and the tone of the narratives to be clearly presented. The grids following from this section are a result of the multiple readings and the emergence of central themes and threads in the texts.

4. Write up

This phase entailed a merge of the various narratives and a write up of the outstanding themes, images and tone.

It is at this point that the life story approach becomes more applicable as a complementary narrative method. The life story approach allows for an overarching view of the text by presenting a mixture of "direct quotes" and "longer summaries of the content of speech" (Ginsburg, 1989). Ginsburg's (1989) approach enables a comparison of plot lines across a series of first person accounts.

55

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

Consequently, the write up at the end embraces both the story grids and the plot lines.

Central to the data analysis phase is recognition of the fact that the analysis will not necessarily be a reflection of the 'truth', but rather the author's interpretation of events and stories relayed by the farmers. It is essential that one notes the multiple levels of interpretation emanating both from the author's perspective and the farmers' interpretations of their lived experiences.

In essence there is no right or wrong interpretation of narratives, but rather multiple interpretations. The analysis below is a consequence of my own personal reading of the farmers' stories and my past experiences in a similar context. You, as the reader, may find that you come to a different conclusion or interpretation of the text. These should not be discarded but rather reflected on as an outcome of your lived experiences and context.

3.10 Trustworthiness of Narrative Data

For many years there has been a constant debate over whether or not a scientific approach is useful for studying human behaviour and thought. The qualitative approach grew from this debate, arguing that humans create meaning for themselves and that phenomena cannot be addressed by a traditional scientific approach (Potter, 1996).

Positivism positioned science as a systematic process for generating knowledge or universal 'truths' about the world (Whitley, 2002). According to Whitley (2002), science's goals are description, understanding, prediction and control. The dominant values of science stem from an epistemology of logical positivism which championed empiricism, scepticism, tentativeness and publicness (Whitley, 2002). From this perspective, scientific knowledge can be obtained through empirical observation, controlled experiments and the logical analysis of data (Whitley, 2002). Similarly in obtaining knowledge, the positivist researcher is positioned as a disinterested observer who should remain emotionally uninvolved and draw evidence from neutral observations (Whitley, 2002).

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In contrast to the scientific approach, qualitative researchers emphasise that observations should not be isolated or separated from the context or meaning system in which it occurs. Facts are seen as fluid and at the same time embedded in a meaning system. Neuman (2000) sums this up well when he states that "facts are context-specific actions that depend on the interpretations of particular people in a social setting" (Neuman, 2000, p. 74).

Lodged in objective observations, the philosophy of logical positivism within research positioned validity, reliability and generalisability as important criteria by which the quality of research could be judged.

Even though there are several styles and methods of qualitative research, this does not mean a lack of rigour (de Koning, 1986). The notion of validation is essentially a concept that relies on "realist assumptions and consequently are largely irrelevant to narrative studies" (Riessman, 1993, p. 64). Where a quantitative or realist perspective seeks to establish the degree of 'truth', qualitative research does not intend to be an exact reflection of events but rather an interpretative process, thereby reflecting a certain understanding or reading of events or stories (Riessman, 1993).

Yardley (in Smith, 2003) offers three principles for assessing the quality of qualitative research. Firstly, the research must be sensitive to context. Sensitivity can be established if the researcher shows an awareness of the literature regarding the subject or the fundamental concepts to be studied. The study's findings should link to the literature findings. Sensitivity may also arise from how well the research has been drawn from participants. Participants should provide evidence towards the literature. The researcher may also show sensitivity towards the study by investigating and reporting on how the socio-cultural milieu influenced the outcome of the research (Yardley in Smith, 2003).

Yardley's second principle includes commitment, rigour, transparency and coherence (Yardley in Smith, 2003). Commitment may be best understood by the level of immersion in the data that the researcher demonstrates. The researcher's fieldwork,

57

experience and relevant knowledge may also show commitment. Rigour refers to thoroughness, completeness and appropriateness of the study's sample. Transparency and coherence relate to how clearly each phase of the study has been explained and set out (Yardley in Smith, 2003). There should also be a logical progression and flow of the argument throughout the study (Smith, 2003).

The third principle is impact and importance. A vital test for validity in qualitative research is whether the research can provide useful insight or can make a difference. Validity can be considered a possibility if the study promotes social change (Yardley in Smith, 2003). Silverman (2001) suggests talking back to a study's participants to establish their opinions on the accuracy of their depiction in the study as a method of validation. Reason and Rowan (in Silverman, 2001) state that "good research goes back to the subjects with tentative results, and refines them in the light of the subjects' reactions". Qualitative research is considered true if it rings true to those being researched and if it provides a deep understanding of the participants' reality (Neuman, 2000). Smart (in Neuman, 2000) discusses the 'postulate of adequacy' for qualitative research. This concept, which applies to a qualitative approach, states that if an account of human action is given in a script form to an actor, the script must be understandable to the actor and his fellow actors and allow them to follow an interpretation of everyday life.

This research has been approached from a social constructionist framework, using narrative methodology as an approach to the data. The implication of this approach, and a majority of qualitative approaches to research, is that the researcher is positioned as an integral part of the data; in other words, the data obtained will always emanate from an interpretive position and not be objective or neutral (Crossley; 2000). Where an objective and realist position assumes one interpretation or presentation of facts, a qualitative framework allows for multiple interpretations of the same event given that the researcher is informed by different discourses and lived experiences (Riessman, 1993)

Aside from the 'representativeness' of the research, quantitative research assumes that the results obtained should be sufficient to represent and be generalised to a given target population or group. In contrast to this, qualitative research and narrative

psychological research seek to produce rich and detailed information which cannot be separated from the context from which it originated (Crossley, 2000)

As a result, qualitative research cannot be subjected to the usual quantitative measures of reliability and validity because it does not represent an objective truth and it is bound by context and interpretation (Crossley, 2000). This then presents a dilemma for the assessment of qualitative research and how it is to be considered trustworthy or accurate.

Riessman (1993) presents four ways of approaching validation in narrative work, and each is listed below.

1. Persuasiveness

Persuasiveness refers to the degree to which the interpretation is seen to be reasonable and convincing (Riessman, 1993). "Persuasiveness is greatest when theoretical claims are supported with evidence from informants' accounts and when alternative interpretations of the data are considered" (Riessman, 1993).

In this particular research report, 'persuasiveness' is attained by consistently referring back to the stories presented by the farmers. Persuasiveness is also emphasised by using a combination of the life story approach and Crossley's (2000) approach to narrative methodology. This combined approach entails two phases, that of searching for meaning and the essence in the data.

2. Correspondence

Correspondence relates to taking the work or interpretations made back to the individuals, allowing the stories' creators to check the analysis and match them to their intended meaning (Riessman, 1993). Similarly, correspondence may also imply sharing interpretations with research colleagues to check understanding.

Given the sensitive nature of this research and the importance placed on the respondents' anonymity, the transcripts and consequent analysis could not be shared with colleagues to check the interpretation. However, correspondence was achieved through constant conversations with the given respondents and by checking the meanings achieved against my own experience on a Zimbabwean farm.

3. Coherence

Coherence is described on three levels, namely global, local and thematic coherence (Riessman, 1993). Global coherence refers to achieving the initial research goal, in this case a narrative analysis of the Zimbabwean farmers' experiences of expropriation from their land.

Local coherence refers to "what a narrator is trying to effect in the narrative itself" (Riessman, 1992, p. 67). This is achieved by exploring the linguistic devices used by the respondents to illustrate their experiences (Riessman, 1992). In the stories presented by the farmers, the recollection of events and actions really brings about the local coherence within the experience of expropriation.

Then, finally, thematic coherence refers to the degree to which given themes are extracted and a narrative is developed around them (Riessman 1992, p. 67). Given that the stories obtained all relate to the farmers' experiences of expropriation, a degree of thematic consistency can be seen when comparing the stories. The themes range from a stage when the farmers began farming, to their experiences of the 'war veterans' and expropriation.

4. Pragmatic Use

Pragmatic use refers to the degree that the research can be used as a basis for further research (Riessman, 1992, p. 68). This degree of pragmatism can be attained by:

a. Clearly demonstrating how the interpretations were attained and produced (Riessman, 1992);

b. Ensuring that the process is visible and clear to the reader (Riessman, 1992);

c. Making primary data available to other researchers (Riessman, 1992).

While the sensitive nature of this research topic and concerns around the farmers' anonymity and safety do not allow for the primary data to be made available to other researchers, the process through which the analysis was completed and the various conclusions reached are clearly indicated. Similarly, my role as a researcher and my positioning as having lived through expropriation are also clearly demonstrated so that the reader can gain a better understanding of the interpretations produced.

CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS

Dear participants,

This section of the research will seek to explore your stories and experiences of being expropriated from your land. I wanted to thank you at this point for your willingness to engage and share what were often very difficult stories regarding your experiences. You have offered me a unique opportunity to present your experiences in a research context and to reconsider my own experience on a Zimbabwean farm as I went through the research process.

4.1 Introduction

In the following chapter, the reader will be provided with the participants' verbatim comments as well as the story grids constructed from the analysis. Given that the stories of three farmers are provided here, each narrative is initially dealt with as a separate entity, and then the core themes and plot lines are weaved together in the write up.

As stated previously, narratives are a representation of an individual's experiences, and consequent narrative analysis is a process of understanding and exploring the narrative whilst remembering that researcher interpretation is inevitable (Riessman, 1993). This perspective is further emphasised by Peller (1987) who states that it is not possible to be neutral and objective and merely represent the respondent's world.

Given that interpretation is inevitable, contextual information and direct quotes are provided in the text in an attempt to bring the reader closer to the farmers' experiences.

In the following section, participants are initially introduced with a brief contextual background. Each introduction is followed by the story grid for that individual. The story grids detail the imagery and themes elicited in a temporal sequence. In other words, the series of events leading up to the eviction are explored as phases and themes on their own.

Finally, after the grids are completed, the various themes are merged and the narrative explored. These themes, images and narrative tone are weaved together into a coherent story.

The names of the farms from which the participants originated as well as their names have been changed and replaced with pseudonyms to protect both their identities and stories.

4.2 Narrative Grids

Narrative One:

Brief Contextual Background

Narrative one emanates from a woman who was both born and raised in Zimbabwe. She originally owned an antique shop and her husband worked as general manager for an engineering firm before they decided to start farming. Her story as a farmer began when her and her husband decided to leave the city and their jobs for a farm in Matabeleland.

In 1987 they decided to buy a farm, and continued to farm for the next 14 years before being forcefully evicted from their land.

The following story grids follow a temporal sequence of events and themes that emerge from initially moving to the farm to being evicted from it.

Story Grid 1: From the Beginning

Phase	Imagery	Themes
Phase 1: Moving to the farm	The story is set against a new beginning in which the farm was purchased and a move was documented from the city to the farm. • "We had a dream of owning our farm for a long time."	Reaching for a dream A new beginning

	• "Although we were financially secure, I owned an antique business, we lived in a beautiful house in an upmarket suburb with the normal trappings of three cars, boat etc., but I could see that he was not happy and when he came home one night in 1987 in his usual uptight mood we talked and decided to bite the bullet and buy a farm."	
Phase 1: Narrative tone	The tone that emanates from this phase is almost one of optimism and hope as the narrator realises a dream and moves from the city to a farm. This hope supersedes the need to exchange their current wealth for what was perceived to be a better life. This elevated tone emerges from statements such as: "We had our farm and we were never happier."	
Phase 2: A new lifestyle	The move to the farm entailed giving up a previous life as well as the security of living in the city at the time. • "So now we were farmers, posh house gone, boat gone." The move to the farm was also made amidst civil unrest in Zimbabwe. • "It was not easy, all of our friends said we were crazy." • "There was still unrest in the country." • "We were given a contingent of army to protect us." • "Sold everything we could."	Uncertainty and sacrifice
Phase 2: Narrative tone	The tone within this phase is really one of determination as the narrator and her husband pursue a new life on the farm despite the difficulties and dangers involved at the time. *The danger here emanates from the farmer moving onto a farm during*	

	the dissident war in Zimbabwe after the declaration of independence. The dissident war was also locally known as the "Bush War" because of the number of veterans or guerrillas who took refuge in the bush or on the farms. Hence moving or living on a farm at that time came with the risk of facing the forces taking refuge in the bush.	
Phase 3: Legal tender	Of importance here was the manner in which the farm was purchased. The letter obtained here offered Jane (pseudonym) a degree of security regarding the government and land ownership. • "We found a place, got a letter of 'no interest' from the government."	Security
Phase 3: Narrative tone	Within this phase the farmer points out that at the time they did feel secure in their purchase of the farm because it was made with the government's consent. The tone here is one of reminiscent distrust and jaded remembrance as the farmer reflects on what is now a false security provided by the government. *The letter of "no interest" was a document provided by the government at the time assuring the aspiring farmers that the land they were about to purchase was of no interest to the government for resettlement or development. This offered a sense of security to the farmers because it assured them that they could invest in the land they had bought without fear that it could be repossessed by the government for resettlement.*	

Story Grid 2: Farm Life

Phase	Imagery	Themes
Phase 4: Farming life	In this phase, Jane details the happiness they experienced on the farm and how that was shared with friends and family. • "We had our farm and we were never happier." • "So for the next 14 years we farmed and	Happy times

	I loved it."
	• "Our children, relatives and friends would come to visit."
Phase 4: Narrative tone	The tone in this phase is one of happiness and optimism. The farmers were content with the new lifestyle and the farm they had purchased. This section of the story also begins to demonstrate the attachment to the land at the time.
	Interestingly here, the farmer gives an indication of their love of farming but does not mention the investment made into the land over this time. In this particular case, I know that when the farmer bought the land it had very little on it in terms of development and infrastructure, so a great deal of time and finances were invested by the farmer.

Phase 5: Living in a community	Jane recalls living amongst a community that they aided and fed sometimes. On this particular occasion, an elephant had been shot and the meat was given to the adjoining community. • "After skinning it out we decided to let the people in the adjoining community area know that the meat was available for them." • "After lots of thank you's the people left with probably enough meat for weeks."	Integration

Phase 5: Narrative tone	The tone in this phase is really one of cynicism and sadness as the farmer reminisces about achieving a sense of belonging and involvement with the community surrounding the farm. The cynicism stems from the fact that members of that same community were involved in intimidating the farmers and forcing them from their land.
	In many cases the farm land bought would be placed alongside what was referred to as 'Tribal Trust Land'. This was land that was given to a community by the government, and it was essentially run and owned by the community. In many cases the farmer and the community living in

	the neighbouring land would have a relationship which entailed sharing or trading resources.

Story Grid 3: From Invasion to Eviction

Phase	Imagery	Themes
Phase 6: Land possession	At this stage, Jane expresses concern about the government's position on land. • "We started to hear stories about land acquisition, not that we were too worried, hadn't Mugabe said that people with only one farm would not be touched?"	Doubt/concern
Phase 6: Narrative tone	The tone in this phase is one of disbelief as stories emerge about land acquisitions which contradict the original assurance offered by the government.	
Phase 7: The arrival	In this phase, Jane documents the arrival of the farm settlers on her farm and their threatening behaviour. • "We heard singing and there they were coming up the road. My staff shouted, 'Run!'" • "I ran, jumped in the car and rushed home. When I got there I quickly locked the gate • I grabbed the binoculars and looked at them; there were about 400 men all carrying axes, spears and udukus (sticks)."	Surprise/fear
Phase 7: Narrative tone	Within this phase the initial group of settlers arrives on the farm. The tone in this phase is one of surprise and alarm - surprise at the illegal and sudden arrival, as well as alarm given their threatening nature and approach.	
Phase 8:	In this phase Jane relates her feelings of	Disbelief/betrayal

67

Disbelief	disbelief when she recognises some of the new settlers threatening her as friends and members of the surrounding community. • "I was very saddened when I realised that many of them were people I would have called my friends." • "People we had helped when we supplied the school with books." • "People we had given grazing and water to during the drought." • "We had bought their cattle, provided medicine when the clinics ran out, and transport and phones in emergencies. I felt sick."	
Phase 8: Narrative tone	This phase details Jane's disbelief as she recognises some of the new settlers that have forced their way onto her farm. The tone is predominantly one of betrayal and disbelief.	
Phase 9: Initial threat	In this phase the threats begin and Jane and her husband are intimidated by the "settlers'" behaviour. • "That night they camped within sight of the homestead." • "We had a very restless night only to be woken by singing." • "We walked out to see that they were lined up in rows and after they stopped singing and marching up and down they turned as one and started trotting towards the gate going Zee Zee Zee." • "It was terrifying, we grabbed shotguns, loaded them and ran back to wait for them."	Threatened/fear/ invaded

	• "They stopped about 5 feet from the gate, turned, ran back and the whole thing started again."	
Phase 9: Narrative tone	The tone relayed in this phase is one of intimidation and fear as Jane and her husband are attacked and threatened by the settlers. While fear describes the reaction to the threat presented, it is important that one interprets it as an intense fear or a life-threatening fear as Jane and her husband feel the need to protect themselves with a "shotgun". Similarly, it is also presented as a continuous fear as the intimidation occurs frequently while the settlers are present on the farm.	
Phase 10: Betrayal	A central phase in this story is the portrayal of the lack of action by authority figures when Jane and her family were threatened. • "My husband said 'Quick, phone the police'. I managed to get through and explained that I thought we were about to be killed and the inspector's reply was, 'Sorry Mrs. Smith (pseudonym), it's political, I can't help you' and put the phone down." • "We had no help from the police or the government, although we did see them helping the new settlers." • "We were on our own with only a radio to call on our fellow farmers for help."	Solitude/disillusion
Phase 10: Narrative tone	The tone used in this phase is one of disbelief and helplessness as Jane and her husband appeal to the systems and authorities, but to no avail.	
Phase 11: Confrontation	In this phase Jane and her husband were confronted and asked to move off their farm. • "The leader told us this was now their farm and we had to get off." • "My husband replied that we were the	Confrontation

	legal owners and that we weren't leaving and the first people to break through the gate would be shot."	
Phase 11: Narrative tone	In this phase there is a definite stand-off and confrontation between the farmers and the new settlers. The tone here is one of inflexible resolve as the farmers are determined to stay on the land, and the settlers are determined to remain as well.	
Phase 12: Settling in	In this phase the settlers move onto the farm more permanently and Jane details the damage caused. • "Three days later they were back with women and children." • "Then the destruction started. Fences were cut and snares placed around the water holes and all we could hear all day was the chopping of trees as they built their houses, some so close that for the first time in 14 years I now had to close my curtains." • "They burnt out large areas of the farm including our irrigation scheme planted with citrus."	Destruction
Phase 12: Narrative tone	The tone reflected in this phase is one of dismay as the new settlers begin to cut trees and burn out sections of the farm. These are actions that are perceived to be destructive by Jane and her husband. *At this point it is quite important that the reader recognises the investment made in the farm, which is a gap in the story presented above.*	
Phase 13: Stand-off	In this phase, Jane details the length of her encounters with the settlers and the experiences she has during this time. • "There followed over two years of hell,	Constant fear/uncertainty

	couldn't sleep, couldn't relax as you did not know what they would do next." • "One minute we were barricaded in so we could not go to town, then out so we couldn't get home."	
Phase 13: Narrative tone	The stand-off between the farmers and the new settlers extends over two years, with continuous threats and confrontations. The tone in this phase is almost one of fear and exhaustion as the experience continues.	
Phase 14: Threat	The presence of the settlers elevates into a threat at this stage. • "Things got really bad when they moved the youth on, they ran around the house most nights singing and banging on things and shouting obscenities at us." • "By now my nerves were in a state." • "It all came to a head when our neighbours were attacked and had to move off." • "We had tried our best to hang on but we had also run out of money." • "This decision was confirmed when I was shot at as we returned to the farm."	Fear/threat/last straw
Phase 14: Narrative tone	Here again the tone is a fearful one as the threats to Jane and her husband are elevated. Furthermore, there is a tone of resignation as Jane and her husband decide to leave the farm.	
Phase 15: Eviction	In this phase Jane details the process of leaving the farm as a consequence of the occupancy. • "We started packing and organised trucks." • "They had forced their way into the yard when we were packing the trucks and	Finality/sadness

	dictated what we could and couldn't take, all our motors, pumps and generators had to be left behind." • "They would not even let me dig up some sentimental plants from the garden" • "We also left my parents and an aunt behind, their ashes scattered under a lovely baobab on which we had fixed plaques." • "We left our beautiful farm with heavy hearts."	
Phase 15: Narrative tone	The process of leaving the farm is relayed with a tone of intense sadness and resignation. Sadness in that they are leaving the farm they have developed and lived on for so long, and resignation as they are dictated to by the settlers regarding what they can and cannot remove from the farm. *In many cases when farmers were forced to leave their farms, or made a decision to leave after being threatened, the settlers would come into their yards and/or houses and dictate what goods the farmer could or could not take. Multiple farmers lost livestock, machinery and general goods due to this process.*	
Phase 16: Life after the farm	In this phase, Jane concludes her story with a rendition of how her life has changed after the farm. • "We have never been back and don't want to after hearing of the devastation we would find." • "We lost everything and now in our 60s don't even have a home of our own but we don't regret the time spent farming, our dream was turned into a nightmare and in my heart I know I can never	Reminiscent/ poignant

	forgive those who did this to us."	
Phase 16: Narrative tone	The tone in the final phase is solemn as Jane looks back at her ordeal and considers if she would go back.

Narrative Two:

Brief Contextual Background

Narrative two emanates from a man who was initially born in South Africa, but moved to Zimbabwe to be a farmer. He purchased a derelict cattle farm with the aim of establishing a game farm in Matabeleland to start a safari company.

The following story grids follow a temporal sequence of events and themes that emerge from initially moving to the farm to being evicted from it.

Story Grid 1: From the Beginning

Phase	Imagery	Themes
Phase 1: Growing up as a farmer	This farmer sets his story against a background of farming and growing up surrounded by Zulu and Ndebele people. • "Some of my first recollections of life were playing with young Zulu boys and being cared for by a Zulu nanny." • "The first language I could speak was Zulu." • "Most school holidays were spent with an aunt and uncle on their cattle ranch. Here I continued with the farm boy life, herding cattle with Zulu boys, fighting with them, hunting with them and absorbing and understanding their culture." • "I developed a deep understanding, fascination	Common identity

73

	and interest in Zulu history and spent many fascinating evenings listening to tales of times long past told by grey-headed old men."	
Phase 1: Narrative tone	The tone in this initial phase as the farmer sets the scene for his story is one of belonging or embeddedness in the Zulu culture and farm life from a young age.	
Phase 2: Moving to Zimbabwe/a new lifestyle	The essence of growing up in a culture is maintained when this farmer moves to Zimbabwe and grows up in Matabeleland. • "When the family moved to what was Rhodesia in those days and we settled in the Inyathi district, heartland of the Ndebele people, I felt a close association with the people because of our common background." • "I regard myself as an African, albeit a white African." • "I regard myself as a Matabele, I speak the language fluently, I know and understand the culture and I live in Matabeleland." • "I think of myself as a Zimbabwean, this is my country, I have lived here since the age of 10 years old."	Identity and relocation
Phase 2: Narrative tone	In moving to Zimbabwe, this farmer tells of his feelings of belonging and identity as he relates to the area he moves to and the people living there. The tone here is one of attachment to a new area and people.	
Phase 3: Legal tender	Primary in this phase is the farmer's alignment with the law when buying his farm, and a clear positioning of staying within the bounds set up by the government at the time. • "I now jump ahead to 1985. This was the year that we purchased Greenlands Block Ranch (pseudonym) from Lonhro. The property was bought under the present government and with	Securing the future/following the law

74

	a certificate of 'no present interest' issued by the existing government. This certificate certified that the government did not require the property for resettlement purposes." • "I approached the Zimbabwe Investment Centre (ZIC) and, with their participation and guidance, we registered Greenlands Block Ranch with the investment centre as a Zimbabwe Investment Centre Project, and we listed four people as potential investors and participants." • "The ZIC certificate guaranteed, under the ZIC Act, that Greenlands Block Ranch would not be expropriated by the government." • "We were also a registered conservancy and wildlife area and had assurances from the Minister of Environment and Tourism, Francis Nhema, that we would not be touched."	
Phase 3: Narrative tone	In this phase the farmer reflects on the assurances obtained from the government and system while purchasing the farm. The tone here is one of cynicism or jaded remembrance.	

Story Grid 2: Farm Life

Phase	Imagery	Themes
Phase 4: Farming life	Central in this phase is the process of setting down on a farm and building it up from nothing. • "So we bought a huge cattle ranch that had been abandoned by the previous owners, Lonhro, for some four years due to dissident activity in Matabeleland." • "We commenced the task of turning a derelict cattle ranch into a thriving game ranch."	Building a dream/the beginnings

	• "We put up a huge game fence, we built safari camps, built dams, houses, a trading centre, repaired boreholes, put down more boreholes and reintroduced game including black rhino." • "We were fat and happy and went flat out developing, selling hunts and generally getting on with our lives."	
Phase 4: Narrative tone	The tone within this phase is one of contentment and pride as the farmer reflects on building and developing the farm that had been purchased.	
Phase 5: Living in a community	Imagery in this phase focuses on immersion and active involvement in the surrounding community. • "We employed only local people." • "We set up a system of assisting the neighbouring communities with borehole repairs and a workshop for other repairs." • "We set up a co-operative to assist with crop production by bringing in seed and chemicals and then buying back the grain and milling it into meal." • "We had safari clients helping to sponsor schools and bring in boxes of medicines and supplies for our local clinic." • "We were expected to donate meat to each and every government and/or social function in the district." • "We might be white but we were part of the local community." • "The locals treated us as part of the community." • "One cannot prosper in isolation in Africa."	Integration
Phase 5:	Within this phase, the farmer explains his immersion in the surrounding	

Narrative tone	community and his efforts to elevate and be involved in it. The tone in this section is predominantly earnest and involved, with an undertone of cynicism and sadness when the farmer reflects from his current situation.

Story Grid 3: From Invasion to Eviction

Phase	Imagery	Themes
Phase 6: Land possession	Land ownership is positioned in this phase as torn by political agendas and a perception of race bias ownership. • "Mugabe and ZANU-PF were pushing a political agenda, the law and economics were not to be considered. The only consideration was the survival of Mugabe." • "When we received a section 8 notice which in effect gave us 90 days to vacate Greenlands Block Ranch we went to high court and had the section 8 set aside." • "Mugabe started talking about 'the land that had been stolen by the whites for the blacks'."	Land as the essence of racial and political conflict
Phase 6: Narrative tone	In this phase the tone is presented as disheartened disbelief as the farmer describes the land invasions as politically driven by the same government that offered him guarantees when he bought his farm.	
Phase 7: The arrival	This phase details the arrival of the settlers on the farm. • "In our particular case we had	Opportunistic arrival

77

	an initial group of 50 men and women brought in by government vehicles, they claimed to be landless." • "The property was then invaded by squatters under the direction of the District Development Fund." • On Greenlands Block Ranch the rabble were lead by plus minus five bogus war vets - people who claimed to be war vets but in fact were opportunistic, thieves and social misfits."	
Phase 7: Narrative tone	In this phase the farmer describes the arrival of the settlers on the farm. The tone here is more one of frank transmission of facts as the farmer recounts directives and the number of people that arrived.	
Phase 8: Disbelief	This phase details the dismay and sense of helplessness associated with the farm invasion. • "One perception was of complete disbelief that Mugabe could embark on a course of action that was illegal and so totally destructive." • "All the time the situation continued to deteriorate, farmers being killed, farms destroyed, farm workers intimidated, chased and killed. Stories of animals being	Disillusion/betrayal and helplessness

	maimed, slashed, killed, wanton destruction of property, rampant looting and theft. The destruction of the agricultural industry, the death of the economy."	
	• "It becomes easier to understand one's feelings of complete helplessness, of despair, of anger - at times murderous anger - when you find yourself caught up in a series of seemingly endless incidents all of which are contrary to your core values and beliefs."	
	• "You are the victim of lawlessness, the police refuse to take action."	
	• "You are discriminated against simply because you are white."	
Phase 8: Narrative tone	The tone within this phase is quite complex because it entails a sense of helplessness, despair and anger as the farmer witnesses the destruction and lawlessness of the new settlers.	
Phase 9: Initial threat	In this phase the farmer details the elevation of the tension on the farm between the settlers and the farmer. • "Gradually the tone became more militant with officers from the Ministry of Lands arriving on the property and, with the help of the war vets, pegging stands and allocating these	Elevating threat

	stands to the supposedly landless settlers."	
Phase 9: Narrative tone	In this phase a sense of continuation is portrayed as the farmer relays the experience of continued threat by the settlers.	
Phase 10: Betrayal	This phase illustrates the disillusionment felt by the farmer as a consequence of an inability to approach the police or previous friends for help. • "You cannot go to the police, the civil authority, the courts - they have all been subverted by the monster." • "However, the police refused and would not enforce the court order, offering the lame excuse 'this land issue, it is political'." • "Black friends and communities with whom you have worked and socialised refuse to speak out against what is taking place, refuse to come to your assistance, to acknowledge you!"	Disillusionment and betrayal
Phase 10: Narrative tone	This phase details a sense of betrayal as the system, friends and the government all fail to uphold the rule or law, or to adhere to previous promises. There is a definite tone of dismay and disillusionment in this phase.	
Phase 11: Confrontation	This phase details the settlers' desire to remove the farmer from the land. • "We were approached on a	Confrontation

80

	number of occasions by the mindless rabble on the ground to get off."	
Phase 11: Narrative tone	In this phase the farmer attempts to point out that the threats made regarding him leaving the farm were continuous. The tone here is one of determination with regard to remaining on the farm, despite the threats and scathing in reference to the settlers as "mindless".	
Phase 12: Settling in/stand-off	This phase details the intimidation, destruction and violence that accompanied the settlers moving onto the farm. • "In the process everything on the ranch was destroyed, all the infrastructure and the wildlife." • "People started to build shacks, more people arrived, the intimidation of the farm workers became more violent, theft increased, poaching, stock theft, safari clients and hunting interfered with, more and more demands."	Intimidation/violence/destruction
Phase 12: Narrative tone	The tone in this phase is once again dismay as the farmer witnesses the continued destruction and intimidation by the new settlers.	
Phase 14: Threat	In this phase the farmer details the attempts made on his and his family's life, as well as the threats endured. • "In all we had five attempts on our lives and it is only by the grace of God that we survived these attempts."	Danger/theft /aggression

81

	• "On the sixth of April 2002 we were surrounded by 150 squatters, war vets and youth militia. The intention was to kill us and to loot the farmhouse and buildings." • "We managed to drive off the attackers by firing shots into the air." • "I was arrested for attempted murder and spent two days in jail."	
Phase 14: Narrative tone	In this phase the farmer details confrontations with the settlers that threatened his life. The tone is one of dismay and fear. Dismay in that it has come to this point, and fear in that the farmer's life and his family's lives are being threatened.	
Phase 15: Eviction	This phase details the process of being evicted from the farm. • "Our neighbours came to our assistance and packed up the house and carted all our personal goods away." • "The sorry tale does not end there. We were violently evicted from our home and in the process lost everything." • "When I came out of jail we were off the ranch having been illegally evicted." • "There is an intense feeling of helplessness and frustration because your whole world and all the values you have grown	Eviction/helplessness

	up with, respect for authority, the law, fair play - all swept away." • "And you stand by, witness this and have no power to stop it."	
Phase 15: Narrative tone	The tone in this phase is largely one of resignation and helplessness as the farmer is forcefully removed from his land.	
Phase 16: Life after the farm	This phase details life after the farm and feelings that are associated with this. • "Of course the development of Greenlands Ranch took up all and any finances that we could lay our hands on." • "Do I hate the mindless, uneducated peasant who invaded the ranch, tried to kill me and my family, and who has stolen and destroyed everything?" • "Yes, I hate these people with a deep and burning hatred. They have gone against everything that I regard as good and noble." • "They have betrayed their own Ndebele culture of dignity and respect." • "They have behaved like mad dogs and should be treated like mad dogs." • "I hate what has happened to	Hate/disillusion and rejection

	the people of Zimbabwe and what has happened to the country of Zimbabwe." • "The initial feeling is one of rejection, followed by what did we do that is so wrong." • "Right now the perception is to shake the dust from our feet and to move on to a situation where our ability and expertise will be appreciated and welcome."	
Phase 16 Narrative tone	In this phase the farmer describes his life after having been evicted from the farm. The tone here is decisively resentful when he reflects on the individuals that removed him from the farm. Similarly, there is also a tone of resignation as the farmer accepts his current situation.	

Narrative Three:

Brief Contextual Background

Narrative three emanates from a man who grew up in Zimbabwe but started farming in Angola before settling on a farm in Zimbabwe. Interestingly, this farmer presents his narrative in the third person, unlike the first two farmers. This seems to place some distance between the farmer as he is telling the story and the farmer that experienced the expropriation.

Story Grid 1: From the Beginning

Phase	Imagery	Themes
Phase 1: Moving to a farm	This phase details the beginning of farm life in Zimbabwe for this farmer • "In June 1971, exactly a year after they had	Beginning of farm life

	arrived on Highlands, he had been successful in acquiring Lot One and they moved to their farm, all 187 hectares of it immediately."
Phase 1: Narrative tone	In this phase the farmer details the process of acquiring his farm. The tone is predominantly optimistic as the farmer starts his life on the farm.

Story Grid 2: Farm Life

Phase	Imagery	Themes
Phase 2: Farming life	This section details farming life and how the farmer experienced it in the beginning. • "In summer they grew cotton and so as that was reaped the ploughs got going day and night. Within a week or so the wheat was in its place." • "There seemed to be such an air of excitement everywhere and they couldn't imagine a better place to live." • "When they had first arrived at Mato (pseudonym) it was featureless, just fields of cotton and a shell of a house, but that soon changed."	Building a dream
Phase 2: Narrative tone	In this phase the farmer discusses the process of living on the farm and developing it. The tone here again is one of optimism and contentment.	

Story Grid 3: From Invasion to Eviction

Phase	Imagery	Themes
Phase 3: Land	This phase details the positioning of land in Zimbabwe as seen by the farmer.	Land and race

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possession	• "After a long war against white rule and the land he possessed, the white man still dominates the land, the mining and the wealth. Who, in their right mind, would turn down an offer to become a rich man, especially when there was no cost involved at all? And refusing to take a farm that had been offered would mean you were a sell-out, or worse, an MDC supporter." • "What makes the government think it can make farmers out of people not necessarily cut out for the job at the expense of people with years of experience? It can only have one result…failure!"	
Phase 3: Narrative tone	In this phase the farmer reasons through the conflict surrounding land in Zimbabwe. The tone here is one of contemplation and concern.	
Phase 4: The arrival	This phase details the aggressive arrival of the settlers on the farm. • "'We are the new owners of Mato Farm' he said menacingly as he pointed to the other three. 'You have 24 hours to get off…Now move it!'"	Arrival and threat
Phase 4: Narrative tone	In this phase the farmer discusses the arrival of the new settlers on his farm and their initial threat. Similar to the other farmers, with the initial threat the tone is one of resolve.	
Phase 5: Disbelief	This phase details the disbelief felt in the process. • "They knew that this was happening on a daily basis in the Highveld, but Bill felt skinned. 'It can't happen to us - we're exporters!'"	Disillusionment
Phase 5: Narrative tone	In this phase the tone is one of disillusionment as the settlers arrive on the farms.	

86

Phase 6: Initial threat	This phase details the threats made with the initial occupation of the farm. • "He could see that the newcomers were not here for a social visit." • "'We are the new owners of Mato Farm, you have 24 hours to get off…Now move it'." • "It was Whitehat who made the next move. 'Bill will be back and you, my friend, will be sorry.'"	Threats
Phase 6 Narrative tone	This phase explores the threats made to the farmer in an attempt to get him to leave the farm. The tone here is predominantly threatening as the farmer recites the exchange between him and the settlers.	
Phase 7: Betrayal	This phase details the betrayal experienced by the farmer as he is not supported when his farm is invaded by the systems in place. • "This is my offer letter. Look, it is signed by the Minister of Agriculture." • "He had enjoyed the cops' company in the past, having had the odd beer at the cop canteen from time to time." • "But today just his body language, Bill knew exactly where Munata's loyalties lay." • "A feeling of total helplessness and despair engulfed Bill as he returned to the farm." • "Almost as if this happened every day, the armed policemen simply stood and watched: the bloodshed, women and children fleeing in all directions as fast as they could, some of them sprawling over the cluttered shed in their haste to escape, the cries of horror from those that tried to intervene but were quickly silenced with near fatal blows. The police were no longer the protectors of the people. They saw with a chilling clarity that anyone who did try to	Betrayal/ helplessness

	help stood a chance of being killed." • "To try and explain the depths of helplessness drowning Bill as he saw what was happening is impossible. He felt that he had betrayed his workers, as all he could do was watch as this pantomime took place. The reality was if he had done anything to stop them it would have been the opening the A2s [war veterans] were hoping for. He too would either be dead or in prison and the labour would be left to the mercies of their new bosses, not to mention Kate." • "At least two farmers had been shot dead with knowledge but their killers remained free."	
Phase 7: Narrative tone	Within this phase, the farmer details his appeal to the system and the police as well as the aggression of the settlers towards the farm workers. The tone here is one of helplessness as the farmer does not receive help from the police and cannot aid his workers for fear of being attacked.	
Phase 8: Settling in/stand-off	This phase explores the process by which the new settlers arrive and settle on the farm • "The following day, planted right next to the entrance gate into Bill's house, was a flagpole with the Zimbabwean flag, fluttering in the wind just as a reminder." • "Although they were keeping a distance from the homestead, more youths and a number of young females had moved onto the farm and on certain days, two men driving a brown Mazda truck were making regular deliveries of food. All indications pointed to a larger presence of military trained youths being shipped onto Mato."	Settling in

Phase 8: Narrative tone	In this phase the farmer discusses how the new settlers begin to inhabit the farm as if it is theirs. The tone here is dismay as the farmer looks back on the series of events.	
Phase 9: Threat and Confrontation	This farmer was threatened numerous times, and this phase details some of the ordeals he faced. • "The next thing a knock was heard at the back door. Bill opened it and there stood Assistant Inspector Munatat, Whitehat, three armed policemen and a sea of youths, who had stealthily made their way to Bill's back door." • "'White man, you get out of here or there will be serious consequences for you!' shouted Whitehat, his face contorted into a mask of hate, knowing that he had full backing behind him." • "Nusetwa grabbed him by the collar and shook him roughly, giving him a good shake before he shook him away backwards with both hands. 'Where have you been white man? You know that this is our farm - who said you could walk around our farm?' Whitehat not wanting to miss the action gave Bill a hefty shove on the side of his shoulder. 'Bill, do you want to die?' he snarled." • "Bill was being pinned to the gate by the frenzied mob, who were by now growing savage. Kate heard someone shout, 'Kufa maBhunu!' (Kill the white bastard) and her heart turned to ice." • "In amongst this wild frenzy whilst he was getting punched, kicked and pulled roughly from one side to the other, Bill could feel the youths working themselves up into a bloodlust	Hate/danger

	state. If he went down he knew that soon they would become totally uncontrollable. He hung onto the gate with all his might."	
Phase 9: Narrative tone	This phase details the threats faced by the farmer and how he was attacked both mentally and physically by the new settlers. The tone in this phase is largely fearful given the physical and verbal threats made.	
Phase 10: Eviction	This phase details the finality of moving off the farm. • "'Meester, this is a caretaker's warrant. It says here that you have got 24 hours to get off this farm' he declared." • "His days on their beloved farm were numbered." • "Lately, their thoughts on their future had no longer been if we had to move, it was now when we move. It was such a sobering conclusion to come to." • "As he drove out of his main gate for the final time, even the youth brigade and the war vets stood silently as he slowly drove past them, all standing at the workshop gates, leaving the doors and gate to his farmhouse wide open. No one said a word or waved, they simply watched as he drove by. There was no one left for them to torment or to steal from…they had it all." • "It was impossible to sleep. Bill battled to get his mind around the reality of it all. He still could not believe that he was about to lose his farm."	Finality/ disbelief
Phase 10: Narrative tone	The tone in this phase is largely one of dismay and disbelief as the farmer is given 24 hours to leave his farm for good.	
Phase 11:	This phase details life after the farm and the farmer's	Determination/

90

Life after the farm	determination.	finality
	• "Yes I would, I would go back tomorrow."	
	• "'I suppose the one way to look at it is that we haven't failed, they have,' he told his wife as they packed the last bags into the car. We've just begun a new chapter, and will dedicate the rest of our time to fighting for what was ours…not only for what we have lost but for our labour as well."	
	• "He took a last look down the road to their homestead gate and then walked slowly, sadly down from the top of the dam."	
	• "He got into his car and drove off to a new chapter in their lives. Yes, he thought, they won the first round but the fight isn't over yet. Somehow that made him feel good."	
Phase 11: Narrative tone	This phase describes the farmer's exit from his farm. The tone here is largely solemn as he leaves, but also slightly determined as he resolves to complete the "fight" some day.	

4.3 Narrative Write Up

In the following section the themes, tone and images set forth by the three farmers are weaved together into a coherent story. This details the process from the participants becoming farmers to them being evicted from their farms. In essence, this section will take the form of an argument interspersed with extracts and references to the transcript (Crossley, 2000).

Given that the farmers were chosen based on their experiences of forceful expropriation from their farms in Zimbabwe, a similar thematic thread and sequence of events can be noted in each of their stories. That being said, the following write up or analysis has been structured to follow that thread as it has been perceived or interpreted by myself as author of this text.

91

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Given that each story is told to portray a sequence of events that lead up to evictions from the farms, there is a definite temporal succession of the themes presented. This overarching sequence can be listed as follows:

1. In the beginning
2. Farm life
3. Invasion
4. Settling in
5. Eviction

Please bear in mind that this interpretation is not the only one that could be reached for this text. Rather consider it a consequence of how I perceive the stories and how I experience them in relation to my own experience of expropriation and growing up on a farm in Zimbabwe.

In the following write up is my own story and experience as an individual who personally experienced being expropriated from a farm. Each theme and phase is presented as a personal interpretation and, on occasion, I expand on the themes given with my own experience as a Zimbabwean.

Each phase is discussed in more detail in the following text with my direct voice being presented in italics.

1. In the Beginning

Purchasing the Farm
Each farmer used the opening of their story to give some context to their origins as farmers and how they came to farm in Zimbabwe. Each farmer's background is different, one documents a move from the city to a farm as a longstanding dream, the other growing up on a farm in Zimbabwe and then moving on to purchase his own, and lastly moving from a farm outside of the country to one within Zimbabwe. However, the string

92

that holds their stories together includes the risks taken and decisions made to become farmers - they discuss how they came to own this identity and what it meant to them.

The first farmer's story (Jane) sets her story against a contrasting background of city life and a desire to live on a farm. While her and her husband were financially secure in their city life, she emphasised the toll it took on their happiness. She seems to point out the material sacrifices made at that time to highlight the importance of their 'dream' to be farmers and the contentment that brought:

"Although we were financially secure, I owned an antique business, we lived in a beautiful house in an upmarket suburb with the normal trappings of three cars, boat etc., but I could see that he was not happy and when he came home one night in 1987 in his usual uptight mood we talked and decided to bite the bullet and buy a farm."

"So now we were farmers, posh house gone, boat gone."

"Sold everything we could."

"We had our farm and we were never happier."

The optimism shown in the first narrative is mirrored in the second and third narratives as the farmers detail their purchases and the lengths to which they had to go to obtain their farms:

"In June 1971, exactly a year after they had arrived on Highlands, he had been successful in acquiring Lot One and they moved to their farm, all 187 hectares of it immediately."

I interpret this phase of the farmers' stories as being both hopeful and optimistic in their purchases and subsequent land ownership. However, I understand it as an almost dichotomous hope because it is a reminiscent reflection of the optimism that they felt at that time despite the more solemn positions from which they now tell their stories. In other words, the tone here seems to have multiple levels of being hopeful and optimistic

as experienced at that time, and a bit more serious as experienced from their current positions.

Purchasing a Farm in Civil Unrest

Most Zimbabwean farmers that were expropriated from their land had made their purchases just prior to, or shortly after, Zimbabwe's declaration of independence. At this time, civil unrest was rife in Zimbabwe in the form of the Dissident War, also known as the Bush War. This made farming and living on a farm fairly risky as the veterans would take refuge in the bush or on the farms.

This danger is illustrated by Jane in particular when she emphasises her determination to pursue a new life on the farm amidst such uncertainty:

"It was not easy, all of our friends said we were crazy."

"There was still unrest in the country."

"We were given a contingent of army to protect us."

Details of the dangers faced and their determination to farm despite these concerns all show the reader how closely the farmers aligned themselves with this identity.

Purchasing a Farm in the Zimbabwean Context

As presented in the literature review, the history of Zimbabwe is infused with political and social issues regarding land ownership. When the farms were being forcefully seized in Zimbabwe, individuals and the media commonly interpreted these seizures as a redistribution of land to the historically-disadvantaged masses whose ancestors' land was originally stolen from them when Zimbabwe was colonised.

It is against this background and perception that the farmers go to considerable lengths in their stories to justify their purchases of their land and the legality surrounding their purchases.

"We found a place, got a letter of 'no interest' from the government."

"I now jump ahead to 1985. This was the year that we purchased Greenlands Block Ranch from Lonhro. The property was bought under the present government and with a certificate of "no present interest" issued by the present government. This certificate certified that the government did not require the property for resettlement purposes."

"I approached the Zimbabwe Investment Centre (ZIC) and, with their participation and guidance, we registered Greenlands Block Ranch with the investment centre as a Zimbabwe Investment Centre Project, and we listed four people as potential investors and participants"

"The ZIC certificate guaranteed under the ZIC Act, that Greenlands Block Ranch would not be expropriated by the government."

"We were also a registered conservancy and wildlife area and had assurances from the Minister of Environment and Tourism, Francis Nhema, that we would not be touched."

The 'letter of no interest' and other assurances offered by the government stated that the farmers' land was not needed for resettlement and that it would not be expropriated. This offered a definite sense of security at the time to the farmers, who were set to make a considerable investment in the land they wanted to purchase.

As part of a narrative analysis, recognising unspoken elements or gaps in a story is as important as the actual story, for these often allow the reader to construct meaning within those gaps. A narrative gap can be seen here as the farmers present the legality around the purchase of their land. Security aside, the presentation of the 'letter of no interest' also seems to be brought up as a means to reassure the reader or the listener of the legitimacy of the farmers' land ownership. It also leaves a gap for the reader to move from the more prevalent presentation of land redistribution in Zimbabwe as retribution for past inequities, to a notion that it was an unlawful and potentially unfair process where the Zimbabwean farmer is seen as the victim of a failing system.

Looking back and telling this story from their current positions without their farms, the tone here is really one of jaded remembrance and cynicism as the farmers recall the trust they put in the government's assurances at the time.

2. Farm Life

This phase details a period that is marked by the development of the farms that the farmers inhabited, as well as a construction of their identities as farmers and being part of the communities in which they lived.

<u>Living on the Farm</u>
The tone presented in this phase is one of reminiscent optimism and contentment as the farmers reflect on how they settled into farm life:

"We had our farm and we were never happier."

"So for the next 14 years we farmed and I loved it."

"We commenced the task of turning a derelict cattle ranch into a thriving game ranch."

"We were fat and happy and went flat out developing, selling hunts and generally getting on with our lives."

"There seemed to be such an air of excitement everywhere and the farmers could not imagine a better place to live."

The farmers' commentary within this phase seems to indicate a desire to embrace their lives as farmers and develop their farms. It is interesting to note at this point that the investment made into the land.

<u>Being Part of a Community</u>

Associated with their identity as farmers, the respondents also discussed their immersion in the communities and cultures that surrounded them. This immersion is presented in two ways; firstly, as being involved in the communities that surrounded their farms, and secondly in their identity as Zimbabweans.

Particular focus is given by the one farmer to his identity as a Zimbabwean, his identity as an African, and affirmation of his belonging and identity as being part of the Zimbabwean community. This can be demonstrated in the following statements:

"I regard myself as an African, albeit a white African"

"I regard myself as a Matabele, I speak the language fluently, I know and understand the culture and I live in Matabeleland."

"I think of myself as a Zimbabwean, this is my country, I have lived here since the age of 10 years old."

The forceful nature of the reallocation of farms and the presentation of a divide in Zimbabwe by the government at the time saw a racial divide amongst the Zimbabwean people, particularly in terms of the farmers and the grass root communities. The government had publicly announced that, amongst other groups, white individuals were 'enemies of the state'. This in turn alienated these groups and threatened their identities as Zimbabweans.

This emphasis on identity as a Zimbabwean and an African, 'albeit a white African', seems to stem from that mind-set and emphasises the farmer's self-declared position as a Zimbabwean and an African. Furthermore, the focus placed on belonging here also presents an opportunity later in the text for the farmer to contrast his experiences of being expropriated to his belonging as a Zimbabwean.

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A similar contrast between the farmers' contribution and involvement in their communities to what was taken from them allows them to emphasise the injustice of the expropriations, as well as the betrayal they felt at a later stage.

Involvement in the communities is demonstrated through donations and the sharing of resources from the farm:

"After skinning it out we decided to let the people in the adjoining community area know that the meat was available for them."

"After lots of thank you's the people left with probably enough meat for weeks."

"We employed only local people."

"We had safari clients helping to sponsor schools and bring in boxes of medicines and supplies for our local clinic."

 "We might be white but we were part of the local community."

"The locals treated us as part of the community."

The farmers emphasise their relationships with the communities at this point, seemingly for the benefit of the reader, to ensure that there is some understanding of their connection with the surrounding communities. At the same time, the overarching tone that emanates from this phase is one of cynicism and sadness as the farmers present a comparison between their contributions and belonging to the community, and then later reflect on how that same community contributed to their expropriation.

3. Invasion

The events of this phase are consistent for all three farmers, stretching from a stage of concern regarding the government's policy, to the actual arrival of the 'war veterans' on their properties, and then finally to a period of disbelief.

Concerns Regarding Land Possession

After the Lancaster House Agreement expired in 1990, the Zimbabwean Constitution was changed to allow for the redistribution of land with compensation. By 2000, a fast-track land reform process had been put in place and farms could be acquired without compensation. With this alteration to the constitution, the then labelled 'war veterans' began to forcefully occupy farms whether they had been marked for redistribution or not. This resulted in a great deal of media coverage and confusion in terms of the process that should be followed and who had been selected for redistribution.

At one stage, the prevailing perception was that if you had more than one farm, the government would earmark the additional farms for redistribution. This perception is reflected in Jane's statement:

"We started to hear stories about land acquisition, not that we were too worried, hadn't Mugabe said that people with only one farm would not be touched?"

That aside, the prevailing perception by farm owners at the time was that the government was using land ownership and race as political tools:

"Mugabe and ZANU-PF were pushing a political agenda, the law and economics were not to be considered. The only consideration was the survival of Mugabe."

"Mugabe started talking about 'the land that had been stolen by the whites for the blacks'."

The prevailing tone here is one of concern and disbelief. Concern because it could happen to any farmer, and disbelief because the government which had offered the farmers assurances and security when they purchased their land was perceived to be using land ownership and distribution to drive a political agenda.

The Arrival

This phase is fundamental in the farmers' stories. It details the arrival of the 'war veterans' on the farmers' farms and the beginning of their expropriation experiences.

This arrival is often characterised as the entrance of a large number of 'war veterans' demonstrating threatening behaviour and carrying weapons:

"We hear singing and there they were coming up the road. My staff shouted 'Run!'"

"I ran, jumped in the car and rushed home. When I got there I quickly locked the gate."

"I grabbed the binoculars and looked at them, there were about 400 men all carrying axes, spears and udukus (sticks)."

When the individuals/settlers arrived on the farmers' land, they would, in most cases, label themselves as 'war veterans' and landless. In the following extracts there is a definite tone of disbelief and frustration emanating from the farmers regarding these claims.

In some cases, the individuals accompanying legitimate war veterans were far too young to have taken part in the war, however, they still wanted to take the opportunity of gaining land. Some of these individuals also had a piece of communal land close to the farm they were settling on, rendering their claims of being landless as questionable.

The following extracts demonstrate the frustration and disbelief experienced by the farmers:

"In our particular case we had an initial group of 50 men and women brought in by government vehicles, they claimed to be landless."

"On Greenlands the rabble were lead by plus minus five bogus war vets - people who claimed to be war vets but in fact were opportunistic, thieves and social misfits."

The arrival of the settlers was also sometimes accompanied by threats to the farmer, often demanding the farmers to leave their land:

"'We are the new owners of Mato Farm,' he said menacingly as he pointed to the other three. 'You have 24 hours to get off…Now move it!'"

100

Disillusionment

The arrival of the settlers or 'war veterans' on the farms was associated with a sense of disillusionment for the farmers. This sense of disillusionment stems from three core streams of thought.

The initial sense of disillusion stems from the reality that, in a number of cases, the individuals that had arrived on the farm to claim the land were individuals that the farmer had helped or knew previously. In most cases, the farmers stressed the notion that they did not see themselves as outsiders to the communities in which they found themselves. This immersion in the community ranged from the interaction and sharing of resources and the consideration of one another as friends, to the second narrative where the farmer considered himself to be a Matabele and part of the Ndebele culture and people. As a result, there is an intense sense of disillusion and disappointment as the farmers are in essence rejected from the community and even the country in some cases. This is deeply reminiscent of the phase where the farmers had just moved into the area and were fitting into the community around them:

"I was very saddened when I realised that many of them were people I would have called my friend."

"People we had helped when we supplied the school with books."

"People we had given grazing and water to during the drought."

"We had bought their cattle, provided medicine when the clinics ran out, and transport and phones in emergencies. I felt sick."

The tone emanating from the above extracts is one of complete disbelief and betrayal as Jane feels 'sick' when she recognises some of the 'war veterans' as members of her close community.

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Another dimension of disbelief comes from the farmers' perceptions of a crumbling legal system and a failing government. The government had offered guarantees to the farmers in the beginning that no longer stood, and, along with the legal system and the police force, seemed to stand by as the 'war veterans' claimed land and intimidated farmers and workers:

"One perception was of complete disbelief that Mugabe could embark on a course of action that was illegal and so totally destructive."

"All the time the situation continued to deteriorate, farmers being killed, farms destroyed, farm workers intimidated, chased and killed. Stories of animals being maimed, slashed, killed, wanton destruction of property, rampant looting and theft. The destruction of the agricultural industry, the death of the economy."

"They knew that this was happening on a daily basis in the Highveld, but Bill felt skinned. It can't happen to us - we're exporters!"

"You are the victim of lawlessness; the police refuse to take action."

The final level of disbelief stems from the farmers' awareness of the lawlessness of the 'war veterans' at the time, as well as the manner in which the farms were seized. This behaviour, combined with a lack of action from the government and the police, seemed contrary to what would have been classified as acceptable or good and went against the farmers' core values and beliefs:

"It becomes easier to understand one's feelings of complete helplessness, of despair, of anger - at times murderous anger - when you find yourself caught up in a series of seemingly endless incidents all of which are contrary to your core values and beliefs."

Understanding the narrative's tone at this point is quite complex as it seems to be layered. While disillusionment is a central theme throughout this phase, it is also the clearest tone that is carried through as the acts seem contrary to the status quo. Following from disbelief, almost as a consequence of disillusion, is the tone of betrayal

and helplessness. Betrayal stems from the communities (that the farmers were once part of) violently claiming the land, and a sense of helplessness comes from a system that seems to fail the farmers when the government and the police do not take action.

4. Settling in

This phase is both intricate and complex as it details the dynamics between the farmers and the new farm settlers before the farmers are evicted.

Sometimes the new settlers would force the farmer on that land to leave within a couple of weeks of their arrival. At other times, the farmer may have presented some opposition to their threats and would only have left once the situation had become too violent or threatening.

In each narrative below the farmer details the threats made and the progress towards eviction.

Initial Threat

While the initial phase tells of the arrival of the 'war veterans', this phase details the behaviour of the settlers after their initial arrival on the farm. This behaviour was often threatening and meant to intimidate the farmer into leaving their land:

"We had a very restless night only to be woken by singing."

"We walked out to see that they were lined up in rows and after they stopped singing and marching up and down they turned as one and started trotting towards the gate going Zee Zee Zee."

"It was terrifying, we grabbed shotguns, loaded them and ran back to wait for them."

"Gradually the tone became more militant with officers from the Ministry of Lands arriving on the property and, with the help of the war vets, pegging stands and allocating these stands to the supposedly landless settlers."

"It was Whitehat who made the next move. 'Bill will be back and you, my friend, will be sorry'."

This sort of behaviour set the tone for the dynamics between the farmers and the settlers. The demonstrations or threats by the settlers occurred frequently while the farmers and 'war veterans' lived on the same farms.

The tone within this phase is one of fear and intimidation as the farmers were threatened; this is particularly evident in Jane's narrative as she refers to the experience as 'terrifying'.

Betrayal

This phase links closely to the initial phase of disbelief experienced by the farmers. It details the farmers' experiences as they appeal for assistance and do not receive support from either the government or the judiciary system. The difference with this phase however, is that it shows the sense of betrayal experienced by the farmers on a continuous basis as the 'war veterans' settled on their farms.

The most intense sense of betrayal seems to stem from the police because they would often remain inactive when the farmers called them and asked for help, particularly when they felt threatened or were being attacked by the new settlers. The police would often claim that any event associated with the land seizure process was political and that they could not intervene:

"My husband said 'Quick, phone the police'. I managed to get through and explained that I thought we were about to be killed and the inspector's reply was, 'Sorry Mrs Smith (pseudonym), it's political, I can't help you' and put the phone down."

"Almost as if this happened every day, the armed policemen simply stood and watched: the bloodshed, women and children fleeing in all directions as fast as they could, some of them sprawling over the cluttered shed in their haste to escape, the cries of horror from those that tried to intervene but were quickly silenced with near fatal blows. The

police were no longer the protectors of the people. They saw with a chilling clarity that anyone who did try to help stood a chance of being killed."

The above extracts are particularly poignant in that they illustrate cases where the farmers' lives or the lives of the farm workers were perceived to be in danger. In response to this threat, they appealed to the police who were identified as 'protectors of the people', however, the identity of the police at that point changed as they remained inactive and no longer performed as guardians. This moved the farmers towards associating a new meaning with the police, as well as dealing with a sense of dissonance as the police's authority and accepted societal values were challenged.

Associated with the sense of betrayal that the farmers felt with regard to the police, is that they also lost the trust they had in the Zimbabwean Government and the guarantees that had been given to them when they had begun farming:

"We had no help from the police or the government, although we did see them helping the new settlers."

"You cannot go to the police, the civil authority, the courts - they have all been subverted by the monster."

With the farmers experiencing a sense of betrayal from the judiciary system and the government, the identity of Mugabe as president and leader changed in their eyes as he is referred to as "the monster".

The final level of betrayal emanated from the communities and farmers' friends who were perceived to remain inactive when the land seizures began and, in some cases, to distance themselves from the farmers:

"Black friends and communities with whom you have worked and socialised refuse to speak out against what is taking place, refuse to come to your assistance, to acknowledge you!"

This rejection from the communities which the farmers felt part of is particularly important when considering the negotiation of meaning and identity. With a lack of support from multiple levels within the farmers' context, came an intense feeling helplessness and isolation as they could only turn to one another:

"We were on our own with only a radio to call on our fellow farmers for help."

"To try and explain the depths of helplessness drowning Bill as he saw what was happening is impossible. He felt that he had betrayed his workers, as all he could do was watch as this pantomime took place. The reality was if he had done anything to stop them it would have been the opening the A2s [war veterans] were hoping for. He too would either be dead or in prison and the labour would be left to the mercies of their new bosses, not to mention Kate."

The tone emanating from this phase is a poignant sense of isolation, betrayal and helplessness as the farmers have to navigate a new relationship between the system and their situations, and reconsider agreed values that once applied to the communities in which they existed.

Get Off

The intent of the confrontations between the farmers and the 'war veterans' was to get the farmers to vacate their land for the new settlers. These threats would be made frequently and with increasingly violent demonstrations as the new settlers and farmers tried to either keep or claim the land. The tone here is one of determination and fear, fear emanating from the threats and danger faced and determination in that the farmers were resolute in maintaining their identities as owners of the land.

"The leader told us this was now their farm and we had to get off."

"My husband replied that we were the legal owners and that we weren't leaving and the first people to break through the gate would be shot."

"We are the new owners of Mato Farm, you have 24 hours to get off….Now move it!"

"We were approached on a number of occasions by the mindless rabble on the ground to get off."

This phase creates a definite tension between the farmers and the new settlers as they create a situation where they both present an inflexible resolve to own the land under dispute. On the one hand, the 'war veterans' are moving towards a new definition of land ownership and accepted values, whilst the farmers are seen to hold onto established laws in the community and their identity as associated with their locations and farms.

Settling in

Amidst the demonstrations and confrontations between the farmers and the new settlers, all of the farmers detailed a phase where the 'war veterans' began to settle on the farm. This settling was usually associated with theft and the destruction of infrastructure that was already established on the farms:

"Then the destruction started, fences were cut and snares placed around the water holes and all we could hear all day was the chopping of trees as they built their houses, some so close that for the first time in 14 years I now had to close my curtains."

"They burnt out large areas of the farm including our irrigation scheme planted with citrus."

"In the process everything on the ranch was destroyed, all the infrastructure and the wildlife."

The destruction experienced by the farmers was associated with widespread intimidation of both the farmers and the farm workers, as well as increasing demands:

"People started to build shacks, more people arrived, the intimidation of the farm workers became more violent, theft increased, poaching, stock theft, safari clients and hunting interfered with, more and more demands."

"Although they were keeping a distance from the homestead, more youths and a number of young females had moved onto the farm and on certain days, two men driving a brown Mazda truck were making regular deliveries of food. All indications pointed to a larger presence of military trained youths being shipped onto Mato."

Another gap in the narratives can be seen here as the farmers seem to brush over the time during which the 'war veterans' lived on the same farm as they did. In some cases this situation lasted for two or three years before the farmer was forcefully removed. In the first narrative, the participant refers to two years in which she was exposed to this way of life. However, in the narratives, this aspect of the story is given limited space, perhaps due to the trauma suffered during this time and an avoidance of the pain associated with reliving it through the story.

In trying to understand the tone portrayed by the farmers here, it is essential that one contrasts the description of destruction with the initial phase where the farmers moved onto their new farms and began developing the properties. They would often put as much as they could into their farms in terms of resources and finances when developing the land. Therefore, the destruction of the crops, wildlife or infrastructure by the new settlers represented a loss of income and a destruction of what the farmer had developed over time.

Where the initial tone when the farmers bought their land and moved onto it was one of hope, the tone within this phase in contrast is one of dismay as the farmers witnessed the destruction of what they had built.

5. Eviction
The final segment of the farmers' experiences of expropriation was eviction and life after the farm. The following phases illustrate the final stand-off between the farmers and the new settlers, and how these ended in the farmers vacating their land.

Elevated Threat/Stand-off
In the earlier narratives, the farmers demonstrated how the new settlers threatened them and commanded that they vacate their land. The farmers in turn responded with a

108

resolve to remain on the land, creating a stand-off of sorts between the farmers and the 'war veterans'.

This stand-off often resulted in increasingly violent demonstrations by the 'war veterans' to get the farmers to move off their land. These demonstrations would occur frequently as long as the farmers and the new settlers occupied the same land:

"There followed over two years of hell, couldn't sleep, couldn't relax as you did not know what they would do next."

"One minute we were barricaded in so we could not go to town, then out so we couldn't get home."

The tone associated with the continued intimidation and confrontation was one of fear and exhaustion by the farmers. Jane clearly demonstrates this when she wrote the following:

"By now my nerves were in a state."

The confrontations between the 'war veterans' and the land owners would build up until a final, usually intently violent, act would conclude the struggle and the farmers would move off either by choice or by force. An example of such confrontations culminating in the farmers leaving their land is demonstrated below by the farmer from Greenlands:

"In all we had five attempts on our lives and it is only by the grace of God that we survived these attempts."

"On the sixth of April 2002 we were surrounded by 150 squatters, war vets and youth militia. The intention was to kill us and to loot the farmhouse and buildings."

"We managed to drive off the attackers by firing shots into the air."

"I was arrested for attempted murder and spent two days in jail."

109

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

After being attacked in this manner and put into jail, this farmer was forced to leave his land.

A similar series of events can be seen in Bill's narrative; the following extracts demonstrate some of the violent clashes between the farmer and the new settlers:

"The next thing a knock was heard at the back door. Bill opened it and there stood Assistant Inspector Munatat, Whitehat, three armed policemen and a sea of youths, who had stealthily made their way to Bill's back door."

"'White man, you get out of here or there will be serious consequences for you!' shouted Whitehat, his face contorted into a mask of hate, knowing that he had full backing behind him."

"Nusetwa grabbed him by the collar and shook him roughly, giving him a good shake before he shook him away backwards with both hands. 'Where have you been white man? You know that this is our farm - who said you could walk around our farm?' Whitehat, not wanting to miss the action, gave Bill a hefty shove on the side of his shoulder. 'Bill, do you want to die?' he snarled."

"Bill was being pinned to the gate by the frenzied mob, who were by now growing savage. Kate heard someone shout, 'Kufa maBhunu' (Kill the white bastard) and her heart turned to ice."

"In amongst this wild frenzy whilst he was getting punched, kicked and pulled roughly from one side to the other, Bill could feel the youths working themselves up into a bloodlust state. If he went down he knew that soon they would become totally uncontrollable. He hung onto the gate with all his might."

Jane was also exposed to a life-threatening event before deciding to vacate her farm:

"Things got really bad when they moved the youth on, they ran around the house most nights singing and banging on things and shouting obscenities at us."

"It all came to a head when our neighbours were attacked and had to move off."

"This decision was confirmed when I was shot at as we returned to the farm."

In all of the narratives presented, the farmers' lives were threatened in the final act and this was presented as the breaking point in their struggle to maintain ownership of their farms. Across all three narratives, the tone presented at this stage is a fearful one as the farmers' lives and their families are threatened. This is also accompanied by a tone of dismay as the farmers begin to realise that they now have to vacate their land because they are being forced to.

Eviction

This phase details the actual act of moving off the farm and the dynamics between the new settlers and the farmer in this act. As noted previously, it is important that in many cases when the farmers began packing their belongings to vacate their land, the 'war veterans' would dictate what could or could not be packed. In many instances, farmers would have to leave livestock and machinery behind because the new settlers claimed these as their own. This can be seen in the extracts below from Jane:

"We started packing and organised trucks."

"They had forced their way into the yard when we were packing the trucks and dictated what we could and couldn't take, all our motors, pumps and generators had to be left behind."

"They would not even let me dig up some sentimental plants from the garden."

"We also left my parents and an aunt behind, their ashes scattered under a lovely baobab on which we had fixed plaques."

Here again, as the farmers were evicted they emphasise that in the process they lost everything that they had invested in; their farms were taken without compensation, and they also lost livestock and equipment in the eviction.

111

"The sorry tale does not end there. We were violently evicted from our home and in the process lost everything."

"As he drove out of his main gate for the final time, even the youth brigade and the war vets stood silently as he slowly drove past them, all standing at the workshop gates, leaving the doors and gate to his farmhouse wide open. No one said a word or waved, they simply watched as he drove by. There was no one left for them to torment or to steal from…they had it all."

The final evictions were associated with intense emotions by the farmers, often of sadness and helplessness as the process seemed to be beyond their control:

"We left our beautiful farm with heavy hearts."

"There is an intense feeling of helplessness and frustration because your whole world and all the values you have grown up with, respect for authority, the law, fair play - all swept away."

"And you stand by, witness this and have no power to stop it."

"His days on their beloved farm were numbered."

"It was impossible to sleep. Bill battled to get his mind around the reality of it all. He still could not believe that he was about to lose his farm."

The process of being evicted from their land was an inherently traumatic one as it was often associated with life-threatening confrontations between the farmers and the settlers. It is important to also acknowledge here that the trauma would have been intensified by the isolation felt by the farmers as they could not turn to the government or police for help when they were being threatened.

The eviction and the entire process is also presented as a contradiction of the farmers' belief and value systems. Legal processes were not followed, and they were not compensated for any losses or their land.

This combination resulted in an extreme sense of helplessness and frustration for the farmers because they had no one but each other to turn to, and often no choice left but to vacate their land if they wanted to remove themselves from any further danger.

The tone presented in this phase is poignantly sombre as farmers have to leave their 'beloved farms', as well as intense agitation given their sense of helplessness and lack of control over the situation.

Life after the Farm

In each story, the farmers used the final phase of their narratives to talk about their lives after the farm and consider whether or not they would ever return. While each farmer deals with this last phase in a fairly distinctive way, three clear threads can be seen in all the narratives. The first theme is that of loss, given that many farmers were left with very little in terms of assets after their farms had been taken. The second theme depicts the farmers' feelings towards the new settlers and the Zimbabwean people as a consequence of their experiences. Then, the final theme concerns the farmers' intentions after losing their farms.

To begin with, the farmers present life after the farm as particularly difficult given that they had invested so many of their resources into their farms and now could not recover any of the outlay made. When the farms were taken without compensation, they lost that investment as well as the livestock and all of the infrastructure and development on the farm that they could not take with them. The farmers demonstrate the extent of this loss when they state the following:

"Of course the development of Greenlands Ranch took up all and any finances that we could lay our hands on."

"We lost everything and now in our 60s don't even have a home of our own."

As a consequence of their experiences, the farmers demonstrate some intense emotions towards those that seized their farms. In Jane's narrative she claims that her "dream" of being a farmer had turned into a "nightmare" and that she could not forgive those who were responsible for this experience:

"Our dream was turned into a nightmare and in my heart I know I can never forgive those who did this to us."

The Greenlands farmer also reflects back on those that evicted him from his land with some distaste and intense emotions. He uses strong references to "hate" and alludes to those that removed him from his land as "mad dogs":

"Do I hate the mindless, uneducated peasant who invaded the ranch, tried to kill me and my family, and who has stolen and destroyed everything?"

"Yes, I hate these people with a deep and burning hatred, they have gone against everything that I regard as good and noble."

"They have betrayed their own Ndebele culture of dignity and respect."

"They have behaved like mad dogs and should be treated like mad dogs."

"I hate what has happened to the people of Zimbabwe and what has happened to the country of Zimbabwe."

In reading the above extract, it is essential that one recalls the origin of this particular farmer. He grew up immersed in the Zulu and then Ndebele cultures, and, as a consequence, considered himself to be closely connected to people originating from these cultures. The consequent actions by people that he considered himself to be connected to presented a contradiction where their actions did not match the perception he had of their cultural values and beliefs. As a result, part of his anger stems from what is almost perceived as the new settlers betraying their roots and values.

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Aside from the disparity between acceptable values and beliefs, the farmer also contemplates the justice of what happened. The farmer from Greenlands goes on to question what he did "that is so wrong" and why he had to be evicted and go through the experiences that he did as a consequence:

"The initial feeling is one of rejection followed by, what did we do that is so wrong?"

Vital here is the farmer's allusion to a feeling of rejection, and a questioning of the reasoning behind this isolation by the government, the judiciary system and 'war veterans' It is almost natural as a human being to seek meaning or reason in an event, particularly when it is traumatic or profound. As a result, one can imagine the difficulties faced by the farmers as they searched for meaning in their own experiences.

The final theme in this phase asks the question: 'Where to from here?' as the farmers contemplate where they will be going from here and whether or not they would ever go back to their farms. Jane claims that they would not consider returning given the "devastation" they would find:

"We have never been back and don't want to after hearing of the devastation we would find."

In contrast to the above, Bill takes a more determined perspective and claims that he would return given the opportunity:

"Yes I would, I would go back tomorrow."

"He got into his car and drove off to a new chapter in their lives. Yes, he thought, they won the first round but the fight isn't over yet. Somehow that made him feel good."

However, the farmer from Greenlands carries through the feeling of rejection when considering his future after the farm and looks at moving to a place where his skill and ability will be appreciated:

115

"Right now the perception is to shake the dust from our feet and to move on to a situation where our ability and expertise will be appreciated and welcome."

The tone in this phase is largely solemn while the farmers consider their futures and identity with the farm, but also one of anger and resentment as they reflect on the individuals who were responsible for the events.

This final phase closes the farmers' narratives and leaves an empty feeling as the farmers now have to move towards reconstructing themselves outside of their farms.

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Dear Reader

My intention with this research was to invite you the reader to join me on an exploratory journey of the experiences of expropriated Zimbabwean farmers. This subject choice was based on my own personal experiences, as well as a desire to allow you, the reader, an opportunity to view the world of the Zimbabwean farmers as they were expropriated from their land.

True to the social constructionism approach, a central interest in completing this research was exploring the manner in which the farmers constructed their identity around the events they experienced.

You would have noticed in the initial chapters of this research that the focus was placed on social constructionism and how that lends itself to the construction of identity. It is very important for me at this stage that the conclusion of this research is not considered to be a platform where one may expect certain theories to be proved or disproved. Rather, it is a space where the farmers' experiences and consequent construction of their identity is explored to offer an understanding of the process of identity construction in this particular context.

In my mind, this is particularly pertinent given the contemporary nature of the land crisis within Zimbabwe and the consequent lack of understanding or research regarding the experience of expropriation in this context. As a result, the focus here is the stories that were told and the process of identity construction.

In reading the previous chapters, some of the ideas presented in the initial chapters as well as the narratives and analysis offered must have interacted with you as a reader. In taking your own context and background into account, you could have agreed or disagreed with what was said or had ideas over and above what was presented. This multiplicity of views is invited when using a social constructionist perspective. I invite you to embrace those views and accompany me on the final leg of this journey.

117

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
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5.1 Introduction

The primary research question for this particular project was to contribute to a perceived gap in the knowledge related to the subjective experience of Zimbabwean farmers' expropriation from their land. The research intended to explore, from a social constructionist perspective, the experiences of this group of farmers. Furthermore, the research intended to gain a comprehensive picture of how the Zimbabwean farmers' experiences allow insight into the way in which they interacted with their situations and experiences to create meanings.

The objectives of this research were set out as follows:

- To explore and determine the stories and realities constructed by Zimbabwean farmers surrounding their expropriation; and

- To explore how a narrative analysis of Zimbabwean farmers' stories provides an understanding of the process of constructing identity around their lived experiences of expropriation.

In the final chapter of this journey, the reader will be presented with an integration of the theory presented in the initial chapters in terms of social constructionism and identity construction, and an analysis of the narratives presented by the farmers. The intention, in line with qualitative tradition and a narrative approach, is not to prove or verify a theory but rather to explore emerging patterns through the narratives presented.

As stated previously, narratives are a representation of an individual's experiences, and consequent narrative analysis is a process of understanding and exploring the narrative, while interpretation by the researcher is inevitable (Riessman, 1993). The implication here is that the final analysis is presented in a conversational manner, where my interpretation is not promoted as the correct or best reading but one of many possible readings.

5.2 Construction of Identity and the Farmers' Experiences of Expropriation

In exploring the farmers' experiences, a basic assumption is that humans understand, create and relate their reality through mediums of languages (Crossley, 2000). This essentially means that individuals construct themselves or their identity via language or stories, making their stories central in understanding their changing identity (Burch, 2005). Farmers within this research have portrayed and interpreted their realities of expropriation through their narratives which serve as the primary source of investigation.

In merging the literature on identity and the narratives presented by the farmers, the following section explores the narratives and the dynamic nature of the farmers' identity as the society and context about them change during expropriation. Given the temporal nature of the events and the pattern that has emerged from the analysis, we can explore the farmers' identity within the different phases of their experiences. These phases, as defined previously, include:

- In the Beginning/Farm Life
- Invasion/Settling in
- Eviction

In the Beginning/Farm Life

In the initial phase of each farmer's narrative, they use this opportunity to illustrate their history and how they created their identity as farmers. Each farmer had a particular story to tell regarding how they came to own a farm in Zimbabwe. Jane made the transition from city to farm life, and the other two farmers originally came from farming backgrounds.

All aspects of society, ranging from social institutions, politics, government and culture, have an impact on identity construction. As a result, this transition demonstrates a change of context and consequent identity as the farmers negotiate the new meaning of being a Zimbabwean farmer.

Identity construction can occur in any part of society, and through any form of social change and circumstance which impacts on experience and consequent human interpretation and action. At this time, the farmers embed themselves in this identity as a Zimbabwean farmer through two central aspects by appealing to the broader system and then by integrating themselves with the surrounding community.

In a broader social system, where land was frequently positioned as a means of contention between various groups, the farmers appealed to the government for approval before settling into their new lifestyles. The government at that time offered this approval by providing a 'letter of no interest'. This implied that it would not require the land for resettlement or redistribution to those who did not have land or who had been disadvantaged at some point.

This appeal to the government can be understood if one views the individual as part of a broader social formation, where power is centralised in given institutions (Burkitt, 1991). This appeal to the macro-social processes contributes to the farmers' identity in that they appeal to the accepted powers and institutes of state, and consequently negotiate their identity as law-abiding citizens.

This can be contrasted to broader narratives which emanated from the same government that issued the letters of 'no interest' as well as the broader population in Zimbabwe that did not have land. While the farmers viewed themselves as law abiding and 'good' a contrasting narrative was that they were the product of historical colonisation and land appropriation in Zimbabwe, owning a majority of the farming land available. In line with this Zimbabwe saw people based occupations begin in the late 1990's which had 'the explicit aim of these actions was to redistribute land from the white farmers to the landless war veterans' (Lebert, 2003, 15).

This alignment with the status quo by the farmers contributes to their sense of dissonance later in the narrative when their farms are taken without compensation, and the community or broader Zimbabwean society at that time position the farmer as 'wrong' or as the villain.

Following from the appeal to the government and the farmers purchasing their farms, they then position themselves as integrated into the communities that surround their farms.

This is particularly evident with the farmer from Greenlands who considers himself an "African" and as a "Matabele" because he can speak Ndebele and can closely relate to the Ndebele culture.

The farmers also relay narratives about them contributing to the surrounding communities in the form of donations and interaction. This integration aided in defining them as Zimbabwean farmers who were integrated into the communities surrounding their farms.

The above positioning and negotiation of identity by the farmers can be understood through Gergen's (1971) conception of 'identity aspirations'. Gergen (1971), when discussing the conceptualisation of the self, proposes that every human learns to "seek a variety of ends" when developing (Gergen, 1971, p. 52). Identity aspirations define a desire to be identified in a certain manner, for instance someone may wish to be defined as 'good' or 'popular' to gratify their aspirations (Gergen, 1971). The justification of these aspirations lies in the opinions of others and an individual's behaviour meeting the socially-accepted definitions of 'good' or 'popular' (Gergen, 1971). In other words, in negotiating these aspirations, individuals appeal to a system which has certain predefined standards in order to define themselves. Some of these predefined standards associate law-abiding and the sharing of resources as 'good' qualities.

In this case, the farmers appealed to the broader macro-social system in the form of the government to become farmers that did not take land that was earmarked to be part of the solution to Zimbabwe's land distribution. As Gergen (1971) states, when determining whether or not the given behaviour meets the given judgmental standards, the individual has to look to their environment for instances of confirmation. This appeal positions the farmer as law-abiding and 'good' when he receives confirmation in the form of a 'letter of no interest' from the government.

Similarly, the farmers' interaction with the surrounding communities and the portrayal of themselves as bettering these communities also appeal to a broader social understanding that giving to those less fortunate than oneself is considered 'good'. It also points to a positioning in the surrounding community as the community in which the farmers seek to define or story their identity.

In summation, the first phase of the narratives sees the participants redefining themselves as farmers on both micro and macro levels. Central in this identity is the notion that the farmers and the broader social systems function in unison. The farmers are positioned as law-abiding citizens who appeal to the government before redefining themselves as farmers. They then solidify their new identities by positioning themselves as part of the broader communities that surround their farms.

Invasion/Settling In

Identity is located in relationships with others and the system surrounding an individual; therefore it stands to reason that in establishing one's identity, the individual refers back to the society within which he/she exists for affirmation. Gergen (1971) proposes that within the establishment of identity and the association of certain roles with oneself, an individual can experience a number of punishments or rewards associated with his/her presentation. These punishments or rewards stem from the surrounding environment and serve to either reinforce or deter various aspects of the individual's identity. As a result, "if a person is rewarded for behaving in a particular role, he should come to prefer it and should receive gratification for thinking of himself in that role" (Gergen, 1971, p. 57). However, it is important to note here that while "approval produces identification" (Gergen, 1971, p. 57), the opposite, disapproval, does not necessarily mean that the individual will abandon the role they have assimilated. In some cases, "disapproval may cause the person to identify even more closely with his behaviour" (Gergen, 1971, p. 75).

This presentation of 'punishment and reward' as playing a part in identity construction is essential in this phase of the farmers' narratives. As seen in the previous analysis, the phase of Invasion/Settling in was a largely traumatic phase for the farmers, given the often violent demonstrations of the new settlers and the associated threats.

122

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
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YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

In the initial phase of the narratives, the farmers' behaviour receives affirmation from the larger macro-social system as well as from their surrounding communities. This is evident when they appeal to the government and consider the surrounding communities to be part of their identity as farmers.

A fundamental dissonance is then introduced when the system is perceived to punish the farmers for their identity with the arrival of the new settlers and their associated threats to the farmers. The farmers experience a great deal of disillusionment here as their previous sense of identity, which was negotiated as positive in the given communities, is now seen as hateful. In the eyes of the communities, it is almost as if the farmers move from being seen as a neighbour to a thief who has stolen land that originally belonged to another society group.

As noted in the analysis, this phase details the consequences of a change in the Zimbabwean Constitution. With the Lancaster House Agreement expiring in 1990, the Zimbabwean Constitution was changed to allow for the redistribution of land without compensation. With this alteration to the constitution, the then labelled 'war veterans' began to forcefully occupy farms whether they had been marked for redistribution or not.

This forceful occupation and change of the constitution contradicted the affirmation and guarantees offered by the government to the farmers when they began farming. This presented a situation where behaviour that was previously rewarded by the government, now appeared to be punished as the broader system did not support the farmers.

This contradiction between previous approval and current punishment for the same behaviour was also echoed in the 'Arrival' phase of the narratives. As noted in the analysis, the arrival of the 'war veterans' on the farms was often characterised by violent and threatening behaviour towards the farmers.

The impact of this arrival should be closely linked to the narratives surrounding 'Betrayal' and 'Settling in' for, in each case, the larger system as well as the surrounding communities created a discourse about the farmers that presented them as 'bad'. This is

particularly evident in the rejection that the farmers faced from the macro-social systems, such as the police and the government, and by members of the surrounding communities that seemed to migrate from being friends with the farmers to enemies.

This created a great deal of disillusionment for the farmers as they faced a stark contrast between their previously socially-constructed identity as 'good' and the existing disapproval they were being exposed to from the system. This contrast created some dissonance around the farmers' identity, which is intently contested in this phase.

The new settlers and larger macro-system at the time were determined to claim the land and remove the farmers who were considered to have taken their land. At the same time, the farmers were determined, despite threats and confrontations, to maintain their identity as a farmer and as essentially 'good' given their intentions and actions.

Eviction

In the final phase of the narratives, the tension between the farmers and the new settlers reaches a peak and, through a series of events, the farmers are either forced to leave their land or leave for their own safety. This is a particularly poignant phase because it is coloured by intense threats to the farmers and a resolution of the dissonance between their previously established identity as farmers and having to move off their farms.

In the phase following the establishment as farmers, the participants demonstrate an identity crisis. This is evident as multiple levels of contradiction are seen between the original relationships the farmer had with the government and community and their current interactions.

It is important that the degree to which the farmers were immersed in their given communities and societies be emphasised here because it demonstrates the intensity of the break from their identity as Zimbabwean farmers. Most of the farmers stressed the fact that they did not see themselves as an outsider or as distanced from the community in which they lived. They saw themselves as deeply embedded in the community and defined themselves in terms of these communities. This is clear in the second narrative where the farmer labels himself as an 'Ndebele' and 'Matabele', and notes that he grew

up in that culture and alongside the given community. This is key in the farmers' identity as they had negotiated their identity with the people, communities and state of Zimbabwe. Consequently, the break from this identity and a rejection of the farmers by the state and community fundamentally rupture their identity, and suddenly they find themselves without a home or association with any community.

The contradiction between a previously-confirmed interaction and construction of identity and meaning (between the community, the government and farmer), and an existing opposite creates a conflict of identity for the farmers. An identity conflict can be defined as "one's conflict in identification with another both as a function of the extent of one's current identification with the other and one's simultaneous wish to dissociate from certain characteristics of the other" (Weinreich, 1983, p. 159). This conflict can clearly be seen when one reflects on the farmers' contributions to their surrounding communities and their identity with the given culture of the individuals in these communities. While the farmers negotiated an identity as a 'Zimbabwean farmer', an identity that was aspired to, they were simultaneously moved to a place where they needed to dissociate with this identity. This emanated from a redefinition of the farmer in Zimbabwean society from essentially 'good' to distasteful.

The farmers' sense of embedded identity with the surrounding communities and as a Zimbabwean farmer becomes incongruent when the new settlers arrive on their farms and they are eventually evicted from their land. The farmers' perceptions of the communities surrounding them and the larger macro-system formed by the government change, and consequently result in a simultaneous desire to dissociate with these systems as a source of identity. This dissociation becomes more pronounced towards the end of the farmers' experiences as their ideals and values are challenged with the lack of norms and the erosion of the judiciary system within Zimbabwe at that time.

Aside from dissociation with the communities and societies surrounding the farmers, the farmers are also physically displaced as they move off their farms. Fullilove (1996) presents the psychological consequences of displacement as a disruption of the relationship between place and the individual's identity. A certain place may come to signify part of a person's or community's identity by acting as a point where experiences

can be shared and meaning negotiated. Given the important role of the farms here as a source associated with the farmers' identity, the loss of place here plays a role in dislocating the farmers from their previously-negotiated identity. This aspect of identity adds another dimension to the fundamental shift the farmers face as they are forced to negotiate a new identity outside of the communities they once formed a part of, and the farms which they considered to be their homes.

This phase is concluded with the farmers being evicted from their farms and their sense of identity as a Zimbabwean farmer being challenged. As noted previously, the self, derived from a social context, is not constant but may change as an individual's context and consequent interaction change. As a result, the final phase of the narratives almost leaves one with a sense of uncertainty as the farmers consider the question 'Where to from here?' and start reaching out for a new or modified identity as they move from their farms.

In conclusion, the farmers' experiences essentially allow for a view on the impact that the process of eviction and consequent threats presented at that time had on the given farmers' construction of their reality and identity.

5.3 Reflections

In this research, two separate but related questions were brought together and explored. The first was how Zimbabwean farmers experienced expropriation from their farms and their stories surrounding these experiences. The second was an exploration of how expropriation impacted on the farmers' negotiation of identity.

Both questions were explored from a social constructionist perspective - where knowledge construction is seen as an inherently social activity which emerges out of a dialogue between individuals who are historically and discursively embedded in their context (Crotty, 1998). From this perspective, an individual's identity is negotiated in social settings and based on their life story as well as the context in which they exist.

The approach used in this research implied that focus be given to the story and process of the research, as opposed to searching for an objective truth that could be replicated. The initial question set out to explore or discover the stories the farmers had about expropriation and how they had constructed this reality in their telling of the story. This story was established using a narrative approach that championed the voice of the researcher in the process, as well as the reality that had been constructed by the storyteller.

In telling their stories the farmers took me, the researcher, and you, the reader, on a journey from a place where they built their identity around their farms and surrounding communities to a place where they were removed from their farms and rejected by the communities they once identified with. It is the story itself that answers the initial research question and provides the reader or listener with the story from farmer to expropriation in this context.

The theories and approaches presented in this research give a relational view on identity and self concept, seeing the self as a discourse or narration rendered meaningful in relationships (Gergen, 1994). From this perspective the individual is seen as using the story form to story their identity to others and themselves. This does not imply that the self is a story told by an individual, there is also an important sense in which the narratives are embedded in social actions and relationships (Gergen, 1994). In other words, "narratives of the self are not fundamentally possessions of the individual but possessions of relationships - products of social interchange" (Gergen, 1994, p. 186).

It is this relational approach to self and identity that allows the reader to see the fundamental impact that the process of eviction had on the Zimbabwean farmer.

The initial stages of the stories were used to position the storytellers as Zimbabwean farmers. Use of the words "Zimbabwean farmer" are quite loaded in this case because the farmers' identities came to be so closely related to both the farm and consequent farming activities on one hand and the socio-political context in which they found themselves on the other. Picking up on narratives surrounding the colonisation of

127

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Zimbabwe, the notion of a 'Zimbabwean farmer' for some could carry with it a notion of inequality and land appropriation.

From the farmers perspective one could argue that their identity as farmers was largely associated with the land, obtained both from a geographical sense of being as well as the act of farming and developing that piece of land. An association with surrounding communities and in some cases being embedded in a culture positioned the farmer as "Zimbabwean."

Taking the above-mentioned into account, one is struck by the interwoven nature of home, identity and a sense of belonging within the Zimbabwean farmers' stories. As such the individuals here construct their identities at that time as farmers within a particular socio-political and cultural context, farmers who considered Zimbabwe to be home.

This initial part of the farmers stories almost places the farmer at the one end of the continuum where identity is easily formed in a context where his/her actions are seen as "good" and the surrounding community relates to their role as a farmer and neighbour. This illustration is used by all of the farmers as a springboard from which they attempt to give some context to their past so that they can better demonstrate the present and their current identity to the listener. Essentially, their past identities are contrasted to the present.

This can be contrasted to broader narratives at the time which historically identified the farmer as originating from the legacy of colonisation and the BSA who encouraged 'white settlement for farming purposes' (Lebert, 2004, p.1).This in turn led to the 'need to dispossess indigenous peoples of even more land and coercively force them into labour on settler farms' (Lebert, 2004, p.1). Some of these narratives extended into the late 1990's where a majority of farm land was still seen to be owned by a privileged few.

The early stages of the story are then followed by the farmers detailing a process of changes on the part of the Zimbabwean government (some of the legislative changes can be seen in chapter 1) and surrounding communities as well as a series of events

that begin to destroy their identity as "Zimbabwean farmers." Given that reality and consequently identity are constructed based on social interactions and agreed meaning in given contexts, the altered positioning of the farmers in Zimbabwe has pertinent implications for their consequent construction of identity.

The farmers were forced to go through a process of expropriation, where they were often intimidated and violently attacked given their identity as "Zimbabwean farmers," and alienated by a broader socio-political system that now saw the farmers as "enemies of the state." Essentially, within the process of expropriation, the farmer goes from being a farmer and member of the community to an outsider who becomes alienated from the broader socio-political system. In other words there is a fundamental break from the individual's initial identity as a "Zimbabwean farmer" as they lose their farms (geographic sense of belonging/identity), and consequently the ability to farm together with their sense of belonging in the immediate community and broader socio-political context. This means that the farmer can no longer negotiate his or her identity as a "Zimbabwean farmer" because this shift in perceptions which occurs alongside expropriation permeates the entire system, wherein the communities at a micro level that surround the farmer start to see her/himself as an enemy, followed by the state or government at a macro level.

In other words, the farmer is moved to a position where the Zimbabwean government and surrounding communities reject his or her choices and identity and create a different discourse around the farmer's role in Zimbabwe. The farmer, in turn, seems to experience her/himself as an outsider or alien within the given context, demonstrating a rupture from his/her initial identity. Given the relational quality of identity and reality from this perspective, the agreed meaning of "good farmer" in this case fundamentally shifts and so puts the farmer in a position where he/she has to negotiate a new identity around the shared meaning.

Gergen (1994) emphasises that identity is not an entity that is possessed by the individual, nor is it a product of an individual's cognitive processes; rather it is a possession of social interchange and relationships in a given context. The 'self' or identity is rather "a linguistic implement embedded within conversational sequences of

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action and employed in relationships in such a way as to sustain, enhance or impede various forms of action" (Gergen, 1994, p. 188). This particular story from farming to eviction offers the reader a unique look into the construction of reality by the Zimbabwean farmer, as well as an opportunity to examine the fluidity of identity as it is constructed around agreed meaning or conversations and context.

5.5 Researcher's Closing

Dear Reader,

In using a social constructionist approach, the outcome and process of the research are interrelated. In this research I have attempted to given the Zimbabwean farmers a space in which they could tell their stories of expropriation and you, the reader, could accompany them on the story. At the same time, I wanted to invite you to think about the impact that expropriation and altered social discourses could have on the construction of identity by the farmer.

In the process, given the positioning of the researcher as a fundamental voice in social constructionist and narrative approaches, you have also accompanied me on my journey of interpreting the farmers' realities. In that process I have shared my personal background and association with the Zimbabwean farmers so that you as the reader can discern my interpretation of the farmers' stories.

Given my history of growing up on a Zimbabwean farm and experiencing expropriation, I can closely relate to the stories told by the farmers and the process that they went through. This process was fairly intense for me as the listener as it brought back a number of memories and helped me story my own reality around expropriation and, in a sense, losing a home that I had closely bonded with. Indeed, completing this process has left me with a better sense of closure on that chapter in my life.

Given that the process of farm evictions in Zimbabwe is fairly new and exploration of identity is such an extensive topic, further research in this area could and should cover a number of areas.

130

One of the key areas from my perspective would be a further assessment of the impact that the trauma of expropriation had on the Zimbabwean farmers. While this write-up touched on it, the fundamental break in identity or forceful shift from one identity to another could be explored in much greater detail. This will hopefully be used to better consider the lives of people who become the victims of circumstance and have to leave what they consider to be "home," together with the impact that this could have on them.

Another potential topic that I identify with would be examining the current location of Zimbabwean farmers, given that a large majority of them have left Zimbabwe, and examining the impact that expropriation and consequent relocation had on perceptions of being "rooted" in a geographic place.

Key limitations I experienced in this process emanated from two key areas; the first being collecting the farmers' stories and the second as having a similar background to the farmers.

In the first instance, collecting the stories from the farmers was notably challenging because of the crumbling nature of Zimbabwe's infrastructure and the often fragile or volatile nature of the topic being discussed.

Logistics aside, the topic itself was also a highly emotional one for the farmers to discuss, which begs the question of whether or not this research process was beneficial to the participant. In essence the farmers were asked to relive a traumatic series of events for the benefit of a research project, which in retrospect does not really seem justifiable. However, had they not told their stories it may not have been heard.

The most important outcome here or in further research is that we begin to have a conversation around expropriation and the impact that it had on the famers. I do hope that this has left you with a memorable story.

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132

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Appendix A: Consent Form

To Whom It May Concern:

RE: Permission to obtain the life stories of Zimbabwean farmers who were forcefully removed from their land between 2000 and 2007 as part of the Zimbabwean land redistribution programme, for the completion of an MA Research Psychology degree.

The intention of this letter is to inform you about the research project in which you may choose to participate. It also serves to formally obtain your permission to obtain your accounts of forceful expropriation for the purpose of analysis.

The name of the project is **"A narrative analysis of the Zimbabwean land owner's experience of forceful eviction from their farms".** This research seeks to explore how white male Zimbabwean farmers experienced forceful eviction from their farms and the process of land redistribution within Zimbabwe.

To uncover the personal accounts of the given events, you will be asked to give an account of how you experienced the events that eventually led to your forceful eviction and how these events affected you. Participant accounts may be communicated to the researcher via e-mail, fax or writing depending on what is the most comfortable and convenient medium.

Moreover, given that this is a narrative research endeavour, the participant and researcher may be in continuous communication over the research period which will span one year (2006-2007). Consequently, you as the participant may not necessarily only give one account, you may be asked to expand at a later date on certain events or give more information with regard to certain topics.

Given the topic at hand, you must realise that it may cause some emotional or psychological discomfort. Consequently, participation is completely voluntary and you as a participant may withdraw at any time.

Furthermore, given the controversy surrounding this particular topic, your anonymity, in terms of your name, the name of your farm or any other identifying elements, will be maintained by means of pseudonyms. In addition, the data you provide will not be seen by anyone other than the researcher, it will not be attached to the final paper and if you choose to withdraw from the research your data will be destroyed. Besides this, excerpts from your data may be inserted into the research text but, as noted above, your anonymity will be maintained via pseudonyms.

Finally, please note that this informed consent acts as a legal document to safeguard relevant role players in the research from possible legal action upon dissemination of the results. In addition, you as the participant should be informed that researchers are required to subscribe to a code of ethics when embarking on research projects and that research proposals are considered by an ethics committee.

I trust that this request to participate will be favourably met. If there are any queries please do not hesitate to contact me.

Thank you,

Juliet Pascall
E-mail: info@julietpascall.com

<u>Declaration</u>

I, …………………………………………………………………, have read and understood this form.

By signing this form, I choose to participate in this research project. I also agree to give an account of my experience of forceful expropriation. I understand that this information may be published.

Date…………………………………………

Signature…………………………………

Research Question

Describe (a) your experience of the events that concluded in the forced eviction of you from your farm, and (b) your experience of the eviction itself. Portray how this affected you on a personal level.

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