"Saka ndini ndirikungotatarika ndiri pano"

A Critical Realist Exploration of Intergenerational Relations to Land in Small Scale Commercial Farming Families, Mushawasha Masvingo, Zimbabwe, 1953-2014

by

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Declaration of authenticity

I Mukai Jaison declare that this dissertation is my original work. Where secondary material has been used (either from a printed source or from the internet) this has been carefully acknowledged and referenced in accordance with the requirements of the Department of Sociology, Faculty of Humanities, University of Pretoria.

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Abstract

The land reform process in Zimbabwe has raised critical questions about land with regard to ownership and access, productivity of land and the most suitable size of land (small scale or large scale). Over a decade after the most recent phase of land reform in Zimbabwe, critical questions about land are continually debated in an ever-growing literature on land. These questions span a wide margin, from ownership, access, and productivity to who exactly should benefit from land reform processes. One important debate has centred on the question of whether the primary consideration of land reform processes should be aimed at addressing the more ideational aspects of land (return to ancestral land, land as central to personal identities and the subsequent political and social processes of determining who belongs and who is a stranger) or material concerns (relating to questions of food security, livelihood making and the concerns with environmental change). Subsequently, literature dealing with land is often organised around a particular theme such as identity, tenure, politics, political economy, livelihoods and questions relating to environmental change. Using the case of small scale commercial farming families of Mushawasha in Masvingo Zimbabwe who came to own the land as purchase area farmers as a result of the 1930 Land Apportionment Act, this thesis constitutes an attempt to integrate multiple approaches to the question of land, using a critical realist framework. I argue that the link between people and land, which is explored generationally and in the context of broader economic, political, historical and social change in Zimbabwe, is ever changing and is influenced by a number of factors. For that reason, viewing the question of land in a reductionist fashion from either an ideational or a material paradigm is unsatisfactory. What this research reveals is that the links between people and land are tempered numerous factors including generation, gender and residential status.

Key words: Mushawasha, critical realism, purchase area farmers, land, intergenerational, small-scale commercial farmers, 1953-2014, Masvingo, Zimbabwe

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Dedicated to Rangarirai Alfred Musvoto.

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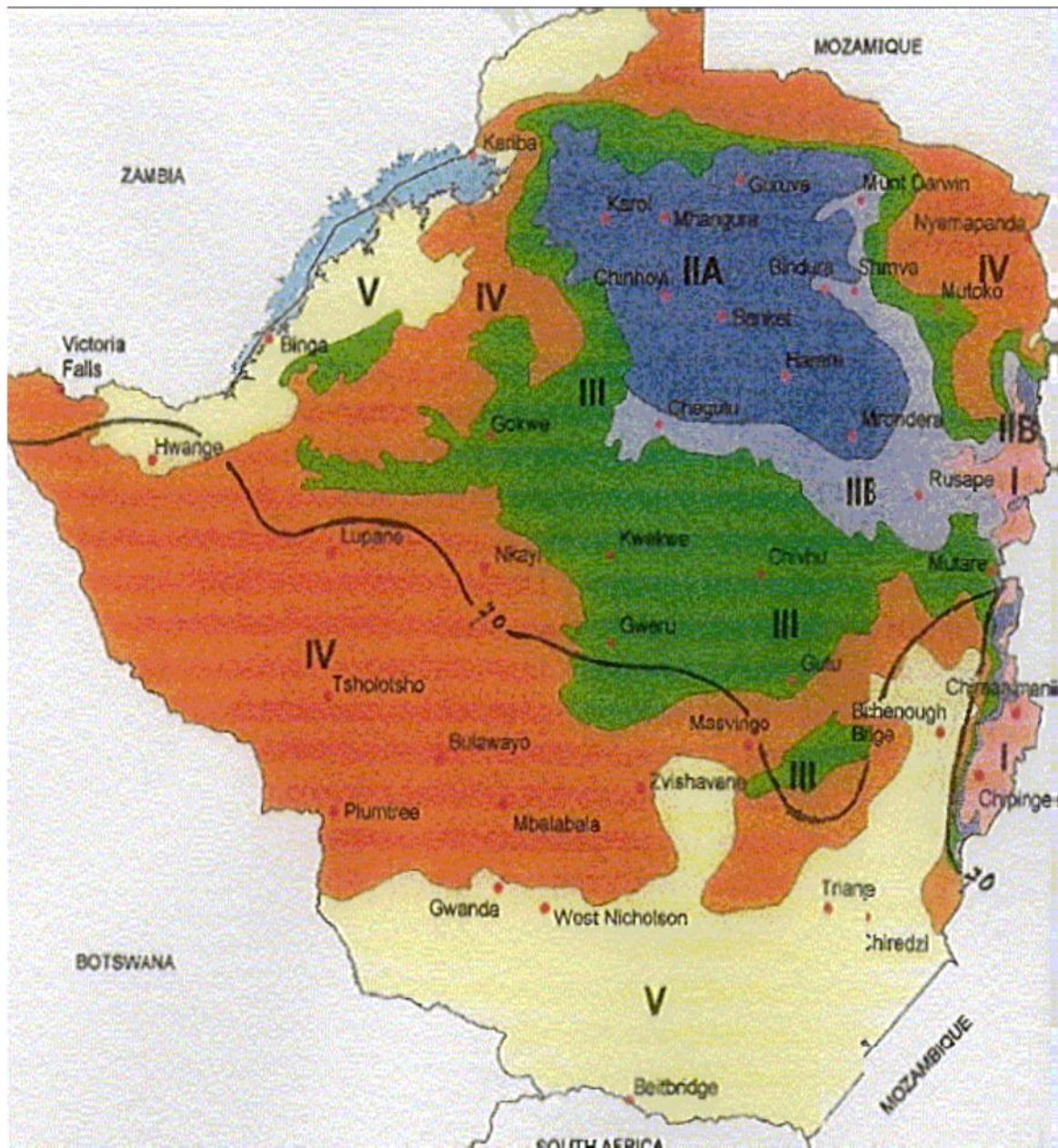
The five natural regions of Zimbabwe

Source: Surveyor –general 1984, used from Musemwa, L. & Mushunje, A. 2011. "Agrarian and life style change in Zimbabwe: From colonisation to the formation of government of national unity". African Journal of Agricultural Research, 6(21): 4824-4832.

Table 1: Rainfall characteristics, agricultural use and possibilities in the five natural regions of Zimbabwe

Natural Region	Area (km2)	% of total	Rainfall Characteristics	Agricultural possibilities
I	7 000	2	More than 1 050 mm rainfall per year with some rain in all months.	Specialized and diversified farming region. The region is suitable for forestry, fruit and intensive livestock production. Smallholders occupy less than 20% of the area of this region.
II	58 600	15	700 - 1 050 mm rainfall per year confined to summer.	Flue-cured tobacco, maize, cotton, sugar beans and coffee can be grown. Sorghum, groundnuts, seed maize, barley and various horticultural crops are also grown. Supplementary irrigation is done for winter wheat. Animal husbandry like poultry, cattle for dairy and meat, is also practiced. Smallholder farmers occupy only 21% of the area in this productive region.
III	72 900	18	500 - 700 mm rainfall per year. Infrequent heavy rainfall. Subject to seasonal droughts.	Semi-intensive farming region. Smallholders occupy 39% of the area of this region. Large-scale crop production covers only 15% of the arable land and most of the land is used for extensive beef ranching. Maize dominates commercial farm production. The region is subject to periodic seasonal droughts,

				prolonged mid-season dry spells and unreliable starts of the rainy season. Irrigation plays an important role in sustaining crop production.
IV	147 800	38	450 - 600 mm rainfall per year. Subject to frequent seasonal droughts.	Too dry for successful crop production without irrigation, but communal farmers have no other choice but to grow crops in these areas even without access to irrigation. Millet and sorghum are the common crops but maize is also grown. Communal farmers occupy 50% of the area of Natural Region IV and 46% of the area of Natural Region V.
V	104 400	27	Normally less than 500 mm rainfall per year, very erratic and unreliable. Northern Lowveld may have more rain but topography and soils are poorer.	
Total	**390 700**	**100**		

Source: Ministry of Agriculture http://www.moa.gov.zw/index.php/2-uncategorised/12-agric-in-zimbabwe

Chapter one: Introduction

The land reform process in Zimbabwe has raised critical questions about land with regard to ownership and access, productivity of land and the most suitable size of land (small scale or large scale). As a result there is a large body of literature on land in Zimbabwe in the recent decade that deals with additional questions including whether it is enough to simply have/own land? When can it be considered productive? (Does land have to be productive?) What do people think about land? Does it mean one thing or is it more complex than that? In this study, I argue that the relationship between people and their particular piece of land is very complex and at the same time very simple. It can be a relationship that involves the everyday practicalities of living on and using the land or a relationship that largely involves the idealisation of what the land is in relation to the individual (depending on the location of the specific individual). In the following thesis, I explore this multidimensional link between people (namely small scale commercial farmers formerly known as purchase area farmers) and their land (the farms that they have owned for at least two generations) through the lens of the land as the environment. All of this is done in the context of broader economic, political, historical and social change in Zimbabwe.

1. Contextual background to the study

The issue of land is important in the African context because the majority of the population in many African countries relies on the land for use and survival among other things. This is particularly true for Zimbabwe for the reason that 70% of the population resides in rural areas and is dependent on land for survival (Rukuni 2012). Land is furthermore important in this context because a history of colonialism left many settler colonies such as Zimbabwe[1], South Africa, Angola, Swaziland, Mozambique and Namibia with unequal access to land that characteristically had settlers owning a larger proportion of the most fertile and productive land whilst Africans were crowded

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[1] For Zimbabwe, legislation such as the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 reserved 51% of land for 50 000 white settlers, 30% for African reserves accommodating approximately 1 million blacks and the remainder for commercial companies. At independence in 1980, 6 000 whites owned 15.5 million hectares, 8 500 black farmers operating on a small scale held 1.4 million hectares and approximately 4.5 million communal farmers had 16.4 million hectares (see Sachikonye 2005:31,32; Palmer 1977)

onto less fertile and largely unproductive land[2]. The issue was further complicated by the challenges that these independent states faced economically, politically and even socially which resulted in many seeking subsistence from the land. The result then was the land question was pushed to the forefront for many such states.

In this regard, for Sachikonye, the land question in Zimbabwe is two-fold, initially it focused on addressing historical injustice and inequity through land redistribution and equal access to resources to enable access to productive land. This was done through transferring land from commercial farmers to communal farmers[3] (2005:32).

The second focus of the land question was due to a number of issues that arose in postcolonial Zimbabwe which Sachikonye identifies as black bourgeoisie's aspirations to own land, pressure for tenure reform and the imperative to link land reform to a broad development strategy (2005:32). Additional challenges such as economic structural adjustment in the 1990s and economic hardships, the need to resolve the land question more widely intensified and this took political form in demands made by war veterans and black economic empowerment groups (Sachikonye 2005:32).

The focus was now on the promotion of 'emergent large scale black farmers' as well as land tenure reform by the Zimbabwean government. In this regard, it was expected that land redistribution would enable self-sufficiency in domestic food production and a balance between equity, productivity and sustainability (Sachikonye 2005:32).

The Fast Track Reform Programme[4] (FTLRP) began in 2000 and involved the transfer of approximately 11 million hectares of land in three years. It replaced 4 000 white

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[2] See Berry (2002); Moyo (2007); Shipton and Goheen (1992)

[3] At the time, the policy was 'willing seller', 'willing buyer' which was in accordance with the Lancaster House Agreement that was signed as part of securing independence (see Moyana 1984; Sachikonye 2005)

[4] The reaction to the programme was varied from critical to supportive. Resultantly, a large body of work exists on the land reform process in Zimbabwe and it continues to grow. There are different considerations within this body of literature focused on the effects of the process to the economy (see Richardson 2005), effects on farmworkers (Sachikonye 2005), issues of gender in relation to access to land (Mutopo 2011a and 2011b) and questions of productivity (Richardson 2007). There have been questions too around political discourse in the process of land reform.

farmers with 7200 black commercial farmers and 127 000 black recipients of small farms by October 2003 (Sachikonye 2005:32).

This created a large-scale farming class under the so called A2 model and a household based small scale farming class under the so called A1 model (these models were introduced during the fast track land reform programme) (Sachikonye 2005: 33). Those who received land under the A1 model received smaller pieces of land since the aim was to enable subsistence agriculture whilst those who received land under the A2 model were meant to produce at a commercial level.

Given this background, Sachikonye subsequently asses the outcomes of the fast track land resettlement programme in terms of land ownership, production patterns and emerging social relations (2005:34). He considers how the land reform process altered ownership (in terms of from white farmers to black farmers), how in production terms the transferred land has been used and what it has been used for and lastly emergent social relations between new land owners and farmworkers who had been living and working on the land before resettlement (Sachikonye 2005:34-38).

What this reveals is that there are a number of issues relating to land especially after the reform process in Zimbabwe which Sachikonye identifies as relating to the legal transfer of land (without security, this has implications for farm owners and they are not likely to invest in the land or even access loans, rebuilding skills (which are currently low in resettled farms), providing extension support to these farmers, questions of food security (land reform arguably contributed to the undermining of food security as did drought). In addition, Sachikonye argues that the Zimbabwean government needs to address land policy inadequacies, the issue of compensation for large scale commercial farmers and infrastructure (2005).

Given this background, it is evident that after the land reform process, it was simply not enough to own or at least have access to a piece of land. Questions of productivity, skill transference and ownership in the long term are also important as is the broader political economy, state structure and strength and political context. This study is interested in exploring some of these questions for a group of small scale commercial farming families in Mushawasha, Masvingo in Zimbabwe who emerged as a result of the aforementioned Land Apportionment Act of 1930 which enabled a few Africans to purchase land in specially demarcated areas (this will be explored in detail in chapter four).

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1.2 Problem statement

One of the primary aims of the FTLRP in Zimbabwe was to create a large scale black commercial farming class. Although a significant proportion of the land has subsequently been distributed, Zimbabwe's agricultural productivity showed evidence of decline[5]. It has been over a decade since the FTLRP and challenges in productivity continue. However, people have remained on these pieces of land and this indicates that perhaps there is more to the land than just agricultural productivity. If historically, people have developed some attachment to the land (see Mujere 2011), it would be interesting to explore this in the case of the families of Mushawasha and how this differs between generations of the same family. The purpose of the study is therefore to explore how a group of families are linked to their land by accounting for their subjective as well as objective experiences with regard to their land. With regard to the specific literature on the purchase areas, there have previously been detailed studies that explored these farmers see Weinrich (1975), Cheater (1984) and Shutt (1995). However, the paradigm in which they were written (political economy, Marxist) meant they were very good with providing objective data and not so much the subjective experiences. This study therefore wants to focus on the subjective experiences of these farmers and in particular, how different these experiences are for different generations between and across families. The physical aspect of the land and its susceptibility to environmental factors means that the environmental aspect of the land will be a consideration of this study.

1.3 Research question

What is the relationship between people and their land, with specific reference to families in Masvingo, Zimbabwe and the small-scale commercial farmland (created as a result of the Land Apportionment Act of 1930) which they have owned for two or three generations and how is this the relationship impacted on by generational shifts?

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[5] Of course the causes of this decline are contested with some suggesting it was due to environmental conditions namely droughts that occurred during that time and others argue that it was due to the chaotic nature of the reform process (see Hammar et.al 2003; Hellum & Derman 2004; Raftopolous 2009; Karumbidza 2004; Richardson 2005;

Sub-questions include:

- What is the history of the land in Masvingo, Zimbabwe and how did the participants come to own the land?
- How has the original farm size changed over time?
- What ownership patterns emerge over time for example in terms of inheritance, gender?
- How have the participants made use of the land over time?
- How has productive activity linked to the land contributed to the economy and family assets? How has this changed over time?
- What does the land mean to them? How different are these meanings and usages for different generations of the same family?
- What is the reported environmental change by the participants? How has this impacted on how they use and think about the land?
- How do they see their future in relation to their land?

1.4 Purpose and significance of the study (rationale)

In the academy, the output on the land question in Africa and Southern Africa in particular is voluminous plus engaging and critical work is continually produced. This is particularly true for Zimbabwe whose recent land reform programme has sparked debate in both academic and general literature. Interestingly, when exploring this land question in Zimbabwe, there are different areas of emphasis that highlight the contribution of specific issues to events or outcomes in Zimbabwe. For example authors such as Scoones et al (2012) have considered livelihoods, Mujere (2011) considers negotiation of belonging in newly resettled farms whilst Richardson[6] (2007) considers to what extent droughts contributed to decline in production and argues instead that it was related to property rights or the lack thereof. Other areas of focus include the use of identity in political discourse (see Muzondidya 2009) and consideration of land as political in meaning (see Chavunduka & Bromley 2013).

These themes have also been considered in works on Zimbabwe before land reform and Africa. Examples include when land can be considered a source of individual and

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[6] The work of Richardson has been particularly criticised for not considering the historical factors see Andersson 2007

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collective identity (see Ranger 1987), as an essential aspect of livelihoods (see Chambers & Conway 1991; DaCosta & Turner 2007), in legal terms as an entity or as property (see Ostrom & Hess 2008) and in relation to environmental change (see Elliott & Campbell 2002).

The concern around the ways this kind of thinking about the land has been translated into scholarship is that some areas of analysis have been over-determined and generally the single-issue focus makes their areas of concern appear to be incongruent. For example, when the question of land is raised with regard to Zimbabwe, what comes to mind is the 2000 Fast Track Land Resettlement Programme (FTLRP) so called 'land grabs' of 2000, which were characterised by the seizing of large privately owned commercial farms by war veterans and citizens. What this notion overlooks are the other meanings that the land has for Zimbabweans. Not all Zimbabweans were involved in these 'land grabs'. Some Zimbabwean families have owned land for generations. What would the land mean to them? Are the meanings similar or dissimilar to the land veterans and citizens who took part in the 'land grabs'?

The aim of the research was therefore to explore this question and in the process of conducting the research, integrate these paradigms and explore how the land can have more than one meaning across generations of the same family at the same time within the very real constraints of the physical environment.

My assumption was that the meaning the land has for different people would be determined by their ideas of what it meant and how it could be used. Material conditions, for example the productivity of the land, would to a large extent determine what it came to represent to the individual. These material conditions were determined by environmental change and it is therefore important to be aware of environmental change. At the same time, there is an ideational component to the land in which people hold certain ideas about the land which shape how they perceive and understand it.

The importance of this study therefore lies in its attempt to contribute to ways of thinking about the environment in a way that is applicable to Africa – through interrogating the notion of the land in a multi-dimensional approach. The research is located in a critical realist framework, which means my approach to the topic is broad-based, combining idealist and materialist explanations and considering historical, cultural and economic factors as well as the interplay between structural factors and individual agency. In addition, one of the explicit aims of the study is to see if aspects

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of the environment that is not usually part of sociological work, can be incorporated into a sociological study.

1.5 Scope and limitations of the study

 Perhaps from the onset I should state that the aim of the research was to explore how a group of landowning families are linked to their farmland over time. I was interested particularly in the generational differences that would become apparent in exploring this link between people (families) and their land (farms owed for over three generations). Of course, the theoretical framework I used to do this was critical realism meaning that I had to try to account for factors that could affect this link between people and their farmland in whatever form (necessary or contingent). Nevertheless, it became apparent that financial and time constraints were going to limit to what extent I was going to be able to do this. In this regard, I have focused on areas of concern that are closely linked (or are seemingly closer) to the families and their land. Of course I am aware that there many other areas I could have considered but this was not possible due to time constraints. The study therefore should be taken as an exploratory undertaking into critical realist land research.

Another limitation in this regard was that the literature on these families was scarce especially after independence (1980). The focus instead was on the land reform process and the FTLRP. This meant at times that the study had to draw on cases of other landowners but who were not specifically purchase area farmers. In addition, the study focused on a small group of families in a particular area: Mushawasha, which raises certain questions around generalizability, however these findings are important in providing a background for future large scale research in this area.

1.6 Structure of the thesis

Chapter 2: Locating the study in sociology, environmental sociology and the framework of critical realism

In this chapter, I locate the study in the field of sociology, environmental sociology and discuss the theoretical framework that shapes the study. I do this by problematizing the relationship between human societies and nature and how in the discipline of sociology and environmental sociology they have culminated in two broad divisions between those who view nature and society as separate and those who view nature and society as inextricably linked. Of course, both extremes are not without problems

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and the chapter concludes by outlining the theoretical framework adopted in the study, which enables me to address some of the challenges of these two extremes as well as engaging with literature on land in general.

Chapter 3: Research methodology

In this chapter, I discuss the methodological implications of using critical realism for the study. The chapter begins by continuing the discussion of critical realism (initiated in chapter two) and the subsequent methodology used by the study. The chapter concludes by outlining the format of the rest of the thesis.

Chapter 4: Purchase area /small-scale commercial farmers: historical, social and political background

The focus of the study is on a group of small scale commercial farmers formerly known as purchase area farmers and the purpose of this chapter is to discuss in detail these specific landowning families by providing a background of who they are. The history and the broader context of these families is traced from 1890 (the period when the first colonial settlers came) to the time of the FTLRP in 2000-2003.

Chapter 5: Literature review: making sense of contemporary African land questions

This chapter continues with the broader context of the land question in Zimbabwe, especially after the FTLRP. Although the purchase area farmers have remained largely unchanged, the context in which they are located is continually changes and other issues have become important. The chapter deals with contemporary land issues and concludes by linking them back to small scale farmers through the theoretical framework and earlier studies that illustrate said themes.

Chapter 6: The relationship between people and their land

In this chapter, I discuss the data obtained from the interviews with the families and analyse it in relation to the issues and key themes identified in the thesis. In this sense, I reflect on evident similarities and differences in the experiences of the farming families of Mushawasha and those of other purchase areas as well as the resettled families.

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Chapter two: Locating the study in sociology, environmental sociology and the framework of critical realism

In the context of the recent return of 'the natural' in terms of environmental debates, particularly concerns about climate change and sustainability, this study explores the ways in which people interact with their environment as well as how such interactions are socially constructed within a specific context. I am interested, therefore, in the multifaceted and historically changing relationship people have with their environment, in particular their 'land'. In this sense, land is understood as the environment, for people are linked materially to it in ways described below. In the study, land and environment are subsequently used interchangeably.

In this regard, some of the questions I ask include: what does 'the land' mean to different generations of the same family, especially families who have been living (and farming) on the land for a long time? In the context of changing constructions of the idea of the land and increasing environmental constraints, how do people adapt? What is at stake? How do they see their future? Since my approach to the study is sociological, it is important that I deal with some of the debates on the environment in sociology. Therefore, in this chapter, I set out to do three things: First to problematize the relationship between human societies and nature. Second, to locate the study in sociology and environmental sociology. Third to outline the theoretical framework adopted in the study, which enables me to address some of the challenges that arise.

2.1 Relationship between human societies and the environment

A number of scholars such as Dunlap & Marshall (2007:331) and Cock (2007) have argued that human societies always have been and are dependent on ecosystems and the environment in three particular ways: the environment is a source of resources that are needed for life; it serves as a waste depository for humans; and, in addition, provides living space for human societies. Given this relationship, human societies for Carlton and Dunlap (as cited by Dunlap & Marshall 2006: 330) are therefore not exempt from the constraints of the biophysical environment. For the purposes of this chapter and research, three questions are a pertinent starting point: what is the environment? to what extent is it coterminous with nature?; and how is this environment constructed in sociology?

Sutton's book: *The Environment: A Sociological Introduction* aims to locate current environmental issues sociologically in a broader social and historical context. As a starting point, he sets out to define 'nature' and the 'environment' through providing a timeline in which he traces the key transitions in the understanding of nature or the natural in relation to Western intellectual history with which sociology as a discipline is closely associated. Sutton (2007) illustrates how over time, sociologically speaking, the meaning of nature has changed in conjunction with major periods of social change. For the purposes of this study, Sutton will be a useful starting point.

According to Sutton, the environment can be understood as non-human natural conditions and surroundings (2007:1). What nature (or the "natural") means is nonetheless varied and in the earlier times in Europe before industrialisation and even capitalism as we know it, three particular meanings of nature were dominant amidst the numerous understandings of it. One such view was of nature as a series of forces and this emerged during the fourteenth century. This understanding is still evident in contemporary society in instances for example where people consult astrologists who can tell them how certain events in nature will influence their lives.

Nonetheless, other meanings of nature developed over time. In the seventeenth century, the meaning of nature evolved to include the "material world of things". The change was that nature ceased to be seen as a series of forces and was now seen as a 'thing' that can be objectified. This particular meaning is visible in the description of nature as 'scenery'. Sutton resultantly argues that this latter definition means nature is understood to be full of fairly static natural things such as fields, mountains and beaches rather than a world of moving natural forces and processes (2007:3).

With nature now understood to be static and as 'scenery', presenting this 'scenic' nature in images became favoured over interaction the real natural world. Sutton shows how the rural life and the country were viewed as better than that which was the creation of humans (2007:3). In this regard, nature was coming to be defined in oppositional terms to human society and culture. For Sutton, this of course meant that nature was being viewed as an obstacle that had to be conquered, since it was in opposition to human societies and progress (2007:3).

At the same time, Sutton traces a parallel (and perhaps can be considered fourth) understanding of nature that developed in the nineteenth century for a small minority who challenged the assertion that nature had to be conquered. For them, nature was

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to be respected and did not need to be conquered. According to these two groups (nature as an obstacle to be conquered and nature as something to be respected) however, nature and society were increasingly separated. Sutton resultantly uses the term natural environment to refer to "non-human world within which human societies and their products exist" (2007:4).

Sutton's intellectual history however does not exhaust contemporary sociological understandings of nature. In *'The War Against Ourselves*', Cock shows that nature can be understood to be a healing force (ecotherapy), a divine presence, a repository of indigenous tradition, a source of identity, a vehicle for liberation, a store of biodiversity, a natural resource or as a commodity or marketing tool. Nature can moreover be seen to be the subject of scientific investigation and manipulation or as a marker of social change. In this regard, human societies and nature are closely linked but, as Cock argues these links are more often ignored perhaps due to the ambivalence that is a key feature of our link to nature (2007:24). What these different meanings illustrate is that the attitudes people hold towards nature are complex, changing, contradictory and historically variable.

Sutton similarly argues that this contradiction stems in part from the dependence of human societies on the environment that cannot be ended. For him, this means there will always be tension between appreciating nature and attempts to control it (2007:9).

What Sutton and Cock illustrate therefore is that human societies view nature or the environment as separate from them. This is also evident in sociology and environmental sociology, as the following section will show.

2.2 'Nature' and the natural environment in sociology: a historical overview

When dealing with questions of the environment in Sociology, there are four key debates. First, the question of the relationship between the natural and the social, where the natural was initially understood as separate from the social. Second, how nature or the natural is conceptualised in sociology. The third question relates to the tension between idealist and materialist interpretations of the relationship between the natural and the social and the final issue is about how we go about researching the interaction between the natural and the social. These questions/debates will be dealt with in the discussion in which I rely principally on the account of Carter & Charles (2009). For the purposes of my study, one debate is particularly vital, namely how we

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can go about researching the interaction between the natural and the social, which I try to do through a study of the intergenerational relationships between people and their land.

Carter & Charles 2009 argue that sociology has a contribution to make towards the conversation on environmental issues by exploring how sociology understands the environment and how this has evolved due to theoretical developments in and out of the field as well as technological and environmental developments (such as climate change). I place Carter & Charles in conversation with Dunlap (2010), who explores the changing conceptualisation of the environment in sociology as well as the different understandings of societal-environmental interaction and the subsequent theoretical developments in the field of environmental sociology. The third interlocutor is Buttel (2010) who explores environmental sociology and some of its key assumptions and debates. The purpose is to capture both the theoretical changes within sociology and environmental sociology as well as developments in society and general academic thinking that influenced the way of thinking about the environment in both versions of sociology.

Carter & Charles argue that the development of sociology in the United States of America as well as Europe had at its centre the debate on the nature of the natural and the social. This debate was central primarily for them because of the move by early sociologists to delineate the social, which entailed a contrast to the natural, as well as the interlinkages between social thought and the natural sciences in the early 19th and 20th centuries (2009:1).

However, ideas about the inextricable link between science and the social remained dominant particularly in cases where natural scientific ideas could be used to explain social inequalities. For Carter & Charles, evidence of this thinking was visible in eugenics, where belief in natural order was used to justify the subjugation and dominance of certain races and classes. In line with this reasoning, nature was understood to be passive and useable as well as a provider of resources that was subordinate to human processes (2009:3). At the same time, another way of thinking that dealt with the naturalisation of the social emerged, which 'grounded social hierarchies in natural orders', thereby removing political content and preventing the need for reform. An added parallel conceptualisation of nature was normative, and as such used to criticise the "unnatural", which was understood as the urban/industrial landscape at the time (Carter & Charles 2009:3).

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In this context, where the natural and the social were problematically linked to justify subjugation and hierarchies of society as normative, sociology as a discipline was therefore founded on the distinction between society and nature. However, as the ideas of what nature was developed, Carter & Charles illustrate how these changes had an influence on sociological thought particularly in the 1950s and 1960s as three movements emerged to challenge the dualism implied by a strong distinction between society and nature namely: the civil rights movement, feminism and environmentalism (2009:4).

To begin with, the civil rights movement from the late 1950s criticised eugenics and the biological explanations for racism by showing that difference was environmental and cultural. This challenged understandings of what was natural and social and other movements namely feminism and environmentalism developed this further (Carter & Charles 2009:5).

In addition, feminism as a movement was critical of the idea of the 'naturalness of women's subordination as well as the gendered texts of the founding fathers of sociology. Feminists furthermore, developed cultural and social explanations of gender that were in contrast to the biological explanations of difference used to justify women's subordination which contributed to the challenge of the distinction between society and nature (Carter & Charles 2009:7).

Finally, the environmental movement[7] (which emerged in the 1960s and particularly with the Earth summit of 1970) challenged notions of nature as something to be exploited and the anthropocentrism of the relationship between nature and humans as it was understood to be at that time (Carter & Charles 2009:5). As an alternative for Carter & Charles, the relationship between nature and society was reconceptualised as unstable and in crisis and this contributed to new ways of seeing the relationship between nature and society (2009:6).

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[7] The environmental movement was also central in the development of environmental sociology. For Buttel, the movement's ideas shaped early environmental sociologists in that they had strong environmental commitments. Another indicator of this influence was visible in the importance given to biophysical factors in social life by these environmental sociologists (2010:34).

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These three movements were able to challenge the notion of nature and society in sociological thinking. Sociology at the time showed preference for the urban not the rural, because the rural was increasingly associated with tradition, timelessness and the natural as evident in the different writings of early sociologists. However, as Bonner illustrates, it was not simply a matter of overlooking the rural for the urban but as a way to understand the rural juxtaposed with the urban (1998:5). For example, Marx associated 'rurality' with regression because for him it was an obstacle in human development and progress. Tonnies on the other hand, viewed the urban-rural dichotomy in terms of the type of social organisation that each enabled. Since sociology is the study of the social not the natural, the links between nature and rural society were weak and meant that the urban was the preferred object of study. This preference was however challenged by the threat to the continued existence of human societies.

In addition, technological advances also had an influence on thinking about the links between the natural and the social. Carter & Charles argue that the emergence of nuclear weapons as well as the problematizing of what is 'natural' raised by reproductive technology such as surrogacy made it apparent then that the idea of nature as independent of and separate from human activity was problematical (2009:10). This problematic division was moreover pointed out by research being completed in numerous fields such as research on environmental toxins, behaviour and social organisation. For example, research on the impact of toxins on human behaviour provided evidence that in some cases, there was a link between Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) and Attention Deficit Disorder (ADD) and exposure to heavy metals (lead and manganese). In some ADD/ADHD cases, treatment involved removing the person from the environment in which they were exposed to lead. However, although there is still more work to be done and the link to heavy metal exposure was not evident in all cases of ADD or ADHD, this illustrates that the social and the natural are not completely separate (Juberg 1997; Masters 2001, Walker 1998 as cited by Carolan 2005b:7).

These outcomes in particular led some sociologists to argue, "nature no longer exists outside society or indeed society outside nature because it has been so changed by human intervention" (Beck 1992 as quoted by Carter & Charles 2009:10). For Carter & Charles these social movements and scientific and technological developments which created the threat of survival of both nature and society challenged sociology to recognise that human beings were part of a social and natural environment and that

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the natural environment, far from being exploitable set limits on what humankind could do (2009:14). On one hand therefore, there were those who became aware of the problems raised by separating nature and society and on the other, were those who adhered to the basic tenets of sociology that what was natural remained different from what was social. This tension according to Carter & Charles resulted in two approaches that viewed nature and society as either separate or nature and society as inseparable (2009:10).

Nature as separate is based on the notion of nature having real effects, as it is real. If nature is real, this means that you have to take the biophysical seriously. For sociology, which mainly focused on the social, this was/is a challenge because the effects of the material conditions on social processes would/will have to be considered. As Carter & Charles show, this is not impossible as writers such as Marx were able to deal with this view (2009:11). On the other hand, the idea of nature as inseparable from the social was/is ground in the notion that nature is not autonomous and there is no clear boundary between the natural and the social. One factor that contributes to this thinking are the interventions in 'natural' processes by biotechnology (Carter & Charles 2009:12).

These two approaches (nature as separate/nature and society as inseparable) are evident particularly in the 1990s, and led to an important debate between constructivists and realists (Carter & Charles 2009:15). The conflict in brief was over whether reality exists and the question on the extent to which 'nature' was constructed by scientific practice or existed externally to it. Constructionists were interested in the different ways in which environmental problems are understood and how through the pressures brought by different actors such as Non-Governmental Organisations and the discursive framing of environmental problems that are associated with different social actors, policies and practices emerge which may themselves have material consequences.

Realists on the other hand, understand reality or the world to be independent of us but accessible through research and observation. Of course within realism there are variants that differ with regard to the specific nature of this independent reality but broadly, it views reality as external to scientific endeavours.

There is another way of reframing the account of the contemporary theoretical tensions in environmental sociology and this is provided by Dunlap who links changes within

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environmental sociology to dominant theoretical paradigms. Dunlap argues that environmental sociology developed during the transition from modernity to a period after modernity, which could be post-modernity, liquid modernity, reflexive modernity, risk society or network society depending on one's theoretical background (2010:15). It is evident, therefore, that although Carter & Charles 2009 and Dunlap 2010 deal with the same period, they use different language to describe the theoretical shifts. Carter & Charles 2010 refer to realists and constructivists while Dunlap refers to post modernity and modernity. However, the differences are not conceptual. Modernity or theories within this deal with the fundamental questions around the nature of social reality, how the connection between individuals and societies is changing and the precise nature of this connection. Modernity in brief is therefore linked to ideas of the enlightenment[8] in which there is a marked separation or distance between the generation of knowledge and spiritual or religious beliefs. Rationality is a characteristic of modernity and it is understood that knowledge can be objectively gained. Theory in this thinking is characterised by broad meta-narratives that are used to explain society[9].

Post-modernity[10] is a shift after modernity where it is recognised that meta-narratives are not useful and individual contexts are taken into account. The realist-constructivist debate would be a variant of the post-modern debate where the question is about what is real or not.

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[8] The process of modernity involved a series of changes in society, culture and the economy. These began from 1500AD including the 'enlightenment' period of 1800 and involved not only the shifting of ideas towards increased rationality and a weakening of the power of the church but different practices in education, the running of the state and health amongst other institutions (See West 1997, Callinicos 2007, Berman 2004). However, the idea of 'modernity' is not without criticism for authors such as West 1997 illustrate how it was not a matter of events culminating in the 'enlightenment' but to some extent a story created in hindsight and this has implications as is evident in events such as the holocaust (see Bauman 2007).

[9] Examples of such narratives include Structural Functionalism, Symbolic Interactionism, and Conflict perspectives.

[10] Postmodern theory disputed the notion a theory that could explain society through detailing the broad underlying systems that govern it. Like poststructuralist theory, there was awareness that social life was fluid, ambiguous and there was a need to be cognisant of this.

Within contemporary sociology Dunlap identifies a cleavage between constructivist-oriented scholars committed to 'environmental agnosticism' (a sceptical attitude toward evidence about environmental conditions) and realist oriented scholars practising 'environmental pragmatism' (an emphasis on measuring and investigating rather than problematizing such conditions) (2010:16) and this cleavage follows the realist-constructivist debate which Carter & Charles 2009 identify (Dunlap 2010:16).

For Dunlap, then, the 1990s cultural turn was influenced by post-modern sensibilities of the larger discipline and resulted in a socio-constructivist surge that threatened to replace the strong materialist grounding of environmental sociology with a more idealist orientation and in the process return the field to a new version of sociology of environmental issues (Dunlap & Catton 1994 as quoted by Dunlap 2010:19).

As a result of this turn, a differentiation between 'symbolic' and 'non-symbolic' interactions was introduced in an attempt to illustrate the human societal relationship to the environment as both ideational and material (Dunlap & Catton 1979b: 75-6 as cited by Dunlap 2010:19). Sociologists working on the environment focused on how the symbolic and material realms interacted. There was in addition concern with the problems raised by integrating the symbolic and material dimensions of societal relationships with the environment.

Therefore, the end of the 1990s saw a major push within environmental sociology to confine sociological analyses of environmental issues largely to the symbolic/ideational/cultural levels and Dunlap argues that it continues to exist (2010:19).

Dunlap concluded that environmental sociologists, in a nutshell, are interested in the biophysical environment. This 'environment' itself is an enormously complex phenomenon, open to highly diverse conceptualisations and operationalisations (2010:16). He argues moreover that environmental sociology as a discipline is in a period of flux although it is still dealing with the same fundamental issues it faced when established as the study of societal-environmental relations or interactions. It continues

to deal with how to approach such interactions as well as the nature of 'society' and 'environment'[11] (Dunlap 2010:15).

From the discussion above it is clear that the current understandings of nature and the environment (Sutton 2007 and Cock 2007) are dynamic and contradictory. This can be explained by the changes within sociological thinking about the relationship between the natural and the social (as explored through Carter & Charles 2009) as well as the broader changes in intellectual thought (transition from modernity to beyond as explored through Dunlap 2010). The result of both these internal and external factors has resulted in tension between approaches that are materialist in orientation and those that are idealist which are also apparent in the debates in environmental sociology (Buttel 2010).

One outcome of this division identified by Carter & Charles (2009) as well as Dunlap (2010) was the ascendancy of critical realism. Critical realism arose in this context of a crisis in terms of the division between the natural and the social sciences and as well as the nature of the two disciplines. It attempted (attempts) to restore the idea that the social sciences could use the naturalist's method while recognising the social construction of knowledge (Baert 1998:87). In this sense, it serves as a bridge between empiricists and social constructionists. For the purposes of this study, critical realism is used as a method and a theoretical framework generally.

With critical realism as a framework, conceptually, another way to explore this tension between the idealist/constructivist/post-modern and materialist/realist/modern understandings of the environment and environmental change is to investigate the

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[11] These issues in environmental sociology are summarised by Buttel (2010) into five themes: first the role of environmental sociology in changing the way sociologists conceptualise the social world particularly with regard to the role of social facts; second, the conceptualisation of environments and environmental change with regard to the lens used be it realist or constructivist; third, the useful scale of analysis in research given the lack of correspondence between environmental features and political boundaries; fourth, the problematic conceptualisation of the environment as a singular macro-level entity by the influential theoretical perspectives in North American sociology. This is particularly problematic for Buttel (2010) if empirical research carried out is sub-national in scope. The final issue relates to environmental change, which for a long time was synonymous with environmental degradation and destruction. For Buttel this has to be diversified (2010:37)

relationship between people and their environment through the land in a way that enables me to avoid the pitfalls of relying solely on one of these understandings. This means different understandings of land that are both material and ideational have to be considered and reflecting on Carolan's stratification of nature is helpful. Carolan's (2005) identifies three strata of nature: "nature", nature and Nature in environmental sociology (as quoted by Dunlap 2010:2).

"Nature" is a socio-discursive concept, one of discursive constructions used differentiate for example between what is 'natural' and 'unnatural'. Nature is the nature of fields and forests, wind and sun, organisms and watersheds and landfills and pesticide use. This stratum involves an ever-present overlap between sociocultural and biophysical realms because it is what we can observe (forests) that influences the ideas we have that are of course socially constructed. The third Nature, understood as the nature of gravity, thermodynamics and ecosystem processes is for sociologists a constant and (problematically) bracketed out of consideration. By classifying nature, Carolan is able to account for the different aspects of nature/environment that could have been overlooked if one side of the nature/society divide was used. (This classification will be discussed further in the section on the theoretical framework later on in this chapter).

In summary therefore, my study is interested in exploring the intergenerational relationships between people and their environment given the renewed interest in the environment, environmental change and the key debates in both sociology and environmental sociology. The context of my work is in Africa more specifically Southern Africa and as a result I use the notion of land. Carolan's strata of nature will be helpful in accounting for the different conceptualisations of land because land cannot be reduced to just processes or people's ideas around land. These different strata are evident even in literature on land.

As a concept land is a key way of integrating the study of the social in history, anthropology and rural sociology in Africa. However, the way in which land has been conceptualised cannot be neatly located within the rubric of environmental sociology and sometimes the broader field of sociology. This means that the authors I am in conversation with are not in the same field themselves (and are at times not in conversation with each other) and they use concepts and conceptualisations that are very different to my own.

One challenge that arises as a result of this is how I will conduct the research in a meaningful way that addresses the key issues raised by the different fields and literature that I draw on in a way that allows my research to remain relevant to my field of sociology and environmental sociology? My assumption is that the meaning land has for different people will be determined by their ideas of what it is and how it can be used. However, the material conditions for example the productivity of the land will determine or influence what it means and represents to the individual particularly in a context of environmental change. This means that although the relationship between people and their land is multifaceted and includes aspects of the economy, the political context of the country and the broader social contexts, the environment (and environmental change) is one dimension that is important because it remains largely beyond the control of the people. Consequently, in this final section, I examine the theoretical framework that guides the study and is useful in combining the different understandings of land in the African milieu and scholarship.

2.3 Theoretical framework-critical realism

The purpose of this section is to discuss the theoretical framework that enables me to work with seemingly incongruent concepts and literature. In this chapter so far, I have dealt with the broader societal changes that shaped sociological theory in general and environmental sociology in particular. I have shown how changes in the nature of what is regarded as natural and social have broadly and briefly speaking led to a rift between those who are idealist and those who are materialist as well as how some of these cleavages have lent themselves to the debates and assumptions within environmental sociology. One outcome of this rift has been critical realism, a theoretical perspective that provides an alternative to both extremes (realist/constructivist and other aforementioned terms).

From these considerations, certain issues so far have become central to the research namely, how we can go about researching the interaction between the natural and the social with the additional challenge in this instance being how to accord biophysical variables the importance that they deserve in a way that is useable in sociological work without reducing them to 'facts'? Another issue is how to ensure the research is able to engage adequately with literature from different fields, which are not sociological or in conversation with each other.

Sociology itself as a discipline has been criticised for not being able to speak to work done in the African context because of its location and rootedness in the global North. Asante (1987) argues for work that is Afrocentric for the problem he argues is that 'Western' standards of research have been imposed on African and other cultures. Other authors such as Connell (2007) have argued for the inclusion of theory that is from the South. The challenge for this study then becomes how to integrate these different literatures.

Critical realism as a framework will be helpful in this endeavour. Its basic assumptions deal with the question of dimensions of knowledge, the world, questions of causation and carrying out research in such framework and this addresses all the challenges posed to this study.

Critical realism acknowledges that there is a material world that exists independent of our claims of it. Bhaskar (1975) makes the distinction between the 'transitive' and 'intransitive' dimensions of knowledge. The 'transitive' dimension consists of theories, discourses whilst the 'intransitive' is made up of the things we study (Sayer 2000:10) For Sayer, this differentiation made by Bhaskar (1975) between the transitive and intransitive means how we experience our world should not be conflated with what it is (2000:11).

This subsequently leads critical realism to distinguish between the world and our experience of it through differentiating between the real, actual and empirical. For Sayer, the real can be understood as whatever exists and it is the realm of objects, their structure and power (this real for Carolan is the world of causal powers/tendencies and deep structures 2005b:2). Sayer continues that the actual is what happens if and when those powers are activated. Carolan on the other hand also understands the actual to involve a flow of events produced either under controlled conditions of experimentation or as uncontrolled "conjunctures" (2005b:2).The final differentiation of the empirical for Sayer is the domain of experience and observed events (2000:12).

In other words critical realism has a reality that is stratified into three domains namely the domain of the actual (patterns of events that take place), the domain of the empirical (people's perceptions or observations of events) and the domain of the real (the underlying mechanisms that generate events) (Baert 1998:93).

Drawing on this stratified account of reality, Carolan develops a framework that he argues allows for the making of analytic distinctions between the social and the biophysical while leaving conceptual space for interaction effects (2005a:395). As I have shown in the first section of the chapter, nature can be understood to mean different things. For Carolan, any study that wants to incorporate the concept of nature should consider and account for these different versions of it (2005a:393). Carolan subsequently distinguishes between three natures: "nature", nature and Nature. "Nature" is a socio-discursive concept. This is the "nature" of discourse, power/knowledge, cultural violence and discursive subjugation. In "nature" discourse has a central role (Carolan 2005a:401). The second nature is the nature of the observable sociomaterial nature that is the basis for conceptions that are socially constructed. The final version of nature, Nature is the nature of physicality, causality and permanence-with-flux. It is also the nature of thermodynamics and ecosystem processes. This is useful for this study for it enables me to consider the type of nature that affects the relationship between people and their land and the extent to which they have some control over it.

However, these domains of this reality (or versions of nature) are not always in synchrony. For example, people's perceptions of the events might not match the actual event. This would be due to other factors that could influence any of the first two domains (Baert 1998:93).

Critical realism argues then, that this is emergence where certain "situations in which the conjunction of two or more features or aspects give rise to new phenomena, which have properties which are irreducible to those of their constituents, even though the latter are necessary for their existence" (Sayer 2000:13). The argument is that it is important to account for these emergent factors (Sayer 2000:13).

As Sayer illustrates, this is however challenging in the social sciences for they deal with open systems that have numerous interacting structures and mechanisms which cannot be isolated as one would in the natural sciences. There is therefore always the risk of attributing one mechanism (and its structure) effects to another (2000:16). This for Sayer can be addressed by asking some questions:

> "What does the existence of this object/practice presuppose? What are its preconditions? Could object A exist without object B? What is it about this object that enables it to do certain things?" (2000:16)

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This would enable better conceptualisations of our concepts and overcome some of these challenges. When conducting research in this reality, critical realism seeks to penetrate surface phenomenon and disclose 'deep social structure' through abstraction. Abstraction entails focusing on certain aspects temporarily at the neglect of others and it serves two purposes namely to enable the identification of certain aspects of the social reality to be identified at the level of the actual and to uncover the real phenomenon of interest (Brown, Slater & Spencer 2002: 773).

Brown, Slater & Spencer identify three dimensions of this abstraction namely the 'vantage point' that identifies the specific position where one looks. The second dimension is that of locating the real cause of the social phenomenon under investigation and the third dimension is scope or extension, which deals with the question of time (2002:775). Abstraction when executed is arguably useful in enabling researchers to access and understand a holistic reality and all its components.

However, critical realism they argue, through the process of abstraction has limited synthesis and there is difficulty combining the abstractions. In light of these shortcomings, Brown, Slater & Spencer propose a fourth dimension of abstraction which they term 'systematic abstraction' (2002:776). Systematic abstraction builds on the three dimensions identified and includes a historical notion.

For Sayer "we therefore have to rely on abstraction and careful conceptualisation, on attempting to abstract out the various components or influences in our heads, and only when we have done this and considered how they combine and interact can we expect to return to the concrete, many sided object and make sense of it" (2000:19).

Carrying out research in a critical realist paradigm will consequently involve the recognition that a number of factors can be influential. For example critical realists argue that studies should consider from historical and cultural to economic factors as well as the interplay between structural factors and individual agency. Emphasis is also placed on theories that are explanatory over descriptive theories (Baert 1998:99).

In practice, critical realist research is highly appropriate for interdisciplinary approaches because these scholars recognise the influence of various mechanisms (Baert 1998:99). Critical realism is therefore useful as a broad framing for this research because it enables me to use both the material and idealist understandings of the

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environment. The orientation of the theory also enables me to consider other factors that may appear to be unrelated to the land such as the history of colonialism and contemporary class conflict.

These basic assumptions of critical realism therefore enable me to address the study's research question: What is the relationship between people and their land, with specific reference to families in Masvingo, Zimbabwe and the small-scale commercial farmland (created as a result of the Land Apportionment Act of 1930) which they have owned for two or three generations and how is this the relationship impacted on by generational shifts?

The distinction between the 'transitive' and 'intransitive' dimensions of knowledge mean that in the context of this study, I can account for what can be observed between the participants and their environment (material) as well as the discourses around this relationship (constructivist). The stratified account of reality also enables me to locate this study in environmental sociology, sociology and African studies/ land studies because the need to account for the different emergent factors requires me to detail the different ways that the land has been discussed in ways that may not necessarily speak to each other but which ultimately contribute to enabling a better understanding of the relationship between people and their land.

In summary, the chapter has shown the different understandings of nature and how these have evolved over time and split into idealist and realist interpretations. However, a problem arose in that both sides emphasized their view and overlooked the importance of the other stance. Nevertheless social world reality is never closed, therefore descriptive and explanatory accounts of social phenomena must remain "open" to the ecologically embedded reality that is part and parcel of the world in which we reside (Bhaskar 1993). Critical realism recognises this and tries to bridge this gap and Carolan in particular tries to overcome other challenges that arise from attempting to join the two. This study is therefore cognisant of these challenges and tries to work through them by accounting for the different aspects of reality/environment/nature and in this context land.

In conclusion, in this chapter, I set out to do three things: problematize the relationship between human societies and nature, locate the study in sociology and environmental sociology and the problems my study encounters in relation to studies in the African context and to discuss the theoretical framework: critical realism, which enabled me to

overcome some of these challenges. In the next chapter, I now turn to discuss the research methodology I use in the study.

Chapter Three: Methodology

The aim of this chapter is to consider the methodological implications of using critical realism as a framework for the study by doing three things. First, I discuss critical realism as a research framework, picking up from the issues raised in the previous chapter. Second, I detail the subsequent methodology I have deployed in the study and third, I conclude the chapter by reflecting on the implications of the methodological choices made as well as an outline of the structure of the remainder of the thesis.

3.1 Critical realism

In the previous chapter, I introduced critical realism, in particular the difference it highlights between our experience of the world ('transitive' dimension of knowledge) and what it is ('intransitive' dimension of knowledge). Subsequently, I illustrated how there is a stratified ontology inherent to this framework, which distinguishes between the realm of the empirical (experiences), actual (events) and real (structures and causal power)[12]. In this regard, critical realism acknowledges that there is no single cause for something in the world and that numerous factors interact and produce numerous effects. This, I have argued, enables the study the study to engage with literature on land in a vast array of fields.

In order, then, for the study to integrate the different themes of concern raised with regard to relations to land, Carolan's (2005) 'stratification of nature' model is used. Drawing on a critical realist ontology, Carolan (2005) understands nature (and in the case of this study environment/land) to be socio-discursive, socio-material and real. In other words, what is said about the land and constructions of it are social, the observed physical aspects of the land shape ideas about it (which itself is a social process) and finally the land itself is subject to processes and systems that people have no control over. The relationship between people and this multidimensional notion of land is multifaceted as a result. In addition, people themselves exist in a context in which other

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[12] According to Sayer, *real* is whatever exists (natural or social) regardless of whether it is an empirical object for us. *Real* is also the realm of objects/structure/powers that can be physical or social, such as minerals or bureaucracies. The *actual* on the other hand refers to what would happen if the powers in the real are activated and the *empirical* is the field of experience (2000:11)

factors are at play and it is not just them and their land in a vacuum. This means that they have to be understood to exist in a reality that has experiences, actual events and processes outside of them although they can affect them too of course to differing degrees. This second aspect is a key dimension of consideration in sociology: structure versus agency and critical realism enables the exploration of this interaction between individuals and their contexts as well[13].

Conceptually, then, critical realism is useful for the study in particular in teasing out the different variables that can be accounted for[14] through the process of abstraction (Brown, Slater & Spencer 2002; Sayer 2000). Abstraction entails focusing on particular aspects at the seemingly neglect of others, so that the 'deep underlying structural' aspects of social reality are identified. This is done through the identification of 'demi-regularities', which are patterns identified when investigating social phenomena (Brown, Slater & Spencer 2002:774; Baert 2005:96). For example, focusing on demi-regularities with regard to patterns of land use can be useful in understanding this aspect of the relationship between people and their land.

Teasing out these different variables within critical realism enables the study to have what Olsen refers to as 'ontic depth' (2010:3). Ontic depth "refers to having a conceptual map of the world's nature that allows for multiple layers, complexity, interweaving and dynamic interaction of the parts of that world" (Olsen 2010:3).

Ontic depth for Olsen also means that within critical realism, it is recognised that the worlds of the researcher and the researched collide. In recognising this collision, critical realism for Sayer recognises that for those who are researched, their "actions and texts never speak simply for themselves yet are not reducible to the researcher's interpretation of them either" (2000:17). What this means, according to Sayer, is that critical realism recognises that 'social phenomenon are intrinsically meaningful and hence meaning is not only externally descriptive of them but constitutive of them' and

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[13] The relationship between structure and agency in the critical realist framework is not either or but is understood to be 'dialectical'. This means "…agents cannot help but face or rely on structures. The structures are, to some extent, given and external. On the other hand, individuals also impact and affect structures" (Baert 2005:99).

[14] Then again, it is one thing to be aware of these elements and another to adequately account for these. This study is aware of them but unfortunately, some cannot be dealt with in detail due to the time and scope limitations of the study

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we have to understand these meanings (Sayer 2000:17). In other words, one recognises the context within which certain interaction occurs, although we are aware of the factors that can shape even the understanding of that context. This means that the conceptual frameworks used should be constantly reconsidered (Olsen 2010: 5).

In other words, critical realism is able to account for different factors, both material and ideational (see previous chapter for a detailed discussion). Sayer argues that this makes critical realism complementary with a number of methods (Sayer 2000:19). In the case of this research which is a sociological study and regarded as a social scientific study, the challenge is methodologically carrying through the conceptual issues that I identified. Sayer argues that although what social scientists study is 'concrete' for it is the product of multiple 'components' and 'forces'(relationship between people and their land), it cannot be studied in controlled conditions so one has to conceptually think through these components before considering the object. This the discussion has done and I now turn to discuss the actual methodology used in the study.

3.2 Research methodology

Social research itself can be said to have numerous purposes. These are commonly exploration, description and explanation (Babbie 2008:97). Descriptive studies answer questions of what, when, where and how and explanatory studies address questions of why (Babbie 2008:99). The purpose of this research was to explore the relationship between people and their land but within a critical realist framework and this meant that these clear cut categories are problematic because in trying to understand the link between people and their land, accounting for the different strata of reality means elements of all three are part of the study.

In determining the most suitable research methodology Rowley (2002) on the other hand proposes asking three fundamental questions about the research itself. What types of questions are to be asked? To what extent is there control over behavioural events? To what degree is there a focus on contemporary as opposed to historical events? Considering these questions enables one to select the most appropriate method for one's research. In the context of my own research question, I considered both historical and contemporary events although there was no control of the behaviour of the participants.

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Creswell identifies an additional way of determining the most suitable method of inquiry. This method involves the consideration of the 'world view' of the researcher. 'World view' in this framework, refers to "a basic set of beliefs that guide action" (2009:5). These are the epistemological and ontological considerations that shape the research design[15].

Creswell (2009:6) identifies four 'worldviews' namely postpositivism, constructivism, advocacy/participatory and pragmatism. Postpositivism argues that researchers can be objective, and that data can be collected through empirical observation and measurement. The advocacy/participatory worldview on the other hand is focused on bringing about change in practises. The focus is on helping individuals who are constrained as well as creating political debate to enable change (Creswell 2009:10). The pragmatic worldview is problem-centred where the focus is on the best method to answer research questions and is best for mixed method approaches. The fourth worldview identified by Creswell is the social constructivist worldview (2009:10). The assumption in this worldview is that individuals seek to understand the world in which they live and construct meaning as they engage with their world. These meanings are multiple and shaped by the context of the individual and researchers gain knowledge by visiting these contexts and gathering information personally. Social constructivism as a research process is therefore inductive because meaning is generated from the data collected (Creswell 2009:8-9).

What Creswell's (2009) categories indicate are what Williams & May (1996) refer to as philosophical positions which can be understood as the view that one has with regard to social reality and what can be regarded as knowledge. For them one's 'world view' (ontology) shapes what one regards as the best way to get knowledge (epistemology) although of course epistemology and methodology can shape ontological claims (Williams & May 1996:69). In this my research is cannot be neatly located in the four identified 'world views' because its ontological assumptions mean that knowledge about the world can be gained through both meaning and observable data. (This is why critical realism as framework is useful because it straddles postpositivist assumptions and constructivist notions) Although of course the research question is important and answering it in the best way is of utmost importance. Perhaps more

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[15] Of course within the critical realist framework one is aware that epistemology and ontology cannot be conflated for this would be what Bhaskar (1975) refers to as an 'epistemic fallacy'

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significant in this study is the recognition that the conclusions I will draw from the information I obtain cannot be regarded as the 'truth' or a complete explanation if for those participants because of other factors that were at play during the interview process. Perhaps a more suitable framework would be Sayer's 'intensive' and 'extensive' approaches to research (2000:21) in which extensive research looks for regularities through repeated observation of large groups as a way to indicate the prevalence of certain variables in the population under consideration. Intensive research on the other hand, considers individuals in their specific contexts and their connections to others through tracing their relationship and their nature (Sayer 2000:20).

In this regard, this study is intensive in approach because I am interested in the relationship between a specific group of families and their farm land which they have owned over a specific time. This approach is compatible with a number of methods and I now turn to a discussion of the specific research design used in the study.

3.3 Research Design

The specific focus of the research, was a group of landowning families in Mushawasha, Masvingo Zimbabwe who came to own the land as the result of the 1930 Land Apportionment Act. My approach to the research was intensive in that I traced the specific set of relations of these families as well as their context. This was done through accounting for the different ways in which individuals were linked to land in the literature as well as interviewing these families on their farms[16]. In this regard, the study used an intensive case study design.

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[16] The interviews covered a number of issues relating to the land namely questions of ownership, what the land meant to them, how they used the land, agricultural and natural resources available to them on the farm, environmental change and its impact on farm matters (material or how they viewed the farm) and where the participants saw themselves in the future, the questions were meant to enable the participants to think through their relationship to their land and how it evolved over time as well as in relation to social, political, economic and in particular environmental factors. A number of questions were related to how they used their land and the physical constraints they faced because it was important that I not overlook the history of these purchase area farmers and the centrality of land ownership and productivity to their identities.

A case study can be defined as a detailed enquiry into a 'bounded' entity or unit (or entities) in which the researcher examines in depth said entity in its context (Putney 2010:115; Kaarbo & Beasley (1999:372). The 'boundedness' of the entity(ies) can be based on the participants coming together on a voluntary basis or the researcher artificially 'bounding' the participants through criteria the researcher sets. In other words, boundedness can be the result of the physical geographical space or in terms of the themes that the researcher develops (Putney 2010:115). In this regard, case study research can therefore be a single case design or a multiple case design[17] (Putney 2010).

Case research has also been defined as a research method that involves investigating one or a small number of social entities or situations in their contexts using multiple sources of data which can be quantitative or qualitative depending on the research question. Sources used in case study research include interviews, direct observations, and participant observation (Easton 2010:120; Putney 2010:118; Schrank 2006:21).

Chima argues that the usefulness of case studies is illustrated by their ability to provide a much richer and accurate description and explanation of the phenomenon in question, which would enable a contribution to theory, be it through testing, reconstruction or building in the social sciences (2005:10)[18]. In my case, this makes the design compatible with my theoretical framework and enables me to adequately account for the different aspects of a relationship between people and their land.

For Elger, critical realism is particularly compatible with case study research because it acknowledges the importance of accounting for individuals' "discourses and negotiated meanings" as well as the need to locate "specific social processes in context" (2010:255). Case studies by definition entail in-depth examination of cases (or a case) in its context. Critical realism in addition argues Elger, advocates for what she refers to as "features" of case study research namely the use of mixed methods of data collection and analysis, reliance on explicit theorising to draw out the wider implications of specific case studies, critical engagement with the limiting as well as

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[17] Single cases or multiple case design (multiple case design also referred to as collective case, cross case or comparative case study (Putney 2010:117)

[18] Case study research is suitable for exploratory, explanatory processes.

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penetrating features of actors accounts (2010:255). Incidentally, this enables the study to meaningfully engage with literature with different ontological and epistemological assumptions from my own.

Naturally specific case design decisions are based on whether one is interested in a particular entity (intrinsic) or if the case enables one to gain an understanding of an issue outside of the case itself (instrumental). In instrumental cases, one is not sufficient (Putney 2010:116-117). For the purposes of the research, multiple cases were used.

However, before selecting a case, one needs familiarity with the case and needs to ensure the representativeness and useful theoretical variation of the cases. In case selection, one can select cases that are typical, diverse, extreme, deviant, most similar or most different (Seawright & Gerring 2008:294-295).

3.3.1 Case Selection

For the research I interviewed eleven families, selected on the basis of two criteria. The first criterion was that the family had more than one generation residing on the land. The second criterion for selection was that the families had owned the land for at least two generations. Within this case selection, I had made an allowance for single generation families residing on their farms on the condition that they met the second criterion. This was done in order to ensure that these families were represented (diverse case selection) and in the end I interviewed 2 such families. When the interviews were conducted, different generations of the same family were targeted although this was not always possible as will become apparent in the discussion on the interviews (see 3.4.4).

The selection of the specific families was also based on the knowledge obtained from my key informant Godwin Gonho. He was chosen to be a key informant because of his knowledge of the area (he has lived in Mushawasha for over 15 years) and he also served as a point of access.

3.4 Data Collection

As mentioned earlier, critical realism emphasises the nature of the social world and this has implications for how we come to know it as well as what we regard as adequate knowledge about the world. The study was interested in the relationship between people (different generations in families) and their land (the family farm that they had owned for generations). The land itself was understood to be multifaceted (socio-discursive, socio-material and real) and that the people were linked to it in an ever-changing context which had implications for their link to the land. Using a case study design meant it was possible to account for these different aspects because of the numerous sources of data that case studies enable one to use. For the research, I used archival material, maps, photographs, secondary sources and interviews. The discussion now turns to these sources and some of the issues around using them in research.

3.4.1 Archival material

The specific group of families that the study was interested in came to own the land as the result of the Land Apportionment Act of 1930. It was important therefore that these purchase area farmers could be traced historically and archival material was one way to do so. I used archival material from the National Archives of Zimbabwe in Harare.

Archival material can be understood to refer to different forms of recorded material that are a written record of the past. These include personal and/or public written documents, maps, and official and private letters as well as audio- and videotapes, and Internet- based materials. Archival material is particularly useful in historical research (or in this case research that starts at a historical point in time to present day) because they give a sense of what the context was like for those who lived in it (Vitalis 2006:11;Stan 2010:29).

However, this means that archival records have their limitations. One has to consider if the record itself is genuine and whose reality is being recorded in records. For Stan, the reality recorded in archival material might not be similar to that experienced by those who lived it. Instead for Stan, it is often the reality of the one perceiving it (2010:30). This means that the author is unaware of the socio-discursiveness of the text and one has to be aware and account for this.

An additional criticism raised against using archival material is that it tends to focus on the role of key players whilst overlooking other issues such as the broader economy (Sayer 2000:26). At the same time, individuals are not considered and the focus of the records are on the broader context (Sayer 2000:26). He argues that both agency and structure need to be explored because "behaviour is both selective and adaptive" therefore "we need to understand what it is about both its subjects and its contexts that enables particular outcomes" (2000:26). In spite of these shortcomings, the archival material used was valuable in providing information about who exactly these people were and what the legislation was at the time.

3.4.2 Maps, Photographs

An additional source of data for the research were visual aids in the form of geographical maps and photographs. Photographs and other visual representations are said to offer a visual medium in addition to the more commonly used verbal medium. They complement the spoken word and "enable a richer more holistic understanding of the research participants' world" (Keegan 2008:619).

Geographical maps were used to locate the place of Mushawasha. Locating the place of Mushawasha was two-fold. I located it using geographical maps from the 'outside' looking in and I asked the key informant to draw a map revealing the spatial location and setting of the farm after we walked around it to get a sense of the farms from 'within'. The geographical maps used were Rhodesian maps from the national archives as well as contemporary maps of Zimbabwe. The maps included those that indicated the specific location of Mushawasha in Rhodesia and a map of present day Zimbabwe. I also used a map indicating the agro ecological zones of Zimbabwe to get a better sense of the agro ecological characteristics of Mushawasha.

I took the photographs[19] which I subsequently used in the study in order to visually present what life was like on the farm. I did this to complement my own description and the interviewers of the farm and farm life.

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[19] Photographs in research can be used as a source of data (through asking participants to take pictures and then using them or photographing the participants as a researcher) or as a prompt in asking questions to prompt responses (see Keegan 2008).

Nonetheless, there is concern around ethical issues of anonymity, informed consent and "telling the visual truth" (Harper 2004:822). In this regard, I requested permission from the participants about taking the photographs and using them although I did not mention when I would take them. I had been living on one of the farms (my grandparents') and was part of the day to day activities of the farm. As we were working or engaged in whatever activity that was part of the farm, I took photographs. The hope was that taking photos without priming the participants would make it as natural as possible.

3.4.3 Secondary Literature

A significant source of information for this research was secondary literature. The research was carried out in 2012-2013 although the purchase areas were created in 1930. I had to account for the time from 1930 to 2013 when the research was done and I relied on secondary material especially because there is very little written on Mushawasha itself and purchase areas particularly after 1980. I consulted a wide range of secondary material including books, journal articles and blogs.

The secondary sources used ranged from historical to geographical texts. One particular challenged I faced was that some of the texts did not speak to each other and the way they were written indicated once again that their authors were unaware of their socio-discursiveness. Undeniably, this could have been the result of the ontological and epistemological assumptions of the different fields in which these sources were located and I found that combining the texts helped provide a holistic account of land and land related issues in Zimbabwe.

3.4.4 Interviews

The final key source of data for the study was the interview. As I have mentioned, the focus of the research was on the experiences of the families and therefore interviews were important in enabling me to gain access to the experiences of these individuals.

Interviews as a data collection tool are valuable because they yield rich insights into people's biographies, experiences, opinions, values, aspirations, attitudes and feelings. May identifies different types of interviews namely structured, semi-

structured, unstructured and group interview/focus group (2011:131)[20]. For the research I used face-to-face semi-structured interviews.

Semi-structured interviews were used for the research because they enabled me to work with a broad framework that still allowed me to explore further the unique aspects of each interview. As May (2011:134) and Neuman (2006:135) argue, semi-structured interviews have specific questions but allow for the interviewer to probe beyond the answer and thus enter into dialogue with the interviewee. Another advantage is that these interviews allow people to answer on their own terms in comparison to structured interviews but still provide comparability, which was useful for my own research (Neuman 2006:135; Barlow 2010:496).

Another advantage of the semi-structured interview is that it represents an opening up of the interview method to an understanding of how interviewees generate and deploy meaning in social life. Although all the participants were small-scale commercial farmers in Mushawasha, their experiences were different and the semi-structured interviews allowed me to explore this.

The extension of the interviewees included different genders of the same generation. This was critical for exploring the gendered dynamics of the research given that inheritance is through the male line (patrilineal). In the long run, each interview was meant to add to the analysis and this was essential as argued by May (2011: 136) because, "no lone interview however revealing, can offer more than limited insights into general social forces and processes. Only by comparing a number of interviews can the significance of any one of them be fully understood".

Another advantage of the interview as identified by Creswell is that it can be used when participants cannot be directly observed (2009:17). For my research, I was unable to observe the meaning that the land has for the participants or how it has changed over time and I had to rely on their accounts of the past. Of course relying on respondents memories in research is challenging because memory recollections are usually subjective and people rarely remember in a linear manner. According to Schacter

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[20] Barlow identifies an additional interview the 'informal interview' which refers to casual conversation that one has before the formal interview begins and is usually recorded as field notes (2010:495).

(2001 as cited by Neuman 2006:433), there are seven deadly sins of memory namely *transience* which is experiencing the slow continuous decay of memory over times, *absentmindedness* where there is focus on one thing so much so that others are forgotten; *blocking* when you know you know something but can't seem to recall it when you need to; *misattribution* which is mistaking fantasy for reality; *suggestibility* which results when one is asked questions in a way that a person distorts his or her memory and believes things happened that did not; *bias* which is reading things in a distorted way and p*ersistence* when one is unable to forget something despite trying. Although these challenges to memory have the potential to affect the accuracies of any research, the accounts of the respondents were congruent with secondary literature and enabled the study to get a sense of what happened when and how those who were affected experienced it.

Interviews have been criticized because of the interviewer attitude towards participants as vessels of information. For Barlow, interviewers are in a position to alter what they say or do, and have power to set boundaries on what and what not to say. Another cause for concern is the cross cultural difference between and interviewer and participant (2010:497).

In this study, I was aware that the viewing the participants as vessels of information was likely because of the scarcity of literature on Mushawasha. However, as a person from Mushawasha myself, (my maternal great-grandfather purchased the farm and consequently I am a fourth generation member of a farming family where I lived during the interview process), I understood that the relationship to the land was complex and could not be reduced to a few key questions which is why the interview questions were open. For example, I asked what the farm meant to them in general and they could share what it meant to them. I did not ask what it meant to them in relation to family, then as a farmer or one who used the land because that would problematically set boundaries. In this regard, I was aware of these concerns in interviewing.

3.5 Data analysis

For Creswell (2009:183), data analysis involves making sense of the text as well as image data. It involves preparing the data for analysis, conducting different analyses, making sense of the data and finally representing it and interpreting it. It should involve a continual process of reflection. For my own research, I used maps, photographs, secondary literature and I made audio recordings of the interviews as well as used

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notes from the observations that I will made during the interviews. These recordings were transcribed in Shona then translated to English. The reason for the double transcription was to ensure that I could refer back to the Shona transcription if there was a need.

These transcripts[21] were the primary tool used in the analysis. This involved an integration of the material from the interviews, archives, and the other sources mentioned. The reason for the primacy of the transcripts was that the aim of the study was to explore the relationship between people and their land and the interviews were a key way in which to understand this relationship through the respondents. However, individuals themselves are constantly rethinking and reconstructing what the world around them means and other factors can shape or at that instance became salient particularly in an interview context. I consequently relied on the others sources mentioned as a way to understand this relationship in a holistic way.

3.6 Ethical considerations

As an individual conducting research in a community where I am from, there are certain ethical issues that arise because of my position in relation to the research participants. According to Bree (2007), I can be considered in many regards as an 'insider' because I am researching a community which I am a part of (as cited by Unluer 2012:1). By implication, this means I have access to the culture I am studying, I am familiar with the respondents and the respondents are likely to open and honest with me in the research process (see Bonner and Tolhurst 2002 as cited by Unluer 2012:1).

However, the challenge with being an 'insider' is that there is the possibility that being familiar with the area can lead to the 'loss of objectivity' or that I can unconsciously make certain assumptions based on the knowledge I have (DeLyser, 2001; Hewitt-Taylor, 2002 as cited by Unluer 2012:1). The familiarity that the participants have with me could also result in them assuming that I am familiar with what they know and they might not explain as they would an 'outsider'.

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[21] After going through all the data, I identified themes that came up in the responses. However to ensure that the context in which their responses were said was not lost, I mentioned the context and what it meant for the participant. I also quoted from the participants as much as possible in both Shona and provided the English translation as an attempt to overcome the challenges of translation and certain aspects that are lost in the process.

Conducting research as an 'outsider' means that one is in no way linked to the community that they are researching (Breen 2007 as cited by Unluer 2012:1) and as such the advantage to 'outsider' research is that one is able to be neutral and objective in their research (Kerstetter 2012:100). The challenge however is that there are certain aspects of the community that an 'outsider' cannot access easily because of their unfamiliarity with the people, area or culture (Chawla-Duggan 2007; Gasman & Payton-Stewart 2006 as cited by Kerstetter 2012:100).

Nonetheless in most research, this binary between 'insider' and 'outsider' is often blurred and there is an understanding that there is a space 'in-between' where most researchers are located (Dwyer & Buckle 2009 as cited by Kerstetter 2012:101 see also Mullings 1999). As a researcher, one would occupy a different space in relation to the research, depending on the context, which in this regard, for Kerstetter, makes the 'space in-between multidimensional (2012:101).

As I conducted the interviews among the families of Mushawasha, it became evident that I was an 'insider' in the sense that I was part of the community through my grandfather and had often frequently visited the farm all of my life and had a general idea of life on the farm and issues around families and farm life. I participated in many activities such as fetching water, working in the fields especially during planting and going to the local church, so I often interacted with some of the respondents in this way. At the same time, I was an outsider because I was a young female university student living in South Africa and there were certain aspects of life in Mushawasha that I was not aware of. The challenge with the research (or any research) in this context is that regardless of the position one occupies, one has to frequently re-evaluate the roles one emphasizes and how they may affect the information shared between the researcher and participant.

In detailing the relationship between people and their land primarily through their interviews, there are ethical implications for their, anonymity and the confidentiality of the information they share. These principles are important in research given the sensitive nature of land and land related issues in the Zimbabwean context.

For that reason in accordance with ethical requirements, I obtained permission from the relevant local authorities before commencing with the research (Ministry of Local

Government, Rural and Urban Development, the Masvingo Provincial Administrator, the Masvingo District Administrator and the Local Chief) to interview people of the area given the sensitive question of land in the Zimbabwean context.

As informed by these ethical requirements, I gave out an information sheet outlining the nature of data to be collected, purpose of the research and the potential risks although these were minimal. The information sheet also had my contact details for the participants to communicate with me.

Those who decided to participate were given the information sheet and signed a consent form indicating that they were aware of the nature of the research and willing to participate. Participants were also free to indicate if they did not want to be recorded and those who agreed signed an additional consent to be recorded section. Participants were also free to withdraw from the research at any time as well as decide which questions they preferred to answer. I used pseudonyms for all the research participants and to further ensure anonymity, the specific details of their location was not mentioned such as farm numbers.

3.7 Questions of validity and reliability within a critical realist perspective

An important consideration of any research is that of representation and validity and this relates to how one links one's theoretical concepts and ideas to their empirical research. In trying to address this, the issue becomes whether or not the theoretical concepts that inform one's research as well as those emerging from the research can be set in conversation with the theoretical work done in the field, as well as broadly representative of patterns and social phenomenon (representativeness). This also entails how the concepts are defined and used consistently (validity). Critical realism as a framework is about uncovering all influential mechanisms be it in their causal or explanatory capacity in relation to the phenomenon of concern. Questions of validity and reliability are already considered and addressed in this context throughout the process amongst others of systematic abstraction and identification of 'demi-regularities'. Although there is an explanatory benefit in critical realist research, the acceptance of the fallibility of all claims made means one is always aware of the limits of certain conclusions drawn from any research.

3.8 Conclusion

In this dissertation so far, I have discussed the context of the research and located my own study in the broad field of sociology and environmental sociology (chapter two) and the paradigm of critical realism.

Using critical realism had methodological implications with regard to what can be considered as knowledge, and in this chapter, I focused on the implications which were evident in the sources of data used (archives, maps, interviews, secondary literature, photographs and interviews).

In adopting this paradigm, the first challenge that became apparent was that accounting for both idealist and materialist versions of the land would mean engaging with literature from different fields and making connections across bodies of literature that are not in conversation with each other. Into the bargain, the analytical implications of using critical realism in the study were that I would have to account for the interaction between the context (structure) and the individuals within it (agency) in a way that illustrated the dialectical relationship of the two.

To what extent, then, is this study actually critical realist? It is critical realist to the extent that it conceptually recognises the stratified nature of reality. It is critical realist to the extent that it employs (or at least attempts to do so) elements of abstraction in considering the different issues that are important where land matters are concerned, regardless of what discipline and ontological and epistemological assumptions they have. However, it is not critical realist to the extent that there were factors limiting my ability to explore in depth all the dimensions that could have been influential. (At the same time, critical realism is able to work with the knowledge that there are aspects of the world to which we do not have access). This study can be considered, then, an exploratory study into the possibilities of using critical realism in land studies.

As such an exploratory study, the project was not without limitations. At the outset, I mentioned that the environment would be a primary lens through which I was to understand the land and account for other environmentally-related factors. However, in the process of exploring the relationships between purchase area farmers and their land, the unevenness of information available, particularly after 1980s where purchase area farmers are concerned, meant that the study had to rely on literature not necessarily concerned with the location of purchase area farmers in post-indepent

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Zimbabwe, requiring me to make links and connnections across some gaps. In addition to this, the need to limit the scope of the study also meant that some important dimensions or lenses through which to consider the relationship of the former purchase area farmers to their land fell by the wayside. The most important of these are probably linked to the role of the state and the location of purchase area farmers in the Zimbabwean political economy from the early 1980s to the present. Environmental reports and literature on climate change was somewhat sparse and also not specifically about Mushawasha. Given my own background as a social science researcher, I was also limited in my ability to generate my own data when it came to physical measurements, such as soil properties. I nevertheless remain convinced of the importance of trying to integrate these perspectives. As a result, the study was not completely balanced between the objectivist and subjectivist dimensions of the environment that I had set out to achieve.

3.9 Structure of remainder of the dissertation

The following chapter, Chapter four, is largely historical and traces the histories of purchase area farmers in Rhodesia and then Zimbabwe. Chapter five continues with an exploration of the broader context related to the land question in Zimbabwe, and the continent more generally. This is tackled thematically because of the sparse literature on purchase area farmers and ironically the voluminous work on land reform in Zimbabwe. The purpose of this chapter is to engage with contemporary ways of understanding the land question in Zimbabwe. The concluding chapter, Chapter six, deals with the relationship between families, farmers and different generations and their land in Mushawasha.

Chapter four: Purchase area /small-scale commercial farmers: historical, social and political background

4.1 The African land question

Thinking of Africa, as a homogenous continent is problematic because it has different regions with unique social, political, economic, ethnic and historical characteristics. However, it is possible to talk about the 'African' land question because of the similar and ongoing issues that are shared by the different regions of the continent. In her article exploring the land question in Africa, Berry argues in this context, that the African land question is a complex one and she explores this complexity through the consideration of issues of land scarcity versus land stability in light of other changes taking place on the continent (2002:639). Her article is written just after the 2000 land reform programme in Zimbabwe and is meant to situate the African land question in the broader African context. Berry considers the diversity of African land struggles that have taken place in different parts of the continent. Citing examples from Senegal, Ghana, and Zimbabwe, Berry illustrates the complexity of competing claims and struggles over land in an environment where there are different interpretations of history.

Berry argues that increased competition and contestations over land are the result of rapid population growth, environmental degradation and slow rates of economic development. These developments have meant that many people have become reliant on small scale farming, livestock raising and this has consequently "transformed Africa from a continent of land abundance in the first half of the 20th century to one of land scarcity by its end" (2002:639).

Although such demand for land varies across contexts for example more demand for urban land in comparison to rural land, scarcity of land is not the only reason behind the increased demand for it. For Berry, other factors namely environmental, epidemiological, political, and economic difficulties contribute to the sense that life is full of upheavals on the African continent with land seeming to be the only stable or relatively unaffected thing (2002:639).

In this context, access to the land is important and also serves as a way to control labour. Berry argues that this ensures that different individuals compete over land and

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in this milieu, there are constant questions around who should get access to land, on what terms and who should decide and on what basis (Berry 2002:639).

Often in these debates, questions on the role of the past are also raised and Berry subsequently reviews key historical periods in the land question in Africa, which had far reaching economic and political effects on land relations on the continent. She identifies four key periods namely from 1890 to 1930 in which 'vacant' land was conquered, from 1945 to 1960 in which land relations shifted from managed development to decolonisation, from 1960 to 1980 which was a period of great expectations and finally the period of imperialism without government which was characterised by land grabbing from 1980 (Berry 2002:640).

As Berry shows, the period of conquering vacant land from 1890 to 1930 was when the military and administrative officers who came to Africa declared 'vacant' land to be under European colonial rule by 'right of conquest'. Of course, this land was not actually vacant but sometimes left fallow in accordance with agricultural practices of Africans at the time. It was this 'vacant' land that was sold to other Europeans or private enterprises for development. As the colonial state developed more control, they imposed a series of measures that ensured that land was privately owned by Europeans and communally owned by Africans on the basis of what they understood to be 'African traditional law'. In some instances, land was clearly set-aside for different groups (African, Europeans) and reserves were created were Africans were to settle). Since the colonial states also needed labour to ensure they were efficient administratively, the state employed some Africans to assist. These Africans were employed as clerks, policemen amongst others and they were employed through including the 'traditional leadership' into the colonial state (Berry 2002:641, 2).

Establishing and administrating a colonial state was nonetheless not without contradictions because of the need to incorporate some Africans to address the labour shortages but also due to the ever-changing nature of so-called traditional customs. However, changes brought about by colonialism fundamentally altered African associations with the land. As Berry states:

> "…colonial regimes reshaped Africans' relations to the land in at least three ways: through physical displacement, demarcation of territorial and social boundaries, and the invention or reinterpretation of rules governing land access, transfer and use." (2002:643)

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This was evident when Africans were moved to reserves, when there were attempts to ban shifting cultivation and pastoralism in the name of disease control as well as the exiling of leaders who were deemed as possibly problematic to colonial rule (Moore & Vaughan 1994; Berry 1993; Hodgson 2001 as cited by Berry 2002:643). Colonial officials also redefined chiefly and territorial authority in order to clearly distinguish places of colonial or chiefly control. For Berry, this was problematical because some partitions did not coincide with previous ethnic and social boundaries and this made the results open to contestation (2002:645). This conflict in some countries unfortunately continues to this day

Berry identifies the second period from 1945 to 1960 as managed development to decolonisation (2002). It is characterised by a shift in policy from regulation of general African/European relations to land to regulation of exact African use of the land and its resources. This Cooper argues, was in part as the result of the strike by Zambian copper workers who made the colonial state realise that African workers were similar to European workers in their demands and needs although the colonial state was not of a mind to extend similar benefits enjoyed by European labourers to African workers (1996 as cited by Berry 2002:646). In the rural areas on the other hand, erosion and degradation were a concern and there were measures put in place to ensure the colonial government could be involved in conservation and development in African areas (Berry 2002:646). These measures were enacted through schemes such as compulsory dipping, hill terracing that were put in place (Berry 2002:647).

Nevertheless, these attempts to improve African agriculture produced contradictory ideas of what an African was. As Berry states:

> "On one hand, officials began to re-imagine African cultivators as "economic men"-industrious, forward-looking individuals who, with a little encouragement, would rapidly evolve into modern commercial farmers. Agricultural officers organized technical demonstrations, small loans for the purchase of ploughs and stock carts, and prizes for exceptional vegetables or livestock, and lobbied for better incentives such as higher prices for better quality produce. Officials also began to rethink the question of "native lands." Instead of simply relegating Africans to tribal reserves, colonial regimes began to experiment with schemes in which specific plots of land were assigned to individual farmers, usually male household heads. Resettlement schemes, created to relieve overcrowding or open new areas for European

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settlement, became sites for the regulation of African farming and livestock management" (2002:647).

As the result of this rethinking, some Africans for example in Southern Rhodesia who were displaced were moved and given ten acre plots in Tribal Trust Lands in which they were to farm as the colonial state set out. This also happened in other states and the result was colonial officials began to think not of African and European (and the inherent assumptions of what they were like) but "progressive" and "traditional" African farmers (Berry 2002:647).

At the same time, the colonial state officials held on to some ideas on the nature of Africans:

> "…colonial regimes continued to work with older ideas of African societies as "closed, corporate, consensual communities" (Ranger 1983:249 cited by Berry 2002:647), whose internal cohesiveness and shared traditions automatically fostered collective endeavour. Rural development and rural governance entailed a dual strategy of modernization and control. Technical demonstrations and improved economic incentives for "progressive farmers" went hand-in-hand with increased state regulation of rural economic life" (Berry 2002:647).

This meant that measures such as forced de-stocking to address over grazing continued and any opposition was regarded as un-traditional (Hodgson 2001; Berry 1993 as cited). The contradiction then was that Africans were on one hand expected to be "like economic men and tribesmen at the same time: to build a modem, commercial agrarian order on the foundations of tribal solidarity" (Berry 2002:647).

The end of colonial rule then left Africans with this contradiction between being independent and progressive and yet still rooted in community and chiefly rule as well as the problems of defining citizenship, property and legitimate rule (Berry 2002:648)[22].

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[22] The contradictions are also evident in contemporary debates on land and land reform in Southern Africa and the continent as a whole. Of course the role of history on competing understandings cannot be overstated for other factors have come to drive these debates especially relating to overall land policy as the chapter will come to show.

For Berry, the third period from 1960 to 1980 was one of great expectation, of managed development and invented traditions. In this period, the leaders of newly independent African states wanted to enable economic development, as was the general expectation (2002:1980). Despite the improving infrastructure which was clearly indicative of development, the ideological contradictions inherited from the colonial state persisted as evidenced by leaders' attempts to be both modern and traditional. As Berry illustrates, some leaders tried to resolve this contradiction by rendering the 'traditional authorities' powerless as Kwame Nkrumah did in Ghana (Rathbone 2000 as cited by Berry 2002:649) or the traditional authorities themselves were the ones in power such as the monarchy of Swaziland. Other leaders such as then Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere tried to combine the two (development and science as well as communal values) (Nyerere 1968:12 as cited by Berry 2002:649) and some even portrayed themselves as traditional leaders of the country (Mbaya 1993; Schatzberg 1988 as cited by Berry 2002:649). Invented traditions for Berry therefore continued from the colonial state as Africans tried to make sense of themselves in a new postcolonial world (2002:649).

In the face of fierce political competition, Berry argues that more African leaders resorted to totalitarian rule in order to stay in power. Other countries had military coups; civil war but development remained the prerogative. The result was that many states were in economic crisis by the 1980s (2002:650). When it became apparent that the drive for development was clearly unsustainable given the context of insecure markets and increased corruption, Berry argues that finding stability became essential and one source of stability was land. Subsequently, those in power increasingly accumulated land since land was "…physically immobile and economically flexible and could serve as a source of income, a store of value, and a base from which to build or reaffirm social connections" (Mackenzie 1992, 1993 as cited by Berry 2002:651). This in turn had the effect of prompting moves to acquire land by the general population.

After 1980 in the final period termed *"Imperialism without Government? Market Liberalization and Land 'Grabbing'"*, the continued economic challenges faced by many African states forced them to accept conditions set by the International Monetary Fund, World Bank and other donors as part of loan agreements. These conditions were set to improve growth through reducing state expenditure and allowing a free market. For Berry the result was declining wages, reduced state support and general decline in conditions. African debt continued to rise as well as poverty and in the end, those who offered the loans set conditions that the African states had to accept (2002:652).

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In the 1990s, Africans (those in power as well as general citizens) continued to attempt to acquire or at least have access to the land. Conflict over land argues Berry, has therefore continued and some disputes have even been over inheritance. According to Berry, in the 20th century, all of the challenges outlined above meant that the need to ensure 'material security' for Africans was important then more than ever and people from all socio-economic backgrounds are part of this 'land grabbing' (2000:654).

With this background, it is evident that the land question in Africa can be thought through in terms of scarcity on one hand, stability in the face of non-scarcity related challenges such as political conflict on the other, and as important with regard to enabling control over resources particularly labour. However, as the discussion of Berry (2002) has shown, a further complication in this debate is that the experience of colonialism reshaped physical boundaries as well as introduced competing ideas of tradition, ownership, land use and competing versions of history and these factors ensure that the land question remains ongoing.

With this background the aim of this chapter is to answer four questions relating to the specific families that were part of the research. These are: who are the purchase area farmers and their descendants? How did they come to be landowners in colonial Zimbabwe? What was the relationship between them and the state and how did it evolve over time? To answer these questions, I will begin by tracing the history of Zimbabwe in general with regard to land and the colonial government as well as highlight under what conditions these land owners came to own land. I will proceed to focus on these land owners and their relations with the state over time and finally deal with who they were and detail what was required of them in order for them to be able to own the land. The chapter will conclude by reflecting on the importance of this group of landowners and events in post-independent Zimbabwe that had an impact on land and land relations.

In considering these questions, given the broad historical context provided by Berry (2002), a good starting point would be land ownership in Zimbabwe at the moment of independence in 1980. At this point in time, agriculture was divided between two sub sectors: 5 600 large-scale commercial farms and 850 000 communal (small holder) farms. Zimbabwe in this regard, had a dual agricultural structure, which was the result of an extended process of land expropriation and unequal access to land (Rukuni 2006:31). It is interesting to note that there was a third category of landowners who

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owned land that they purchased as part of purchase areas. In 1980 they stood at 8 500 owning 1.4 million hectares[23] but because of their small numbers (they were statistically insignificant in relation to population of Zimbabwe) and that they owned a small proportion of the land, they are mostly overlooked when land apportionment is considered in Zimbabwe. It is this group of landowners (purchase area farming families), that I am interested in.

Geographically, Zimbabwe, (approximately 32.2 million hectares) has five natural ecological zones[24] with zones 1, 2 and 3 (12.6 million hectares) having the most favourable conditions for agriculture, namely high rainfall and rich soil properties amongst others. Regions 4 and 5 (19.6 million hectares) have low rainfall, scarce vegetation and low fertility soils (Utete as cited by Musemwa & Mushunje 2011:4825).

During the process of colonisation and the succeeding legislative paradigms, as the discussion below will demonstrate, Africans were moved to zones 4 and 5, although some pockets of land characteristic of zones 1, 2 and 3 that were located in mostly African areas were sold to Africans as part of the African Purchase Areas. 61% of these purchase areas were located in low-rainfall areas, 21% in medium rainfall areas and only 18% in high rainfall areas[25]. This history of land in Zimbabwe, in brief, similar to the general African account provided by Berry (2002) is an account of inequitable land distribution, as well as government attempts to address the problem through land reform after independence. Moyo (1986 as cited by Musemwa & Mushunje 2011) argues that past land policies were a major cause of insecurity, landless citizens and poverty in Zimbabwe, which is why, land reform was and still is of importance. The discussion now turns to tracing these past land policies.

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[23] According to Gundani 2003 as cited by Musemwa & Mushunje 2011:4827. Other scholars have a slightly higher figure such as Sachikonye (2003) who estimates that they stood at 8 500 owning 1.4 million acres. What is clear is that they were approximately +_ 8000 definitely owning 1.4 million hectares

[24] See Appendix 1 for map of regions

[25] According to the "Schedule of Native Purchase Areas in Various Rainfall Belts", n.d. as quoted by Shutt 1997

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4.2 Tracing the history of land ownership in Zimbabwe: 1890-2000

In 1890, colonialists moved to Southern Rhodesia[26] (Zimbabwe before independence) in the anticipation of the minerals they were to find as they had done in the then Rand (now South Africa) (Musemwa & Mushunje 2011:4825). The pioneer column occupied part of the country in 1890 and the Ndebele state was conquered in 1893. Shortly after, Rhodes British South Africa Company (BSAC) was given the role of administering the colony on behalf of the British government (Worby 2001:480; Weinrich 1975:17). When Southern Rhodesia was found not to have minerals, there was a shift in interest towards agriculture (the land) and herds of cattle that the African population owned (Moyo as cited by Musemwa & Mushunje 2011; Pollak 1975:263). Subsequently, large tracts of and were seized by the BSAC or given to members of the pioneer column (Worby 2001:480).

A series of measures were also taken that eventually led to the massive expropriation of land from the Africans. These included the 1888 Rudd Concession that granted mineral rights to the settlers by then Ndebele king Lobengula (Mukanya 1991 as cited by Musemwa & Mushunje 2011:4825), the 1898 Native Reserve Order in Council, which created areas where Africans would live and these areas would later become known as Native reserves (Gundani 2002 as cited by Musemwa & Mushunje 2011:4825).

These first reserves were Gwaii and Shangani[27] (and were meant for the Ndebele) (Shutt 1995:22) at the time, an estimated one sixth of the total farming area was in the control of the settler population. It was only after the first uprising later referred to as the first Chimurenga (1896-1897) that reserves for Shona people were also established, and over time, more Africans were moved to reserves as a result of (among other reasons) rising rent on European held land, and Native Commissioners

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[26] Zimbabwe before independence was referred to as Southern-Rhodesia then Zimbabwe-Rhodesia and eventually Zimbabwe at independence. In this thesis, I will use Rhodesia to refer to Zimbabwe before independence and Zimbabwe after independence.

[27] According to Weinrich (1975) the Gwaai and Shangani reserves covered an area of approximately two million hectares which was mostly dry and the Ndebele refused to settle there.

(NCs) and government officials who pushed Africans to vacate land set aside for Europeans.

This first Chimurenga was an uprising that occurred during 1896-1897. Dawson (2011:144)[28] argues that it was series of struggles over land, cattle and taxes that occurred in Matebeleland and then Mashonaland. She argues that it was far from a unified movement, but rather a series of struggles that were influenced by similar issues. Gundani, 2002 on the other hand is more emotive in describing the first Chimurenga/Imfazwe as a culmination of the continued violation of human rights and the dignity of local people and an attempt to recover land lost and dignity (as cited by Musemwa & Mushunje 2011:4826). What is clear, in spite of the debate on the precise nature of the first Chimurenga, is that there were early attempts to resist changes introduced to the lives of Africans by settlers and to establish some degree of independence from these settlers.

Despite this effort, the settler population increased and Africans had to vacate their land to make way for them. In 1914, about 750 000 Africans occupied 24 million acres of land whilst 28 000 settlers owned 22 million acres of the best farming land (Gundani 2002 as cited by Musemwa & Mushunje 2011:4826). There was increasingly an attempt to ensure that settlers obtained more land and according to Powys-Jones there was a motion in 1921 to prevent natives[29] (Africans) from purchasing land anywhere (1955:21)[30].

Company rule ended in 1923 and a government of Responsible Authority was established. This meant Southern Rhodesia was a self-governing colony (Europeans/settlers were the ones with political rights) subject to the British government (Powys-Jones 1955:20; Rukuni 2006:38; Worby 2001:481). In this period, Africans were still permitted to purchase land anywhere, but Europeans could not do

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28 Dawson, in this paper, explores the nature of the first Chimurenga as well as the debates in academia on the different role players and how influential they were. She is in conversation with numerous authors including Ranger (1967), Isaacman (1977) and Feierman (1999) who deal with the First Chimurenga as well as the different actors in the Chimurenga.

29 During the colonial period Africans were referred to as Natives but for the purposes of this research, they will be referred to as Africans.

30 All these events are characteristic of Berry's (2002) period of 'conquering vacant land' discussed earlier

so in African areas. Nevertheless, by 1925 only 45 000 acres were owned in freehold by Africans. Notwithstanding this, there was a move to restrict this sale and purchase of land by Africans (Pollak 1975:24).

During this same period, another major cause for concern was a group of farmers in the reserves who were tilling increasing acres of land at the expense of others and creating land shortages. These "reserve entrepreneurs" had to be accommodated in some way (Shutt 1997:558).

According to Pollak, white settlers were considering their future in Rhodesia and the South African option of physical separation seemed very attractive (1975:264). There was, in addition, a parallel development of an official understanding of African land tenure systems based on individual ownership. It was recognised that African land tenure was complex and not just individual or communal (Shutt 1995:22). The Chief Native Commissioner of the time, Herbert J Taylor, argued for land to be set aside for communal tenure in the reserves as well as for "'detribalised' and 'progressive' rural Africans"[31]. The need to address the problem of 'reserve entrepreneurs' as well as the possibility of a 'South African Option' resulted in the setting up of the Carter Commission in 1925.

The terms of reference for this commission were to explore the question of selling land specifically for Africans and Europeans where they could purchase it, secondly, if it was found to be feasible and convenient, the commission had to state how it would be done.

An emerging issue during the investigation of the Commission was the concern expressed by the settlers with regard to Africans being able to purchase land anywhere. Consequently, the recommendations of the Commission included setting aside special areas located next to reserves for 'reserve entrepreneurs', detribalised Africans' and 'progressive rural Africans so those in communal areas could learn from their neighbours. The Native Land Board was also formed and its purpose was to manage the administration of the purchase areas.

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[31] Chief Native Commissioner Annual Report 1919, p2; 1920 as quoted by Pollak 1975:264

The outcome of the Carter Commission was the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 (LAP 1930 hereafter). Provisions of this Act stipulated that Southern Rhodesian land (aside from Native reserves set aside in the constitution) was to be divided into native areas, European areas, unassigned, undetermined and forest areas[32] (Powys-Jones 1955:21).

A European area was an area in which only Europeans (white Rhodesians as they were called before 1980) could acquire and reside on the land. Africans were merely allowed if needed as labourers or traders for other Africans. Similarly, native purchase areas were areas where only Africans could acquire or have interest in land. Africans could not acquire land anywhere else. Europeans could only enter native purchase areas for the benefit of Africans as traders or missionaries. The unassigned area was the "spare land" to be allocated as need arose whilst undetermined land was land owned by Europeans but could be disposed to Africans if owners desired (Powys-Jones 1955:21).

Given the concerns that led to the appointment of the Carter Commission, and the resulting LAP 1930, it is argued that purchase areas were created for *political rather than economic* reasons according to Shutt (1997:559). Purchase areas were borne out of the need to address Africans who wanted private property (Shutt 1997:558). For Powys-Jones, moreover, the British South Africa Company (BSAC) always realised the need to set aside land for Africans especially in the context of 'reserve entrepreneurs' (1955:20). Purchase areas therefore were not created primarily to contribute to food production and this helps explain the lack of support from the state that will be detailed later on in this discussion.

In terms of land proportions set aside by the 1930 LAP, 51% was reserved for white settlers, 30% for African reserves and the rest was for commercial companies and the colonial government (Palmer 1997 as cited by Musemwa & Mushunje 2011:4826). Africans were pushed to the arid areas (region 4 and 5) and there was inadequate food which forced them (Africans) to look for work in mines and in commercial farms.

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[32] According to Worby, The Act created African Purchase Areas adjacent to the reserves with the objective of absorbing the demands of Africans who aspired to own land without challenging favourable access by whites to as yet unalienated land along the main line of rail. (2001:481)

Despite LAP 1930, a number of Africans continued to live in 'white areas'. The 1948 Danziger Committee reviewed the situation and estimated that 300 000 Africans continued to live in white areas. The government at the time set up special native areas in addition to the reserve areas as they continued to evict Africans in an effort to ensure more Africans vacated 'white' land[33]. The Land Settlement Board (1944) helped these efforts by reserving land for ex-service men of World War Two (WW2) and this threatened African land ownership (Rukuni 2006:35).

Land use and ownership was further restricted through legislation such as the Maize Control Act which limited marketing outlets for black farmers and the Cattle Levy Act which reduced the numbers of cattle owned by black farmers. The result was the worsening of the condition of Africans.

After WW2, more European immigrants arrived and the consequence was stricter land restrictions and removals for Africans. The 1945 Land Acquisition Scheme was established to facilitate the handing out of farms to WW2 veterans. The 1951 amendment, also known as the Land Husbandry Act, gave settler farmers the right to use forced labour[34]. There were more restrictions on land use such as enforced destocking and mandatory conservation and cropping practices and African families could only keep 5 herds per family and own 8 acres of land. In the 1950s additional land areas were added to the LAP 1930, which was classified as special natives/communal areas. The special native area was intended for communal occupation in the same way as the native reserves (Powys-Jones 1955:21; Rukuni 2006:35).

The 1950s were the period in which the number of white farms in Southern Rhodesia peaked. Government shifted policy from settling whites to removing Africans from white areas and enforcing freehold tenure through the Native Land Husbandry Act of 1951. The introduction of tax that was payable in cash only made it even harder for Africans trying to keep their land.

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[33] The author refers to this group as blacks but for the purposes of this research, I will refer to them as Africans. This is the same group that Powys-Jones refers to as 'natives'.

[34] There is a book written on this phenomenon entitled *Chibaro* (1976) by Charles van Onselen.

An additional legislative amendment that contributed to the deteriorating conditions of Africans was the 1961 amendment of the Land Apportionment Act of 1930. This act introduced more restrictions and institutionalised racial segregation. As a result, in 1965, white Rhodesians (Zimbabwe before independence in 1980) had control of the majority of fertile land. White large-scale commercial farmers occupied 45% of all agricultural land, 75% of which was found in the most agriculturally productive areas (Show 2003 as cited by Musemwa & Mushunje 2011:4286). In 1969 the Land Tenure Act facilitated further removals in order to make way for white settlers.

These events (amongst others) contributed to a second uprising known as the second Chimurenga, which was from July 1964 to the end of 1979 (Utete 2003 as cited by Musemwa & Mushunje 2011:4827). The promise of the struggle was land and universal suffrage and this ensured that there was overwhelming support from Africans (Utete 2003 as cited by Musemwa & Mushunje 2011:4827). With the dawn of 18 April 1980, Zimbabwe was independent with 6 000 whites owning 15.5 million hectares, 8 500 small scale black farmers owning 1.4 million hectares and 4.5 million communal farmers holding 16.4 million hectares (Gundani 2003 as cited by Musemwa & Mushunje 2011:4827).

Once in power, the government of Zimbabwe initiated land reform and this was divided into two phases. These are phase 1 from 1980 to 1998 also referred to as Land Reform and Resettlement Programme (Phase 1) (LRRP 1) in which 71 000 families were resettled, the 2nd phase (Land Reform and Resettlement Programme (Phase 2): LRRP 2) launched September 1998 to June 2000 whose failure to launch resulted in the implementation of the Fast Track resettlement or Accelerated Land Reform and Resettlement Implementation Plan in July 2000 or more commonly 'farm invasions'. The Fast Track resettlement transferred approximately 11 million hectares transferred to about 300 000 families[35].

4.3 Purchase area farmers and the colonial government

The prior discussion has illustrated the events that eventually led to the dual-agrarian system that was evident in 1980 when Zimbabwe became independent. In this discussion, I identified key moments that would later shape the land system in

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[35] According to the estimates of the government of Zimbabwe as quoted by Sachikonye (2003)

Zimbabwe. Four key periods (in relation to purchase area farmers) that I identified as important are (1) the arrival of the settlers and the creation of reserves, (2) the 1930 Land Apportionment Act and its creation of purchase areas (as well as its implications for land ownership in Zimbabwe in general), (3) the period of colonial rule from 1930 to 1964 and the legislation passed that affected the purchase areas and finally, (4) the second Chimurenga to independence.

Although the discussion might have implied that the relations between the colonial state and purchase area farmers specifically and Africans more generally were enacted through passing legislation and enforcing it, this was not the case. As Alexander (2006:7) states, "The 'modes of domination' central to Rhodesian rule, and which left such an influential legacy for independent Zimbabwe, were contradictory and often unsuccessful". The state was not an all-powerful, homogenous unit; it had tensions within it as well as limitations. The purchase farmers themselves were not a docile group and they continually contested the state's treatment of them. The discussion therefore turns to the third and fourth key periods that I identified earlier, namely from the inception of the purchase areas to independence as a way to answer the question of the relationship between the colonial state and the purchase farmers and to illustrate the contestations between the two. Pollak's (1975) account of purchase farmer/colonial government interaction in which he identifies three key periods is useful at this juncture.

For Pollak, the political economy of Rhodesia was plagued by three interdependent problems, which restrained the free expression, and aspirations of the great majority of its people namely white settler domination, an oppressive dual economy and land policy[36] (1975:263). He describes Rhodesia as characterised by rural African landholding and agricultural productivity that was either communal at the subsistence level or based on individual freehold tenure, which for him ensures greater margins of profit and an orientation towards productivity. The population of Rhodesia at the time is described as mostly engaged in subsistence farming in Tribal Trust Lands (formerly known as Native Reserves). Only 8 500 farmers occupying 2 250 000 million acres in 86 scattered African Purchase Areas had freehold tenure. These purchase farmers later on played a disproportionately large role in articulating rural problems through the

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[36] The article by Pollak was written in 1975, when the future of Rhodesia was still unclear but when there was a clear attempt to change the state of affairs.

African Farmers Union, argues Pollak, as the ensuing discussion will illustrate (1975:263).

With the advent of settlement in purchase areas, one of most viable purchase areas (in terms of agro ecological characteristics such as rainfall and soil fertility) of Marirangwe was fully taken up by 1936. These farmers proceeded to establish a farmer's association that presented their problems to the government. The farmers' association established other branches in other purchase areas and a unified famers' union was eventually founded in 1938 in Salisbury (now Harare) by a group of farmers and became known as the Southern Rhodesian Native Farmers Union (SRNF) (Shutt 1995:110). This Farmers' Union was only open to farmers of the purchase areas and shunned identification with the rest of the African population. Nevertheless, from the late 1960s, it represented the Tribal Trust Lands (formerly known as reserves (Pollak 1975:266).

For Pollak therefore, the Union's relations with the Rhodesian government provides an index of the government's attitude towards African rural development, towards the relationship between black and white communities in Rhodesia and towards Rhodesia's place within its Southern African geographical setting (Pollak 1975:266). He identifies three significant periods of interaction namely (1) from 1930 to the end of WW2, which was characterised by government indifference to the new land-owning class it had created, (2) a second period from 1945 to 1963 of partnership and the Central African Federation and (3) the final period from 1963 to independence which witnessed the rise of the Rhodesian front and the resurgence of separate development strategies

Government Indifference 1930-45

As mentioned earlier, Marirangwe one of the earlier established purchase area founded its own farmers' association. This Marirangwe Native Farmers Association became well established and its members created a small cooperative grinding mill, built classrooms and held regular educational meetings. It created branches in other areas in Mashonaland and Matebeleland and the first Rhodesian Bantu Congress was held in Salisbury in 1938 in May. Government officials were invited and resolutions were adopted for the improvement of infrastructure (roads, bridges, water), minimum holdings of 200 acres, government supported non-denominational schools,

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government established markets and price setting. The state agreed to consider these resolutions but nothing happened and they were repeated at a 1939 congress.

For Pollak, the Ministry of Native Affairs viewed rural Africans as irresponsible and an undifferentiated mass. They kept the title deeds to the land in the Registry and provided the farmer with a duplicate copy. To educate these 'irresponsible' Africans, demonstrators, plot holders and land officers provided agricultural education. However, these individuals all behaved as if they were policemen and the effect was they were viewed with suspicion and as a threat to secure tenure of the purchase area farmers. With regard to the agricultural market, any competition from African farmers was eliminated and despite the growing waiting list and calls for Africans to be trained and used as surveyors, the Rhodesian government continued to ignore purchase areas (Pollak 1975:267).

By the 1940s, many purchase farmers had been on their farms for over a decade and after the initial difficutlies of trying to establish these farms, realising profit became a primary concern. However, the market remained discriminatory from the 1930s and cattle had to be sold regardless of the prevailing market price according to a weight and grade system. Farmers in this regard, had an additional difficulty in finding labour, which at the time, was directed to European farms by the Native Labour Supply Commission (Pollak 1975:268). This period then, in summary, was one characterised by an effort on the part of purchase farmers to secure benefits that the European farmers enjoyed, however, the government of the time did not attempt to address any of their grievances and they continued without title deeds. Purchase areas therefore continued to be non-profitable (Pollak 1975:269).

Period of Cooperation 1945-63

The second period of Purchase farmer and Rhodesian government interaction dating from 1945 to 1963 is described as one of co-operation (Pollak 1975:269). The government of the day, led by then Prime Minister Huggins adopted a development programme that met several of the (African Farmers Union) AFU's requests. During that time, it was evident that the rural areas were chaotic, and the purchase farmers were unable to accumulate capital (for possible use in development) as a result of a market that was underpinned by discrimination to them.

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Another reason for this shift in policy was that Huggins was interested in the amalgamation of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Southern Rhodesia would be the financial, commercial and administrative centre of this amalgamation. For this to be acceptable in London, Pollak states that the different capitals of these countries had to appear to be appeasing and cognisant of the problems of Africans and try to assist them (1975:269). The consequence of this was the Native Production and Marketing Development Act of 1949 and the Native Husbandry Act of 1951. Despite these seemingly pro-African farmer policies, the Farmers Unions remained suspicious.

A Development fund was created and it was meant to assist with development in the African areas through levying 10% of African produce and stock sales, parliamentary grants and dipping fees. However without differentiation between purchase areas and communal reserves, the purchase areas ended up subsidising the communal areas and this was a source of contention. Another result of the Husbandry Act was that there was more surveillance by the state of farming practices in order to ensure land conservation (Pollak 1975:270).

In spite of these challenges, a number of Africans continued to apply to purchase land in the purchase areas and the result was a backlog of applicants that stood at 4 110 in 1952[37]. The state responded by increasing the qualifications required to purchase land in 1953 and these included training to 'Master Farmer' certificate level (Pollak 1975:270).

These new measures were unable to decrease the backlog and by 1955, the backlog was over 5000[38]. The state response again was to further increase the requirements and these were higher cash assets required of the applicant, the general character of the applicant, time in farming, standard of farming previously practised and age of the applicant (Pollak 1975:270).

The Rhodesian government did nevertheless make concessions to the demands of the Farmers' Union. With the formation of the federation in 1953, African agriculture was under the control of the territorial government. The state of Southern Rhodesia

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[37] Chief Native Commissioner Annual Report, 1952, pp.9, 36 as quoted by Pollak 1975:270

[38] Chief Native Commissioner Annual Report, 1955, p.9 as quoted by Pollak 1975:270

recognised the challenges of the purchase areas and increasingly offered support through agencies and service provision. In addition, there was differentiation between purchase areas and communal areas and this addressed the problems faced initially in implementing the Development Fund (Pollak 1975:270). However, the issue of title deeds remained a problem. In 1951, the Land Board accepted the need for the issuing of original title deeds and proceeded to allow one African representative from the AFU to sit on the board.

Other changes were introduced that addressed the grievances raised by the farmers of the purchase areas. These included the change to marketing law that equalised African and European farmers and ranchers, the modification of the terms of reference of Demonstrators and Land Development Officers. African farmers in 1957 were extended advisory services and they could access small loans (Pollak 1975:271).

The AFU and the Southern Rhodesian government continued to partner and this was to the benefit of the purchase area farmers. This partnership continued from strength to strength and they eventually partnered with their European equivalent, the Rhodesian National Farmers Union. In the reserves during this period, (1956), there was a rise in nationalist policies and the government as well as the AFU opposed nationalist politics (Pollak 1975:272).

1960 nonetheless, saw a shift in the policy of the AFU. It increasingly became nationalist and supported nationalist politics of the reserves (those who were mobilising for independence from the colonial state). This new direction included calls for the abolishment of the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 because the then rate of settlement was slow. The state warned the AFU not to be too nationalist but surprisingly the prime minister of the time, Whitehead supported the repeal of the Land Apportionment Act in 1961. The result was the end of the rule of the United Federal Party and Whitehead. This paved the way for the Rhodesian Front (Pollak 1975:274).

Third and Final Phase: Reversal of Benefits

The third period of Purchase Area Farmers and Rhodesian government interaction was one that reversed a number of gains made by purchase farmers during the period of 'partnership'. The Rhodesian Front abolished the levies in the purchase areas that were used for development. After several years of lobbying, the government then

decided to re-consider the levy. The approved rate was very low and the result was the AFU could not raise enough funds for development (Pollak 1975:275).

The general climate of Rhodesia according to Pollak was one that was increasingly polarised racially and politically (1975:275). This forced the AFU to rethink its ideology in the event that the government changed. Another factor was the lack of differentiation between purchase farmers and communal farmers that had taken root in government again. The AFU began in 1966 to advocate for the reserves, which were being referred to as Tribal Trust Lands (Pollak 1975:275).

The AFU began to align itself with the communal farmers whilst the state was increasingly removing any benefits the purchase farmers had. There were more evictions, the purchase areas were completely under the ministry of internal affairs and there was no government support in anyway. Pollak of course wrote in 1975 and concludes the paper by considering the way forward and the possible role of purchase farmers either as outside of the tradition of communal tenure or as a source of leaders in the event that the African majority (1975:277).

What we know is that in 1968, the LAP of 1930 was renamed the Land Tenure Act (No 55 of 1969) and in March 1977, the Act was amended to merge the European area and African Purchase Land into a general area without racial differentiation. This for Cheater (1984) indeed confirmed the separation of this freehold general area from the then Tribal Trust Land (now Communal Land formerly known as Reserves).

In addition, Zimbabwe became independent in 1980 and the government initiated land reform in the aforementioned phases namely phase 1 from 1980 to 1998 in which 71 000 families were resettled, the 2nd phase launched September 1998 to June 2000 in which 4697 families were resettled and the 3rd phase known as the Fast Track resettlement or 'farm invasions'. This will be discussed after I explore in detail the making of purchase area farmers.

4.4 The making of purchase area farmers: owning land in a purchase area

In the discussion above, I have answered some of the questions that I posed at the beginning of the chapter. I traced the history of Zimbabwe and identified four key periods namely (1) the arrival of the settlers and the creation of reserves, (2) the 1930 Land Apportionment Act and its creation of purchase areas (as well as its implications

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for land ownership in Zimbabwe in general), (3) the period of colonial rule from 1930 to 1964 including the legislation passed that affected the purchase areas and finally, (4) the second Chimurenga to independence. Within the last two key periods, I discussed the three key ruptures according to Pollak (1975) that he identifies as important particularly in relation to the purchase farmers and the colonial government. In this final section, I now turn to the question of who these farmers were (are).

With regard to individual ownership, a diverse group of people applied to purchase farms. Early settlers in purchase areas were a number of non-Rhodesian Africans such as the Mfengu (Fingo), Xhosa and Sotho as well as elite groups such as teachers, religious ministers, chief's families, successful businessmen, retired policemen and court messenger-interpreters (Pollak 1975:265). Other applicants were Rhodesian Africans who had lost land during the process of reapportionment, which was the result of the 1930 act. Some were town-based workers, reserve entrepreneurs, clergy and mission based farmers (Shutt 1997:562).

Those who purchased farms were not under chief control or headman control and resultantly some applicants purchased farms as a result of but not only the need to escape 'tribal control'. Shutt argues that purchase areas were bound with middle class development in urban areas and were part of growing class divisions among Africans. She states that they were the rural equivalent of urban middle-class and enjoyed (as a result of their ownership of the land), all those material requirements of their class denied them in urban areas (1995:97).

Africans therefore purchased land for diverse reasons including more secure tenure, space (in comparison to reserves) and to accumulate wealth (Shutt 1997:564). For Shutt, purchase areas then became the rural enclave of the emerging middle classes who expressed a sort of social exclusivity from their reserve neighbours (reserve occupants) (1997:566).

4.4.1 Specific requirements to purchase land

For an African to be able to purchase land, they had to go through an application process. Southern Rhodesia at the time was divided into districts, led by a district commissioner (Native Commissioner). To apply for consideration for farm ownership, the person in question (usually an African male) had to apply in writing to the Native Commissioner of his own district stating the area he wanted to purchase a farm. Such

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an application[39] for land in a native area required detailed information such as the applicants name, office of registration, district, country of birth, tribe, date of birth, chief, trade, residence, PO Box, name of employer, if they already owned land, marital status, Christian /native rules, number of children, details, available cash, livestock, farming implements, if they had previously applied for land, land area they were applying for, payments the person in question was able to make, whether or not their parents held/leased land, if the applicant was an heir, when the applicant could occupy the land?, if yes the applicant had to agree to adopt improved methods of farming, protect land from erosion, not over stock. Applicants had to have between £5-£100 in cash, cattle and small stock. Payments were spread over a period of 5 to 15 years. The plot size was 200 acres on average (Pollak 1975:265; Cheater 1984).

After filling the form, the applicant took it to the native commissioner, who interviewed him/her and endorsed the application indicating whether the commissioner recommended him/her or not as well as the suitability of the character of the applicant.

If approved by commissioners, the Land Board (which approved the applications) would usually grant positively endorsed applications and the application would be sent to the Chief Land Officer who would place the applicant on a waiting list of their chosen area (Powys-Jones 1955:23).

After approval, the applicant would be given an agreement of lease with the clause that he/she would cultivate an area sufficient to meet the needs of his/her family; he/she would maintain soil conservation works and continue to do so if these were already been put in place. The other clauses were that the successful applicant would cultivate the land in a manner that preserved and improved soil fertility through good farming methods and they would limit the number of livestock kept to avoid overgrazing and over trampling (Powys-Jones 1955:24).

The sizes of farms did vary according to the area with drier areas that were mostly reliant on cattle ranching being slightly larger. Despite fulfilling conditions and being granted ownership, title deeds were not given to African farmers in native purchase areas who had fulfilled all conditions of their agreement and been granted ownership.

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[39] The specific details were obtained from an application dated 1945 (source National Archives of Zimbabwe).

The original title deeds were filed in the office of the Registrar of Deeds and the farm owner was given a Photostat copy of his/her title if they so desired (Powys-Jones 1955:25).

In spite of these strict conditions particularly with regard to purchase, applicants exceeded the available plots. By 1936, 584 Africans (468 in Mashonaland and 80 in Matebeleland) had purchased 188 186 acres for a total of £40 376 and the waiting list was approaching 1000 (Pollak 1975:265). In 1945, the figure stood at 1 872 with an ever-growing waiting list (Massell & Johnson 1966:16).

It was only in 1953 when the Land Board passed that only those who qualified as 'Master Farmer's[40] (after being trained at agricultural centres) could get approval for farm ownership. Cheater argues that this training was inadequate for managing a 200 acre farm since both the 'Master Farmer' Scheme and the two year training course at a government training centre were designed for the communal producer working up to 10 acres (1984:8). Nevertheless, native agricultural demonstrators were trained at government schools and they went to reserves and through teaching and example to demonstrate to the African farmer how to farm properly. Those who followed the advice of the demonstrators and continually followed 'good husbandry methods' were in time granted "'Master Farmer' certificates"[41] (Powys-Jones 1955:26).

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[40]The 'Master Farmer' Scheme was part of a range of attempts to improve African agriculture especially in the reserves by the Rhodesian Government. According to Weinrich, the first African demonstrators were taught by department of Native Agriculture that was established in 1926 with E.D Alvord (an American Methodist Missionary) appointed as the 'Agriculturalist for Instruction of Natives'. The trained African agriculture demonstrators were sent to the reserves to teach Africans better farming techniques and despite initial resistance, the first trained African farmer (1928) applied the methods to his farm and had a great harvest. He had a 'pre-harvest meeting 'at which he told other Africans how he had achieved his success. Pre-harvest meetings became an annual event and at one, the Chief Native Commissioner and Alvord awarded the farmer with a 'Master Farmer's certificate'. For Weinrich, the success of this initiated the ''Master Farmer' scheme' (1975:22)

[41] The process of using agricultural extension advice in agriculture was divided onto three distinct categories namely Co-operators, Plotholders and 'Master Farmer'. A co-operator was a reserve farmer who used manure or fertiliser, planted their crops in rows and carried out crop rotation as indicated by the agricultural extension officer. A plotholder was specifically under instruction by an extension officer in order to become a 'Master Farmer'. 'Master Farmer's had

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After going through the necessary process to acquire a farm and move to the farm, it was not easy settling in and difficulties faced included cattle trespass, hostility particularly from the reserve neighbours (Shutt 1995:95). Fencing became an important issue and a symbol of this social and economic distance from reserve neighbours. It indicated a change in tenure (private property of Africans) as well as being symbolic to emerging rural middle class that they could farm on terms of Europeans (Shutt 1995:96).

With regard to European farmers, they felt threatened by the potential of African farmers producing for the market thus the state did not abandon these purchase areas but neither were they promoted. Despite the farming expertise that African farm owners had as a result of the training, there was no research support for smallholder agriculture till 1980. A Land Bank was established in 1912 but only extended loans to white farmers to encourage them to settle as farmers. Black small holders were excluded from formal credit programmes till independence (Rukuni 2006:37). This meant that the colonial period was characterised by major investment in physical and social infrastructure for white areas but black areas were ignored (Rukuni 2006:38).

Shutt argues that African farmers were aware of and wanted similar benefits to their European counterparts. They argued that as landowners with financial obligations they deserved to be differentiated from reserve peasants. For them, class development outweighed any racial considerations to social and economic inclusion. However, they still met hostility from rural whites and government employees (Shutt 1995:109). In spite of this, purchase farmers kept distinction between themselves and other Africans when they formed their farmers' union. They continued to argue for investment in purchase areas.

Striving for investment was very important because the land set aside for purchase by Africans was not prime agricultural land. It was located in remote sections of the country that had poor soil. Purchasing the farm was costly and the need for fertilisers to improve the soil was an added cost. The purchase areas were not easily accessible and this made it difficult to access markets, labour, transport and water (Pollak

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completed the Plotholder stage and "reached specified, higher standards of crop and animal husbandry as laid down by the Ministry of Agriculture" (see Massell & Johnson 1966:13).

1975:265; Shutt 1995:89). These farmers were therefore trying to achieve a measure of success despite the unfavourable conditions.

4.5 Purchase area farmers: their significance?

Although the literature on purchase areas is sparse, there are three key studies that focused on purchase area farmers by Weinrich (1975), Cheater (1984) and Shutt (1995) that provide insight into purchase area farmers.

Weinrich (1975), explores labour organisation and agricultural productivity in the different forms of African agriculture in Karangaland, Rhodesia, namely communal areas, purchase areas and irrigation schemes. She considers government policy and administration of these areas, internal characteristics of these areas, economic resources available to them and their subsequent agricultural productivity. The specific purchase areas she considers are the pseudonymous Guruuswa and Mutadza which were open for settlement in 1957 and 1950 respectively[42].

Guuruswa and Mutadza were both located in Karangaland with similar agro-ecological characteristics (both are in region three and four). They were both adjacent to Tribal Trust Lands/Communal Areas/Reserves and European farms. The differences between them were that all the owners in Guruuswa were 'Master Farmers' and only 18 to 30% were 'Master Farmers' in Mutadza. Another major difference between Guruuswa and Mutadza purchase areas was that Guruuswa was productive and Mutadza was not. It was this difference in productivity that Weinrich (1975) sought to explore.

Guruuswa and Mutadza, were relatively autonomous and they were free to form committees and interest groups in their areas such as voluntary organisations and clubs. Extension support was available which they could decide to use. Weinrich found that this freedom to self-administer was no guarantee of interest in farming as was the case in Mutadza. In Guruuswa on the other hand, this autonomy enabled them to be

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[42] These purchase areas are located in the same area as Mushawasha but are not Mushawasha because Mushawasha was open for settlement from 1953 to 1957 (see chapter six)

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resourceful and Weinrich concludes that "freedom from control was a contributing factor to agricultural progress but is insufficient to bring it about" (1975:157).

Within, both these purchase area communities consisted of different individuals without 'tribal' links although a significant number of them had come from the neighbouring TTLs. Cooperation between neighbours was minimal but this was due to the distance between the homes. Most of the farms were fenced and relatively isolated which for Weinrich, had labour implications (1975:162). Farmers could rely on the labour recruitment strategies used in communal areas such as hosting work parties or having mutual labour provision agreements. To address this, some farm owners married additional wives and had large families. Additional labour was sought from relatives or hired labour. In terms of inheritance, farm owners usually left the farm to the eldest son (Weinrich 1975:164).

Relations between purchase area farmers and those in the reserves were maintained because some of their relatives resided there. Purchase area farmers also sold surplus crops to those in TTLs so they had a mutually beneficial relationship (Weinrich 1975:173).

The economic resources (land, labour, cattle) available to these purchase area farmers were generally similar. The difference in their productivity was the result of a lack of skills and lack of interest in farming. For the Mutadza purchase area, this lack of interest translated into not using the extension officers or learning about better farming methods at field days, not investing in capital to improve the farms and not putting time into the fields. All these factors for Weinrich had an impact on agricultural productivity and indicates that it is simply not enough to just own a piece of land [43](1975:174-188).

Agricultural productivity for purchase areas is particularly important because it was a primary source of income. In such a context for Weinrich, drought is a cause for concern because of the possibly dire consequences for agriculture (1975:189). Weinrich found that agriculturally, purchase area farmers were reasonably better off than those in the communal areas, although they did not use their land as efficiently as those in the TTLs mainly because of the shortage of labour (1975:203). In spite of

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[43] This is an important consideration for countries that intend to implement land (re-) distribution for whatever reasons.

this labour shortage, both purchase areas were producing maize, groundnuts and millet although this output was significantly curtailed in a drought[44] year. These crops were sold to reserves and through cooperative societies (1975:193).

Another significant aspect of agriculture in Guruuswa and Mutadza was animal husbandry. Farmers had cattle which went for regular dipping. Some farmers sold their cattle to the Cold Storage Commission and in Guruuswa, stall feeding of cattle became widespread (1975:198).

In this assessment of African agriculture in Rhodesia, Weinrich concludes that agricultural success and failure are to a large extent determined by social factors (1975:298). In other words, agricultural success is determined by the characteristics of the farmers themselves such as their attitude towards investing in agriculture, how willing and interested they are in actual farming and if the community they are a part of has organisations or groups that offer support (in varied forms) to less successful farmers.

The second key study is Cheater's (1984) exploration of Msengezi purchase area farmer class formation. Using the metaphor of 'idioms' of accumulation, Cheater explores how Msengezi purchase area farmers 'accumulated' successfully through two idioms available to them: traditional or modern. For Cheater, in order to understand class formation, one has to understand how it functions in the local communities and the influence the local can have on the national. She argues that this mutuality is evident in class formation in Msengezi purchase area (1984) which is what her study serves to illustrate.

Msengezi purchase area settlement was complete before 1953, meaning a number of those settled did not have 'Master Farmer' certificates (this became a prerequisite in 1953). The average size of the farms were between 200-250 acres or 80-100 hectares.

In the process of accumulation, Cheater (1984) identifies two idioms available to the farmers of Msengezi namely traditional and the modern idiom. The traditional idiom was characterised by large families, polygamy and the labour source was family and

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[44] The areas in which these farmers were settled had characteristically variable rainfall and one strategy employed to cope with this was to plant crops at different times in the season so that a harvest was possible whether the rains were early or late (Weinrich 1975:192).

labour cooperation. The modern idiom of accumulation on the other hand, comprised of machinery, housing, motor vehicles, business investments and even children's education and bank accounts. The source of labour in this idiom was family and hired workers.

Besides prestige attached to modern and traditional idioms of accumulation, other factors influenced the choice of idiom by an individual producer and these for Cheater (1984) were the sociocultural background of the farmer, available resources, the way the farmer explained their behaviour to themselves and the individuals and groups with whom the farmer associated (Cheater 1984).

In general, those who used or chose the traditional idiom for Cheater (1984) were aware of their inability to use the other idiom (modern) successfully (for example they did not have formal education. Those who chose the modern idiom according to her were usually 'educated' and had accumulated capital in business or professional employment. Aspiration towards the living standards of whites (landowning that is) was another factor in choosing the modern idiom and Cheater found that those who did tended to practice Christian orthodox denomination (1984).

Living and farming as a farmer in Msengezi then for Cheater could be explained in terms of the idioms used. Cheater found that farm populations were not composed exclusively of the farm owners nuclear families and that they sometimes extended 'laterally in kinship space or both of these directions simultaneously' (1984:28). This could be explained in terms of the whether they were polygamous or monogamous based families.

With regard to land use, farmers for Cheater used their land in various ways in the process of accumulation. These included farming and livestock keeping. Of course this differed according to the idiom used with those using the modern idiom specialising in certain livestock, using riskier methods of crop production and seeking other channels outside of the traditional Grain Marketing Board (GMB) to sell their produce (1984:44). Regardless of idiom however, most of the farms were found to be overstocked and the fragmentation of herd ownership was found to be a factor (Cheater 1984:46).

The sources of labour in the purchase farms of Msengezi were varied and included work parties which involved the provision of beer as a form of payment for assisting in the work (*Nhimbe*), assisting each other as whole families on a reciprocal basis (*Jangano*) or hired labour which could temporary or resident (Cheater 1984:63-67).

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In the use of these idioms, Cheater assessed the success in farming of the purchase areas and argued that farm enclosure, artificial water supplies and use of mechanical power in production could be regarded as indirect gauges of 'degrees of success' in farming (1984:82)[45].

Although these 'accumulators'/ Msengezi purchase area farmers differed with regard to their levels of success and capitalisation, Cheater argues that they were a distinct group in class terms because of "their relationship to the means of agricultural production" in comparison to the 'peasantry' in communal areas who worked their land but did not own it (1984:135). This distinction as a landowning class was not purely 'Marxist' because those who used both 'idioms' used 'capitalist' tools such as machinery and artificial water supplies (Cheater 1984:82) as well as 'peasant' methods such as relying on family for labour. Perhaps most importantly was their awareness of being a distinct group (class).

This 'class' self-awareness by purchase area farmers according to Cheater was evidenced by their encounters with the colonial state in the local areas (explored earlier in chapter). At the national level, Cheater argues that the unionisation of 'black freeholders' reflected their class formation (1984:158,174). Cheater then concludes that purchase areas though they were not well off in comparison to white landholders, they were a distinct capitalist class in Zimbabwe (1984).

The third study of Shutt (1995) continues were Cheater (1984) left off. In this instance, Shutt (1995) considers the purchase area farmers of Marirangwe. In her research entitled "We are the best poor farmers": Purchase area farmers and economic differentiation in Southern Rhodesia, 1925-1980, and the subsequent publication, Shutt (1997), Shutt focuses for the most part on the role of purchase areas in the consolidation of middle class ideology.

For Shutt (1995), Cheater's (1984) study was important in that it illustrated the centrality of landowning to the formation of class identifies of Africans in Zimbabwe. However, she argues that purchase areas did not organise the production on their

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[45] Interestingly, most of these were characteristic of the 'modern' accumulators more than the 'traditional' accumulators

farms along capitalist lines. In her opinion, the 'profit-orientation' of purchase area farmers did not make them capitalist. Instead, according to Shutt, increased production in purchase areas could in reality be attributed to tilling large acres of land and increasing labour time dedicated to the fields (1995:7-8).

For Shutt, class development occurred in purchase areas but this was not the result of agriculture only or ownership of land. In her study of Marirangwe, Shutt found that diversifying interests would more likely result in one being a successful farmer. Farmers who engaged in animal husbandry, businesses such as shops and urban employment were more likely to be successful (1995:8-10). One critical area of focus with regard to purchase areas for Shutt would be the links between the rural and urban (1995).

In her subsequent exploration of Marirangwe purchase area farmer, Shutt found five issues to be of great importance namely: so called absentee farming, off-farm income and generation of capital, formal agricultural criteria for applicants, lease hold and freehold tenure and lack of access to credit facilities (1995:434).

With regard to so called absentee farming, Shutt found that this was not an appropriate way to consider these farmers for they were usually engaged in other activities as a way to raise capital for the farm. Farm owners would continue to work in urban areas[46] whilst their wives and children saw to the administration of the farm (1995:111). The consideration of the link between the urban and the rural would be essential in this regard as well because a number of early settlers in the purchase areas were urban based workers who viewed the farms as investment and a place to stay after retirement (1995:422).

Off farm income and generation of capital are related to the idea of absentee farmers as well as the success of the farmers. As mentioned earlier, Shutt found that farmers with diverse portfolios were likely to be more successful and off-farm capital generating activities were therefore important (see Shutt 1995).

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[46] Shutt argues that this enabled land owners to remain in urban areas yet transfer their middle class status to the rural areas (1995:117).

When Shutt carried out her study, Zimbabwe was dealing with the ongoing land question with regards to how to redress the uneven structure left by colonialism. One key area of concern was distributing it to beneficiaries who had the adequate skills. For Shutt productivity on the farms was related to other factors mentioned above especially the issue of access to credit facilities especially with regard to farmers without other sources of capital (1995).

Questions of ownership were critical because titling farms in an individual's (usually the eldest son) meant younger wives and males were insecure. Another cause for concern would the effect on productivity if one person could make decisions relating to the land without consulting other. In the event that said person was not interested in producing at the farm, production would be adversely affected (Shutt 1995: 425,429).

Although for Shutt purchase area landowners were not a capitalist class. They provide "insights into many of the assumptions underpinning the automatic association of freehold tenure and economic development" (1995:4). Their existence was particularly important in their identity formation as a distinct middle class.

From the discussion in this chapter so far, it is clear that the purchase area farmers/landowners were a distinct group facing challenging circumstances in Rhodesia. They were created as a political solution and not to contribute to the economy[47] and received minimal support from the state. For that reason, Shutt argues that the purchase areas are an "awkward presence in the landscape and historiography of Zimbabwe" (1997:555). Not much attention has been paid to them in academic work and this is due (in part) to the largely unsuccessful scheme, since these areas are seen as the failed result of the colonial administration. However, making such an assertion for Shutt overlooks the role of purchase areas in the formation of the African middle class especially in the consolidation of middle class ideology[48] (1997:581, Cheater 1984 as discussed).

Despite their low numbers and small land size relative to the total landmass of the country, Shutt (1997:581) argues that purchase area farmers created a niche within

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[47] This is twofold in that they were not meant to contribute to food security and the economy and in addition, it was not intended that African commercial farmers would be the product.
[48] For more on this theme see the work of West 2002.

Southern Rhodesia for themselves which is why these areas are important (1997:556). They are important due to their significance to middle class life for Africans (Shutt 1997:581).

The question then becomes what happened to these areas? What is the relationship of these farmers (and now expanded families) with their land? Are there generational differences? How different is the relationship to the land between the different generations given the different contexts that they have come to interact with the land? Do the descendants of these farmers still have the ideology of difference from their reserve neighbours or have things changed? Given the transition that they went to from identifying themselves as a distinct African landowning class, to fellow victims (with those from the reserves) of an oppressive colonial government, how do these farmers identify themselves in the post-colonial Zimbabwe? Do they have alternative sources of income? These are some of the questions that the research grapples with through exploring the relationship people have with their land. For now though, I turn to the question of what happened in post-colonial land relations in Zimbabwe and what has happened till the time that the research was carried out.

4.6 Tracing the events of land reform in post-independent Zimbabwe

In the chapter so far, I have traced the emergence of purchase area farmers and how far from being a docile group, there was contestation between them and the colonial state that shaped not only the purchase area farmers themselves (identity and as a distinct class) but the state's involvement with them (concessions made as a result of their demands or reversing/removing any benefits). Of course, purchase areas farmers were not the only ones in contestation with the state, and there was eventually a liberation struggle or Second Chimurenga[49]. Zimbabwe in time achieved independence and in 1980, Zimbabwe Rhodesia became Zimbabwe[50].

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[49] When the liberation struggle was fought, it was in the communal areas (CAs). Farmers who were near these CAs fled and the subsequent redistributed land was this land that was vacant by the war although most of this land was in regions 4, 5 and to a lesser extent 3 (Cliffe et.al.2011:910).

[50] This was the result of negotiated settlement for the end of war and the new terms for an independent Zimbabwe between the Rhodesian government and the Zimbabwean liberation parties commonly referred to as the Lancaster House Agreement. The eventual outcome was

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At independence nonetheless, land ownership was inequitable. As mentioned previously, commercial farmers owned an estimated 15.5 million hectares of land, 1.4 million hectares was owned by small-scale farmers and communal farmers owned 16.4 million hectares. In percentage terms, communal farmers has access to less than 50% of agricultural land and 75% of that land was in agro-ecological regions IV and V (Sachikonye 2003a:229). As a result, immediately after independence, land reform was of great concern[51] (Cliffe et.al. 2011:910).

The process of this land reform was based on the willing seller willing buyer basis in accordance with the Lancaster House Agreement. The purchased farms were subdivided into nucleated villages, arable land and grazing land (Dekker & Kinsey 2011:996). This process was somewhat successful and according to Bowyer-Bell & Stoneman (2000) and Kinsey (1999, 2003), 23% of formerly white owned land was transferred in 1996 (as cited by Cliffe et.al. 2011:910).

The aim of this land reform[52] (also referred to as Land Reform and Resettlement Programme Phase 1 or LRRP1) was to resettle 162 000 poor and landless families on nine million hectares of acquired land. However, only an estimated 48 000 household were resettled by the mid 1989 although 4000 had been allocated land which they were yet to settle on (Sachikonye 2003a:229).

However, the rate of resettlement was slower in the 1990s and by 1997 less than 20 000 new settlers had received land. This brought the total of resettled households to 71 000 on 3.4 million hectares of land. At the same time, there were about 500 African commercial farmers who had become 'fully-fledged' commercial farmers as they had

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that land reform took the form of a 'willing buyer', 'willing seller' arrangement due to the clauses in the constitution that recognised private property (Sachikonye 2003:229).

[51] These are referred to as Old Resettlement Areas or ORAs (as referred to in the work of Dekker & Kinsey 2011)

[52] Moyo similarly argues that there was a historical component to this land question just after independence with aims he identifies as restitution for past alienation, promoting equity in land property rights in order to attain political stability and promoting economic efficiency through reducing the size of land holdings (2000a:7).

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purchased their land personally (80% of them) whilst the rest rented government farms **(**Zimbabwe Government, 1998 as cited Sachikonye 2003a:231).

The reason for the slow rate of resettlement the state argued, was that the 'willing-buyer', 'willing seller model' was restricted by the availability of land.   The problem was that there was not enough land to address the demand for it, some of it was too expensive and arguably, these factors negatively slowed the land reform process (Sachikonye 2003a:231).

Another reason for the slow land reform process was the impact of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP). ESAP was a five-year programme that began in 1990 and had the conditions of public sector reform, trade liberalisation, deficit reduction, and for some a better capital environment (Sachikonye 2003a:232). The problem with ESAP argues Moyo, was that it did not address the problems that African farmers had inherited from the colonial era relating to "discriminatory land and financial markets, distorted water rights and lack of access to essential infrastructure for more effective land use" (2000:11). In other words, the implementation of ESAP in some regards ensured that the fundamental aspects of the unequal agricultural system remained.

Sachikonye correspondingly argues that the context of liberalisation resulting from ESAP enabled the elite to access the land and unfortunately, the poorer were left behind in the process. 90 000 households had to still be given land for the 162 000 target to be met. The debate on land reform resultantly included queries into corruption and cronyism that could result from state enabled access to land (Sachikonye 2003a:232). The result was that the donor community began to insist on transparency in land reform initiatives in Zimbabwe[53].

Another important strand in this debate was the question of who should be prioritised as beneficiaries in the land reform programme (in light of the elite problem). There were numerous other possible beneficiaries such as farm workers, households living in the crowded communal areas and women who were increasingly argued for (Sachikonye 2003a:233).

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[53] The donor community was important in the land reform process because they funded the government for the land that was redistributed.

The final strand in the debate was that of the limitations related to the then current land programme. As mentioned before, the population of the communal areas was set to increase more than those earmarked to receive land, therefore, congestion would remain the problem. Despite attempts to change the systems of land use in the communal areas[54], this was not successful (Sachikonye 2003:233). In other words for Cliffe et.al., this Land Reform and Resettlement Programme (LRRP) had 'run out of steam' (2011:911).

In this context of renewed debate with regard to the land reform programme, three particular events intensified the land question namely the renewed demand for land from peasants in a number of districts, the lack of support from donors for the new phase in land reform and the government's defeat in the referendum on constitutional reform (2003:233).

In 1998, there were 'peaceful spontaneous' occupations of commercial farms neighbouring communal areas in Svosve in Mashonaland East province as well as in Masvingo province. Without donor support for the second phase land reform, and the government' defeat in a referendum, and an economy that was weak and fragile, Zimbabwe for Sachikonye was in an interesting phase especially with elections set for mid-2000 (2003:233).

In recognition of these challenges, in 1998 the government of Zimbabwe proposed a phase of land reform known as Land Reform and Resettlement Programme, Phase 2 (LRRP phase 2) (Sachikonye 2003:233; Cliffe et.al 2011:911).

This programme had two main groups of intended beneficiaries namely A1 or small holder and A2 medium scale as well as a three tier scheme for extending of grazing areas of CAs through incorporation of ranches (Cliffe et.al. 2011:912). Specific groups

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[54] The communal reorganisation programme of 1986 was one attempt by the Zimbabwean government to address the problems in communal areas. The aim was to re-plan villages and separate land according to residential, grazing and arable. This was not successful. According to the Rukuni Commission of 1994, this was due to 'the over-centralisation of government with the relevant technical ministries using top-down methods of planning and implementation' (as cited by Sachikonye 2003a:233).

targeted were 91 000 families, 'youths graduating from agricultural colleges and others with demonstrable experience in agriculture' on state acquired (5 million hectares) land (Government of Zimbabwe as cited by Sachikonye 2003:234). The LRRP phase 2 also considered gender issues, farm workers and the need for poverty reduction (Sachikonye 2003:234; Cliffe et.al. 2011:912).

During this period, 'war veterans' were increasingly visible in society and in February 2000, they began to instigate land occupations (also referred to as land invasions). These occupations continued on till after the 2000 elections. Peasants, youth (mostly ZANU-PF), the elite such as police and army officers were also involved in the land invasions (Sachikonye 2003:235).

The Land Acquisition Act of 2000 was passed and it allowed for compulsory acquisition without compensation for the value of the land with compensation provided for the 'improvements' on it. In addition, the People First - Zimbabwe's Land Reform Programme, was published in June 2001 and the land meant for acquisition was increased to 8.3 million hectares and the intended poor and landless beneficiaries were to be 160 000 (this was called the A1 model). Moreover, 54 000 medium-scale and large-scale commercial farmers were meant to benefit from the A2 model[55] (Zimbabwe Government, 2001 as cited by Sachikonye 2003:235 see also Cliffe et.al.2011:914; Utete 2003).

By March 2002, the land reform programme had resettled 300 000 families under the A1 model (as announced by then minister of land Joseph Made) but this came at a

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[55] The aim of the A1 model was to reduce crowding in the Communal Areas and provide a small farm for subsistence with the possibility of producing surplus. These could either be villagised or self-contained. The 'villagised' had dwellings grouped around a continuous settlement area with large area set aside for common grazing and in 'self-contained', grazing was also subdivided and combined with the individual arable plots to make up small farms. The A2 model was meant to enable people with agricultural skills (such as those trained to be 'Master Farmer's') and experience to acquire commercial farms. Those in this model had to have enough resources to ensure the farm remained viable as well as pay back the government for the farm. They had 99-year leases but had the option to purchase as well (Sachikonye 2003:235; Cliffe et.al.2011:913).

heavy price[56]. For the duration of this period, others argued for a peaceful, transparent land reform process conducted in the framework of the rule of law. The argument was that a better-planned land reform process was more likely to be sustainable in the longer term (Sachikonye 2003:235). In October 2002 the Fast Track Land Reform Programme drew to a close. It was estimated that 11 million hectares had been transferred from 4 000 white commercial farmers to 300 000 small farmers. 54 000 mostly and medium and large-scale black commercial farmers had been selected to received land although by 2003 only, 60 percent of them had actually taken up the offer. The ruling party ZANU-PF described the third phase as 'an agrarian revolution' or the third Chimurenga (Sachikonye 2003:227).

After the land reform process, Zimbabwe experienced a continued economic downturn. By 2005, there was a high inflation rate, there was a shortage of foreign currency and employment was declining (Paradza 2009). The dollarization halted hyperinflation, expansion of mineral exports and stabilised the economy (Cliffe et.al.2011:918).

Politically, things were changing, the fiercely contested 2008 elections did not have a clear winner and the political impasse resulted in the signing of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) signed between ZANU-PF and the two Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) factions. One significant aspect of the GAP was that it acknowledged that land reform had occurred and gave the obligation of compensating former landowners for land acquisition to 'former colonial power'(Cliffe et.al.2011:918).

The land reform programme has changed and is continually changing for Cliffe (et.al 2011). In their introductory article to the special issue of the *Journal of Peasant Studies* focused on reviewing the FTLRP, Cliffe et.al highlight the continually changing nature of the land reform and the basic issues (questions) that are asked in its aftermath. These questions relate to the beneficiaries of land reform (political elite cronies, ruling party supporters, gender dimension, and farmworkers), the outcomes for production and livelihoods and land tenure security and securing rights in the new (and Old) resettled areas (2011:924-927). Other related issues include the cause of the occupations in terms of government strategy or initiative by peasant mobilisations (see

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[56] The cost was in terms of violence, lives lost, property destruction amongst others. Detailing this is beyond the scope of the study but for work on this refer to Sachikonye 2003b, UNDP 2002,

Moyo & Yeros 2005), determining in which categories people received land (A1 or A2) (see Cliffe et.al.2011).

4.7 Zimbabwe after the FTLRP?

Although there was and still is controversy around the land reform process in Zimbabwe and debate around whether or not it was a success, ultimately land ownership and distribution is now drastically different (Cliffe et.al.2011:923; Moyo 2011). This new agrarian structure for Cliffe et.al, is overwhelmingly small scale (2011:923). However, Cliffe et.al rightfully argue, that the racially biased dualism of land use organisation was always over-simplified, because from 1930, there was a middle stratum of "small-scale commercial or African Purchase Area farms". After land reform, the A2 farmers are considered to be part of this stratum. Of course they might be categorised as a class but there are experiences which are unique to purchase area farmers and this study is interested in exploring what the relationship between the farming families of Mushawasha and their land is in this context. Regardless of the issues around classification of which group of landowners, one thing is apparent, the agrarian structure in Zimbabwe has fundamentally changed as illustrated in the table below:

Table 2: Land Distribution in Zimbabwe 1980–2007 (million ha)

Land category	1980	2000	2007
Large-scale commercial farms (LSCF)	15.5	11.8	3.8
Small-scale commercial farms (SSCF)	1.4	1.4	1.4
Communal areas (CA)	16.4	16.4	16.4
Old resettlement	-	3.7	3.7
Fast-track resettlement	-	-	8.0
State land[57]	6.3	6.3	6.3
Total	39.6	39.6	39.6

Source: Amanor, S.K., Moyo, S. (Eds.), 2008. Land and Sustainable Development in Africa. Zed Books Ltd., London as used by Chavunduka & Bromley 2013:673

4.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, I set out to answer four questions namely who are the purchase area farmers and their descendants? How did they come to be landowners in colonial Zimbabwe? What was the relationship between them and the state and how did it evolve over time? What the chapter illustrated was that these farmers were able to own the land for political and not economic reasons. However, they were able to advocate for their interests and this in some instances led to the colonial state making concessions. This highlights of course the dialectical relationship between the colonial state (structure) and the agents (purchase area farmers).

I also traced the broader context of Zimbabwe after independence and key events that occurred and changed the country such as the FTLRP, the collapse of the economy and the gradual recovery after the dollarization process. At this point in time, new questions around land and land relations are being asked in Zimbabwe and some continue to be relevant for the purchase area farmers. The next chapter turns to these specific issues.

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57 State land includes commercial farm settlement schemes, Agricultural and Rural Development Authority, Cold Storage Company, Forestry Commission, and National Parks.

Chapter five: Literature review: contemporary land question(s)

The aim of this chapter is to pick up from some of the issues alluded to in the previous chapter and discuss contemporary scholarship on the land question in Africa, especially literature relating to Zimbabwe[58]. One key turning point with regard to the land question in post-independent Zimbabwe was the FTLRP and its resultant agrarian structure. There are of course continued debates on exactly why the process occurred the way it did, if it can be regarded as successful, who the beneficiaries were and what the impact was on livelihoods. This means that the land question in Zimbabwe continues to be important not only for the country itself but for other African countries facing land related challenges and ways to address them.

Land, I argue in this thesis, is multifaceted and may be understood in three interrelated ways as 'socio-discursive', 'socio-material' and real. Socio-discursively, the thinking and talking around land has an impact on the social organisation around land. For example, through discursively thinking and defining land as meant for agricultural production by a specific group of people, individuals come to use the land based on those understandings and exclude those who are discursively categorised those not meant to have access to the land. This theme is evident in literature dealing with the political dimensions of discourse on land, including notions of identity and conceptualisations relating to legitimate ownership. Socio-materially, the physical land can be understood to be part of social world to the extent that separating the land itself from social aspects of human life are difficult. This socio-materiality is visible for example in literature on the role of landscapes in shaping ideas of the land explored through notions of place and space. The third facet is that of land as 'real', that is as a physical entity with related processes, physicality and causality. (These processes are understood not to be fixed but as 'permanence-in-flux').

These categorisations are evident in the wide-ranging literature on land. In my reading of contemporary literature, it becomes apparent that varied theoretical paradigms have been brought to bear on the land question in Africa, but that a number of key themes

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[58] This discussion is by no means exhaustive, and simply serves as framework for highlighting key themes and approaches apparent in contemporary literature on land in order to conceptualise a multi-faceted understanding of land and what such a conceptualisation would require of the present study.

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and approaches seem apparent. These I broadly characterise into themes dealing with identity, ownership, politics, political economy, livelihoods, and the environment[59].

Consequently in this chapter, I address two key issues, namely 1) how land has been conceptualised in contemporary literature (as well as 2) an articulation between these different accounts and Carolan's framework[60] as a way to illustrate how this enables the study to continue to work with the idea of land as being more than exclusively material or ideational.

5.1 The notion of 'land'

As indicated earlier, I have organised a selection of existing literature on land around the following key themes: identity, ownership, politics, political economy, livelihoods and the environment. In themselves, these approaches are not discrete, and often overlap with two, three or more categories. Usually, the emphasis is on the importance of a particular theme but there is recognition in the literature that a particular category (for example identity) is used in a context where other factors are at work (for example in a certain political or social context). This will be evident in the following discussion.

Theoretically, when land is thought of in terms of identity, it can be understood as a source of collective and individual identity as well as linked to notions of being. People define or come to see themselves within the understanding they have of their land and this can be individual or as a collective. Closely linked to this is the notion of spirituality, which entails linking the physical land itself to the spiritual realm. This can be through ideas about sacred areas such as graves, the performance of rituals or even the

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[59] Of course, these are my categorisations and different scholars have made sense of the African land question differently. Berry (2002) as I have shown in the previous chapter, juxtaposes scarcity and stability in the context of competing claims and interpretations of history; Shipton & Goheen (1992) view it as 'complex, variable and fluid', whilst Moyo (2003) on the other hand makes sense of it through what he refers to as three dimensions: land distribution, land tenure and land utilisation. I use these six themes because they serve as a kind of rubric to consider the work/issues relevant to this study and they are in no way definitive. I consider identifying them a form of critical realist abstraction (see chapter two) to help me identify important factors.

[60] In this context, the three strata of Carolan are viable categories because they help make sense of the varied conceptualisations of land in Southern Africa (Zimbabwe) in particular.

ancestors. The linking of the land to the ancestors, for example, includes questions of birth right and heritage, as well as the question of belonging which links to the concept of identity. Sometimes, ideas around identity and belonging can be used in political discourse, especially when there is contestation over land as a way to determine who should have access or own the land.

Questions of identity and belonging are also related to ownership. Determining if one belongs ultimately gets reflected in legal and political frameworks stipulating whether one is given a chance to own or use land. Ownership therefore includes issues such as forms of tenure (customary, freehold, leasehold, communal or private) as well as the implications of certain kinds of ownership or tenure forms in relation to use beyond the physical land itself, for example land use as surety in securing loans, as inheritance as well questions of access.

Politically, the meaning of land is always contested, but this theme deals with the role of land in political discourse, in politics proper and the role of the state in shaping land relations. The land can be part of the dominant political discourse. For example, in Zimbabwe it was a major part of the liberation narrative and the 'Third Chimurenga'. Political meanings of land are linked to questions of ownership outlined above, in the sense that political processes can also be about the state determining who belongs and who does not in relation to land distribution or access. Finally it can remain as a political question where the issue of land is an ongoing problem, for example in countries such as South Africa, Namibia, Kenya and Zimbabwe to mention a few. Once again identity, history and spirituality at times can be part of the political discourse around land.

In the related category of political economy, the land is considered through the political-economy lens, which recognises the link between events in the political sphere and their repercussions in the economy, and vice versa at the level of the nation-state. This is furthermore linked to policy and the implications of certain land policies for the economic, social and other spheres of life. Questions of political patronage are another dimension and some areas of interest have been how people make use of certain identities as a way to benefit from having certain political affiliation. Of course the question of patronage can be considered politically as a tool to ensure support for a certain political grouping or in terms of identity where individuals self-identify as affiliated to certain political organisations as a way to access land or other resources.

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Much of the historical and contemporary scholarly work I encountered on Zimbabwe seems to be located in a political economy tradition.

Another key way of exploring the relationship between people and their land is in terms of livelihoods. Land is understood to be a key way of livelihood making and therefore as a resource in strategies aimed at reducing poverty/producing 'sustainable livelihoods'. In the context of post FTLRP in Zimbabwe, a key area of focus is how livelihood-making was altered by the process. Related to livelihoods is the question of agricultural productivity concerns with ensuring landholders/users/leasers produce enough ensure food security in their countries, as well as contribute to the economy.

The final category I identify is that of land in relation to the physical environment. In this category, the environment and environmental change (changes in rainfall, temperature, soil fertility, vegetation amongst others) are understood to have an impact on land, especially in terms of land productivity and providing land related resources (or ecosystem services) such as water and these have an impact on the other categories as well. I now turn to briefly discuss each of these themes and cite some examples of studies that illustrate the broad areas of focus that I have identified.

5.1.1 Thinking of the land through the notion of identity

A key way the land has been explored is through the notion of identity[61]. In identity theory, identities can be role or person identities. Role identities are the meanings individuals attach to themselves in relation to their role in the social structure (Stets & Burke 2002 as cited by Stets & Biga 2002:403). Person identities on the other hand, are linked to the individual (Stets 1995, Stets & Burke 2002 as cited by Stets & Biga 2002:403).

Individuals can have multiple role and person identities. To make sense of these, some scholars have argued that individuals arrange these identities into a hierarchy based on prominence (McCall & Simmons 1978 as cited by Stets & Biga 2002:404) or salience (Stryker 1980; Stryker & Serpe 1982 as cited by Stets & Biga 2002:404). The

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[61] At the level of an individual, identity can be viewed as "a set of meanings attached to oneself that serves as a standard or reference that guides behaviour in situations" (Burke 2003; Burke & Cast 1997; Tsushima & Burke 1999 as cited by Stets & Biga 2003:402). In this regard, when a person assumes an identity, they make use of a set of meanings to guide how they behave.

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prominence hierarchy is based on the ideal or desired self and it depends on the level of support received from others with regard to the identity, the individual's commitment to the identity and the rewards received from this identity. More prominent identities are therefore likely to be used in a situation (McCall & Simmons 1978 as cited by Stets & Biga 2002:404).

The salience hierarchy on the other hand, is about how likely an individual will behave in a certain way because it is linked to the individual's willingness to act in way that is aligned with the identity. The salience of an identity is influenced by the commitment one has to the identity. This commitment is on the basis of the number of people linked to the individual through that particular identity (quantitative commitment) or the strength of an individual's connection to others through that identity (qualitative commitment). Identities are more likely to be salient if there is great quantitative or qualitative commitment for Stryker and Serpe 1982 (as cited by Stets & Biga 2002:404).

Exploring individual and collective identities and how these play out in relation to land have been explored by many scholars. I focus here on the work of Haaland in Mozambique, Muzondidya in Zimbabwe and elsewhere on the continent, and Mujere.

Using a case study of the community of Madjadjane in Mozambique, Haaland explored the emotional, moral and affectual values that land held for the villagers. In this case, land and land use were understood to be a fundamental part of who the owner or user was/is. When Haaland (2008) explored these values with regards to the land for people in Madjadjane, Mozambique, it was found that land held multiple meanings and values, which were historical, spiritual, economical and emotional.

In Madjadjane, Haaland found that land was often talked about with reference to non-economic values such as feelings of attachment to the area, history, traditions and ritual practices (2008). Rather than being valued merely as an economic activity (livelihood or asset), land was connected with people's feeling of belonging to a place, their identity, and the construction of a common social memory. At the time, land was going through the process of titling but frustration with the outcome prevailed and this

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led Haaland (2008) to investigate the cause of the situation of continued conflict and discontent (Haaland 2008:3)[62].

The problem with the process of titling, according to the people of Madjadjane was that they lost sections of their land that became part of the reserve and they did not receive compensation. For them, land was not only an object with use value (issue of livelihood/property) but held a range of oral and affectual meanings linked to identity and feelings of belonging which Haaland found to be an important element in local tradition (2008:13). This was why losing some of their land was particularly difficult for them. (This link is of course also related to the question of spirituality, in particular serving both as a connection to the future and the past (ancestors, graves and rituals)).

In terms of the link between identity and spirituality Haaland found that the people of Madjadjane believed that their ancestors were living on the land and continued to be part of the community. Through seasonal ceremonies such as the "canhu" in which ancestors were involved in determining when they should begin planting, ancestors were integral to their daily lives. These ancestors were also buried physically in Madjadjane and their locations were viewed as important. The land to the villagers therefore was more than physical and was linked to their identity as in relation to their ancestors and their place in the world[63].

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[62] Mozambique, like many other countries has a unique history and context that shapes the events of that country. Madjadjane is located near the border with South Africa and there was a lot of migration during the civil war. After the war, a number of locals returned and foreign investors were also interested in the land. Locals initially welcomed the investment and development, but this changed especially with the development of infrastructure that altered their access to land. A series of measures resulted in the land being delimited and this happened in Madjadjane as well (Haaland 2008). Frustration with tiling in the African context is not new and numerous scholars have linked this to the duality of the legal structures in African countries (customary and common law) and the consequent tensions between land relations under customary law and land relations under common law. This will be explored in the subsequent sections on ownership and politics.

[63] Mujere has also considered identity, land and the role of graves in belonging on family farms in Dewure purchase area in Zimbabwe by the Basotho (2013) and in newly resettled farms in Gutu Zimbabwe (2011).

In addition, Haaland found the concept of 'place' was a useful way to make sense of this relationship between the people of Madjadjane and their land (2008:6). Place for Tilley, is visible in the day-to-day experiences and consciousness of people living within particular worlds (Tilley 1994 as cited by Haaland 2008:6). As such place is an inseparable part of existence (Manzo 2003 as quoted by Haaland 2008:6) and the meaning of place is grounded in the lived consciousness of it. A place is a complex construction of social history, of personal and interpersonal experience and selective memory (Kahn 1996 as quoted by Haaland 2008:6). This means that a place has significant meaning for the individuals who live in or are a part of it in a way that they are not necessarily aware of. This was evident in Madjadjane where place and spirituality are at the core of collective identity construction.

Places are additionally both internal and external to individuals, and are of importance to people's personal and cultural identity (Tilley 1994 as quoted by Haaland 2008:6). Nevertheless a place will be different to different people, involving different meanings, existing with different boundaries and having different connotations. They are thus according to Rodman 1992 (as quoted by Haaland 2008:6) social constructions with the ability to hold multiple meanings. But places are also linked to the physical environment with particular characteristics and properties. Places mean more than the physical or geographical but are also temporal. The question then becomes for this study, in what ways do the meanings assigned to the same piece of land differ for the different generations of the same family?

What Haaland (2008) is able to illustrate is that identity in relation to land can bind a group of people together and provide a sense of belonging and enable access to land. However, this is not always the case and identity and discourse around it can at times be used for discriminatory purposes in every day discourse or in political discourse and result in the prevention of access to and ownership of land given the close link between identity, belonging and ownership.

This is what Muzondidya argues in his article exploring land reform in Zimbabwe. He contends that new ideas around identity, citizenship and rights to land have resulted in the understanding that Zimbabwe's land is for Zimbabweans (who are understood

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to be 'native Africans') at the exclusion of other minority groups[64]. These groups have had a long history of exclusion from colonial times in Zimbabwe and Muzondidya illustrates how they, from the colonial era have always been seen as 'alien', 'non-native'/'non-indigenous' with specific rights afforded to them in mostly the urban areas with no land rights to speak of in other areas (2007:329).

Muzondidya shows how these minority groups namely coloureds and Indians were differentiated from 'native' Africans and had slightly better rights because they were thought to have benefited from contact with whites. However, these rights were mostly restricted to urban areas and they could not own land in communal areas. With the advent of independence, there were opportunities in the economy and other spheres for these minorities although they still experienced marginalisation especially farm workers who were mostly from Malawi, Zambia, and Mozambique (see Sachikonye 2003a and 2003b). Nevertheless, these minority groups continued to experience marginalisation and Muzondidya illustrates how they have been side-lined from both nation (not being considered 'authentic Zimbabweans) and history (their contribution to the liberation struggle being overlooked or going unacknowledged) and excluded in the restructuring process (not mentioned in Black Economic Empowerment or being beneficiaries of land reform) (2007:331).

After 2000 in Zimbabwe, following Muzondidya, the government adopted a 'radical, exclusive nationalist stance' that he describes as relying on selective versions of liberation history with race as a central part of it as well[65] (2007:333). Muzondidya argues that this 'redeployment 'of race in the political and social arena has helped to "reconstitute the whole discourse of rights, justice and citizenship in Zimbabwe" (2007:333). For Muzondidya, the nation state has been imagined as the political expression of a single or dominant and relatively homogenous racial/ethnic group: 'native African'. These 'native' Africans or 'vana vevhu/abantwana bomhlabathi' (sons

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[64] These minorities are Malawian, Zambian and Mozambican immigrants and their descendants who are estimated to be 15% of the population, coloureds who are descendants from mixed race unions from Mozambique, Griquas, Malays as well as Cape coloureds from South Africa and are estimated to be 32 000 as well as Zimbabwean subject minorities: Zulus, Xhosas and Basothos from South Africa and Mozambique. The final minority group comprises of those of Indian origin from South Africa, India, Mozambique and Goa who are estimated to be between 10-12 000 (Muzondidya 2007:328).

[65] For more see the work of Raftpoulos (2004): 'Nation, History in Zimbabwean Politics'

of the soil) are said to be the original and true inhabitants of Zimbabwe who have paramount, rights to the country's land and other resources at the exclusion of minority groups (2007:334).

These minority groups have also been excluded politically and in official discourse as well as in public arenas for Muzondidya. They are excluded because past colonial policy has left them without rural land, yet having a rural home in the native reserves (communal lands) is understood to be central to one's sense of belonging in Zimbabwe. Without this, these minorities are excluded from the 'typical' Zimbabwean experience and subsequently do not fit easily into notions of a Zimbabwean (2007:335).

Muzondidya consequently argues that the use of race and ethnicity in the discourse of rights has had "implications for exercising full citizen rights". Legislation such as the Citizenship of Zimbabwe Amendment Act (2001) and its amendment in 2003 have left many subject minorities without rights or states because of the difficulties they face in renouncing their old citizenship and becoming Zimbabwean (2007:336).

Ideas around identity and land and their exclusionary possibilities especially in relation to notions of citizenship and belonging are not limited to Zimbabwe alone, as Muzondidya demonstrates using cases from the Democratic Republic of Congo, Angola, Rwanda and Ivory Coast (2007:339-340). This illustrates the importance of other factors, especially the political context in shaping to what extent identity can be co-opted in political discourse as well as how it is used to determine who should or should not own land.

Although identity in relation to land can be used to bind people (as was the case in Madjadjane), it can be used for exclusionary purposes (as illustrated in the case of minorities in Zimbabwe). Identity itself, as Stets and Biga (2003) have argued, is fluid and certain identities are salient at certain times in certain contexts. In contexts of contestation over a scarce or desired resource such as land, identity and the additional notion of belonging can be one way to claim land. In a study in the newly resettled Gutu area Mujere (2011) explores how land disputes were used by traditional authorities to determine who belongs and who does not through the notion of returning to ancestral land.

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Mujere argues that the process of land reform has resulted in contestation between 'autochthons' and 'outsiders' (2011: 1124). Added to the mix are traditional authorities who want to expand their areas of control .Subsequently, the notion of returning to ancestral homes is used as a way to determine who belongs. Different chiefs attempted to gain control over the resettled areas arguing that they are where their ancestors have been buried although these claims were not successful. These traditional authorities were in conflict with the committees appointed to oversee the newly resettled areas. What Mujere's study illustrates is the fluidity of notions of belonging and the impact they can have in determining access to land.

5.1.2 Land: questions of ownership and access

When certain people are viewed as having the rights to access or own land on the basis that they belong to a certain group, an additional dimension that is considered relates to what it means then to own the land, or, in other words, what is their specific form of tenure? The concept of tenure relates to the rights that one has with regard to land which can be customary, communal, freehold or leasehold and these variations have implications for tenure related rights such as using the land in question as surety in loans, issues of inheritance, selling the land as well as investing in the land. In the literature, debates centre on the best forms of tenure in the African context.

In exploring the land question in Africa (which for him be can be explored in three dimensions namely, tenure, distribution and access) Moyo argues that land tenure can be understood as "social relationships established around the control and use of land" (2003:18). What this means is that one's control and access to land is in relation to others acknowledging your rights to access and control it whether implicitly because of your membership to a certain group or explicitly through institutions enforcing it (see Chavunduka & Bromley 2013; Lastarria-Cornhiel 2002).

Tenure resultantly has different forms identified in literature as customary or private property. This has also been conceptualised a freehold or communal. Customary rights refer to rights that a person has which are a result of their relationship to people (usually through lineage) in a community with a chief or head of lineage acting as a custodian. Private property, on the other hand, is when an individual had personal rights to and personal ownership of land (see Moyo 2003; Cousins & Classens 2004; Lastarria-Cornhiel 2002). Different tenure forms consequently have different rights concerned with using the land, transferring it or excluding others from using it (Moyo 2003:18).

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Similarly, other scholars such as Mamdani (1996), Peters (2013), and Berry (1988) have considered land rights in the African context and the alteration of such understandings of land rights in the milieu of colonialism and beyond. Crucially, for Peters, the legacy of colonialism "altered relations to land, conceptions of property, links between land and authority and between place and identity" which many African states continue to grapple with today (2013:2). This legacy for Adams & Turner (2005) endures through the 'dual legal structure' characteristic of many African states whereby customary law exists alongside common or statute law.

The duality of this structure was born out of the contradictory ideas that colonial officials had about what it meant to develop as a state and keeping control of the colonial state (refer section 4.1 on the African land question, see Berry 1992, Peters 2013:3). They resultantly used customary law for African areas and common law for their own areas as a way to rationalise and justify why two forms of tenure could exist in one state. In implementing this dual system of administration, Africans were settled in crowded, largely unproductive areas and settlers obtained mostly productive land.

After independence, the major concern for a number of countries was how to address the unequal land structure (see section 4.6 for the Zimbabwean case) and what the new forms of tenure would be. Those who argued for private rights and the tilting of land stated that individualising rights meant that tenure was secure and increased the likelihood of investing in land as an individual as well as obtaining loans and access to capital, which meant private property rights or freehold tenure would result in economic development.

Communal property, on the other hand, was argued to be insecure in terms of attracting investment which limited agricultural productivity and made it an unattractive option given the importance of food security. Authors such as Richardson (2005) have within this framework argued that in the context of land reform in Zimbabwe, the loss of property rights contributed to the collapse of the Zimbabwean economy because there was no investment and productivity declined which had knock on effects on the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and the overall economy. Of course, it is not as simple as this, as Andersson (2007) has shown because of the influence of other historical factors in the decline of the economy of Zimbabwe.

This is supported by evidence from the unsuccessful attempts at titling in Kenya (see Shipton 2009) and the absence of any improvement in production after titling (Atwood 1990, Bruce & Mighot-Adholla 1994 and Haugerud 1989 as cited by Peters 2013:5). Citing Atwood (1990) and Toulmin & Quan (2000), Yngstrom has argued that titling is now seen as unnecessary and "even harmful in the African context" (2002:22). This is especially in relation to gender and women's rights (to be explored in ensuing section).

Land tenure and the best form it should take in the postcolonial distribution context is further complicated by the different interested parties. These range from the state itself, different groups, actors within those groups, government departments and their representatives. The contest and at times conflict is then fought over in different spheres such as in identity and notions of belonging, through the construction of a nation, in the political sphere through patronage and exclusion as well as legally (see Berry 1993, Boone & Duku 2012, Mujere 2011, Raftopolous 2002; Peters 2013).

For Ostrom & Hess, this means that ownership is two-fold, whereby it can be understood in economic terms or in in legal terms. In economic terms, private property is viewed to be important in economic development (Welch 1983 as cited), whilst in legal terms, it is linked to preference for private as opposed to communal property, which is viewed as backward (2008:3).

In this regard, common property is viewed as problematic because of the possibility that it can be overexploited, given that everyone wants to derive as much benefit as possible from the resource, or could be used largely unproductive because no one can benefit individually and it is difficult to set rules concerning using the resource (Ostrom & Hess 2008:6).

One critical dimension in questions of ownership and best tenure form that Ostrom & Hess (2008) add to the debate is the difference between common-property and open-access regimes, common-pool resources and common-property regimes and a resource system and the flow of resource currents (2008:6).

Ciriacy-Wantrup & Bishop (1975 as cited by Ostrom & Hess 2008:6) distinguish between property regimes that are open access (where no one has legal right to exclude anyone from using a resource) and common property, where members of a clearly demarked group have a legal right to exclude non-members of that group from using a resource. Some open access regimes lack effective rules defining property rights by default (1968). Either the resources affected are not contained within nation

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state or no entity has successfully claimed legitimate ownership. Other open access regimes are the consequence of conscious public policy to guarantee the access of all citizens to the use of a resource within a political jurisdiction. A third type of open access entails the ineffective exclusion of non-owners by the entity assigned formal rights of ownership.

The problem for Ostrom & Hess 2008 is that at times 'common-property' is incorrectly used to mean 'common-pool' resource. A common pool resource is one that is "costly to exclude individuals from the good through physical barriers or legal instruments" as well as "the benefits consumed by one individual subtract from the benefits available to others" (Ostrom, V. & Ostrom, E 1977b, Ostrom, E, Gardner & Walker 1994 as cited by Ostrom & Hess 2008:8).

Common-pool resources are composed of resource systems and a flow of resource units or benefits from those systems (Blomquist & Ostrom 1985 as cited). The resource system is what generates a flow of resource units or benefits over time (Lueck 1995 as cited). Examples of common-pool resource systems include lakes, rivers, irrigation schemes, forests. Many facilities constructed for joint use such as mainframe computers and the internet. The resource units or benefits from a common-pool resource include water, timber, fish, connection time.

Subsequently Schlager and Ostrom (1992) identify five property rights that are most relevant for the use of common-pool resources, including access, withdrawal, management, exclusion, and alienation[66] (as cited by Ostrom & Hess 2008:11). In considering property rights, whether collective or as an individual, it is useful to do so in relation to the five categories (Ostrom & Hess 2008:12).

- [66] Access: The right to enter a defined physical area and enjoy nonsubtractive benefits (for example, hike, canoe, sit in the sun).
- Withdrawal: The right to obtain resource units or products of a resource system (for example, catch fish, divert water).
- Management: The right to regulate internal use patterns and transform the resource by making improvements.
- Exclusion: The right to determine who will have access rights and withdrawal rights, and how those rights may be transferred.
- Alienation: The right to sell or lease management and exclusion rights (Schlager and Ostrom 1992 as cited by Ostrom & Hess 2008:1)

It important to remember that in considering property rights, one has to be aware of the different possibilities with regard to success or failure in dealing with land ownership issues in Africa. No type of property-rights regime works equivalently in all types of settings (Quinn et.al. 2007 as cited Ostrom & Hess 2008:14) and the assumption that land ownership will gradually evolve to the most productive version (private property/free hold tenure) is seen as problematic and exclusionary.

5.1.2.1 Women and questions of ownership and access

For the most part in relation to questions of ownership and access, women as a group are excluded. It is argued that women have been unable to own land in their own right because their link to land is usually mediated through men (possession, control, access) (see Goebel 1999).

In her study exploring women's relation to land in Msengezi purchase area in Zimbabwe, Cheater found that participation in agricultural activities was either direct or indirect. Direct participation itself was differentiated and included the woman working as a worker on fields belonging to her husband or father, working on farm fields in which the produce was shared or working as part of polygamous marriage. The women also participated directly through working on their individually assigned fields, as part of collective or work groups (which in the context of purchase areas were seen to be more dignified instead of selling their labour as women in communal areas) or as women in joint or sole management of farms owned by absentee males. They also directly participated on farms they leased or owned themselves (1981:356).

Indirect participation on the other hand was organisational in that women (usually older in this instance) carried out certain roles around the homestead such as preparing meals or looking after children in order to free younger women to work in fields. Indirect participation was also supervisory in tasks in field (Cheater 1981:356).

In terms of familial relations, Cheater found that mothers were more autonomous as farm managers than were wives. This was especially for widowed mothers of men who inherited the farm (1981:365). Although they did everything in relation to the farm, they were not considered owners or remotely in line for inheritance.

This can be explained as the result of the dual legal system characteristic of many African states. For Goebel, this impact is evident especially on women because they do not have access to primary rights in landownership (see Maboreke 1991, Stewart

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1992 cited by Goebel). In her article considering women in the FTLRP, Goebel found that in post independent Zimbabwe, it has always been challenging to implement women's individual rights because it was seen to be in contradiction with their customary rights. This is due in to the contradictory legal status of women in the dual system. On one hand, there is customary law, practices and attitudes and there are modern individual rights on the other. Unfortunately, communal laws are usually administered because women usually reside in communities that make use of this (2005: 154). Another challenge is in the law itself. For example in Zimbabwe, Goebel illustrates that the Land Act and Inheritance Bills do not deal with inheritance especially that of women. As a result, in most instances, even on the death of a husband, a widow does not inherit land, but keeps it in trust for the male heir, usually the eldest son. Moreover there is always a possibility that the widow may be chased away by relatives of the deceased (Goebel 2005:154).

Although women have predominantly accessed land through their relations to males, leaving them vulnerable, they have been able to negotiate access through their husbands, families or links to politics (see Mutopo 2011a). In this regard, women should be understood as a differentiated group with varied interests and vulnerabilities.

5.1.3 Political meanings of the land

Politically, land is central in (1) political discourse as well as (2) a tool to gain political support. A third dimension of land that is explored in this section is the role that the state plays in determining the form of property rights that the state adopts.

In political discourse, certain 'discursive strategies' are used in the process of determining who should have access or ownership. Such strategies involve for example, emphasising the historical process of dispossession as a way to garner support for land expropriation. Another strategy is to construct certain people as 'autochthons', or 'strangers' as a way to define those who could have access to land (see Nyambara 2001, Peters 2013). This of course raises the question of who is the rightful owner and who is not (questions of belonging and these are linked to notion of collective identity). In Zimbabwean political discourse for example, land was a key element of the liberation discourse in which it was used to mobilise people to participate in the Second Chimurenga. This discourse was used to argue that the struggle continues and that the FTLRP was a Third Chimurenga. Linking history, using 'anti-colonial' rhetoric and drawing on ideas around Zimbabweans as 'children of the

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soil' are discursive strategies used in the contest for land (see Chavunduka & Bromley 2013).

However, this political discourse cannot be taken at face value, according to Shaw (2003), who has explored the arguments that have been central to the discourse on land and have influenced policy in Zimbabwe namely that the 'peasants need the land', 'the war of liberation was fought for land' and that 'Zimbabweans are only taking land that was originally stolen from them'. What Shaw (2003) illustrates is that these arguments are problematic with regard to logically resolving them because of the challenge in determining who was the first original settler, and rightful owner.

Political affiliation to certain political groupings can also ensure access to land in that being affiliated to a certain political grouping can ensure you get land. In the Zimbabwean context, some have argued that the FTLRP was used to benefit the elite who were a significant proportion of beneficiaries (McFadden 2002; see also Raftopoulos 2002 on the FTLRP and the 2000 presidential election). In this regard, political loyalty is also ensured because people would want to continue receiving benefits.

A third dimension in relation to politics and land is of the role of the state. Boone argues that there has not been enough attention on the politicisation of land tenure relations, and the role of land regimes in defining state-society connections across rural Africa (2007:561). The state has a key role in defining property rights (rural property rights) and the success and limitations of the nation-building project which unfortunately for Boone have been overlooked in studies (that focus on national level politics as opposed to local politics). Previously, land relations have been seen as non-political, not involving the modern state and invariant across time and space. Instead, she argues, the focus has been on patronage relations and affective ethnicities (2007:560).

The role of the state is an important consideration because it determines the eventual forms of tenure, the eventual beneficiaries and those who are able to participate in the land related economy. This means that political decisions and policy cannot be understood in isolation but in their implications for the economy need to be examined, which is another theme in land question literature: political economy.

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5.1.4 Political economy

As mentioned earlier, the land has been thought of in political terms in Zimbabwe. However, as authors such as Moyana (1984), Moyo (2000a; 2000b; 1995), Sachikonye (2005), Muzondidya (2009), Mlambo (1997), demonstrate, some political decisions made on the land question have had long lasting effects on the national economy as well as the way in which people in Zimbabwe use and livelihood on the land[67]. The intimate relation between politics and the economy was explored in the previous chapter, which dealt with the history of the purchase area farmers as located within the broader political and economic context. Given that the current study was a micro-level study, matters related to political economy more broadly fell largely outside the scope. Consequently, the importance of political economy approaches to the study of land is flagged here, but this theme is not further explored.

5.1.5 Livelihoods and land

Livelihood theory has been another way of exploring the question of land in relation to individuals or communities. As an integral part of livelihoods, land is seen to be used either in actual-livelihood making, through livestock keeping or farming (for example) or can be rented out to tenants. In development discourse, the land is viewed as an asset that can be invested in but the focus is quintessentially on livelihoods (Chavunduka & Bromley 2013:670).

According to Chambers and Conway (1992 as quoted by Scoones 2009:5) "a livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities for a means of living" (see capital (DaCosta & Turner 2007:193).

Given the complex interconnections between the multiple connections in livelihood systems, Shackleton, Shackleton & Cousins (2001:593) argue that livelihood systems should be understood in a holistic manner. When exploring land-based livelihood strategies or rural residents, they found most livelihood strategies entail the use of at least two of the broad categories, namely natural resources, livestock or agriculture (Shackleton, Shackleton & Cousins 2001:593). In exploring questions of land and livelihoods, they propose investigating who relies the most on land-based strategies

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[67] Also refer to Mumbengegwi (2002), Muzondidya (2009), Bond (1998),

as well as what kind of stock is kept and for what reasons. These questions will also be considered in the proposed study[68].

To enhance the security of their livelihoods, rural households often diversify them. However, these livelihoods remain closely linked to the environment. For DaCosta & Turner, when considering rural livelihoods, it is important to understand how they are reconstructed and maintained (2007:193). There is a diversity in the livelihood base of rural households, which includes land-based strategies of arable farming, livestock husbandry and consumption and trade in natural resources (Shackleton, Shackleton & Cousins 2001:581).

The importance of considering livelihoods theories, then, for Scoones, is that these approaches are useful as a conceptual tool offering a 'unique starting point for an integrated analysis of complex, highly dynamic rural contexts' (2009:13)[69].

Land and economic factors[70] have also been debated in terms of the most viable farm size (see Cousins & Scoones 2010 on contested paradigms of viability) with authors such as Moyo (2000a) reflecting on the importance of not overlooking the contribution that small-scale commercial farmers can make to the economy. Scoones (2012) however, argues that the debate on small versus large-scale farms should not be the focus, but instead the "processes of economic development based on agriculture in the area." This recognises that other factors are important in the productivity and subsequent viability of the farm, such as infrastructure, climate and land use skills which are important in considering the economic dimension of the relationship between people and their land that is study is interested in.

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[68] For more studies related to livelihoods and land see Dekker & Kinsey 2011; Scoones et.al.2012

[69] There is a difference between considering land as a livelihood and 'livelihood approaches' to land.

[70] The nature of a country's economy is linked to the history of that country as well as the political ideologies and resultant policies of those in power. In the case of Southern Africa, colonialism involved land appropriation and depending on the country, migrant labour mobilisation that had different effects such as the development of agro-industrial, mining and agricultural enclaves (South Africa) or Mining and agricultural enclaves (Zimbabwe and Zambia).

After the FTLRP, one area of concern was the impact of the FTLRP on agricultural productivity and livelihoods. In their study on livelihood differentiation after the FTLRP in Masvingo, Scoones et.al. (2012) found that livelihood differentiation was complex and could not be easily classified. What they found was that in the livelihood making process, some were able to accumulate, others were struggling and yet other were engaging in activities not related to the land they received at resettlement.

5.1.6 Environmental paradigm

Environmental change, and in particular the threat that climate change poses to the reliability of the land, is an important way of thinking about the land. The pertinent issues in this context are focused on adaptation (and, at times, resistance) to changing conditions, mitigating the adverse effects of environmental change, and preventing future negative effects related to environmental change. At times, people are forced to migrate as a result of environment related disasters and this is another area of concern (see for example Warner et.al 2010).

According to the IPCC (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change) Summary for Policy Makers (IPCC_SPM) 2012 "climate change is a change in the state of the climate that can be identified by changes in the mean and or variability of its properties and that persists for an extended period, typically decades or longer. Climate change may be due to natural internal processes or external forcings, or to persistent anthropogenic changes in the composition of the atmosphere or in land use" (2012:3).

According to this report, (IPCC_SPM 2012:11) it is projected that temperatures will warm considerably by the end of the 21st century across the globe. Heavy precipitation is likely to increase in frequency. It is also probable that average tropical cyclone maximum wind speeds will possibly increase although increases may not occur in all ocean basins. The global frequency of tropical cyclones is also expected to either decrease or remain unchanged. The report also states that it is very likely that mean sea level rise will contribute to upward trends in extreme coastal high water levels in the future. Extreme weather events they argue will have greater impacts on sectors with closer links to climate such as water, agriculture and food security, forestry, health and tourism. These changes in the environment are of importance because of the close relationship that people in the African context have with their land.

For the people living in arid, semi-arid and sub-humid regions in particular, they are susceptible to the loss of water supply which results from increased drought frequency

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and this has a negative implications for agricultural productivity (see Warner et.al.2010; Millennium Ecosystem Assessment 2005b).

For Southern Africa in particular, the already highly variable climate is expected to remain variable with an increase in extreme weather conditions such as droughts and floods (DFID 1999, Kinuthia 1997 as cited by Mubaya et.al 2012:9). Southern Africa is also expected to get drier (Clay et.al. as cited by Mubaya et.al 2012:9).

For Zimbabweans, who like other Africans, mainly rely on their land as a way to survive, environmental change and climate change in particular is a cause for concern because this affects not only livelihood making for the people reliant on land but the economy as a whole, since agriculture is a key contributor to the GDP. Of course, the ability to cope with environment related challenges is also influenced by the economic, social and political context of the country and for countries that are facing challenges, it is difficult to mitigate or adapt to the negative effects of environmental challenges such as droughts. For example, in Zimbabwe as the economy collapsed[71], Zimbabweans became more reliant on nature and natural goods which for Chagutah, resulted in the exploitation of environmental resources unsustainably (Chagutah 2010:10). This dependence of a number of Zimbabweans on rain-fed[72] agriculture and the sensitivity of major sectors of the economy to the climate makes Zimbabwe for Chagutah particularly prone to climate change because other challenges such as conflict and insecurity, unfair land distribution, low education and poor infrastructure, gender inequality, reliance on climate sensitive resources, poor health status and HIV/AIDS. This means that any negative climatic or environmental events are difficult to cope with because the challenges many communities are already facing (2010:vi, 1-7). It is therefore important to consider environmental change (climate change) because of its implications.

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[71] This collapse has been attributed to the loss of property rights and the subsequent chaos that occurred during the fast track land reform process. On the other hand, the drought that occurred during the same time (2001-2002) has been blamed for the economic decline of Zimbabwe (see Richardson 2007). However, it is difficult to identify precisely what caused the collapse although it apparent that a number of factors were influential.

[72] According to the Meteorological Services of Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe typically receives a significant proportion of its rainfall during the October-March period

In considering environmental change and its implications for those primarily reliant on the land, one way scholars have examined how such individuals adapt has been to explore the perceptions of these individuals about any perceived environmental changes, their understanding of it and how they have subsequently altered their use of land in relation to identified changes. In their study exploring farmer perceptions on climate variability and the impact this had on livelihoods (in the context of other factors) for farmers in Zambia and Zimbabwe, Mubaya et.al (2012) found that although climate change and variability[73] were problematic for farmers and their livelihoods, this occurred in a context with other influential factors which need to be considered as well.

Climate wise, Zimbabwe and Zambia for Mubaya et.al. are among the worst affected by droughts since "almost every year, in the drier areas of both countries, there appears to be an increasing trend towards a late start to the rain season, prolonged mid-season droughts and shorter growing seasons" (Cooper et.al 2006; Love et. al 2006 as cited 2012:10). These climatic changes subsequently exacerbate existing problems such as economic instability, conflicts, poor governance and the impacts of diseases such as malaria, HIV/AIDS in a context that for them has insufficient legislation to deal with climate change (Mubaya et.al. 2012:10). In such a context, Mubaya et.al. found that climate change and variability were then viewed in relation to other factors.

The farmers in the study reported that rains were late from November to February, instead of the usual October to April (Mubaya et.al 2012:12). The farmers in Zimbabwe identified higher incidents of more intense dry spells. The Zambian farmers experienced heavy rains and floods (Mubaya et.al 2012:13) (see also Cooper et.al. 2006, Love et.al 2006, Twomlow et.al 2008, Waiswa 2003). A number of causes were identified by participants, namely natural, deforestation, God's will, cultural beliefs and others did not know (Mubaya et.al 2012:14). Other factors identified were water shortage, lack of capital to get fertiliser, implements, chemicals for crops and livestock, loss of cattle, provision of services (dip tanks) (Mubaya et.al 2012:15).

Additionally, some scholars have considered evidence of climate change in Zimbabwe and have particularly measured rainfall decline and variability (see Unganai 1996;

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[73] For the study climate change refers to periods of decades or longer whilst climate variability refers to moths, years and decades. Farmers perceive that the climate has become hotter and rains less.

Chamaille-Jammes et.al 2007). Although there is evidence of rainfall variability, Mazvimavi (2010) argues that changes over time in annual rainfall have been part of cycles that are not necessarily indicative of climate change. This does not mean, however, that rainfall variability does not affect production and perceptions around climate change as well.

5.2 The many facets of land: linking back to the framework of Carolan

From the discussion, it is evident that land and how individuals relate to it is complex. Socio-discursively, discourse on the land has an effect not only on how it is related to physically but social organisation around land. Certain people are discursively constructed as either those who belong or as outsiders which has an effect on whether they can access land and in what form.

Socio-materially, the physical land can be understood to be part of social world to the extent that separating the land itself from social aspects of human life is difficult. This socio-materiality is visible in, for example, the observed characteristics of land that subsequently shape social organisation and relations.

The third facet is that of land as a physical entity with related processes, physicality and causality. These processes are understood not to be fixed but as 'permanence-in-flux' and this is evident in concerns around climate change, climate variability and the consequences of these on land relations.

The next chapter now turns to specific questions relating to the group of farmers that are the focus of this study, namely small-scale commercial farming families. In this chapter, I illustrated how the link between people and their environment can be conceptualised in the African context as a relationship between people and their land. However, I also indicated that numerous studies emphasize one aspect of this relationship, whether land was as a source of individual and collective identity, understood in terms of livelihoods, as political (and therefore also a discursive) category, in political economy or finally in environmental terms, especially with regard to climate and environmental change. The studies cited illustrated that some themes are acknowledged as influential and that they all interact in different ways.

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Chapter six: The relationship between people and their land

The aim of this chapter is to discuss in detail the relationship that the families of Mushawasha purchase area have with their family-owned farms. As argued previously, purchase areas were created in the colonial context primarily for political reasons and not to contribute to the agricultural economy or create a class of African farmers. In spite of this background, purchase area farmers, according to Cheater (1984), were able to emerge as a class that mobilised and advocated for its own interests. In her study, which considered the different means of accumulation used by purchase area farmers (see chapter four), Cheater was able to illustrate how the purchase area farmers of Msengezi were able to accumulate enough to be regarded as a capitalist class and a class of people who could contribute to the agricultural economy. In a later study on Marirangwe purchase area, Shutt (1995) highlights the importance of purchase areas in developing an identity as landowners and additional areas of concern that emerged as time progressed when considering purchase area farmers. These include questions of ownership, gender and generational conflict, ideas of development and the role of the state, which are useful in conceptualising the relationship to land for the people of Mushawasha that this study explored.

The context of course in which these families are located, Zimbabwe, experienced economic, political, historical and social change and one key event, the FTLRP fundamentally altered the agrarian structure of Zimbabwe and of society as a whole. In academic literature particularly after the FTLRP, additional questions in terms of making sense of the link between land and people were (and still are) raised and these I broadly categorise as dealing with identity, ownership, politics, livelihoods, political economy and environment. Undeniably, these questions are useful in conceptualising the relationship between the commercial farming families of Mushawasha and the farm that has been part of their family for generations.

Consequently in this chapter, I argue that the relationship between the families of Mushawasha and their land is complex and multi-faceted. Through tracing the vision or intention these families had from the beginning when they acquired the farms to their considerations of the future, I show the multidimensional link between these families and their land. For these families, their relationship with their land was not simply about owning or using the land or even thinking about it in terms of belonging and the legacy of their parents but there was also a sense of grappling with the

expectations on one hand and the day-to-day reality of living in relation to the farm with increasingly difficult environmental conditions (unreliable rain and increasingly dry and hot weather). As individuals, the relationship between different generations to the land was tempered by how they were living in relation to or on the land, their occupation, the status of their residence on the farm as well as other factors such as gender, ownership and where they saw themselves in the future. In other words, the relationship to their land was neither material nor ideational but more along the lines of 'socio-material', 'socio-discursive' and yet it remained very 'real'.

6.1 Locating Mushawasha

Mushawasha is located in Masvingo province in South-Eastern Zimbabwe. Initially the area consisted of cattle ranches which were owned by five settler farmers but these were later subdivided into farms as part of a 'Master Farmer' Competition that was held by the then Department of Agricultural Extension. Mushawasha was subsequently open for settlement from 1953 to 1958 with three primary areas: Mushawasha East, Mushawasha Central and Mushawasha West with an average plot size of 120 hectares (Masvingo South Constituency 2006).

Agro-ecologically, Masvingo province is located in the agro-ecological zones 3 (suitable for semi-intensive agriculture), 4 (suitable for semi-extensive agriculture) and 5 (suitable for extensive livestock production). Unlike the more fertile purchase areas of Marirangwe, the 421 farms of Mushawasha are located in regions 4 and 5 with farm sizes averaging 100 hectares (see Moyo 1985). This means that some farms are located in a region (5) that is not suitable for agriculture (Ministry of Agriculture). According to the Ministry of Agriculture, rainfed agriculture in regions 3 and 4 typically results in a good harvest once in four to five years which is of great concern given that a significant number of purchase areas were located in Masvingo province[74].

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[74] In 1985 these small scale commercial farms stood at 2 100 farms, which, according to Moyo, amounted to over 25% of the national number of farms in the sector (Moyo 1985:15). Of course, after the FTLRP, some of the A2 farmers are regarded as part of the small scale commercial farming sector, which is problematic because some of the unique challenges facing these purchase areas can be masked by considering them as similar to A2 farmers.

Mushawasha East, were the study was located, is a typical purchase area with farms that are bordered by communal areas[75] (formerly reserves). At the main road, the extension officers have offices and are available to assist the farmers in agricultural related matters. Looking around as one moves from the main road in a southerly or northern direction, there are clear fences that mark the different farms, with a road that is between farms in the area referred to as *'send raini'* or 'central line' and open to use by anyone to navigate the area.

Within the clearly demarcated (and mostly fenced) family farms, they typically have areas set aside on the farm according to use with pasture, fields and homestead areas clearly divided and fenced off. Depending on the specific family structure, a farm can have a number of homesteads with attached kraals and fields although the grazing area is usually shared. Families with more than one generation residing on the farm typically had a number of homesteads set up all over the farm although there was a 'main homestead' where the eldest resided or in the case of polygamous families, where the father and the main wife (or wives) resided. Farm partitions for the different families who were part of the study characteristically looked like the spatial map below:

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[75] See page ii for map
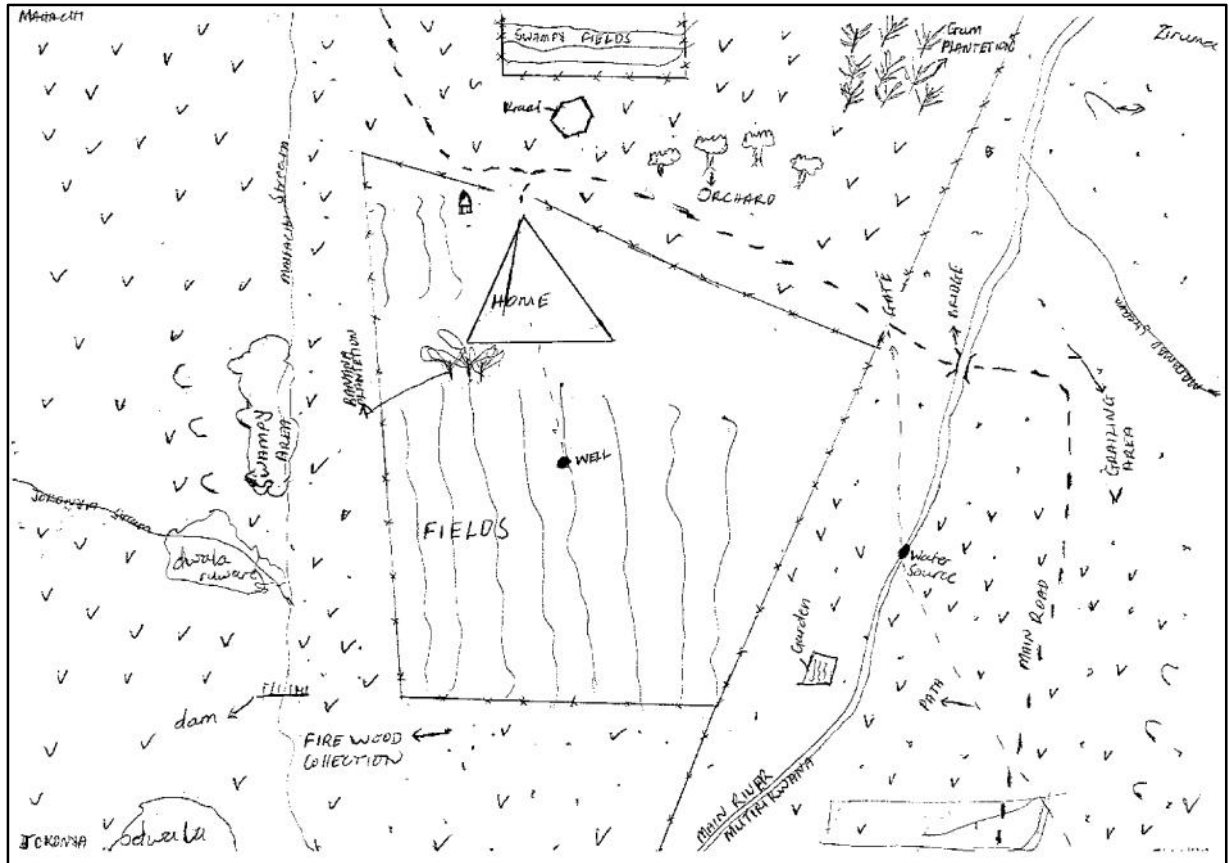
Spatial Map revealing setting of the farm

6.2 Mushawasha's commercial farming families

Eleven families were included in this study on the basis of two criteria. The first criterion was that the families had more than one generation residing on the land/farm. The second criterion for selection was that the family had to have owned the land/farm for at least two generations. A key informant was used to help identify the families. The eleven families interviewed were the Matavire, Besa, Chitiyo, Dangarefu, Meeso, Fudzamombe, Goremusango, Hamadziripi, Mashakada, Jairosi and Kurauone families[76].

The Matavire family was one of two families who still had the original farm purchaser alive. Such an individual was referred to as *Sapurazi*[77], which refers to the one who

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[76] In order to ensure the anonymity of the participants, as discussed in chapter three, pseudonyms are being used.

[77] *Sapurazi* refers to a land owner or the head of a land owning family. In this context, I used *Sapurazi* to refer to the first generation land owner but during the interviewing process, it

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owns the farm. In this family, I interviewed three generations, namely Mr Keith Matavire himself (95), his son Paul (62, second generation) and his grandson Kenneth (32) (third generation) although four generations resided on the farm. Looking around, the farm had numerous dwellings distributed all over that were for Mr Matavire's children and grandchildren and their families although there was a main homestead for Mr Keith Matavire and his wives. The farm size was 72 acres.

The Besa family was the second family whose original *Sapurazi* was still alive. For this family, I interviewed Mr Chivatu Besa (89) (*Sapurazi*), his son Pafunge (26)[78] (second generation) and his grandson Aidan (28) (third generation). Five generations resided on the Besa farm. Mr Chivatu Besa had more than one wife and this was reflected in the set up on the farm. Although there was a clear demarcation between farmland, pasture, kraals and residential spaces, these were separated for the second and third generations of the family according to the family (similar to the Matavire farm). For example, the son had a separate house, kraal and fields although pasture was shared. The external boundary remained unchanged although there were internal subdivisions. The Besa farm was 74 acres.

The wives of the deceased *Sapurazi* managed the Chitiyo family farm and I interviewed one of them: Martha Chitiyo (first generation). She came as a young child to live on the farm with her older sister who was married to the farm owner until she eventually married the farm owner as well. I interviewed Martha Chitiyo (74), a son from the other wife Tatenda (28) (second generation) and her grandson Augustine (40) (third generation). The farm was 90 acres and 4 generations resided there.

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became apparent to me that there was more than one meaning to the word. There was a distinction between *Sapurazi*, which meant the first generation farm owner and *sapurazi* also the farm owner but usually as a result of inheritance. In this research, generations are numbered according to the original farm owner whether alive or dead. Therefore even though the current owner would also be referred to as *sapurazi,* that *sapurazi* would be second or third generation and their children's generations would also be numbered correspondingly.

[78] Typically, those of the second generation were in the 50s+ age range. However Mr Besa had more than one wife and Pafunge as his son (albeit with a much younger wife) was second generation. This is why Pafunge at a first glance might seem to be too young to be second generation.

Similar to the Chitiyo family farm, the Dangarefu family farm was for all intents and purposes managed by Sarah Dangarefu. She is the daughter in law of the original farm owner and wife of the son who inherited the farm. I interviewed Sarah Dangarefu (63) (second generation) and her son Ariko (37) (third generation) who is a teacher and resides elsewhere but frequently visits the farm. The second, third and fourth generations resided at the farm.

With regard to the Meeso family, Mr Meeso had two wives. Conflict around control of the farm at the second generation level resulted in the fact that the farm had two entrances; two separate households at opposite ends of the farm and separate fields, pastures, wells and functioned as two separate farms although the external boundary remained as that of one farm. In this instance, I interviewed three-second generation wives, all of them wives of the sons of the original owner. Tendai Meeso (44) and Ursula Meeso (56) insisted on being interviewed together (they lived together on one side of the farm) and I also interviewed the other wife (Constance, 56) who resided on the other side of the farm (and whose husband is the alleged rightful heir). In addition, I interviewed the third generation (a son and daughter) Pride (18) and Joan (25) who also had to be interviewed together (they resided with their mothers Tendai and Ursula). The farm size was 87 acres.

The Fudzamombe farm of 74 acres is currently being managed by the son Tawanda (56) (second generation) who along with his siblings was left with the farm. He resided alone and at times with his brother. The third generation of this family resided elsewhere.

The Goremusango farm of 86 acres is located adjacent to the reserves. I interviewed the son Jacob (57) (second generation) who had inherited it from his father as well as his son Mhizha (28) (third generation) who resided elsewhere but visited the farm regularly. The second, third and fourth generations also reside there.

In the case of the Hamadziripi farm, Kudzanai Hamadziripi (63) (second generation) inherited the farm from his father and resided there with his wife and grandchildren (fourth generation). His children did not live at the farm and he was the only one I interviewed. The farm was 83 acres. Although Kudzanai Hamadziripi did not meet the first selection criteria, a number of farms in the area had single generation residents residing there full time and including a single generation farm was meant to enable me

to explore if his relationship to the land would be different and raise the issue of the role of other family members in one's relation to the land.

In the case of the Mashakada family, I interviewed another son (second generation), Muchenje Mashakada (61), who resided on the farm that he inherited from his father. In addition, I interviewed his son Gwanzura (29) (third generation). The second, third and fourth generations resided at this farm, which was 77 acres in size.

The Jairosi family farm had four generations residing there. I interviewed Tinotenda Jairosi (age unknown) (first generation) widow of the deceased *Sapurazi*, her son Chivutu Jairosi (53) (second generation) and her grandson Clive Jairosi (28) (third generation).

Family/Farm	Farm Size (acres)	Generations Resident on the Farm
Matavire	72	1,2,3 & 4
Besa	74	1,2,3,4 & 5
Chitiyo	90	1,2,3 & 4
Dangarefu	Unknown	2,3 & 4
Meeso	87	2,3 & 4
Fudzamombe	74	2
Goremusango	86	2,3 & 4
Hamadziripi	83	2
Mashakada	77	2, 3 & 4
Jairosi	82	1,2,3 & 4
Kurauone	62	1,2 & 4

Table 3: Farm Size and the Generations residing there

With the final family, the Kurauone family, I interviewed Margaret Kurauone (first generation) (age unknown) the widow of the original farm owner. I also interviewed her son Joshua (70) (second generation). Like most of the other families when more than one generation resided on the farm, the different generations had separate homesteads, kraals and fields although they usually shared pasture area.

6.3 In the beginning…how the families came to own the farms

Different categories of individuals purchased farms (see Shutt 1997; Pollak 1975; Massell & Johnson 1966) and similar to other purchase areas, the original purchasers of Mushawasha were a diverse group of people. However, despite the diversity, the Mushawasha purchase area drew a number of reserve farmers from surrounding areas, which was a unique characteristic of Masvingo province purchase areas (then Victoria Province) (see Shutt 1995). Although these purchase areas were established as the result of the LAP of 1930, Mushawasha was created later and only open from 1953 to 1958 when having a 'Master Farmer' certificate was a prerequisite to purchase a farm. As explored earlier (refer to chapter four), becoming a 'Master Farmer' could be done in two ways: (1) through the training process in reserves from 'Cooperator' to 'Plotholder' and eventually 'Master Farmer' which was available to those in the communal areas (formerly reserves see Massell & Johnson 1966) or (2) studying at agricultural institutions an option which was available to the more affluent who could afford it. Resultantly, among the eleven families included in this study, there were a number of 'Master Farmer's' who had gone through the process in reserves (and were perhaps the 'reserve entrepreneurs' or those who had gone through the stages) and others who had received training at training centres (two of these families' original purchasers were urban-based workers who had trained with the aim of acquiring land).

Payment for services rendered was an additional way to acquire the farms for the families that were part of the study. In two cases the *Sapurazi*s had assisted with the pegging of the farms and it was only one family whose *Sapurazi* had received the farm as WW2 pension.

According to Mr Keith Matavire (95) one of the original purchasers of the farm, he bought the farm because he needed a place that was large enough to accommodate all his cattle as well as provide a place for him to raise his family. He was particularly motivated by the limits set in the reserves and decided to purchase a farm because he already had a 'Master Farmer' certificate and therefore qualified to purchase a farm. He settled in 1955.

Similar to the Matavire family, the Kurauone and Tawonezvi families had gone through the process in the reserves of becoming a 'Master Farmer' and eventually applied for land. In the case of Tawanda Fudzamombe (56), his father won the farm as part of the aforementioned competition:

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> [Baba vangu namai vakabva kuZimuto vachipihwa purazi iri nemaererano nabasa e…kwaiitiwa makwikwi handiti munoziva ekurima vachiri kuruzevha, ivo ndokubudirira kuwinha purazi iri eh, ne vachiritenga nelease kubvira kubhadhara pagore, pagore, pagore, pagore, pagore, pagore, pagore, ehe kusvika ikozvino]
>
> "My father and mother came from Zimuto when they were given this farm with regards to their work e…they used to host competitions you know right for farming when they were still in the reserves, they were successful and won this farm eh, and they bought it on lease meaning paying each year, each year, each year, each year, each year, each year, each year, yes until today"

For the Jairosi, Hamadziripi and Meeso families, the original purchasers were trained at training centres namely Makoholi, Mandere and the Alford Institute. Although a significant number of the families were from the surrounding areas namely Zimuto, Ngomahuru, Gokomere, Chivi and Mamvura at the time of settlement, some of the original procurers of their family farms were living and working in the urban areas. One original purchaser was a policeman whilst another worked in the civil service. According to their families, they decided to move closer to home and receive training with the aim of getting a farm.

On the other hand, Mr Chivatu Besa (89), the second original purchaser who was part of the study, received the farm as payment for assisting with the pegging of other farms in the area. This was similar to the Mashakada family who according to the interviewed son Muchenje Mashakada (61), his father assisted in the pegging of farms of in Mushawasha and received their current farm as payment. Interestingly, the Mashakada farm in Mushawasha was not the first farm to be owned by a family member. Muchenje's grandfather owned a farm in another purchase area and it was from there that the family moved.

For the Goremusango family, the circumstances under which the farm was acquired were different in comparison to the rest of the families that were part of the study. Jacob Goremusango's father received the farm as part of his pension for fighting in World War 2:

> [Ah vangavari musoja, vakandogwa Second World War kuBurma, ndokwainzi kana eh vava vaizenge vambopihwa hwavo... Vainzi kana vanoda kuitiswa kana imwe course, Hurumende ndopaizvo vaitisiwa zvecourse zvaunenge uchingoda kana ndinoyeuka kuti eh maparuzi ano awa, muganhu awa arikumusoro,

muganhu wekuti paDombo, paCheka apa, zvichidzira uku todai eh, zvaizikamwa hazvo kuti kwaizofanigwa kuzopinda vanhu, asi, kuzoti izezve maBritish pavakazobatsigwa hondo yavo, vakagwa namaJapanese nemaTariana vakataga kutenda vanhu vaya asi zvakaitika ndechokuti vakati vanoda, vanoda mapurazi, vonyoresa, iri vozozvigova namapurazi. Mapurazi iwawa zvichidzira nemamwe ari kumusoro uko asi muno iwanawa vazopinda 1955, vandinonyeuka eh…vakazonga vagwa hondo iyoyo kuBurma]

"Ah he was a soldier, he went and fought in the Second World War in Burma, eh that is was said if eh those who had been given…They were told that whoever wanted assistance to study for a course, the government would enable them to do whatever course they wanted. I remember that these farms, bordered by those at the top by the Dombo, Cheka farm, going down that way then like this eh, it was known that people were eventually meant to settle there but after the British were assisted in their war against the Japanese and Italians, they began to thank those people but what happened was they said if you wanted, for those who wanted a farm, you had to register your name and they were eventually distributed them. These farms and those going down (South) as well as others up there but these ones they were settled in 1955, the one's I remember eh had fought that war in Burma" (Jacob Goremusango (57) the son of the late *Sapurazi* Goremusango who lives full time on the farm)

For these eleven families in the study, there were different pathways to owning land with three of the eleven families receiving the farms as a form of payment and the remaining eight families having acquired them through the 'Master Farmer' training process either in the reserves or at agricultural institutions. By the same token, the specific aims and visions for these farms were correspondingly varied and yet similar.

6.4 In the beginning…the vision for these farms

Photograph 2: A picture of a field prepared for ploughing (Mushawasha 2012)

According to the existing literature, purchase area farmers purchased land for various reasons including more secure tenure, space (in comparison to reserves) and to accumulate wealth (see for example Shutt 1997:564 and refer to chapter four as well). In this study, I was able to interview two original *Sapurazi* which I could find who were still alive. For the reason that they came from surrounding areas, it is not surprising that their vision/focus was on space and lifting of restrictions in comparison to reserves.

Mr Keith Matavire (95), a 1ˢᵗ generation owner who moved to Mushawasha in 1955, explains this as follows

> [Hwokuda kuisa n'ombe dzangu dzakanga dzichipisiwa nevarungu (pause) uye kudazve kurima]
> "I wanted to place my cattle that were being burnt by the whites (pause) and also to farm"

For Mr Keith Matavire then, the farm was for a place to raise his family and look after livestock relatively free from the restrictions he faced particularly after the Land Husbandry Act (1951) that enforced compulsory destocking and conservation farming

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as well as legislating that African families could only keep 5 herds per family and own 8 acres of land (chapter four refers).

Corresponding to Mr Matavire, these farms for most of these families represented a way out of the Reserves (for they seemed to be the 'Reserve entrepreneurs' who needed large tracts of land to farm and have livestock relatively free from state intervention).

Mr Chivatu Besa (89), another 1st generation owner, put it more simply:

> [Wahuri wekuti ndiwane pekugara]
> "It was for me to find a place to stay"

Although Mr Chivatu Besa (89) (1st generation) initially applied for a farm because he sought a place to stay, he was able to acquire one which he received as payment. However, over time, the farm took on some meaning and he also saw it as a place he could farm and leave as inheritance for his children. This is significant because in the popular imaginary and political discourse (see chapter five), there is a clear sentimental tie to the land that is arguably viewed as organic but these two cases (Matavire and Besa) illustrate that this is not the case. For one first generation owner, it was about use in terms of a place to stay and for another it was for productive use. In moving to the accounts of the second and third generations, the material concerns that were characteristic of the first *Sapurazis* are corroborated and as outlined by these later generations, the visions of the *Sapurazi* similarly included use and to build a family;

> [Kurima, eh nekuita mombe, ndoo tingangoti chinangwa chepurazi rino, ehe. Mamixed farms saka anenge achingoti uchitiukaita mombe uku uchirima ndozvatiri, kunongoti ndonzvimbo yatinogara nemhuri yose, ehe]
> "Farming eh and having cattle, that is what we can say was the aim of acquiring this farm, yes. They are mixed farms so one has cattle here and farming there, that is what we are, this is the place we live with the whole family"
> Joshua Kurauone 70 (2nd generation) son of deceased *Sapurazi* who lives full time on farm

> [Urongwa baba vachitiudza savana vavo vaiti ivo vakatengera purazi kuti varime vagovawo nezvinhu nokuti kunzvimbo kwavanga vari kwanga kuri kumaruzevha kusina nzvimbo dzokurima asi chinangwa chavo changa chiri chokurima kuti vagotengesa zvavanorima vachiisa kumaGMB vagorera mhuri yavo saizvozvo]

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"Father's plan the way he told us as his children, he said he bought the farm so that he could farm so he can have something because the place he lived in it was in the Reserves without space to farm but his aim was to farm so that he could sell the yield at GMB and raise his family that way"

Chivutu Jairosi 53 (2nd generation) son of the deceased *Sapurazi* living with his mother (1st generation wife of *Sapurazi* full time on the farm

In establishing or acquiring these family farms, the vision or intention of the *Sapurazis* were largely productive (and hence material) and this had implications in terms of acquiring capital, investing in infrastructure on the farm and selling the produce through the means available to them. Weinrich (1975 see chapter four) in her study found that the purchase area land owners of Mutadza who were not interested in farming (or did not consider it a priority) did not resultantly make use of extension support available to them or invest in farming related infrastructure on their farms. For the later generations of Mushawasha, this translated into whether the farm had ploughs, ox-drawn carts, established conservation practices and wells and since the *Sapurazis'* visions were mostly for productivity, most of the farms that were part of the study subsequently had some of the infrastructure in place. Nevertheless, this vision for later generations has become somewhat of a burden.

6.4.1 Challenges to the *Sapurazis'* vision

The vision of productively farming has become difficult to realise for the families in the study because of the changes that have occurred along the way in terms of environmental change, the broader context in (structure) which the families find themselves as well as changes that have at occurred the micro-scale in terms of family structure and population characteristics. Structurally, Zimbabwe has gone through different periods (independence, post-independence, 2000 land reform, post 2000 economic decline see chapter five) and these changes have had an impact on the farming families. The impact included the decline in the functionality of state distributive channels in relation to collecting and selling produce, the unavailability of capital and implements used for agriculture (fertiliser, dipping chemicals, and seed amongst others) and this has had a negative effect on the productive abilities of the farms and by implication, the realisation of the vision of the *Sapurazi*.

[Parizvino kwatiri isu, pandiri pano...pandiri ini ndinoona kuti urongwa hwanga hunana baba hwahwakanaka asi patiri isu hwaita sokutiipira nokuti iyezvineizvi

takangogara mumapurazi, mvura haisi kunaya eh nyangwe tikarima zvitukutuku eh zvatinoti titengesewo tiwane mari dzokuti tishandise mumapurazi edu hazvina kwazvinotengesewa, hakuna market. Saka kungorima uchisa mudura hauna mari yaunowana mupurazi nokuti zvinhu zvaunorima hazvina market kwazvinoenda]

"To us at this moment, where I am here…I see that the vision that father had was great but for us it seems to be becoming difficult because right now we are just living on these farms, it is not raining eh even if we plant very little eh that we aspire to sell so we can get money so we can use it for our farms there is nowhere where it is sold, there is no market. So it is a matter of farming and storing it in the granary, you do not have money that you get from the farm because what you plant has no market where it is taken"

Chivutu Jairosi 53 (2nd generation) son of the deceased *Sapurazi* living full time on the farm

Realising this vision as argued by Chivutu Jairosi was affected by the environmental constraints faced by the farming families such as increasingly erratic rainfall, changing soil characteristics, invader species and vegetation and land cover change.

[Ha mamiriro ndingangoti mvura ndoyava kunetsa ini, yokunaya]
"Ha the way things are I could say the problem is rainfall"
 (Kudzanai Hamadziripi (63) second generation son)

[…mvura haini saka toona kuti makore ano zvatishandukira, haasiwo mamirire akudhara nokuti Mwari aitipa mvura tichirima tisingatamburi zvakanyanya]
"…it does not rain so we see that it has changed for us in the current years, this is not the way things were in the past because God gave us rain and we would farm and we would not suffer too much"
 (Tinotenda Jairosi (age unknown) first generation widow)

 [Hapana chinhu chingakonzeresa kunze kwezuva chete, ratininongoona kuti ndo ratidzosera sure]
"Nothing else could cause this except for the sun, the sun that we see is causing our decline" (Sarah Dangarefu (63) second generation wife)

An additional dimension that made it difficult to realise the *Sapurazis* vision were the changing characteristics of the families themselves.

[Ha tichi…urongwa hwatishandukei mbinjana pamusana pekuti ikozvino ukatarisa vana vazhinji tetiri kumabasa, saka pana apa you find kuti saizvezvi pane panamai

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nevakomana saka kurima kwavaiita kuya kuya kwekurima nzvimbo yakakura vachitengesa mbeu kunanaGMB, ikozvino izvi hapachina. Kwakungorimawo zvokungokwanisa zvinhu sefamily, neimwewo surpluswo yokutiwo vanogona kungotengesa but ikozvinowo ha hakuchina zviya zviya zvekutengesera kunanaGMB, kwakutongotengesera vanhu vemulocal kana vanenge vanenzarawo zvavo]

"Ha when we...the aim has changed a bit as a result of, right now if you consider the children, a number of them, we will be at work, so here you find that right now it is just mother and the boys so the farming of the past where you would farm large tracts of land and sell the produce to for example GMB, right now this no longer occurs. It is a matter of just farming for subsistence as a family, and some surplus that they can sell but right now there is no selling to GMB, it is just selling to local people or those who are perhaps hungry"

Ariko Dangarefu (37) third generation grandson

In light of these challenges, the participants in the study were aware that the vision of their parents or grandparents was becoming difficult to achieve although formulating a current vision for the farm was also challenging because the participants themselves did not know where they would be in the future in relation to the farm. This vision formulation (reformulation) was additionally complicated by the lack of clarity in terms of ownership (of the eleven families, only four had clear transfer of ownership whilst the others did not) and access (over time a number of generations were resident on the farm all with a vested interest in the farm), the current uses of the farm given the challenges and constraints they faced, the meanings that the farm had acquired over time and the personal plans of the specific individual in question.

6.5 Here and now: the question of current vision

As mentioned earlier, when the family farms were established there was a clear vision for the *Sapurazi* and this was the vision that was realised and over time difficult to realise. However, as more generations resided on the farm and family size expanded, the question of whose vision was realised could not be easily answered because of (1) ownership issues, (2) the ensuing (current) use of the farm with its apparent capabilities and limitations in productive terms and (3) the meanings that the farm had.

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6.5.1 Ownership

Questions of ownership in relation to the vision of the farm have implications for whose vision was/is recognised or how the vision changes in comparison to the vision of the *Sapurazi.* In the study, ownership was subsequently considered in terms of who owned the farm, what kind of ownership existed and patterns of ownership that emerged over time.

Who owns the farm?

All the farms were established by an individual to whom all the participants were related. In this sense, all the farms were 'family' owned in that those residing at the farm were either the descendants of the *Sapurazi* or they had become part of the family through marriage, though the specific details were different for each family[79]. In the case of families without the first generation, ownership was not transferred and an individual owner could not be identified.

What kind/form of ownership existed?

This ownership was freehold and could be transferred because the farms were owned through long-term leases (99 years) or title deeds (only one farm was certain they had the title deeds). However in a number of instances, transfer was not initiated because of the annual payment of the farm licence to which all members of the family contributed. As a result, leaving the farm registered in the deceased's name ensured all continued to contribute to the annual licence fees. Communal payment of the fees also guaranteed access to the farm (and hence provided security see Shutt 1995) but this complicated the visions held for the farm because one could not simply implement what they wanted. For a number of families therefore, the vision that remained was the *Sapurazis* because of the chaos that could result in attempts to change it.

> [Muridzi wepurazi iri ha…ndinemadzikoma, isu hatina kuita zviya zvekuti baba namai vashaika hapasati paitwa zvokuti wavamuridzi waro ndiyani, eh

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[79] Since access to land for these families is through family, the challenges associated with determining who belongs, who is the 'stranger' and the 'autochthon' are slightly different from the way they are dealt with in literature. Instead, challenges are related to the direction the farm is to take and who determines it, in other words 'whose vision' remained largely unanswered.

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tongorishandisa nezita rababa vedu, Fudzamombe ndorangarichingoshanda, ndorinongoshanda]

"The owner of this farm ha…I have older brothers, we never did that thing of when our father and mother passed away it has not yet been done that who is the owner of the farm, eh we just use it using our father's name Fudzamombe that is the one that has always been working, that is the one that is still working"

Tawanda Fudzamombe (56) (2nd generation) son of deceased *Sapurazi*

Emergent patterns?

Although ownership was not transferred and the farms symbolically belonged to the family, each family usually had an individual that was understood to be the heir (in the families where the Sapurazi was deceased). Usually this was the eldest son who was the socially acknowledged heir. An added dimension to ownership was the role that women played in managing and looking after the farms especially in the case of the wives of the *Sapurazi* who managed the farms when their husbands worked. The diversification of livelihoods meant that wives had a central role in the farm although they were rarely considered when it came to inheriting the farm. In the case of the Kurauone family, ownership was transferred before the *Sapurazi* was deceased. As Joshua Kurauone (70) (2nd generation) narrates:

> [Saka tavapo tasvika pamutemo wekuti hurumende yati kana munhu akura eh anonzi ngaachitsvaga umwe unomiririra purazi, unokwanisa kuzofambisa pabasa rokurima nezvimwe zvakadero saka zvakaitika ndezvokuti ava mukoma vanga vasiri wuno, vanga vari kumavillage, saka takazondovatora ndokubva tazoenda kuMasvingo nababa, nehanzvanzi yavo, neni namukoma, saka tavako takaenda kwaMudzviti vokwamudzviti vakati ah isu hatigadziri nhaka yomupenyu, tinogadzira yowafa. Saka nyaya yenyu nemapepa enyu munofanira kuenda kulands, ndokubva tazoenda kulands. Saka tavako kulands, eh vakatsanangurawo nemamiriro azvakaita vakati tanga tichida kuti muve nemhuri yenyu baba vakati ah ndomhuri yangu iyoyi, ndovana vangu ava vaviri, iyi ndiyo hanzvadzi yangu saka pamhuri yedu tinongori four nekuti mai havapindiri kunezvenhaka. Nhaka yanga ichizopuhwa baba nemhuri yavo nevamwe voukama hwavo kana kuti vanun'una]

"So when we were there, there was legislation that the government had said when a person is older eh they should look for another to represent the farm, who can ensure that farming and other activities continue so what happened was this older brother of mine was not here, he was at the villages so we fetched him then we went to Masvingo with father, his sister, and myself and my older brother, so when

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we were there we went to the District Administrator and they said 'ah we do not deal with the inheritance of someone who is still alive, we deal with that of the deceased. So you and your papers should go to lands', and we went to lands. So when we were at lands, eh they explained the way things were and they said they required our father to have brought his family and he said ah this is my family, these two are my children, this is my sister so my family is made up of four because the wife is not involved in inheritance issues. The inheritance would have been given to father and his family and his other relatives or younger siblings"

For these families (excluding the Besa, Matavire and Kurauone families) the notion of ownership in academic literature was not effortlessly applicable to them. Legally, these farms were understood to be held under freehold and leasehold tenure and therefore transferrable but on the ground, the rights seemed to be communal because different members of the family could live and use the farm. They also had elements of the customary form of tenure because it was through lineage that they had rights to the farm. In this regard, ownership was complicated and 'dual' in the sense that private forms of tenure existed alongside communal forms. This duality also had implications for the women who were part of these families given the patrilineal culture of the community.

6.5.1.1 Ownership and access: the experiences of three generations of women

In the African context, it has been argued that the dual legal system means women find themselves in a contradictory position in which they should have rights as individuals but yet these are not considered in customary law (see Adams & Turner 2005 and chapter 5 of thesis). In titled forms of tenure, it is argued that women are at a disadvantage because the titling process recognises the individual rights of landholder who are usually men in comparison to those under customary tenure (see chapter 5 of thesis). In the case of the Msengezi purchase area, Cheater found that women largely had access to land and participated directly or indirectly in production

on the farm (1981)[80]. She also found that mothers were more autonomous than wives and in Mushawasha circa 2012, this appears to still be the case[81].

6.5.1.1.1 First generation widows: Martha Chitiyo (74), Tinotenda Jairosi (age unknown) and Margaret Kurauone (age unknown)

In this study, the first generation wives I was able to access were for social reasons widows. After explaining the research and expressing interest in interviewing first generation wives in cases where the *Sapurazi* was present at the farm, they insisted that they could not speak about these farms since the owners and heirs were present. As a result, I interviewed three widows of the Sapurazi and although their generational position was the same, each of their stories were unique.

Martha Chitiyo (74)

Martha Chitiyo was one of the younger wives who resided at the Chitiyo farm. She came to live at the farm with her sister and eventually married her sister's husband which was a common Shona practice and occurred to either support the sister as additional labour or in the case of the sister's death as a way to support the family.

> [Ah. Hoo ha ini zvoupenyu hwangu ndakango...gara pano ndiri chanana, ndakatogwa namukoma ndikazowanikwa nomurume wavo. Saka ndikagara kusvika murume afe, vakoma vafe, ndichingova pano. Ndakaita vana vangu twelve, vamwe havo vakashaika, vapenyu iten...]
> "Ah. Hoo ha about my life I just…lived here when I was very young, I lived with my older sister and I got married to her husband. So I lived here until the husband's death, my older sister' death, still here. I had 12 children, others passed away, those who are alive are ten…"

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[80] Women primarily accessed land through their relationship to men although in Cheater's (1981) study, she included female land owners. In this study, most of the respondents were male and women were not willing to participate especially if there were males on the farm meaning that there are gaps in this study in this aspect. However, I was able to interview a few women and get a sense of what their experiences were.

[81] Of course the category women or even first generation women implies that women are a homogenous category which is not the case. Instead, exploring their experiences through gender and generation is a heuristic tool to help illustrate generational differences although I recognise that within a single generation, there are differences between the women.

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With the passing of *Sapurazi*, she and the other wives continued to live on the farm with their children, grandchildren and great grandchildren. In the case of the Chitiyo farm, ownership was never transferred to the son and everyone contributed to paying for the lease. At the Chitiyo farm, everyone also pitched in and it was not clear who could be regarded as the owner of caretaker of the farm thus user rights and not ownership was collective.

Tinotenda Jairosi (age unknown)

Interestingly, Tinotenda Jairosi's grandson, Clive (28), thought the farm belonged to her because she for all intents and purposes was responsible for the daily upkeep of the farm. Clive's understanding was that she would inherit it as the wife but for Tinotenda herself, the farm belonged to her son Chivutu even though ownership had not been transferred. Her vision in relation to the farm was just to continue living on the farm regardless of the title issues:

> [Hwaikozvino ndinongoziva kutizve ndini ndiri ndiripano, ndini ndiri…zita rayo harisati yanga yapinda hayo muzita remwana kuti rangu risainiwe ranga risina, asi mwana wangu mukuru ndiyeyi]
> "Well for now I just know that I am the one who is here, I am…the farm title has not yet been transferred to the son so that mine is signed it had not, but this is my eldest son…"

Tinotenda Jairosi's case demonstrates the different understandings of ownership with respect to land. On one hand, there is the legal understanding in which the *Sapurazi* is the legal owner with title. On the other hand, Tinotenda Jairosi's understanding is based on the patrilineal culture which she is a part of. For her grandson, ownership entails managing and overseeing the farm which is why he views his Grandmother as the owner of the farm.

This case also illustrates the contradictory position that many women find themselves in where on one hand they have access to land and essentially administer these farms yet they are overlooked or there is not enough will to ensure they are able to receive title. In the context of competing claims to land, authors such as Goebel (2005) argue that this lack of primary rights to land makes women vulnerable to exclusion or expulsion from the land. However, in the case of Tinotenda Jairosi (and the following

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case of Martha), it is more complex than that. These first generation women, although they no longer fully managed the farm, were still considered integral to its success, were consulted frequently on matters about the farm, continued to live on the farm and expulsion was not a threat at all. This was the case for Margaret Kurauone.

Margaret Kurauone (age unknown)

Margaret lived on the Kurauone farm with her children. Although she had her own residence on the farm, she usually alternated between the residences of her two sons on the farm and often spoke fondly of her daughters-in-law. In the case of Margaret, she was never considered for title and the Kurauone farm was one of the very few which had transferred title (to her youngest son). However, Margaret Kurauone argued that it was important to transfer ownership and title to ensure security of residence on the farm:

> [Ungangoyekera usina kundonyoresa unenge uriwe ani? (laughs) Vanokubvunzazve kuti ugeremo, urimani? Zvino wati tumbi, asi wongosiyawo wopa vana eh wochigara hako]
> "Who would you think you are to just without registering it? (Laughs) If people enquire about your residence that 'you are living here, whose farm is it'? Well then you are just frozen[82], but you give it to the children eh then you can stay"

For Margaret Kurauone then, title equalled security but this was for the whole family and not herself as an individual. This security was slightly different for the second and third generation women who were part of the study.

6.5.1.1.2 Second generation wives: Ursula Meeso (56), Sarah Dangarefu (63), Tendai Meeso (44) and Constance Meeso (56)

Constance, Tendai and Ursula Meeso

For the women at the Meeso farm, they were in-laws married to a son of the *Sapurazi*, who had two wives, although Constance Meeso was married to the eldest son who

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[82] The description is quite vivid, giving the impression of a deer caught in the headlights or just someone rendered motionless because they do not know what to say which would illustrate the importance of officially claiming the farm as one's own.

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was the 'rightful' heir. The Meeso farm had two separate entrances on opposite ends of the farm and they essentially had two farms within a shared perimeter fence. Ursula and Tendai lived on one end with their children, whilst Constance Meeso lived on the other hand with her husband and grandchildren. For these women, it appeared as if they inherited the dynamics of the family farm where it functioned as two separate entities and they similarly administered their separate sections of the farm and were secure in their residence there.

This was slightly different for Sarah Dangarefu

Sarah Dangarefu (63)

Sarah Dangarefu was married to the now deceased son who inherited the farm. Her son, Ariko, was next in line to inherit the farm but he lived elsewhere working as a teacher. Sarah Dangarefu essentially held the farm in trust for Ariko and felt strongly about what the farm meant to her.

> [Purazi iri rinongondifungidza kuti takawana chinhu chisina mutengo. Asi tirisavanhu vasati vasisipo…ndingati ndoo…ini nemhuri yangu takauya ndo…tongogarawo, ava vakatanga aizve vakashanda chose asi parizvino hai tavakushanda tichingorima pavakanga vadzura miti namakandiwa vachiita, asi isu hapana zvatakambouya tikaita asi kungorima chete. Kana zvinondifungisa kuti ndigere panzvimbo yava yevanhu veukama, vaka, vakaisiya vakangosiya murudo vakangoti sarai muchienderera mberi]
>
> "This farm reminds me that we received something without a price. But we were as people who had not, who are no longer there…I would say that…my family and I, we just came and…just settled, those who started you see they worked very hard but now hai we are just working, farming where they cleared trees and the fields they did, but there is nothing that we came and did but farming only. Or it makes me think that I am staying at a place that belongs to relations, who left it with love, who said remain and continue on"

Although she felt that she belonged at the farm she was conscious of the possibility that she could be chased away by relatives of her deceased husband:

> [Ini ndozviona sekuti ndiriwapano, kubva pakafa baba, ehe ndangandiripo, zvinoda kuti voukama vaingogona kuti ah munhu uyu, muridzi wepurazi wafa, hama dzedu, ibvai asi ndongova gere. Murume akafa hapana munhu woukama

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akati ibvai…asikuti ndinongova gere navana. Saka ini ndinoona kuti kuchineimwe nzvimbo yandinofunga kuti kuda kana vachazongouya nekufamba kwenguva nokuti zvinofunga vanhu haungazvizivi]

"I see myself as someone who belongs here, ever since father (meaning father-in-law) died, yes, I was here, relatives could have said 'ah this person, the owner of the farm is deceased, our relative, leave,' but I am just living here. With the death of my husband no relative said 'leave'…but I still live here with the children. So I see that there is another place that I think that maybe, if they come with the passing of time because what people think you do not know"

Sarah highlights the lack of primary rights held by women in relation to land and the vulnerability that is a part of this. She and the other women of her generation, accessed the land through their spouses and there was a possibility of losing that access which Sarah was particularly aware of.

Joan, a third generation granddaughter, had no illusions about her lack of rights to the farm.

6.5.1.1.3 Third generation granddaughter: Joan Meeso (25)

Joan lived on one side of the Meeso farm with Ursula Meeso and Tendai Meeso. Joan is the granddaughter of the *Sapurazi* and she insisted on being interviewed with Pride (18 third generation male) her cousin. Although Joan was older than Pride, she seemed largely uninterested in matters relating to the farm. She mentioned she was married so her concerns were not with the Meeso farm. All the farm reminded her of was her grandfather's legacy…

[Rinotifugidza kuti sekuru vakatisira nhaka]
"It just makes us aware of the legacy our grandfather left us…"

…which Pride was going to inherit:

[Eh vanongotaura zvavo ndomasapurazi] (laughs)
"They just speak, they are the farm owners"[83] (laughs)

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[83] In this context, the use of *Sapurazi* denotes one who is now in charge and technically the owner. Those who occupy are similarly referred to as ma*Sapurazi*

As Joan would not be in a position to make decisions regarding the farm, for the rest of the interview she insisted that Pride spoke on her behalf.

For these three generations of women, primary rights were non-existent in relation to land, although they did have access through their familial relations to the farm owner. There threat of expulsion was not ever present, but particular in the case of Sarah Dangarefu. Joan on the other hand, was aware of the patrilineal nature of their family, which meant Pride was going to eventually inherit the farm and she as a married woman, voiced that her interests lay elsewhere.

Incidentally, ownership was important in the making sense or formulating the current vision of the farm because it influenced whose vision was recognised or pursued. The particular vision that the families had also had implications for how the farm was used, although use was furthermore influenced by the farming environment both locally and at a national scale.

6.5.2 Current use

For the families that were included in the study, the vision and succeeding use of the farm by the *Sapurazi* from the beginning was constantly juxtaposed with the current use and current (-ly in progress) vision of the farm. There was a sense that things were changing in a way that made overall conditions and pursuit of the vision difficult (it was very dry when the interviews were conducted despite this being the rainy season, broader economic challenges faced in Zimbabwe had a negative impact on employment, availability of farming implements, markets and distributive channels available to the farming families and the changing environmental conditions were altering available grazing land, soil characteristics and productivity). This meant it was not clear to what extent use was determined by the vision they had of their farms or if the broader conditions shaped how they used the farm.

Photograph 3: Ploughing in Mushawasha

One key use of the farm was as a place to stay. Of the 27 respondents interviewed in the study, a significant number (21) lived full time on the farm. They built their homes there and increased the number of settlements on the farm in order to accommodate the growing number of family members. Over time, there were subdivisions of the farm and depending on the specific family, each settlement had a portion of land assigned to them for cultivation. This subdivision over time was not unique to the purchase area families of Mushawasha but was also evident in the Old Resettlement Areas (ORAS) identified by Dekker & Kinsey (2011). These ORAS were settled during the first phase of land reform in Zimbabwe (see chapter five) and over time, with increased family size, the land subdivided for homesteads, livestock and cultivation.

6.5.2.1 Cultivation

Cultivation for commercial production was an integral part of using the farm, a legacy inherited by the later generations as part of the vision of *Sapurazi*. Over the years, farmers in purchase areas were farming at a commercial scale (see chapter four and five) and accumulating enough to be regarded by Cheater (1984) as a distinct class (refer to chapter four). However, this had declined over time due to a number of

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reasons including droughts, rainfall variability, changes in land cover especially trees and grass, challenges in raising capital each season and poor markets and prices.

When the fieldwork was carried out from November 2012 to January 2013, it was the planting season and the crops being planted were maize, groundnuts, Bambara nuts (round nuts). Additionally, other crops such as millet and cotton were being planted although these were not as widespread as the aforementioned crops. In comparison to the past, participants recalled a time when they ploughed sunflowers and wheat for sale although cotton and maize were the main crops planted for sale.

The process of cultivation entailed the use of cattle and a plough (see image) and family members manually dropping/planting the seeds in the created grooves. The cultivation process was therefore labour intensive and larger families tended to cultivate larger areas with the size of the cultivated fields ranging from four to twelve acres.

The process of cultivation was also supported by the state through extension support provided by the agricultural extension officers deployed to the different areas (known as *Madhumeni*). The extension officers provided technical assistance to the different farmers and enforced laws around preventing erosion, practising crop rotation and land rotation. They were also involved in the hosting of field days and demonstrations where the different farmers from the area would gather to learn about farming techniques and other skills from a farmer (family) judged to have produced the best crop of that season[84]. Over the years, these have continued although irregularly as Sarah Dangarefu (63) a second generation wife recalls:

> [Asi ndingati rapera paseri uko, macompetitons aivako, mashows aivako, vanhu vachiunganira, tichiunganira anenge aiita zvakanaka kupfuura vamwe, ehe]
> "But I could say in the year before the last, competitions were held, shows were held, and people would gather, we would gather the person who would have excelled and done better than the others yes"

According to the two extension officers deployed in the area, whom I got in touch with when I started my research, the process of extending support was now constrained by

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[84] According to Weinrich (1975), it was through this process that the 'Master Farming' scheme began (refer to chapter four).

the lack of training for later generations who had inherited the farms and the challenge was that when they did offer training, the individual who came was often not the individual responsible for or carrying out the actual cultivation. This could be attributed to the difference in state or legal understandings of who was the heir and therefore required to attend the trainings which in practise could be different to the farming families. These challenges in extension support were also evident when dealing with livestock raised by the farming families.

6.5.2.2 Livestock

The farming families in the study raised different types of livestock although cattle were regarded as the most important. For that reason, all families had cattle and some had farm goats, sheep and poultry as well.

Table 4[85]: Aggregate livestock holdings of the different family farms

Family/Farm				
	Cattle	Goats	Chickens	Other
Matavire	36	Unknown	Unknown	
Besa	23	13	Unknown	
Chitiyo	35-40	20		Sheep 7
Dangarefu	34	10	Unknown	Sheep 6
Meeso	22	8	Unknown	
Meeso 2	4		5	
Fudzamombe	Unknown			
Goremusango	23	Unknown	Unknown	
Hamadziripi	14	5		Sheep 2
Mashakada	12	7		Donkeys 4 Guinea Fowl
Jairosi	18	20		
Kurauone	Unknown			

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[85] A blank cell key means families do not have this type of livestock

At a glance, the table indicates that the livestock holdings for the families were large, especially with regard to herds of cattle, which were considered as the most important because their use as both a source of food (milk and meat) as well as draught power, manure and a safety mechanism (as they could be sold to raise money). However, most of the herds were fragmented, meaning each family unit had three or four herds of cattle at their homestead although they shared pasture. This herd fragmentation had additional implications for available grazing land because increased cattle numbers reduced the ability of cattle and other livestock to adequately feed. At the same time, it was not a matter of simply reducing herd numbers because of the importance of the cattle to each household within the family.

[Ah ikozvino dziripanapa dzine, tinongori sapakati pe35 to 40, asi nokuona kwangu zvangu, number yachona nebundo zvandanga ndichitaura zviya izvi, zvezvisingachapindirani. Pane padzedzisingato, maonero angu adzo number yachona inege isingafani kusvika kana kudarika twenty, asi dambudziko nderokuti musha wachona, musha mukuru. Kuzoti uzoti iwewe ita mombe mbiri, uyu mbiri, kuti dzibatane kuti dzisvike patwenty, ah hazvizobudi. Nekuti vanhu vanevachitarisawo kuti upfumi, zvinhu zvikamuomera anogona kutengesa chimwe chipfuwo. Saka mombe dzinokosheswa futi munhu zvipfuwo]

"Ah at the moment we could say there are somewhere between 35 to 40, but the way I see it, the number and the grass as I have mentioned, are no longer compatible. There are others that do not, as I see it the number should not exceed twenty, but the problem is this homestead is large. To say 'you should only have two heads of cattle', 'you keep two', so that when they are combined they add up to twenty, ah it will not come out. Because people will view it as wealth, if things get difficult for them they can always sell one head. So cattle is regarded as important" (Augustine Chitiyo 40 third generation grandson)

For these farming families, cattle were central to cultivation and as an additional source of food. However, it was increasingly difficult to cultivate and raise livestock due to a number of factors. These included environmental constraints, changing family structures, markets and market prices and the ability to raise capital each season. The interrelation of these factors made it increasingly difficult for the farming families to successfully produce for personal consumption and even sell their harvests, because addressing one factor did not translate to better agricultural prospects.

A major concern for the participants was the gradual decline of rainfall over the years, which negatively affected their yields. The effect of this reported decrease in rainfall

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and increasingly erratic nature of such rainfall was that some farmers had to plant repeatedly over the same season since some crops are burnt by the sun.

[Iiii, panembeu dzatirikutaimira kurima neminda yatiri kutaimira kurima hatichanyanya kukurumidzisa kurima nokuti ukakurumidzira kurima mvura yacho ichanonoka kunaya mbeu yodzozotsva, ukada kurima nenguva kuziva kuti ikehino nemanairo arikuita mvura awa, zvinokodzera here kurima kana kuti hazvikodzeri] "Iiiii, there are crops that we anticipate to plant, and fields that we anticipate to plough. We no longer plant too early because if you plant too early, and the rain will be late and the crops will wither in the sun, if you want to plant on time you have to know with the way it is currently raining, if it is suitable to plant now or if it is not suitable"
(Pride Meeso 18 third generation grandson)

The reported rainfall variability and decline correspondingly had an impact on the time dedicated to farm related activities on the farm, because people were forced to travel long distances to search for water. Although a number of families had wells on their farms, the extended dry season meant that these close sources of water had dried up. When the interviews were conducted, people had to fetch water from a hole dug in the riverbed (*mufuku*) that passed through one of the farms and this was very frustrating for the participants:

[Eh. Hatichatogoni kubudirira nokuti mbeu totenga mbeu kamwe toti yokufa, todzokorora kutenga gwechipiri fanwe kuti tibudirire zvakanyanyanyanya hazvichaiti nokuti tadzokorora chinhu chimwe kaviri kanakatatu, mbeu hatiiwani. Ihedzi dzatotorima mbeu ndedzechipiri, takamborima dzimwe dzikatsva... Kana ranga riri zuva ramafamba muchiona kuminda yandakarima zvimwe zvikafa ndichidzokorora, ndichidzvara saka imimaingoona…]
"Eh we cannot succeed because seed we purchase seed/crop once let's say for it to die, and we repeat buying the second time so that we succeed a lot but it won't happen because we have repeated one thing twice or thrice, we still do not get seed/crop. Right now, the crop/seed we have planted seed is for the second time, we planted before but it they were burnt (by the sun)…If we had walked around another day you could have seen at my fields the fields that I ploughed but the crops failed and I repeated planting so you would see…" (Pafunge Besa (26) (second generation) son who lives full time on the farm)

[Ehe nokuti kana maenda kumvura, hamuna chomunoita zvenyu, motofumira kumvura, motobopa mombe mototora ngoro motoenda kumvura mozoita basa

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madzoka. Pamwe kunenge kuri kure, pamwe unotowana pakatotita line, mondomira muline rondo, ro…ro…mufuku iroro kuti vaya vatanga, vambotanga kutora mvura vaindewo ugozoteverera, saka unozodzoka kumba nhambo dzapera]

"Yes because when you go to look for water, there is nothing else you will do, you rise early to look for water, you harness the cattle and you take the scotch cart and leave to go to water you only work when you return. Sometimes the place is far away, sometimes you find a line there and you have to wait in line…you wait for those who came first so that they have their turn first and leave then you follow, so you arrive home late"

Sarah Dangarefu (63) (second generation-wife of son who inherited farm)

The changes in rainfall also affected the availability of resources on the farm and the respondents noted that grass for grazing was sparse, soil fertility was declining and there was a marked deterioration in available wild fruit trees and general vegetation cover. This meant that in the case of unsuccessful cultivation and livestock raising, alternative food sources were unavailable and hunger was a real problem for families who did not have off-farm livelihoods.

Livestock raising was also adversely affected by the challenging climatic conditions. In dry years it is difficult to get milk from cattle for consumption or sale, the lack of pasture results in thin cattle which do not sell well or at a 'fair' price and there is a marked increase in livestock diseases.

[Haa tingangoti kushaikwa kwemvura nokuti zvipfuwo zvinoti kana kuchipisa zvino eh...zvigwere zvinowanda, zvishambwe nezvimwe zvakadaro, uye makore apera mvura yanga ichinaya zvigwere zvazviri zvishoma iye zvino zvatiwandei nokuda kwekupisa kwenyika]

"Haa we could say the lack of rain because our livestock if it is hot they eh…there is an increase in diseases, ticks and other things, in the previous years when there was adequate rainfall, diseases were few but not there is an increase because of the heat in the environment"

(Joshua Kurauone (70) second generation son)

Although the increase in livestock diseases could be attributed to the reported increased temperatures, the respondents also identified changes in dipping patterns where in the past they used to dip the cattle weekly but were dipping less regularly and this could be a contributing factor in increased cattle diseases.

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[Dzinoenda asi zvatinotowona ndezvokuti pamwe dzogona dzichibva kamwe pamwedzi chete kana kuomboita mwedzi nehalf kana miviri dzisingadipi saka pamwe tozongoitawo plan yekutiwo wondotenga dip, wotoita dzekufilter]
"They go but sometimes we see that they can go once a month or go for even a month and a half or two without dipping so sometimes we just make a plan and but dipping chemicals, then you spray the cattle"
Sarah Dangarefu 2nd generation wife

This was in stark contrast with the remembered past when a number of families recounted selling cattle to the Cold Storage Commission (CSC), their grain to the Grain Marketing Board (GMB) through the cooperative or directly and cotton to The Cotton Company of Zimbabwe (COTTCO).

[Eh kuCOPA, COPA ndeyanga iri yeco-operative, ndozvaiitika vaindisa kuCop, sezvirimwa zvomafarmers ose, zvakasangana. Cop ndoyozoindisa kuGMB]
"Eh to COPA that was the co-operative, what happened was you took it to the co-operative, all the yield of the different farmers. The the co-operative would take it to GMB"
Jacob Goremusango (57) second generation son

[Taitengesa kuCOTCO…kuma 5 bales]
"We sold it to COTCO…about five bales"
Kudzanai Hamadziripi (63) second generation son

The environmental challenges faced by the farming families had far-reaching consequences for their livestock raising, as well as ability to cultivate and there was a marked difference with the past.

In response to the challenges, the participants employed different strategies to cope, such as using fertiliser as a way to combat declining soil fertility,

[Mashandisiro ataiita aya atotisiyanei nokuti tirikuzviona kuti purazi ririkuchinja, kana kuti panonaya mvura paya paya kana kuti panomboita mvura yakatiwandei inenge ichikukura ivhu riya riri fertile repamusoro riya richizosara ningi… of which iyezvino tavakusevenzesa, pakuda fertiliser pakuda manure kuti mumwe musiwo ribatsire ivhu riya riya kuvanewo zvirinane]
"The way we use the farm has changed because we can see that the farm itself is changing, when it rains or instances where there is a lot of rain, the fertile layer of

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top soil is washed away leaving behind…of which right now we are now using, it requires fertilizer, it requires manure so that the soil can be improved and be better"

(Muchenje Mashakada 61 second generation son)

They moreover relied on remittances from other family members who worked elsewhere as way to raise money for the annual fees and to acquire farming implements before the planting season. It is important to note that the challenges these farming families faced in using the farms were not the result of only environmental factors, declining extension support or inadequate dipping facilities. There were structural factors such as the economic decline and resultant shortages of money challenges affecting Zimbabwe which had a negative impact on agricultural production (see Dekker & Kinsey 2011).

For these farming families, the period of economic decline in Zimbabwe resulted in shortages in farming implements, shortages in money and problems in the market system whether it was in collecting the crops or paying for the crops.

Overall, using the farm and formulating a way forward was difficult for the respondents because of the challenges they faced. The frequent dry spells meant producing for sale was difficult, and in the event that they were able to produce for sale, broader economic challenges meant that the GMB was unable to collect their harvests or pay on time. This in turn had an impact on the crops they decided to plant[86] and prompted a reconsideration of the vision they had of their farms although there remained a desire to achieve this vision.

[Hunofanira kushanduka nokuti ikozvino ivovo vaSapurazi vakashaika ava saka pano panotovawo nemumwe mwanazve unopinda pa…ipapo…panzvimbo iyoyo]
"It [the vision] has to change because now the *Sapurazi* is deceased so there is another child who will replace that position"
Sarah Dangarefu 63 (2nd generation) daughter-in-law of deceased *Sapurazi*

[Parizvino tineurongwa hwoku, hwokuti dai taindirira mberi neningikiri nefarming kuti tikwanise kuraramisa mhuri dzedu]

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[86] The interaction of these multiple factors in similar studies by Dekker & Kinsey (2011) in the ORAS and Mubaya (et.al 2012) in small holder farmers in Zambia and Zimbabwe

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> "At this moment, our aim, our aim is if only we continued with what is the thing, with farming so that we can ensure our family's survival"
>
> Muchenje Mashakada 61 (2nd generation) son of deceased *Sapurazi*

Survival and feeding their families as an aspect of the vision for the farm indicates continuity with the initial intentions of the *Sapurazi*. However, the challenges and changes over time did shape more than just use and ownership but meanings of land to the different members of these families.

6.5.3 What the farm/land meant to the participants

Land meant a number of things to the participants and these meanings were linked in some instances to the use of the farm, the vision that the *Sapurazi* had and the generation of the participant. Differences in meanings were also in terms of gender and the participant's position in the ownership of the farm. For example, those who had witnessed the beginning of the farm (mostly 2nd generation) wanted to continue what they had started although some were cognisant of the limitations and challenges that they faced. For the third generation and those who had made a life for themselves elsewhere, meanings tended to centre on the farm as something to be kept for activities that were not necessarily related to use. For those who were not likely to be considered as owners (more likely women), meanings tended to be closely linked to security and residence and immediate use. To illustrate these differences, I will draw on the cases of some participants.

6.5.3.1 Tawanda Fudzamombe 56 (2nd generation): hanging onto a fading dream

Tawanda Fudzamombe is the 9th son out of 10 children who is currently living full time on the Fudzamombe farm. He was born the year his parents had moved from Zimuto to the farm which they had won when they excelled at farming in the reserves. They received a lease for the farm that they had to renew annually. Upon their death, the farm was left in the hands of Tawanda and his siblings although it remained registered in their father's name.

According to Tawanda his parent's vision for the farm was to continue farming as they had done in the reserves. This is his vision too. When asked to reflect on what the farm meant to him, he expressed a desire to return to the way things were in the past:

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[Eh…ini nekudzokera pasi kwataita rinondipa eh shungu dzekushanda chose kuti tidzokere patakatasvika, tatasvika pakuita vanhu vanogona kugara nemombe 30, eh makwai kana kuti 30, eh mbudzi kana kuti 20 saka tatisina dambudziko renyama. Taigara matura edu akazara, tichibetsera vamwe vanhu vaibva kune mamwe ma, dzimwe nzvimbo nechikafu, saka nedrought dzadurikana idzi, eh tadzokera pakuva vanhu votatarika chaizvo asi kuti tinodawo kushinga kuti tishande, timutsidzire zvakanga vasvika ivo vabereki. Eh nokuti vakanga vatosairira pakuzoti vati mombe zvadzawanda kudai tingatengesa kuti titenge kana kuti tractor, ndopavanga…ndopalevel yavanga vasvika asi vana vachiinda kuchikoro vachiputsa mombe dziya, ivo vachizochemberawo vachizogwara, vana vakura umwe neumwe wodai, umwe woda, umwe wodai, umwe wodai, umwe neumwe achibuda nezvinhu zvake saka atosara tiripaya pekutoti kwakutangazve kuti one]

"Eh…myself with the way we have declined it gives me eh the drive to work very hard so that we can return to where we were, we had become people who could stay with 30 herd of cattle, eh sheep even up to 30, eh goats even 20 so we had no problem with meat. We always had our granaries full, we also assisted people who came from other places with food, so with these consecutive droughts, eh we returned to being people who staggered immensely but we want to be brave so that we work, we improve on our parents had achieved. Eh because they had become that they said since we have a lot of cattle if we sell them so that we can buy even a tractor, that is where…that is the level they had reached but children were going to school and they were killing the cattle, they aged and became ill, the children became adults and they went their separate ways and each leaving with their property so the one left is at the state of staring from one"

In his eyes, all he needed was to receive a bit of assistance from the state and his aim could be achieved. For that reason, that all he regarded as important on the farm were the cattle:

[Zvatinokoshesa…chatinokoshesa zvikuru in'ombe, mombe, kusvika purazi rikaita mombe rotozvi, rotozvifumisa rega eh dzinorima, dzinoita mufudze eh]

"What we regard as important…what is very important is the cattle, cattle, until the farm has cattle it can make itself wealthy eh they plough, they make manure eh"

All Tawanda required therefore were that cattle and everything would be fine. On the other hand, Muchenje Mashakada another 2nd generation son who resided full time on the farm was aware that the farm was not what it used to be and it subsequently it meant something different to him.

6.5.3.2 Muchenje Mashakada 61 (2nd generation): facing up to the shattered dream

Muchenje Mashakada was born on his grandparents farm in Mamvura but moved to Mushawasha with his parents in 1955 when they received their current farm as payment for assisting surveying and pegging the farms of Mushawasha. As part of the payment, his parents were also taught carpentry; farming and they went for training at Mandere training centre. When they initially started out, Muchenje recalls that his parents were given cattle by his grandfather but in two years they were able to purchase their own and the farm was very successful. In his words:

> [Asi pasina kana two years goho ratakawana rakakwanisa kutenga mombe seven pamarket one time, ndokuyaruka kwatakazoita mari tane pfuma saka pazvakazotifambira zvakanaka, tichitotisa maricho kutoti vanhu vanouya kutozotsvaka basa kunzungu ndokwanga kuine rimwe goho futi raibatsira. Taitotora vanhu kuchikoro vachiuya vachisevenzera kuitira mari dzavo dzemabhora and so forth…]
>
> "Before two years were up the harvest we had was able to purchase seven herd of cattle from the market at once, that was how we overcame money problems, we had wealth so when things went our way, we had people come and work in our fields for pay to say some came to look for work in our groundnut fields, that was where we had harvests that helped. We even took people from school and they came to work for…for money for their sports and so forth…"

Despite these promising beginnings, thing eventually became difficult.

> [Asi pakuzongoti dzimwe nguvawo pakaiti goho rakuita shoma tikatanga kuzviexperienza 1965 ndopakaita imwe nzara. Takazobetserekawo nekurima vana mhunga kuti tikurumidze kuyambuka tikazenge tichibatsirwa futi nechibage chiya cheKenya chiya ichi eh zvinhu zvacho zvakaramba zvichifamba zvazvo, zvakanakawo gore rakateverera rakazenge tichiitawo sanane, ndokuzopindazve pa, pa'92 ndopakachinjazve mamiriro ekunze, hapana kukohweka zvakanaka. Kozouya zvepa' eh…'02, pakaita sokuchinjazve, zvinhu hazvinazve kunge zvichiita zvakanaka. Saka kubva nguva iyoyo kana ivhu redu harichanyatsokupa zvakanaka, rakuda kutopamhidzwawo zvimafertiliser and so forth, purazi ririkuramba richiita sejecha like kusvika parizvino. Tichitarisana futi ne…2012, hakuna kumira zvakanaka, ha…panezvemumunda tingati zvinhu zvese tirikuona kuchinja kwazvo, kana chakasvika chero chinhu chawaiita, chawaizviraramira

uchizvirimira zvakanaka, iyezvino izvi zvinoti apo neapo ah zvinotoda kushandirwa, ah]

"But sometimes there are times when the harvest was few and we began to experience this in 1965 that was when there was famine. We had helped by planting sorghum so that we could quickly overcome and also maize was helpful…that one the Kenya one eh things remained difficult, but they improved the following year, but come '92 that was when the weather changed, there were no bountiful harvests. Come again eh… '02, it seemed things had changed again things were not going well. So since that time even the soil is not as fruitful, it needs extra in the form of fertilisers and so forth, this farm is increasingly becoming sandy like until today. If we look at 2012 again, things are no looking well, ha…with regard to fields we can say we see that changing of things, whatever ripens that you have planted, that you used to survive and plough without problems, now it is seen here and there ah you really have to work for it, ah"

When he reflects on what the farm means to him, similar to Tawanda Fudzamombe, the past has a hold on him:

[Tichidzora ndangariro ndakatarisa purazi rino ndinofunga nguva yeku, yezvinhu zvichakanaka, ndikatarisa kana rino gandiwa ratatiri pano apa ipapa pakamira imba apa, paiva nemutanha muhombe wenzungu wakatanhaurwa nevana vechikoro vakatadza kupedza. Pamberi apo, vakazotongosairira mombe, nzungu dzatadza kuninginkira, kudzurwa zvinhu zvichakanaka pamusoro apo, tai, paimbova minda yakakura zvikuru,…Saka ndinofunga zvangu kudhara zvinhu zvichakanaka]

"When I look back and look at this farm I think about the time, when things were still great, when I look even at this field that we are at here right here, where that house is standing, there was a large field of groundnuts that the schoolchildren picked and they were unable to complete. In front of that there, they just herded cattle, the groundnuts could not be pulled when things were still great there further on there, we, there used to be a large field…So I think of the past when things were still great"

For Muchenje Mashakada then, the farm despite the vision they had of achieving success through agriculture has fundamentally changed and perhaps requires a re-examination of what it is capable of.

Although for both of these participants who both resided full time on the farm and still had memories of earlier times when the farm was more productive, the meaning that

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they attached to the land was different. Although both their meaning was linked to use, other factors such as the physical constraints as well as their hope affected what the land meant to them. Living on the farm or elsewhere was another factor that affected what the farm meant to the participants as is evidenced by the cases of two third generation participants Aidan Chetse and Clive Jairosi

6.5.3.3 Aidan Chetse 28 (3rd generation): I do not see myself here but these are my roots…I guess?

Aidan Chetse the 28-year-old entrepreneur grandson of Mr Chivatu Besa (1st generation) who is his mother's father. He is not aware of how his grandfather came to own the farm but reckons it was to farm. He is not involved in the day today running of the farm and the longest he has spent on the farm is a few days. For Aidan, the place he considers home is his father's farm about ten kilometres away but his grandparent's farm is like that home. Although Aidan does not see himself living on the farm, it still means something to him although this is mostly emotional and somewhat idealised as illustrated below:

On what comes to mind when thinking about the farm:
> [Eh nerondedzero dzatinosiwana kunana mai vangu zvinondifungidza kukura kwavakaita, grooming and nurturing yavaiitwa kusvika pazuva ranhasi]
> "Eh the narratives that we get from my mother it makes me think of the way she grew up, the grooming and nurturing she received until today"

On what the farm means to him:
> [Tingati rinoreva zvakawanda panyaya yetsika nemagariro atirikuitawo nhasi, kuti eh vakuru eh behaviour yaunenge uchiita pavakuru chaipo, eh I think the roots yachona yakatobva papurazi pano. Isusu zvatakazo...behavioural kushepewa kwaakazoita pakusocialisa nevamwe musociety, yakazoshepewa kubva pano, ehe nokuti tino for example kunonzi iko zvataugwa nevakuru ndizvo zvaunofanigwa kutevedzera...uye konzi ziva kwawakabva, ehe zvichireva kuti time and again uneuchifana kushanya uchiona madzisekuru uchitaura navo, uchiona kuti varikugara zvakadii, ehe]
> "We can say it means a lot of things on the issue of manners and living that we are engaged in today, that eh the elders eh behaviour that you exhibit around the elders, eh I think the roots of it came from this farm. We now that we've become…behavioural the way it was shaped in socialising with others in society, it was shaped from here, yes because we for example it is said what the elders

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have said that what you should follow…and it is said remember where you come from, yes this means tine and again you should visit your uncles and talk to them, seeing how they live, yes"

What then does he regard as important in relation to the farm?

[Kukoshesa eh ndinokoshesa nenyaya yekuti ndopakazvagwa vabereki uye ndopachina madzisekuru vanovaivo eh ndovaunenge uchihwa kutiwo kana variwo vari padhuze you seek ideas zvezvakugozherawo unouyawo uchizopowo uchiturawo kuti ha ndodiiwo uchitsvaka mazano, eh]
"Important eh I regard as important because this is where my parents were born and where my grandparents still are who are eh the one's you feel that if they are near you seek ideas on what is difficult for you, you come and you are there and you ask ha what can I do looking for ideas, eh"

Interestingly, does the farm mean something to him or is it more about the people on the farm because he does not see himself on the farm in future.

[Ha inini nemaprocess andiri kuita ha I will be miles away (laughs)]
"Ha myself with the processes I am working on, ha I will be miles away (laughs)"

On closer inspection, perhaps this will not be so simple:

[Sezvo pane...pane veukama vakanyanyisa ku...ndivo...ndov...ndokwandinobelonger, this is the place where I belong kwakabarirwa, kwakazvarirwa mai vangu, you can't say kuti totally I can do without...aiwa, I also belong here, I am part of this place, ehe]
"Since there are…there are close relatives to…they…they…that is where I belong, this is the place where I belong where was born, where mother was born, you can't say that totally I can do without…no, I also belong here, I am part of this place, yes"

Although one may wish to cut all ties with the farm or be already distant from it, it seems the farms have a hold on even the seemingly unaffected later generations who do not know much about it. This is different for later generations who live full time on the farm as illustrated by the case of Clive Jairosi (3rd Generation).

6.5.3.4 Clive Jairosi 28 (3rd generation): I am not sure, but at least I have a place to stay

Clive Jairosi is twenty-eight years old and was born on the farm and lived here all his life. He is not sure how his family owns the farm but he knows it belongs to his grandmother, his father's mother. He recalls the previous success of the farm and how things have altered due to changing environmental conditions. The farm for Clive is a place for him to raise his family.

Clive does not seem to know much about the farm and is not involved with the rest of the family (he has his own homestead some distance from the main homestead on the farm) but he recognises its importance in his life.

> [Kana ndakaritarira…he he…haa…ndoona, ro ndongoona rakandinakira nokuti ndine ndichingovamo ndichingorima eh]
> "When I look at the farm…he he…haa…I see, I see it is great for me because I will be on it just farming eh"

He does not reflect much on what it means to him and this proves difficult to put into words,

> [Rino iri…eh…(pause)…ha…aha unogozha mubvunzo ha ha…]
> "This one …eh…(use)…ha…aha that is a difficult question ha ha…"

> [Ha ndorokurima zvese nokungowananwo pokugara tichirima]
> "Ha it is for farming and also just to find a place to stay and farm"

Despite this, it seems that this will be the future he has resigned himself to:

> [Ha ndendichingori pano]
> "Ha I will still be here"

What is interesting about Clive Jairosi's case is that he seems to aspire to do something else although he cannot see a life beyond the farm. All the farm means to him is something to use and a place to stay. In comparison to Aidan Chetse who had other options and whose survival did not centre on the success of the farm, the farm came to mean something more ideal and less related to use and this illustrates the very real physical constraints and how these can alter the meaning and perception one

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has of the land depending on how frequent the interaction is with the land. At the same time, some meanings were combined in terms of use and as a place to stay.

6.5.3.5 Constance Meeso 56 (second generation wife): The farm is a place to stay and farm in peace

Constance Meeso was able to access the farm through her marriage to the son who was meant to inherit it. What the farm meant to her was largely linked to having a place to stay and immediately farm.

> [Eh purazi rinoreva ndingangoti kugara zvakanaka zvisina ma…unoti iwe ibvapo, iwe kugara zvakanaka ha, ndochokutanga, kana ugere mupurazi unenge wakasununguka, chechitatu, kurima. Unorima chose zvekuti kana uchikwanisa kurima kana mvura ichinaya, unofana kurima uchiisa kuGMB mamwe achisara unchitengesera vanhu. Eh kurima kunekuviri, unorima ugopedza, ugozorimazve mbeu yekuzotengesa muchirimo, ndozvandingangoona]
>
> "Eh this farm means I could say living freely without…anyone saying you should leave, you live in peace ha, that is the first, if you are living in the farm you are free, third, to farm. You can farm extensively if you can and it rains, you have to farm and sell it to GMB with some of the harvest kept to sell to people. Eh farming is two-fold, you farm and then you are done, then you farm again for harvest to sell during the dry season"

What the farms meant to participants was varied. Although there were generational differences in the meanings of land, these differences were not confined to generation alone. For women, there was an intersection between gender and generation and for men it was mostly along generation. These meanings were furthermore shaped by where respondents saw themselves in the future as well as the current source of their livelihood.

6.6 The future

For the farming families of Mushawasha, there was a vision when the farm was acquired. This vison had an impact on how the farm was used and develoments on the farm. However, with time, other factors had an impact on what it meant to use the farm and the best way forward. In light of this 'initial' and current vision, where did the participants see themselves in the future?

All the participants wanted the farm to continue to be family owned although they differed with regard to how they would use it in the future. There was some tension between continuing the legacy of their parents and grandparents despite the increasingly constrained physical circumstances they found themselves in.

[Rakangonaka...rakangonaka nokuti chinouya mangwana handichizivi kuti kunouyeyi. Ndinongoti zvinge zvakangonaka nekuti kudai ndinenge ndakangodai hangu]
"It is still great…it I still great because what comes tomorrow I do not know what will come. I will just say it will be great because maybe I will be still like this"
Mr. Keith Matavire (95) first generation *Sapurazi*

[Ha ndinoramba ndiri pano. Iiichinonetsa ndechokuti chero munhu ukafunga kuti ha pano apa hapachandipi gohwo rakanaka, kana kuti kudii…ungangondowonawo kumwe kunenge kwakanatsoita zvakanaka. Kunenge kune dzimwe nzvimbo dzinenge dzichiri tsva dzisingaiswe manure kana kudii asi…zvinhu zvo izvozvo zvaunenge wandoona, hazviuyi zvoga nokuti unozvishandira. Chinongodikanwa kushanda nesimba uye kushanda noruzivo kuti kana uchirima mbeu dzangu idzi, dzinoenderana nevhu rangu, ndotanga nguvai, ndichizowana gohwo rakanaka]
"Ha I will remain here. What is difficult is that any person if you think that ha here it is not giving me a good yield, or something…you can find somewhere else that is better. There are other places that will still be new that do not need manure or anything but…those things you would have seen, they do not come by themselves because you work for them. What is required is hard work and working with knowledge that I am farming my crops they are for my soil type, when do I start, so I get a good yield"
(Sarah Dangarefu 2nd generation wife)

[Kuno ndokwatova kumusha permanent, hakuna kwandichaenda]
"This place is my permanent home, there is nowhere else I will go"

Kudzanai Hamadziripi (63) second generation son

6.7 Conclusion

From the material presented in this chapter, it is evident that the relationship between people and their land is multi-layered. It involves aspects of ownership (which were in terms of a shared multi-generational home in contrast to more formal ownership by an individual), land use as well as dealing with the challenges of living day-to-day on the farm given certain expectations of the farm, all in a context of increasingly difficult environmental conditions (unreliable rain and increasingly dry and hot weather). As individuals, the relationship between different generations to the land was tempered by how they were living in relation to or on the land, their occupation, the status of their residence on the farm as well as other factors such as gender, ownership and where they saw themselves in the future.

In this context, when reflecting on the work of Weinrich (1975), Cheater (1984) and Shutt (1995), it becomes apparent that these farming community characteristics have changed together with the context in which they are located and this has implications for their relationship with their land. For Weinrich (1975), agricultural success could largely be attributed to the social characteristics of the land owners themselves such as their personal interest in farming, skills and personal investment in their farms. Nevertheless, from the experiences of the families of Mushawasha, such attributes are not enough given other challenges that are out of the families' control such as environmental constraints, shortages in capital and consequently seed, fertiliser and other inputs.

Cheater (1984) on the other hand, illustrates purchase area class formation and class self-awareness and the centrality of accumulation in this process. For her, the ability to accumulate (although to differing degrees of success) and the subsequent differences between the purchase area farmers and their reserve neighbours contributed to their awareness of being a distinct class. This of course continues with the families of Mushawasha who are in conflict at times with their communal area (reserve) neighbours over illegal tree cutting and grazing of cattle of their farms. In this context, they identify themselves as different from their communal area neighbours in relation to farm use, meaning and even where they see themselves in the future with fencing remaining important as an indicator of this separation.

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In addition, the families of Mushawasha to a lesser extent had diversified interests which Shutt (1995) identified as central to successful farming. However, those who contributed to the farm mostly did so to pay for the license fees and not for significant investment for farm infrastructure. In this regard, most farm infrastructure has remained the same with some families experiencing a decline.

What does it mean then to look at the small scale commercial farming families of Mushawasha in present day Zimbabwe?

As I write this conclusion, land is linked to the national question which remains unfinished. Similarly for the families of Mushawasha, their questions and future remain open and their relationship with the land continues to evolve. It is consequently difficult for me to conclude or completely characterise in what way these families are linked to the land because like them, there is a sense that things are still changing. Nevertheless, this study does have serious implications for thinking through land and those with access to it over time especially in the context of land reform not only in Zimbabwe but in Southern Africa. It raises important questions and possibilities in thinking about those who have recently received land and what their future might be.

6.8 Final remarks

First, I hope that in this study, despite the silences in post-independent Zimbabwean literature about purchase area farmers, I was able to pick up from where Cheater, Shutt and Weinrich left off in relation to the social experiences of Zimbabwe's purchase area farmers and where they find themselves today in a manner that addresses a gap in the historical record. Moreover, the experiences of the Mushawasha purchase area farming families have so far not been included in the literature on purchase area farmers and the study is meant to augment this literature in that respect as well.

Second, I hope that the study illustrated the problems related to thinking about land in narrow terms, and why in a number of countries, the experience of obtaining land (and state efforts to provide access to land), which are accompanied with hopes and dreams, are not always translated into reality over time.

Using a critical realist framework, I explored the link between people and their land through the lens of land as environment and in relation to different understandings of the land apparent in the literature. From the experiences of the families interviewed in

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the study, it is clear that their relationship to the land cannot be reduced to identity or belonging, farming, or a place of residence. I argue that in order to explore this relationship more accurately, one needs to account for both material and ideational understandings of the land, because reducing the relationship between people and land to either the material or ideational is unsatisfactory and often misleading.

From my fieldwork in Mushawasha and the interviews I conducted, it was evident that for the farming families of Mushawasha, the relationship between people and land is multi-layered. In the process of using, living on and thinking about the farm, some of the imagined possibilities and visions for the future, and nostalgic understandings of the past, stood in contradiction to actual experiences, the limits and possibilities of the physical land, the social relationships it supports, and the social context in which it is embedded. It is important, therefore, that the interconnectedness of these factors is carefully considered in making sense of and planning around the relationship between people and land.

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Appendix 1: Profile of participants

Name	Gender	Age	Relationship to *Sapurazi*	Generation	Occupation	Residence on Farm
Keith Matavire	Male	95	Sapurazi	First	Former Kitchen Assistant and Store Salesperson Currently Farmer	Full time
Paul Matavire	Male	62	Son	Second	Farmer	Full time
Kenneth Matavire	Male	32	Grandson	Third	Works at an abattoir on a farm in Chiredzi	Visits Occasionally
Chivatu Besa	Male	89	Sapurazi	First	Former Surveyor Currently Farmer	Full time
Pafunge Besa	Male	26	Son	Second	Farmer	Full time
Aidan Chetse	Male	28	Grandson	Third	Entrepreneur	Visits Occassionally
Martha Chitiyo	Female	74	Widow (wife)	First	Farmer	Full time
Tatenda Chitiyo	Male	28	Son	Second	Teacher but currently furthering education	Visits Ocassionally

Name	Gender	Age	Relationship to *Sapurazi*	Generation	Occupation	Residence on farm
Augustine Chitiyo	Male	40	Grandson	Third	Motor Mechanic Currently Primary School Teacher	Works elsewhere but lives on the farm over the weekends
Sarah Dangarefu	Female	63	Daughter in law	Second	Farmer	Full time
Ariko Dangarefu	Male	37	Grandson	Third	Primary School Teacher	Part time
Constance Meeso	Female	56	Daughter in law	Second	Farmer	Full time
Tendai Meeso	Female	44	Daughter in law	Second	Farmer	Full time
Ursula Meeso	Female	56	Daughter in law	Second	Farmer	Full time
Pride Meeso	Male	18	Grandson	Third	Student	Full time
Joan Meeso	Female	25	Granddaughter	Third	Farmer	Full time
Tawanda Fudzamombe	Male	56	Son	Second	Farmer	Full time
Jacob Goremusango	Male	57	Son	Second	Farmer	Full time
Mhizha Goremusango	Male	28	Son	Third	Trained in Banking and Finance Currently a teacher	Part time
Kudzanai Hamadziripi	Male	63	Son	Second	Worked at Municipality Farmer	Full time

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Muchenje Mashakada	Male	61	Son	Second	Farmer	Full time
Gwanzura Mashakada	Male	29	Son	Third	Cross Border Trader Currently Farmer	Full time since 2011
Tinotenda Jairosi	Female	---	Widow (wife)	First	Farmer	Full time
Chivutu Jairosi	Male	53	Son	Second	Farmer	Full time
Clive Jairosi	Male	28	Grandson	Third	Farmer	Full time
Margaret Kurauone	Female	---	Widow (wife)	First	Farmer	Full time
Joshua Kurauone	Male	70	Son	Second	Steel Fixer Farmer	Full time

Appendix 2: English Interview Guide

1. Name

2. Age

3. Can you tell me your life story starting from where you were born, how you grew up and everything you did in between until you were here on this farm today?

4. What is the name of this farm?

5. What is the size of the farm?

6. Can you tell me about Mushawasha, do you know how it was started and through what means did people acquire the farms?

Ownership and access

4. With regard to your farm, can you tell me how it came to be in your family?
 OR

4. Can you tell me the story of this farm, how it came into your family?

4.1 Who is the owner of the farm?

4.2. How are you related to this person?

5. Currently, who is the owner of the farm?

6. How was ownership transferred from the owner to one person to another?

7. When you started this farm, what was your vision/what were your intentions?

Or

7. Were you informed of the Sapurazi's intentions/ vision, when they acquired the farm?

8. Currently, what is the state of this vision?

At this moment in time, what are your intentions with regard to the farm?

Link to the land

Meaning (Ideational)

9. When you look at this farm, what does it make you think of? / What is the importance of the farm to you?

10. What does this farm mean to you?

11. What do you regard as important with regards to your farm?

Use (Material)

12. What crops do you grow on the farm?

13. What kind of livestock do you keep?

13.1 How many goats, cattle…?

14. Can you estimate the size of the land that you use for agriculture (growing crops?) or

 What percentage of the farm do you use to grow crops?

16. How has the way you use your farm (farming as well as keeping livestock) changed over time?

15. In this context, are you satisfied with the way you are using your farm?

General resources available on farm and changes over time

Agricultural, natural resources

17. Do you have any natural resources in the farm?

18. Has there been a change in the availability of natural resources on the farm?

Environmental change

Identification of environmental change

19. Throughout the years you have been living here, do you see anything different in the environment (land/plants water bodies/weather?

20. What in your opinion has brought about this change?

Environmental change and the land

21. Has the way you use and think about the land been altered by these changes you have identified?

22. What is your vision with regard to the farm in the context of environmental change and the change in the availability of natural resources?

Future

23. Thinking of the years to come, how do you think you will be using the farm?

24. How do you see your future in relation to the farm?

Thank you

Appendix 3: Shona Interview Guide

Background Information

1. Zita renyu?

2. Mune makore mangani ekuberekwa?

3. Chimbondiudzaiwo nhoorondo yehupenyu hwenyu kuti makazvarirwepi, mukakura sei, nezvose zvamakaita kusvika muzove pano papurazi muzuva ranhasi?

4. Ndiudzeiwo zita repurazi

5. Rakakura sei?

6. Chimbondiudzai pamusoro penzvimbo ino yeMushawasha, munoziva here kuti mapurazi aifamba sei kuti vanhu vazovawo vavanawo?

Ownership and access

4. Ko maererano nepurazi rino, chimbondiudzai kuti makariwana sei?

 Kana kuti

4. Chimbondiudzai nhoroondo maererano nepurazi rino kuti rakatangwa sei?

4.1 Muridzi wepurazi iri ndiyani?

4.2 .Hukama hwenyu navo hwakamira sei?

5. Parizvino muridzi wepurazi rino ndiyani?

6. Rakabva sei mumaoko evakaritanga, zvichifamba sei?

7. Urongwa hwenyu hwekutanga purazi hwanga uri hupi?

Kana kuti

7. Makaudzwa here kuti hurongwa hwa(_____) hwangahwakamira sei pavakatanga purazi?

8. Parizvino urongwa uhwu hwakamira sei?

Relationship to the land

Meaning (Ideational)

9. Ngatimbodzorai ndangariro. Kana makatarisa purazi rino rinokufungidzai chii?

10. Purazi iri rinorevei kwamuri?

11. Zvii zvamunokoshesa papurazi renyu?

Use (Material)

12. Munorima mbeu dzipi parizvino?

13. Munochengeta zvipfuwo zvakadii papurazi rino?

13.1 Zvingani?

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14. Chikamu chakakura zvakadii chamunorima mbeu? (less than 50%) (more than 50%)

15. Kurima nekupfuwa kwamuri kuita uku, kwashanduka zvakadii mumakore apfuura?

16. Zvino mungati murikufadzwa here nekushandisa kwamuri kuita purazi renyu?

General resources available on farm and changes over time

Agricultural, natural resources

17. Munezviwanikwa here mupurazi renyu?

18. Pane mutsauko here maererano nezviwanikwa zvenyika?

Environmental change

Identification of environmental change

19. Mukugara kwamunoita papurazi, pane zvamunoona zvashanduka here mumamiro ekunze nezviwanikwa?

20. Mungazive here zvikonzero zvakaunza uyu mutsauko?

Environmental change and the land

21. Mashandisiro nemafungiro amunoita maererano nepurazi ashanduka here nokuda kwokushanduka kwamareva?

22. Muono wenyu (vision) maererano nepurazi wakamira zvakadii takatarisana nekushanduka kwemamiriro ekunze nezviwanikwa zvenyika?

Future

23. Tichifunga zvose zvamareva maererano nekugara, kushandisa ne mafungiro amunoita pamusoro pepurazi, tichitarisa makore arikutevera, munofunga kuti muchange muchizoshandisa purazi renyu sei?

24. Munoona ramangwana renyu rakaita sei maererano nepurazi?

Ndatenda hangu.

Appendix 4: English Information and consent letter

Dear Participant,

My name is Mukai Jaison and I am currently enrolled as a Masters student at the University of Pretoria. I am conducting research on what relationships people have with land they have owned over time and how this differs from generation to generation of the same family. I would like to ask for your formal consent to participate in the study.

Participation in the study is voluntary and you may choose to withdraw at any time in the study. Your participation in this study will not lead to any direct benefits but will contribute to thinking about people and their land in a context of environmental change.

Some of the issues might be difficult to discuss. In this case we can stop the interview at any time. If you feel during the interview that you are not comfortable answering a question, you are free not to. Your name, identity and responses will be kept confidential.

The interview will be audio recorded in order to accurately record what is said. These recordings will be transcribed and the research findings will be analysed and written as a report, which will be submitted to the Department of Sociology for grading. If you would like access to the report I will make it available as soon as it is ready.

If you agree to participate in the study, please sign the allocated space below. If you have any questions or concerns you can contact me on the number provided on the information sheet I have given you.

Thank you,

Mukai Jaison

Acknowledgement of consent

I……………………………………………on the ………day of ……………………2012 agree to be interviewed for the Masters research entitled A Critical Realist Exploration of Intergenerational Relations to Land in Small Scale Commercial Farming Families, Mushawasha Masvingo, Zimbabwe, 1953-2014. I consent to voluntary participation and understand that the interviews will be recorded, transcribed and written in a research report.

Signed…………………………….

Acknowledgement of permission to record

I…………………………………………… on the ………day of ……………………2012 agree to be interviewed and recorded for the Masters research entitled A Critical Realist Exploration of Intergenerational Relations to Land in Small Scale Commercial Farming Families, Mushawasha Masvingo, Zimbabwe, 1953-2014 I consent to voluntary participation and understand that the interviews will be recorded, transcribed and written in a research report.

Signed…………………………….

Appendix 5: Shona Information and consent letter

Makadii henyu?

Ndinonzi Mukai Jaison. Ndinodzidza kuUniversity of Pretoria kwandiri kuita Masters degree reSociology. Mukudzidza kwandiri kuita, ndirikuda kunzwisisa mashandisiro ne mafungiro anoita vanhu pamusoro peminda yavo (mapurazi) nezviwanikwa zvirimo zvakaita semiti, uswa, mvura (natural resources). Ndinodazve kunzwisisa kusiyana kwakaita mafungiro aya nemashidisiro evhu nezviwanikwa pakati pevabereki nevana nevanavevana vavo. Ndinokumbirawo kutaura nemi nokuku bvunzai mibvunzo pamusoro peizvi.

Kutaura neni hakumanikidzwe. Kana mukasada kuramba muchipindura mubvunzo, munogona kurega pamunenge madira. Hapana zvamungawana mukutatura neni asi kungobatsira muzvidzidzo zvangu uye muruzivo panyaya dzokushandiswa kwevhu nezviwanikwa.

Kana mimwe mubvunzo ichinetsa kupindura kana kuti musina kusununguka kudavira, hazvina mhosva. Mungona kuita kuti kutaura kwedu kuregedzwe pamunenge madira. Zita renyu nekuti ndimi ani hazvifi zvakaudzwa mumwe munhu.

Kutaura kwatichaita kucha tapwa pa tape recorder kuiti zvamunenge mataura zvisakanganikwa kana kunyorwa napasipo. Zvamunenge mataura zvichazosanganiswa nezvinenge zvataurwa navamwe vari munharaunda muno zvozonyorwa sebasa rechikoro (dissertation). Vadzidzisi vekuUniversity ndivo vachaverenga basa iri nokuritarisa asi havaziviswi mazita enyu kana kuti imi pachenyu makati chii. Zvinongonyorwa sezvinhu zvakabuda muruzhinji. Kana muchida kuzoona zviinyorwa zvichabuda munondizivisa ndozokupai gwaro racho kana rapera kunyorwa. Zvinenge zvatapwa patape recorder zvichachengetwa kwemakore gumi nemashanu sepamurairo weuniversity. Asi hapana anogona kungosvikozviterera nokuti zvichachengetedzwa pakabata.

Kana muchibvuma kutaura neni, nyorai pazasi petsamba iyi kuti munobvuma, uyewo kuti munobvuma kuti zvatichat- aurirana zvirekodwe patape recorder. Sunungukai kubvunza mibvunzo yose yamungava nayo pamusoro pechidzido ichi. Kana pane zvimwe zvamungada kuziva musure mokunge tataura tose ndiroverei runhare panhamba dziri pabepa randichakusiyirai.

Ndatenda hangu,

Mukai Jaison

Kubvuma kutaura

Ini…………………………………………… musiwa ………………………………2012 ndinobvuma kutaura pamusoro pepurazi remhuri yangu zvakanangana nechidzo che Masters chinonzi 'A Critical Realist Exploration of Intergenerational Relations to Land in Small Scale Commercial Farming Families, Mushawasha Masvingo, Zimbabwe, 1953-2014'. Ndinobvuma kuti ndinotaura nokuda kwangu pasina kumanikidzwa, uyezve zvandichataura zvicha rekodwa (kutapwa) pa tape recorder (kana ndabvuma) nokunyorwa sebasa rechikoro.
Ndini …………………………….

Kubvuma kurekodwa (kutapwa pa tape recorder)

Ini…………………………………………… musiwa………………………………2012 ndinobvuma kutaura nekurekodwa patape recorder zvakanangana nechidzidzo che Masters chinonzi 'A Critical Realist Exploration of Intergenerational Relations to Land in Small Scale Commercial Farming Families, Mushawasha Masvingo, Zimbabwe, 1953-2014'. Ndinobvuma kuti handina kumanikidzwa kutaura uyezve zvandichataura zvicha rekodwa pa tape recorder nokunyorwa sebasa rechikoro.
Ndini …………………………….