Land Reform in Zimbabwe: The Narrative and Counter-Narrative of Traditional Leaders' role on Land Tenure and Governance in Rural and A1 Model settlements – period 1980 to 2014.

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Abstract

This project employs a narrative and counter narrative lens to seek an understanding of the changing roles of traditional leaders in an independent Zimbabwe. A historical context was necessary in order to highlight changes in traditional leadership roles prior to the independence era. This process of using the historical context facilitated a discussion that was divorced from biases associated with colonialism and independence. To achieve this, a study was undertaken of the period prior to the colonial era, within the colonial era and post colonial period. This resulted in a rich discussion of the changing roles within each period together with implications to traditional leadership in an independent Zimbabwe.

The study undertook a detailed review that provided the basis for the placement into the historical context that was supported by academic literature. The use of theory further consolidated the placement of the study in an academic context.

Data collection and analysis were placed in narrative and counter narrative contexts using a thematic approach to find meaning to the study while addressing assertions that were raised in the study. The findings proved that traditional leaders in Zimbabwe have lost their powers and are partaking of new modern roles slowly divorced from the traditional context of both the pre and colonial era. It also proved that traditional leaders are aware of the changing roles and might be enjoying the benefits of the modern system at the expense of both tradition and culture. The other argument however is that traditional role conflicts with democratic processes and may not really be representative of a democratic government as these leaders are not elected.

The findings of this study should highlight to the traditional leaders of the irreversible changing roles which only stand to maintain what could be an oppressive system similar to the colonial era unless it is checked and controlled. The study may also help academics and other interested parties that may be advocating for a separation of African systems in place of Western influenced governance despite the globalised nature of the world that maybe considered a disadvantage to poor countries.

DECLARATION

I, Crispen Karanda, declare that this research report is my own work except as is indicated in the references and acknowledgements. It is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts (Political Science) in the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. This study has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in this or any other University.

………………………………

Crispen Karanda

Signed at……………………………………………….

On the ………………….............day of ………………………….………2016

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my family.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study is to add to the research literature in the area of traditional leadership, land tenure and governance in Zimbabwe for period up to 2014. To achieve this, the study will discuss literature prior to the colonial era, colonial era and independent Zimbabwe to bring out an understanding of the trends of land control and traditions. The study will also seek to understand the changes in modern day Zimbabwe that have links to pre and colonial era. Similarities are drawn from the setting up of rural areas and commercial farms in the colonial era, the maintenance of rural areas and changes to commercial farms under the A1/A2 model settlements after independence. The interest is on how traditional leaders in rural areas with land extending into the A1 farming areas and those in the A2 settlements deal with land tenure and governance in the two diverse contexts. This is viewed inclusive of its historical context as this helps to remove notions of blaming a system that might have a historical background particularly in the role of Chiefs now considered to be the highest traditional leadership position in Zimbabwe which was not the case prior to the colonial era. This helps to understand if the demands by Chiefs in A1 Model areas are well placed or are outside the land control scope that they held even in the Mutapa dynasty.

1.2 Context of the study

The aim of this study is to demonstrate that the current land control demands by Chiefs in Zimbabwe have a history associated with the pre and colonial eras. It is against this background that concerns over how land is managed have resulted from two diverse contexts of traditional leaders in rural areas with land extending into the A1 farming areas and those in the A1 settlements in areas of traditional roles, land tenure and governance. The new A1 areas are covered at law under the Constitution of Zimbabwe, Section 282: section (1) subsection (d) (2) '*Except as provided in an Act of Parliament, traditional leaders have authority, jurisdiction and control over the Communal Land or other areas for which they have been appointed and over persons within these communal lands or areas'*.

Specifically, the focus of the study will be on how land controls on the A1 farming settlements differ from the pre and colonial system taking some benchmarks from rural practices both traditionally and as legislated. The A1 Resettlement Model consists of small village resettlements similar to rural settlements but placed in the former commercial farming

areas that were taken away from the white farmers. Some traditional leaders have also been allocated land under the A1 model while some have sought an extension of traditional leadership control areas extending to incorporate the former commercial farms now under the A1 model settlements. The challenge, however, is that rural land can be defined as falling under freehold land title (Deininger, 2003). Nonetheless, the A1 villages hold or are entitled to permits without limit of time that are issued and administered by the government and this process does not include the traditional leaders. Therefore, the challenge is on how application of traditional roles is managed through people whose titles such as 'Chief' are the same at law, but applying to different areas (rural and A1 settlements). This has implications on how the application will gradually progress as it is not clear if the later role adopts a modern role while the former maintains the cultural and colonial ones or whether both are clouded in a colonial confusion and failing to change in an independent Zimbabwe.

1.3 Problem statement

Land politics in Zimbabwe were submerged by an oppressive system that sought to isolate, congest and disempower black people through a colonial authoritarian implementation of economic subjugation. This notion however appears to imply that blacks or natives were subjected to unfair colonial oppression yet this was also common prior to colonisation using Lobengula and the Portuguese as examples. It may be argued however that the Portuguese influence and control amounted to some form of colonisation although in essence, their mission was to exploit rather than to settle in these areas. The study seeks to counter or justify what currently prevails in the independent Zimbabwe and unless these are clearly discussed the findings may not be reflective of true events.

Resulting from independence in Zimbabwe were changes in the 1990s that saw rural and urban movement through the liberal mainstream (Moyo, Matondi & Yeros, 1998) positioning itself through popular protest and land occupation. This land occupation degenerated in chaotic land occupation and was denounced as a destructive process of the State, while nationalism was defined as authoritarian yet others celebrated this occupation as a culmination of black empowerment or economic indigenisation (Moyo & Yeros, 2005). Enshrined in this process were African traditions and cultures that are at the centre of everyday indigenous life in Zimbabwe particularly in rural areas. Whilst traditional leaders have always been custodians of culture and land, their power and control during colonisation tended to be representative of the oppressive governments, however their role in reinforcing

customary rights to land has continued (IIED, 1999; Toulmin & Quan, 2000; Toulmin et al., 2002).

Evidence also suggests that this practice is still prevalent when it comes to freehold land title (Deininger, 2003). Proportions of tracks of land are held under what is commonly termed as 'communal' or 'customary' tenure. This means that access to communal land is mostly determined by indigenous systems that have evolved over time under local and colonial influences (Benjaminsen & Lund 2002; Bruce, 1993; Cheater, 1990; Palmer, 2003). It is this traditional leadership, control, and tenure that this study seeks to investigate to understand how it was practiced and the conflict that appears to embroil it also including its future role.

1.4 Purpose statement/objectives

The proposed research seeks an understanding of traditional leadership, land tenure and governance as other countries such as South Africa face similar challenges on how to correct the past imbalances. The traditional leaders have taken a stance where they argue that they must have control over land because of the historical dispossession whilst Government faces challenges on how to reverse the process. The study also seeks to understand if the claims by Chiefs over the alleged lack of land control are founded on a representation of the black people requiring land or the desire to control or have overall land rights simply based on the historical disposition during the colonial era.

1.5 Assertions

(i) The Land Reform Programme in Zimbabwe has a historical context of allegiance to the government and is using the A1 farming model to defuse the power of traditional leaders in order to create a political support base through allegiance to the government under fear of non issuance or cancellation of permits.

(ii) Traditional leaders want a new role that remunerates and gives them modern type powers instead of limited (confined to rural practice) customary powers.

(iii) Traditional leaders are aware of the implications of the amendments and may in due course demand traditional control of land in the A1 areas as these may slowly degrade to the level of rural areas. The rural areas resulted in congested settlements during the colonial era and degradation is associated with the deforestation, poor land management and congestion as the rural population continued to increase against limited land resource. The size of the A1 settlements

resembles rural settlements in that it may assume such similar degradation as rural settlements. When this happens there will be no demarcation as exists now and such demand or control will also help in the inheritance and further allocation of land such as is the case in rural areas due to the increase in population. To tie land to a particular person through a lease or permit while the population is increasing limits the scope of access to land for future generations. The use of permits on A1 farms is also seen as a continuation of the former occupation of land by a few when the majority in the rural areas are congested.

1.6 Significance of the study

The significance of this study is to provide clarity on traditional roles on land redistribution, governance or allocation using its historical context to place the current developments into the correct finding. The study therefore moves backwards and forwards through the pre-colonial, colonial and post colonial periods to link up roles of traditional leaders. This process facilitates a discussion of the past, comparing or contrasting it with the current in order to find a harmonious and fair analysis of land control. It seeks to identify if possible who the claimant is to land control in a traditional context hence the discussion includes the pre-colonial era.

1.7 Delimitations of the study

The study was delimitated to traditional leadership covering Chiefs and Headmen as opposed to the broader concept of tradition. Chiefs in Zimbabwe constitute the highest level of traditional leadership unlike other African countries such as South Africa and Ghana where they still have Kings. It is not possible to include some perceived statement, beliefs, customs and other generational information into a study of this magnitude. Areas that were relevant to the study encompassed some issues related to those that were left out and further research might find this study useful as a basis or complimentary.

1.8 Definition of terms

For purposes of this study, the following definitions will be used and understood in the context given hereunder:

1.8.1 Traditional leader/leadership

A traditional leader shall be defined as one who commands powers over a given community. Whilst it is noted that not only traditional leaders command power in a given community, this definition reflects on traditional practices and how leadership roles were accorded this respect based on traditional practices. The traditional leaders were Emperors, Kings or Chiefs in the pre-colonial era. The Kings reported to the Emperor while Chiefs were placed under the Kings. In the pre-colonial era, traditional leaders therefore represented Emperor, Kings, Chiefs and village heads while in the colonial and later in the post colonial era, Chiefs and Headmen were and are defined under the current Traditional Leaders' Act (Chapter 29:17) in post-independent Zimbabwe.

Traditional herein refers to indigenous people or that which is aboriginal, handed down from generation to generation or foundational (Awolalu, 1976). This is further defined as heritage (Awolalu, 1976), and concretely, Ayittey (2010) highlights that ethnic groups were given power to rule but with centralized authority. The traditional leadership managed land under their control. In this respect, Bayart (1989) acknowledges the peaceful nature of how states were managed while some ethnic groups were conquered and placed under the hegemony of other kingdoms and empires.

1.8.2 Rural or communal

The terms rural or communal will be used interchangeably to refer to settlements set aside for occupation by natives in the colonial era and also as defined in the Communal Land Act (Chapter 20:04). It is defined in the said act as consisting of '*land which, immediately before the 1st February, 1983, was Tribal Trust Land in terms of the Tribal Trust Land Act, 1979 (No. 6 of 1979), subject to any additions thereto or subtractions there from*'.

1.8.3 A1 Model

The A1 Resettlement Model consists of small village resettlement schemes. The terms and conditions of this scheme were gazetted as Statutory Instrument 53 of 2014. Under this Statutory Instrument, the permit holders and their dependents have indefinite land rights under the scheme. Under the A1 scheme traditional inheritance is recognised and families can hand it down as and when necessary (Mombeshora, 2015) although the land belongs to the State and thus cannot be sold or used as collateral by settlers.

1.8.4 A2 Model

The A2 model is designed for commercial farming based on a medium and large scale although all the land belongs to the State. This model is designed for people with agricultural experience and the beneficiaries are required to show evidence of access to capital in order to qualify for allocation of farm land (Chiremba & Masters, 2003). Beneficiaries are given 99 year leases and Scoones, (2011) claims that the majority of beneficiaries in Zimbabwe were not the poor people from the rural areas that are congested but the affluent society.

1.8.5 Land tenure

Land tenure is a term that will be used to define a (legal) system under which land is owned or occupied by individuals. This shows the conditions under which that occupation is legally permitted or protected.

1.9 Historical background

The historical background discusses the historical context of the role of traditional leaders, land control and governance. This is important as it forms a basis for what is referred to as traditional in terms of modern arguments and paves the way to how far we can go in trying to correct changes effected by later eras or its impracticality thereof. The colonial era discusses how the system changed the scope of the former traditional practices and implications on land control. The independence era then discusses how corrections to the distortions caused by the colonial era were carried out or should be carried out.

This is important as the study attempts to establish how traditional roles, land control and governance impact on what may be perceived as the correct traditional practice if at all possible. Where this is not possible, the study gives justification as to the challenges and pursues possible solutions. To achieve a possible finding the study uses a research methodology.

1.10   Research methodology

This study uses a narrative and counter-narrative lens to find out how traditional leadership roles, land tenure and governance have changed and also how these have impacted or negated efforts by traditional leaders' need to have control over A1 Model farms. It will thus be placed in a Case study 'Chief Charumbira's area' as it is not possible to study the role of other traditional leaders due to the refusal of access by the Government of Zimbabwe coupled

with the fear by other chiefs to be involved in studies of this nature. Using a narrative lens in this study is a process that involves gathering stories from the interviewee/s and documents. Secondary data will also form narratives and counter narratives and such data is defined by Stewart (1984) Frankfort − Nachmias and Nachmias (1992) as data collected by others. It is for this reason that such data takes a wide variety of forms as guides to bodies of data that is collected by others (Miller, 1991). Particularly, this study will use the following secondary sources:

1.10.1 Government and regulatory bodies

The Acts, Statutory Instruments, and other Government publications provide data, and this is one of the best forms attributed to records in terms of its relevance (Frankfort − Nachmias and Nachmias, 1992). This results from its relevance as a source as they are derived from administrative records including sample surveys (Hakim, 1982). The National Archives also provide sources of historical evidence that will be used to support or counter narratives that will be discussed in the study.

1.10.2 The Press

Use of the press as a source of data involves the use of articles in providing pertinent and timely value as a research source (Bain, 1994). These can commission opinion polls thus also giving the researcher a "free ride", and distances the researcher from the construction of the evacuations. It is noted also that biases can be used in some media circles and it is therefore necessary to treat such sources with care (Cowton, 1998).

1.10.3 Academic researchers

Academics use peer reviewed research because it is credible having been both collected and used by other academics (Cowton, 1998). Such data is therefore re-analysed such as was the work of Schultz et al. (1994) on business intelligence. This, at times, involves more than one set of research results and this is supported by Robertson (1993) under the heading of broadening methodological base.

The advantage with this approach is that it generates a larger effective sample than an individual study in isolation. Hunter et al. (1982) posit that results from such use can be tabulated and investigated with possible influences on differences in results and can often provide fruitful suggestions for further research.

1.10.4 Data and theory

It was also noted that use of secondary data could result in loss of control over the generation of secondary data notwithstanding the researcher's attempts to manipulate data into suitable form (Cowton, 1998; Randall & Gibson 1990; Robertson, 1993). They raise issues on the relationship between research development and theory development when using primary data. Hakim (1982:16) counters this argument with the perspective that suggests that relying on secondary data rather than gathering primary data can actually help the development of theory. In sum, they argue that this approach forces the researcher to think more closely about theoretical aims and substantive issues, rather than the practical and methodological problems of collecting new data.

1.10.5 Advantages and disadvantages of using Secondary Data

This study takes note of the advantages and disadvantages of using secondary sources and the following are discussed:

(i)   The primary advantage of using secondary data is that of cost (Cowton, 1998). This study of A1 Model settlements in Zimbabwe required a lot of money for visits to each of the demarcated traditional leaders' area for data collection. Some of the required data was already available and it was not necessary for one to replicate the extensive data collection process. The refusal to have access to these areas was served by the availability of data. There were some costs however as the researcher had to travel from South Africa to Zimbabwe and back and also travelling costs within Zimbabwe to Government departments and other sources of information. Other materials such as maps showing A1 resettlement areas, locations and details of traditional leaders were also available at a cost.

(ii)   Another advantage was the notion of time as this study involved a lot of travelling in Zimbabwe and this was not necessary as there are established offices with relevant information. Time allows the study to be done in fits and starts in available blocks over the period of the research (Hakim, 1982: 168) and this study minimised on time while maximising on quality of data.

(iii)   It was also acknowledged that this approach involved appreciating what the data does not reveal as compared to what they do. Cowton (1998) argues that what appears to be a 'cheap ride', features of secondary data carrying a

penalty in that the researcher has no control over the generation of data. The exclusion of the researcher from the collection of data demanded an understanding of the nature of data and how they have been assembled thus demanding awareness of these challenges in this study.

(iv)   As with other methodologies, this approach had a risk of bias, deliberately or un-intentional, and this meant that it had to be evaluated carefully (Stewart, 1984). Frankfort – Nachmias (1992) argue that this may be a difficult exercise as there might be insufficient information to facilitate it.

1.11   Research design

The study adopts theory and uses it in the discussion in generic terms and in relation to traditional leadership, land tenure and governance. This methodological approach is designed to facilitate a synchronised and integrated approach to research in an environment that was challenging such as Zimbabwe. To extrapolate what is held to be the prerogative of the government, research tools facilitate justification of a chosen approach better explaining why other methods may not be suitable. Only through this justification were narrative and counter-narrative tools found appropriate for this study. A process of establishing appropriate tools unfolded data collection and analysis using a thematic lens. It was important to justify why one method was chosen against other methods.

1.12   Procedure for data collection

Data was collected by means of interviews and use of secondary sources in Zimbabwe and South Africa. This involved travelling to Zimbabwe at Parliament buildings and to Midrand in South Africa. Midrand has the Pan African Parliament buildings where country representatives and leaders regularly meet and it was more convenient for Chief Charumbira to have the interviews after attending these meetings. The interview processes called for considerable skill as patience was necessary because of the interruptions during interviews due to the nature of responsibilities of Chief Charumbira. Giving uninterrupted time to talk however speeded up the process of narrative and counter-narrative data although at times interviews went completely off course and probes were used to bring the process back on track.

1.13   Ethics

Ethics involve the morality of human conduct in this study; deliberations, choice and accountability were maintained through agreement with the interviewee and approval of the copy that was used in the data collection. A copy of the transcript was given to the participant for approval of content before analysis to make sure that the narratives/counter narratives were correctly recorded. The narrative data analysis however was not presented to Chief Charumbira as it was not part of the agreement.

1.14   Data analysis and interpretation

Data analysis is considered before data collection although others may advocate for interactive processes where data is collected and analysed simultaneously. In this study data analysis was undertaken after data collection. It was noted prior to the study that analysis can be a messy task as it involved narratives and counter-narratives with use of meanings of words thematically analysed. The sorting process of using colour coding, cuttings and constantly referring back to the text made the task time consuming. This was followed by categorizing, sorting, organizing, tabulating, recombining and retrieving data for analysis. This facilitated the process of creating a descriptive account of data used in drawing up patterns firstly using individual cases and comparing with other data in a cross case analysis using a well suited narrative analysis approach.

1.15   Limitations of the study

The most limiting factor was the politicization and hostility associated with some forms of research in Zimbabwe. Charumbira could not hold the full interview in Zimbabwe despite being the President of the Chiefs' Council and Senator. The requirement to have the data approved before use for purposes of this study also limited flexibility although it did not affect the quality of work. Other chiefs refused to take part in the process as they were all possibly fearful of being victimized by the system. Allegiance to the current system dominates traditional leaders in ways that could easily be viewed as being similar to the former colonial system.

CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: PRECOLONIAL AND COLONIAL ERA

2.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented a proposal or guideline to the study and the purpose of this approach was to develop a deeper understanding through the examination of a broader question of land ownership and control in Zimbabwe. The historical nature of the discussion formed a basis for the study of traditional leadership in Zimbabwe in relation to the land question and governance. This study may help us understand why the issue under study was worth pursuing and possible implications to other would be land redistribution initiatives such as that of South Africa. This study did not offer a comparative analysis of the situation in Zimbabwe and South Africa or any other country, but it provided an interesting analysis that could form or enhance a similar study in other countries.

Section 2.2 gives a background to the study highlighting the role played by traditional leadership, land ownership and control before the colonial era in Zimbabwe. This era further highlights how the various foreign processes impacted on the indigenous/native cultural norms as it affected the governance and political roles within the traditional social structures. The implications of these foreign efforts are also highlighted and section 2.3 contextualises land control and traditional leadership to the pre-colonial era. Section 2.4 discusses land control and the role played by traditional leaders during the colonial era. This section also discusses how the traditional leaders were forced to abandon their practices, dispossessed of land and powers in support of the settler regime. Section 2.5 reviews the role of the Chimurenga war and its achievements while section 2.6 ends the chapter by closing in on the issues that were addressed by the literature review.

2.2 Background to Zimbabwe's Traditional Leadership and Land Control

In the Mutapa era, the land issues in contemporary Zimbabwe had already aroused much emotion through violent efforts by the Muslim and equally so by the Portuguese traders. It is therefore important to understand that the traditional land ownership and control currently bedevilling Zimbabwe has a long history and unless this history is discussed, the study will have little resemblance to reality. Many writings have symbolised the British colonial system as the first attempt by foreign powers yet there were attempts and displacements prior to that era.

The first inhabitants crossed into the country across the Zambezi more than 2000 years ago. Mazikana and Johnstone (1984) in their research work at the National Archives of Zimbabwe under *'Zimbabwe Epic'* posit that over a period of time different groups of people came to the country from the North East now Mozambique and also from the North West. Interestingly they state that these groups displaced or absorbed the Stone Age people which in essence meant that there were people in the country whose origin might be little known. These groups had traditional leadership structures, occupied and controlled land as they farmed and used grazing land for their livestock.

The structures in place at Great Zimbabwe, Khami and other outlying areas are a sign of well coordinated political, economic and cultural systems in the pre-colonial era. These systems were challenged by the Muslim traders who sought to govern these empires and only stopped after they were defeated at war (Mazikana and Johnstone, 1984). Accordingly so, the authors state that the Portuguese traders were not to be left out as they fought and defeated the Mutapa people placing them under a new regime. Similarities are drawn in the Mutapa and Portuguese war, later the Zimbabwean people against the British in the renowned Chimurenga war both resulting in the overthrow of foreign domination as will be discussed in detail later.

2.3 Contextualising land control and traditional leadership to the pre-colonial era

The role of traditional leaders and their control of land evolved from the pre-colonial occupation of Mapungubwe. Huffman (2009) in '*Mapungubwe and Great Zimbabwe: the origin and spread of social complexity in Southern Africa'* posits that Mapungubwe and Great Zimbabwe represented the development of indigenous states. Fouche (1937) had earlier supported the notion that the Mapungubwe dynasty introduced class structures at Great Zimbabwe with all the powers held by the traditional leaders. This represented indigenous states in Southern Africa with male hereditary leadership norms. In this context, there were no language barriers as both inhabitants spoke related forms of Shona language however belonging to different ethno-historical groups (Huffman, 1982; Mitchell, 2002; Pikirayi, 2000; Piviti, 2005).

Traditions and culture form an important part of this study as enshrined in the norms, values and beliefs of the people at Mapungubwe and the Great Zimbabwe. Giddens (1984) asserts that cultural norms are embedded in the social context of daily action. Specifically, it is important to discuss the leadership at Great Zimbabwe so that this history can be linked to the

current traditional leadership in Zimbabwe. Traditional leadership bears a resemblance to the now modern system of governance in many respects. Kenworthy (2010) argues that before Africa was colonized, the continent consisted of a fluid customary nuclear family. According to the author's arguments, the Xhosa had an inclusive system where if one accepted the rule of the paramount chief that person became a Xhosa. Africans were involved in the unity of tribes as land was held commonly and it could not be sold similar to today's State land. Kenworthy (2010) posits that a system similar to councils was established in the African system to run the affairs in consultation with the Chief. In this system, village assemblies would debate issues and majority ruling took precedence. The Chief would then sum up what would have been discussed leading by consensus. Chiefs however ruled on behalf Kings who also reported to the Emperor. The following sections discuss the particularities of Mapungubwe, Great Zimbabwe, Mutapa dynasty and others.

2.3.1 Mapungubwe Dynasty

The Zhizo people moved to Mapungubwe [1]at about 900 AD (Huffman, 2009). In spite of the vast tracks of land under their control they did not take up extensive crop production as it appears that trade in ivory, artefacts, and imported glass beads was more lucrative at Schroda with indications also that they might have moved there for purposes of hunting (Hanisch, 1980). Ndoro (2005) agrees that Mapungubwe was a Shona civilisation around 1000, and holds that wealth was based on cattle production, ivory and gold. The traditional rulers were well organised as trade was visible from the material security and wealth spreading to other centres associated with them through political, commercial and cultural factors (Mazikana & Johnstone, 1984). This culture was said to have spread into western parts of Zimbabwe, which is attested by the Leopard's Kopje pottery (Calabrese, 2000).

In Map 1 below it can be seen that Mapungubwe stretched across the current border between Zimbabwe and South Africa (Limpopo) with Great Zimbabwe to the North. The role of traditional leaders was represented by structures that were respected by the inhabitants. Huffman (1996a) confirms the existence of such structures and gives a detailed description of its composition regardless of the size of settlement. Following this author, each traditional settlement or city needed five components to function, and these were (i) a palace, (ii) a court (iii) a compound for leaders' wives, (iv) a place for followers and (v) place for guards. The

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[1] Mapungubwe was a settlement of the Zhizo people around 900 AD and these are known as the first inhabitants of the area also known as the Shona civilisation

following figure shows Mapungubwe and the Great Zimbabwe, it must be noted however that the boundaries that are shown in the map represent those that were put in place during the colonisation era or partition of Africa however they clearly show the location of the two areas.
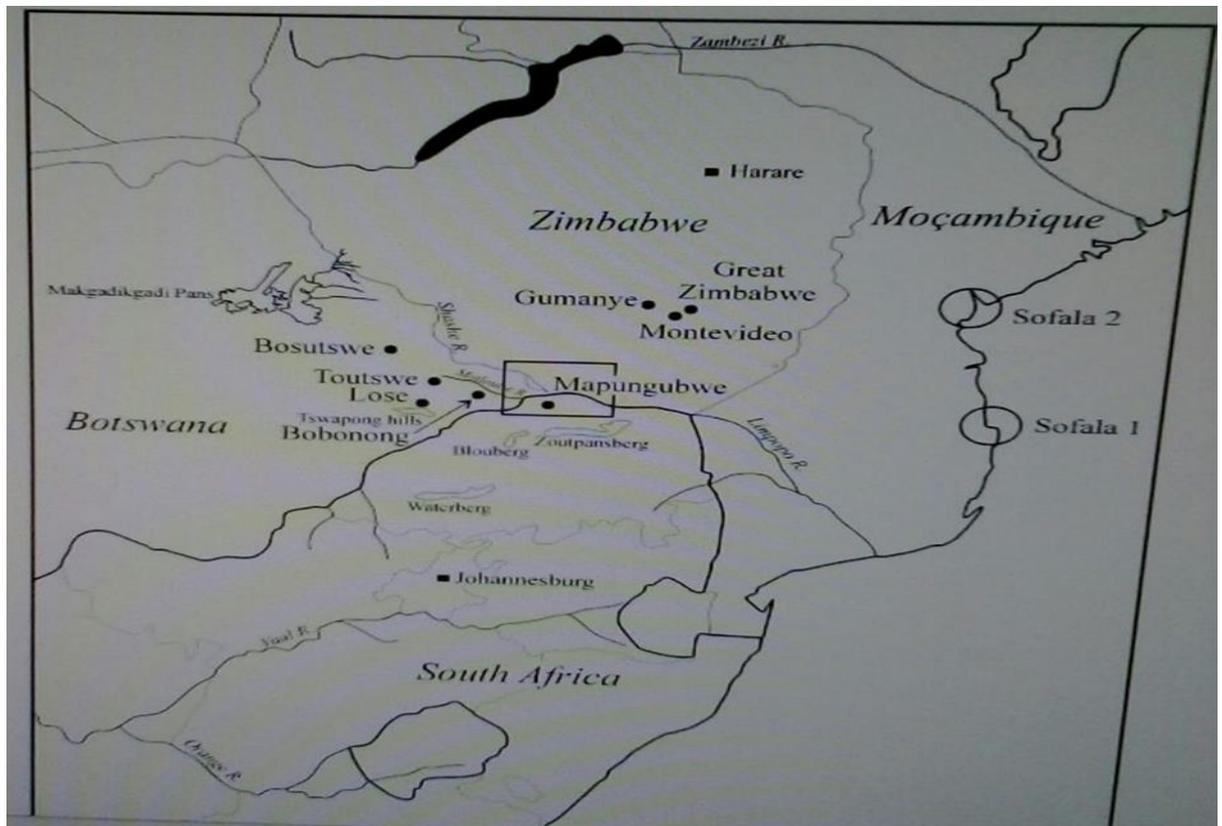
Figure 1 Map showing Mapungubwe and Great Zimbabwe. Source: Huffman (2009).

Land was allocated in relation to roles placed on the inhabitants with the palace, and town protected from physical danger through concentric rings of guards (Huffman, 1996b).The rise of the Great Zimbabwe was greatly influenced by Mapungubwe, however, it is said to have resulted in the latter's declining importance (Ndoro, 2005). It is not very clear why Mapungubwe was abandoned in 1300 AD. Although Huffman (1996a) associated this with the Little Ice Age, however, more recently it has been disputed by some authors who argue that the climate data at stalagmite series at Makapansgat shows that the temperatures were cool (Holngren et al., 2003). The developments at Great Zimbabwe were to make it a great city due to its proximity to the route used by the traders.

2.3.2 The Great Zimbabwe

The ruins still stand, now referred to as the Great Zimbabwe National Monument or Zimbabwe ruins. This Iron Age city lies to the South East of the town of Masvingo, and the area covers about 80 hectares. The site was inhabited in the early Iron Age then later abandoned, as the 11th century saw the Shona people settling there (Mazikana & Johnstone, 1984). The rise of Great Zimbabwe after its transfer from Mapungubwe also carried with it, traditional leadership roles, ideology, land control, and other related practices (Huffman, 2007) and these later shaped the Mutapa dynasty. The distance between Mapungubwe and Great Zimbabwe did not affect the efforts of Mapungubwe on other settlements as land occupation for them was also for purposes of grazing their large herd of cattle (Fouche, 1937). Political status was based on chiefdom-ship (Kuper, 1982) and this is highlighted in the existence of commoners that protected the leaders' homesteads. Traditional leaders had the responsibility of allocating land under their control (Huffman, 1996b), settle disputes and maintaining law and order (Michalopoulos & Papaioannou, 2005). It must be noted however that Chiefs carried out this role under the guidance and authority from the Kings and Emperor as they were appointed and allocated pieces of land as desired by the powers above them.

The history of Great Zimbabwe and role of traditional leaders is however not without controversy over its origin. Whilst Huffman (2009), gives a discussion on Mapungubwe and Great Zimbabwe as related in their construction, Thomas (1984), had previously raised controversy as regards who might have constructed the ruins. Thomas´s discussions were based on Mallows's (an architect) argument that there are theories that although the ruins are of African origin, they may have been initially constructed in response to other pre-Islamic influences, and grew to their proportion due to slave trade with Abbasid Empire. Ndoro (2005), on the other hand, argues that in the 1500s Portuguese traders visiting Angola and Mozambique wrote of a kingdom in the interior of Africa. This author disputes controversy as part of a tale of colonialism and of shoddy, politically motivated archaeology. Moreover, he uses other sites such as Danamombe, Khami, Naletale, Domboshava (in Zimbabwe), Majande (in Botswana), Manikweni (in Mozambique) and Thulamela (in Northern South Africa) that all bare resemblance.

From an archaeological perspective, Country Watch (2001) stresses that archaeologists have found Stone Age implements and pebble tools in Zimbabwe to suggest that the first settlement was by the Khoisan around 200 B.C. with further evidence of human habitation

some 500,000 years back. Country Watch (2001), however, also confirms that the Great Zimbabwe was built around the 13th century by indigenous Africans that had established trading contacts with other centres. The San (Khoisan or Bushmen) are thought to have been displaced by the Bantu groups the ancestors of the modern Shona people currently in Zimbabwe. These may have been traders of gold, cloth, ivory beads and occupied land for agricultural purposes. Fentein (2006) calls the archaeological discourses on Great Zimbabwe 'a silence of unheard voices and untold stories'. This, the author summarises as being constituted by the represented past of the local clans of the Nemanwa, Charumbira and Mugabe each claiming to the secrecy of the site.

It is further argued that the history of Great Zimbabwe was known for its trade with the Portuguese as a monumental city and Pikirayi (2002) uses excerpts from Duarte Barbosa, in Theal (1898 – 1903):

> '*Going further towards the interior fifteen or twenty days' journey there is a very large town in which is of heathens, in which the king of Benamatapa frequently resides and from it to Benamatapa is six days journey which road goes from Sofala inland towards the Cape of Good Hope. In the same town of Benametapa is the usual residence of the King in a very large place, whence the merchants take to Sofala gold which they give to Moors without weighing for coloured cloths and beads which among them are most valued*'

The above is evidence that there was an abundance of gold and its demand was also increasing as a result of increased international demand (Sutton 1990). Great Zimbabwe had a traditional leadership that was in charge of trade with the Portuguese. As minerals were said to be in abundance, Ndoro (2005) supports the notion that Great Zimbabwe was abandoned because gold panning had exhausted the deposits around 1600s. He also expresses concern over the population of around 17,000 residents that might not have been adequately sustainable and cattle might have also de-vegetated the area. This is however disputed by Bhila (1983) who argues that the opulence of Great Zimbabwe was a result of a sixteenth century wrestle for chiefdoms of Barwe, Danda and Manyika who had broken away from Mutapa to take control of the gold trade. It is not clear if the breakaway meant that they took over land that belonged to Mutapa or simply moved to land that was not occupied. This brings in questions as to whether Mutapa controlled all the land similar to a state or parts

thereof. These stories are many and told differently while similar to Mutapa's dynasty that was in charge of the Great Zimbabwe city.

2.3.3 The Mutapa dynasty

The Mutapa (Mwenemutapa) dynasty was associated with the Great Zimbabwe. The term was used in succession, although different names were known such as Mutota who was referred to as Mutapa. Mudenge (2011) gives a list of the Mutapas from Mutota (Mutapa), Nyatsimba (Mutapa), Changamire (Mutapa), Gatsi Rusere (Mutapa), Mukombero (Mutapa) and Mavura also referred to as the Portuguese puppet (Mutapa). Mudenge, (2011) uses two arguments to establish the foundation of Mutapa state under prince of the ruler (Chimubatamatosi) and such a conquering army could have established the Mutapa Empire.

Figure 2 Map showing Mutapa's dynasty: adapted from Willem Janszoon Blaeu (1571-1638)

The above map 2 shows the Mutapa area of control (in yellow) extending into the now South Africa. This further shows how history of the Mutapa people was distorted through the

different accounts. It also shows how the later partition of Africa further distorted the boundaries.

Another version of Mudenge's account (Mudenge 2011) was that of a much slower process of infiltration of the Shangwe-Dande-Chidima regions by the small Karanga groups of hunters, refugees and adventurers from the South. Accordingly, Mutota an elephant hunter from the South living in Shangwe rose to prominence.

Trade relations were undertaken through the traditional leadership that controlled the land. Mudenge (2011) states that the Great Zimbabwe trade relations spread to areas such as Urungwe, and this gave them access to copper products. In contrast to Dande, it was the salt from the Zambezi valley, and they ruled till 1862 (ibid). Bhila (1983) makes reference to some form of exchange of goods or trade including gold along the plateau. Pikirayi (2009) supports the notion that '*Feiras*' or trade markets were used by the Portuguese and local African communities of Mutapa's people. Trade within the State such as Dande and Great Zimbabwe shows how it was organised and how power or control was held through the military.

The illusion that the settlements were peaceful is unlikely as it is possible that disagreements would arise where there is wealth. Whilst Bayart (1989) gives the peaceful nature of these settlements Pikirayi (2009) uses Antonio Bocarro in Theal 1898-1903 vol 3, p. 382 to argue that there was civil war in Mutapa's state under Gatsi Rusere Mutapa between 1600 and 1610. This author blames the Portuguese interference in the politics of Mutapa's court as resulting in the rebellion that saw Gatsi Rusere being killed and the rebels taking over also killing the Portuguese representative in the process. Beach (1994) argues that Gatsi was a Mutapa ruler in 1589 and died in 1623. The Portuguese are then said to have defeated the rebels and taken over the city and this may explain an earlier argument by Thomas (1984) where he used Mallows' (an architect) argument that although the ruins are of African origin they might have started in response to pre-Islamic influence, only that this might have been after and not pre Gatsi Rusere Mutapa's era. Using Axelson's arguments, this occupation by the Portuguese then gave them an opportunity to plunder the resources, enslave and kill the Africans (Gray, 1975). This also explains why Mavura was referred to as the Portuguese puppet as it was a result of the occupation and control of the city under the Portuguese influence (Mudenge, 2011).

The above history is disputed by Mazikana and Johnstone (1984) who argue that the period was much later in 1623. According to these authors, the imposition of Mavura was against Nyambu Kapararidze who was Rusere's son. The Portuguese therefore became the rulers through Mavura and imposed their own political, economic and changes to cultural practices. This resulted in the liberation struggle against the Portuguese in 1670 by Mutapa Mukombwe. This however was to be a long and protracted war as it was only through Mukombwe's brother Nyakunembiri with the cooperation of the Rozvi that they defeated the Portuguese resulting in the defeated foreigners re-establishing power in the lesser important areas now known as Mozambique (Mazikana & Johnstone, 1984). Whilst Mudenge (2011) suggests that famine plague and decreasing gold production earlier alluded to by Ndoro (2005) might have led to the decline of the Great Zimbabwe state, the Portuguese might have had greatly contributed to either its plunder or total abandonment.

The coming of the Matabele under Mzilikazi marked a new era as land disputes and land control became violent efforts of disposition. Mazikana and Johnstone (1984) suggest that it was around the 1830s that the Sotho and Nguni from the South invaded Changamire Chirasamhuru through Zvangengaba's female relative warrior Nyamazana who defeated the Rozvi. This then led to the arrival of the Ndebele in the late 1830s and early 1840s and these conquered and took over Changamire State. The Ndebele also moved to the East where they captured and killed Tohwechipi in 1866 (ibid).

This marked a new era as this was soon to be followed by an agreement similar to the Mavura and Portuguese era through Lobengula, a Ndebele King and son of Mzilikazi. Pan-African (2011) states that Mncumbatha Khumalo had helped Lobengula to escape after being sentenced to death together with his mother by Mzilikazi. Lobengula took over as king after his father's death and ruled the Ndebele people during a time of crisis in Africa as the Berlin Conference was cutting Africa into spheres of influence for the European powers. Lobengula's soft spot for the British missionaries led to his downfall as he was tricked into signing a treaty over his kingdom to the authority of Cecil John Rhodes (Pan African, 2011). Efforts to cancel the Rudd Concession faced stiff resistance resulting in the total demarcation and colonization of the country.

2.3.4 Mutapa Leadership and structure

Traditional leadership was comprised of recognized structures and these were responsible for running an organized Mutapa state. Beach (1994) chronicles the Mutapa history with

documentary references to rulers between 1506 and 1753. Using Dioge de Alcacova, the Portuguese recording, the first Mutapa ruler named Mocomba was killed in a revolt by Changamire in the 1490s. This shows the violent nature of ruler ship or leadership, hence the need for an organized military structure to defend the people at the time of need similar to today's Ministry of Defense. Coups were also common as Beach (1994) gives insight into this through Nhacumbiri who ruled Mutapa state and was driven out by his nephew known to the Portuguese as Pedro in 1694. Pedro was succeeded by his brother Chirimbe who was succeeded by Dangurangu who was killed by Changamire in an invasion in a Mutapa rival invasion by Samutumbu.

This analogy is supported by Dionizio de Mello Castro the then Captain Major of the Portuguese garrison at the Mutapa Capital in the 1760s and it shows Nemapangare as ruler and first Emperor of the area under Mutapa dynasty up to the sea (Beach, 1994:214).
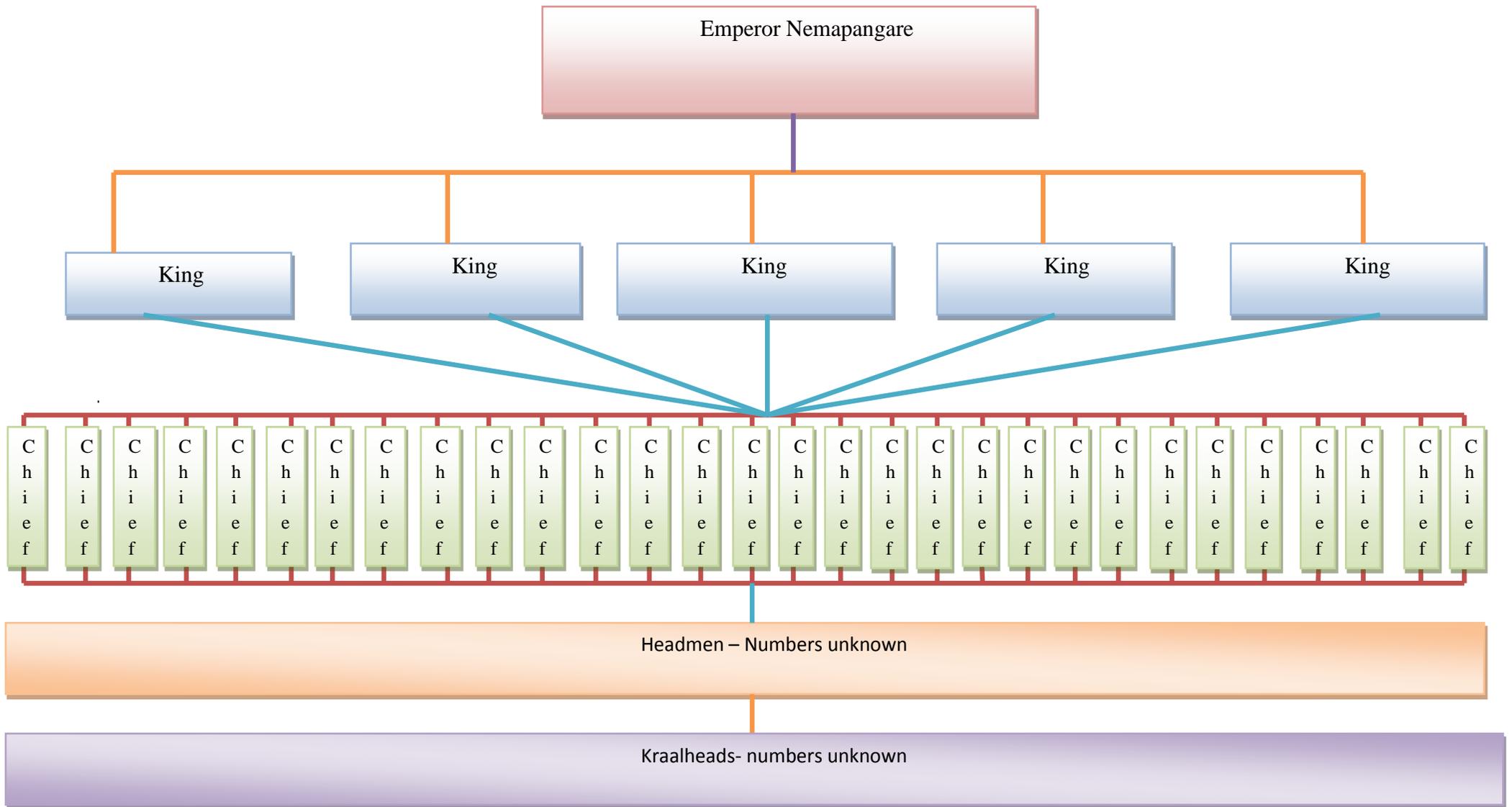
Figure 3 Structure of Nemapangare dynasty; Source, Beach 1994 -drawn by author

Figure 3 above shows a simplified structure of the traditional leaders during Mutapa's era. Nemapangare had ten Kings and over thirty Chiefs under him (Beach, 1994). During this era there was trade with the Moslems and Portuguese which therefore shows efforts of a coordinated way of trade with the international community prior to colonisation. Exchange or barter trade was established for purposes of trade with the international community using gold and other minerals or goods for trade. It is also noted that there were people responsible for trade, security, law and order and other roles that can be considered in today's era as ministries.

Military coups, as alluded to earlier in this section took place at times with support from the Portuguese or other stronger tribes. This was not always successful as was seen in the case of Zeze and Kamota who were killed for rebelling against the blind son of Boroma. This draws similarities to coups that take place in the modern world based on the desire to hold power or to govern.

This discussion forms part of the arguments on the role of traditional leaders also highlighting the powers that are demanded or desired by Chiefs from the various governments. The above traditional structure was the focus of the colonial system as it sought to realign governance with monarchy rather than with the African Emperor. This shift also meant that some traditional positions were disbanded and replaced by the white regime. This is evident in the abolition of the Emperor and adoption of a foreign government to rule over displaced or colonised Africans.

2.4 Land control and traditional leadership in the Colonial Era

Land disposition by the Europeans against Africans has been a controversial matter from the early days of colonisation. This system persisted to be a critical component of the country's affairs (Floyd, 1962) as land control was integral to imperialist and development policies of the colonial system (McCandles, 2002). This was based on rigid territorial segregation that affected the entire political, social and cultural systems of the country. Whites occupied areas with good rainfall however, Casey (2000) argues that they had no records of rainfall patterns so they took areas with red soils because these were not occupied and they could not be said to have displaced natives. This contradicts Palmer's (1977) earlier argument that is supported by the 1899 Order in Council that stated; *Council shall assign to the natives land sufficient for their occupation, whether as tribes or portions of tribes, and suitable for agricultural and pastoral requirement*. This was clear euphemism for the policy of forcibly resettling the

defeated Africans, destroying their powers, control over land and subjugating them to servitude through exclusion to reserves.

Subjugation created resentment, so these efforts by the colonial system did not go unchallenged. In 1893, the Anglo – Ndebele War broke out leading to the destruction of the Ndebele Kingdom despite the fact that in 1890 only 196 pioneers with 500 policemen had invaded the country against 700,000 Africans (Chitiyo, 2000). These natives were both Shona and Ndebele speaking (Rolin, 1978) and their defeat was despite being armed as Lobengula had been given 1,000 Martin-Henry rifles and 100,000 rounds of ammunition by Cecil Rhodes after the Rudd Concession (Pan African, 2011). This was to be followed by the First Chimurenga war from 1896 to 1897 and it was partly a protest against Hut Tax (Ranger, 1967). Traditional leadership and land control were now the main reason for confrontation between the pioneers and the natives. The results of the First Chimurenga war were a total seizure of the native crops and livestock thus turning them into starvation while at the same time fighting a war resulting in 8,000 deaths and the creation of a colonial state (Ranger, 1967). The experiences in South Africa gave the settlers the impression that they could create another Witwatersrand in the newly colonised country (McGhee, 1978).

Dividing the land into farms and rural settlements was alien to the natives as they believed in free movement through their own mode of communal processes. Within this process were Chiefs that were functionaries who allocated land in the best interests of their constituency. Rolin (1978), states that the natives believed that the real land owners were the ancestors and made particular spaces sacred in recognition of this practice. The demographic composition of Natives in 1890 was 700,000 in an area of 150,000 kms (Rolin, 1978), with a livestock of approximately 400,000 head (Palmer, 1977). The following table shows how the land was divided:

Table 1

Category	Acres	Percentage (of land)
White (settler) area	19 179 174	50.8
Native reserves	12 600 000	22.4
Native purchase area	7 646 566	7.7
Forest area	590 506	0.6
Unassigned area	17 793 300	18.4
Undetermined area	88 540	0.1
Total	**98 686 080**	**100**

Table 1 Land distribution between 1890 and 1980 (the colonial area). Source; adapted from Palmer, (1977 p 147)

The above (Table 1) shows that despite a larger population of natives, less than half the percentage of land was allocated to them. There appears to be no provision for further expansion as forest, unassigned and undetermined areas of 19.1 percent were available or reserved land. Native purchase area of 7.7 percent catered for a small number of native farmers and possible expansion was only from the reserved land of 19.1 percent. There was a disparity in land distribution as only 196 pioneers and 500 policemen had entered the country by 1890 while there was a Native population of 700, 000 (Chitiyo, 2000) on 150, 000 kms with 400,000 head (Rolin, 1978). This land allocation did not cater for both the increasing native population and their head which had increased to 700,000 and a population of 900,000 by 1910 resulting in congestion (Palmer, 1977). Racial bias of the politics, socio economic and cultural land rights was therefore a source of conflict.

Traditional leadership and land control had a practice of subordination of immigrants in exchange for tribute, allegiance or labour. Berry (2002) posits that this subordination of migrants resulted from economic opportunities and pressure from foreign systems resulting in increased migration and respect for the allocation and use of land-based resources. Raftopolous and Mlambo claim that within this process was enshrined also power of colonisation by the white settlers, state coercion and racial and cultural assertions resulting in

the imposition of a decentralised disposition. Whilst opposition of costly financial implications were affecting Britain due to the cost of setting up a colony (Fungai, 1980) there was also strong industrial competition from German, France and American mines with challenges in factories resulting from a shortage of raw materials. To address this shortage of raw materials, was the need for colonies and also associations such as the British Cotton Growing Company formed in 1902 (Mamdani, 1996) that saw to it that raw materials were supplied even through forced labour. This domination was therefore an imperialist expansion process using capitalist firms that were given treaties to penetrate and establish annexations, protectorates and foreign influence.

2.4.1 The role of Spirit mediums and Traditional leadership

The African culture had religions that were practiced in different ways to the Christian religion that had been brought by the missionaries. The spirit mediums [2] were powerful and respected by Africans as they were said to be directly linked to God or Musikavanhu/Mwari in Shona or Unkulunkulu by the Ndebele people (Mbuvayesango, 2006). The new religion of Christianity left some believing that spirit mediums were evil up to this day (Blake, 1956; Cockcroft, 1972 & Beach, 1973).

The spirit mediums however were respected by traditional leaders and led some of the uprisings against colonialism. Their predictions made them earn a lot of respect such as that of Pasipamire the spirit medium of Chaminuka who had predicted the coming of the white men in 1883 and the fall of Lobengula (Ranger, 1982). This was at a time when this could not even be imagined yet it came to pass and henceforth strengthened their beliefs. Rebellions therefore sought to free the land and restore the role of traditional leadership and culture. The Matabele and the Shona at times had their uprisings organized and led differently. Such was the parallel resistance led by militants such as Makoni, Mangwende, Mashonganyika, Mashayamombe, Chikwaka and Nyandoro while some of the spirit mediums guiding them were Bonde, Tshiwa, Manyanga, Maponga, Nehanda (Charwe Nyakasikana) and Kaguvi (Gumbo reshumba) (Austin, 1975). The execution of the spirit medium 'Nehanda' resulted from the killing of the Native Commissioner Pollard.

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[2] Spirit mediums are traditional links with God or in the case of this study Mwari who is the creator and communication is through the medium

The country at this time was supervised by the British High Commissioner while in the hands of the British South Africa Company (Raftopolous and Mlambo, 2009). The colonial regime appropriated land outright and controlled it in the areas where natives were settled through traditional authorities that reported to them. The natives that were used to occupying land and moving to other areas when it became less productive were now confined to specific areas and random occupation was made illegal. Whilst efforts were made to produce surpluses even within the context of this system, further measures such as the Maize Council Act were put in place to invert maize prices in a deliberate effort to force natives to seek employment at the expense of the so called 'kifir farming' as they had to pay tax to the regime (Chitiyo, 2000). Spirit mediums that had worked with these traditional leaders also lost their allegiance as this was now directed to the new foreign powers. It is also at this stage that the role of traditional leaders was reduced to the level of Chief and this saw the abolition of Emperor or King. Chiefs, having been custodians on behalf of Emperor or King were now subjected to a lesser role (ibid). This compounded the destruction of the role of spirit mediums as they were reduced to supporting traditional leaders that were now placed at lower levels by the colonial system which sought to convert natives to Christianity.

2.4.2 Traditional leadership and land control

Traditional leadership was based on allegiance to the colonizers so a number of Chiefs lost their positions or roles as they were deemed not in support of the colonial regime. Quoting Lord Lugard who said '*the best way to build a regime of indirect rule is to first find a man of influence say a chief then give him responsibilities'* (Chitiyo, 2000). Chiefs and other traditional leaders were thus co-opted into the system for as long as they supported the colonial efforts (ibid). Kessel and Oomen (1997:561) argue that during this era Chiefs were maligned as puppets of the regime. They were subjected to both disposition and control worse than the Mavura and Portuguese experience discussed earlier.

Conflicting situations also occurred as those working on the white farms forfeited their traditional rural rights by living on the farm compounds and outside the scope of traditional authorities. Land was then demarcated as arable and grazing, as centralization became a means of redistribution of land in the reserves (Palmer, 1983).

The controls and new land use rules were not without problems as the Native Reserves became overpopulated (Palmer, 1997). The native head of cattle was divested by Rinderpest

in 1896 leaving only 25,000 (Patel, 1985). This made the livelihood of natives more difficult, however, by 1930 cattle had increased to nearly 2 million (Patel, 1985) and the colonial system found a convenient way to justify its solution of destocking as natives were then required to kill or sell their animals to stop overgrazing and 1 126 366 head was disposed of (Rhodesia farmer, 1926; Weinmann, 1991). They imposed fines on the natives for excess stock or confiscated the cattle. They were now using persuasive methods and force where necessary to ensure compliance with colonial policies as Chiefs that were chosen by the system were rewarded with money, regalia and other tokens by the State in appreciation if they managed to persuade their people to comply with the various Land Acts (Magaya, 1981). This was not without resistance as white land-development officers were abused verbally and physically attacked as were some of the Chiefs and Headmen who tried to force the implementation of new measures (Chitiyo, 2000).

2.4.3 Apportionment of land and role of Traditional leadership

The adoption of possessory segregation was meant to reduce the point of contact between white and black land holders. The demarcation of land therefore sought to achieve the separation of races with respect to landholdings. Floyd (1962) asserts that the need for separation was a realization after increasing tension and it could only be diminished through territorial separation. This culminated in the total removal of the right to own land by the blacks as 81 native areas were set up for them. Africans could therefore not buy land in areas that were reserved for white people and this saw the setting aside of Native Purchase Areas adjoining the Native Reserves for the affluent black farmers.
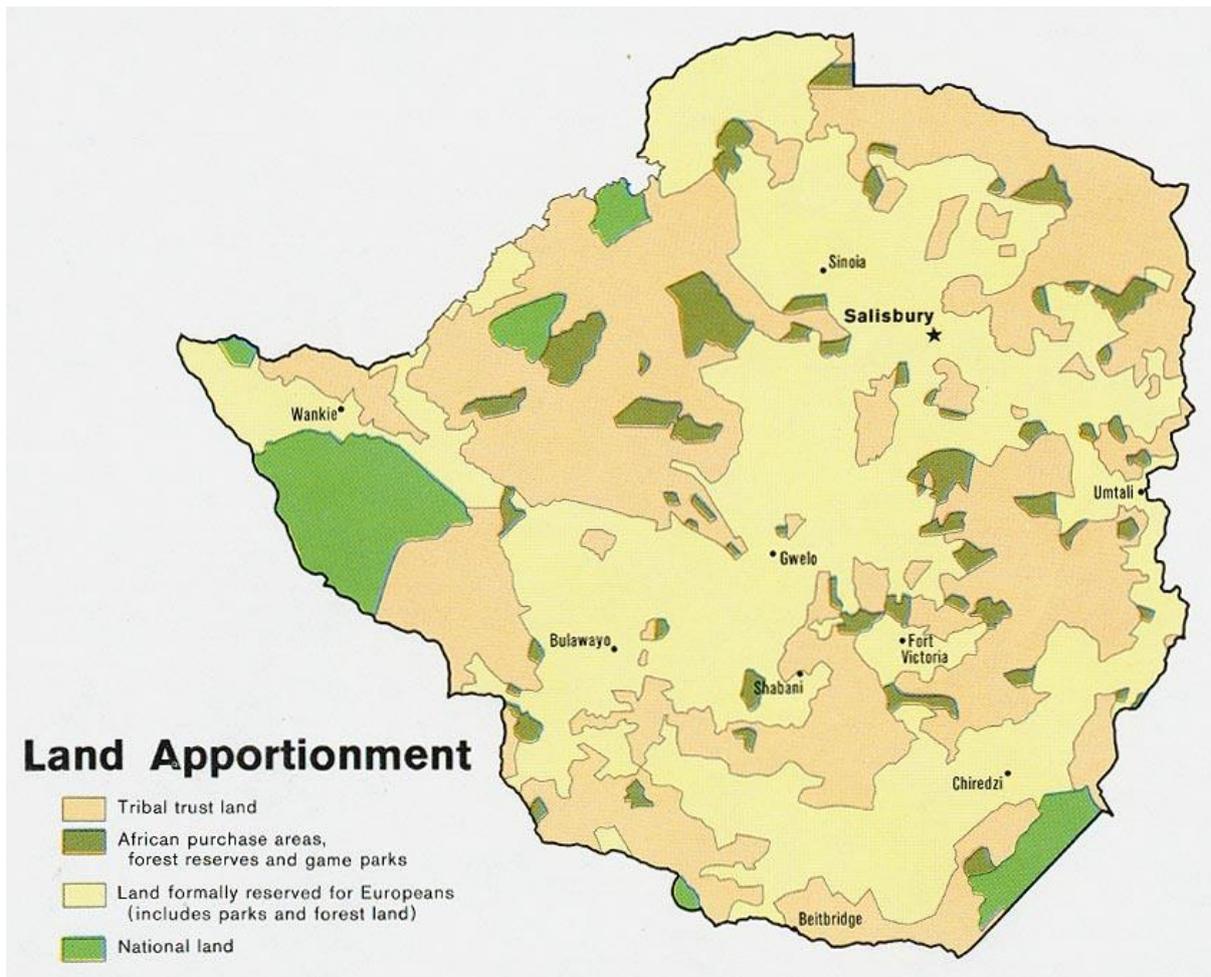
Figure 4 Land apportionment in Zimbabwe source; Nationmaster

The above map 4 shows how land was apportioned with the white settlers taking the fertile and good rainfall regions while settling the natives in poor areas. The demarcation of land was an ongoing process for the benefit of the white settlers and in 1955; four thousand natives were moved out of areas that were set aside for white farmers (Report of the Land Commissioner, 1925). This land in some cases lay idle as this was a measure of anachronism and injustice while the natives were crowded in the reserves.

The setting up of Commissions was then meant to assess and where necessary change legislation to remove any distortions that could have affected the effectiveness of the land demarcations. The Morris Carter Commission was instrumental in the enactment of the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 (Floyd, 1962). This Act was meant to favor the white farmers while natives were suffering from overcrowding and lack of grazing land. Changes were made and this resulted in the repeal and reenactment of the Act in 1941 under Sir Godfrey

Huggins who argued that separate legislation had to be maintained to avoid degeneration of the Europeans during the process of raising the Africans (Floyd, 1962).

The Native Land Husbandry Act 1951 was passed to address the deteriorating reserve land and this was despite the maladministration and anachronism prevailing at the time. Debate in parliament later in 1961 led to the strong objection of land rationalization as it was felt that it would result in the abolition of land segregation (Marshall, 1976). Conflicts were to soon become endemic and this saw an uprising that was to result in a long protracted liberation war referred to as the Second Chimurenga (Chitiyo, 2000).

2.5 The Second Chimurenga and role of traditional leaders

The land issues among other injustices saw the culmination of a rebellion by the Natives in the early 1960s (Chitiyo, 2000). The revolution started as protests in the cities where petrol bombs were used and slowly progressed to militancy (Clarke, 1978) and it spread to the peasants (Evans, 1982). Ian Smith who was then in power made a Unilateral Declaration of Independence in 1965, thus removing the country from the alliance with Britain that had persisted since 1890. Efforts and condemnation of racial discrimination by the United Nations would not deter him (ILO, 1978) but slowly the economy began to decline (Clarke, 1978; Sutcliff, 1971).

Demand for land and traditional rights became the uniting force between the nationalists in the urban areas and peasants in the rural areas. While traditional leaders were chosen randomly by the repressive system, some of them continued to pay allegiance to their masters while others revolted. Repressive laws such as the Law and Order Maintenance Act 1960 and the Emergence Powers Act 1960 were passed to suppress the uprisings but this was not to succeed as these were widespread with those in the cities affecting the economic production of industry and those in the rural areas destroying crops on land owned by white farmers (Chitiyo, 2000).

Repression led to courage and the situation worsened resulting in an armed conflict. The natives took up guns and according to Chikerema the first armed training took place in 1960 (Maxey, 1975). Ian Smith had declared Independence from the British as they had refused to support the regime. The Unilateral Declaration of Independence by Ian Smith was to prove costly for the white settlers as the British Government refused to intervene (Hargreaves, 1966). Land was the rallying cry for the peasants while traditional leadership and its rights

were then distorted with some Chiefs and Headmen openly supporting the regime. The fighters then had a task to elevate personal and local discontent of the peasants to a national level so that they could understand and accept the purpose of the revolution (Chitiyo) as the fighters could not survive without this support (Kriger, 1988).

Countries that were sympathetic to the struggle by Natives gave both military and financial support. Notable were China, Ghana, Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique and Russia then Soviet Union. Training formed the basis of the war as fighters were trained in shooting, sabotage and ambushing the enemy (Maxey, 1975; Makumbi, 1996). Recruitment was through the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and their military wing the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) through the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (Maxey, 1976).

Robert Mugabe, who was in exile, returned to the country in 1960, and was arrested, together with Leopold Takawira and three others (Norman, 2008). People took to the streets on an eight mile march that was then known as the 'March of the 7,000' by protestors from Highfields in the hope of meeting the then Prime Minister Edgar Whitehead but were stopped at Stoddart Hall by the territorial militia and numbers had swelled to 40,000 (Norman 2008) as marches spread to other cities.

The allegiance of some traditional leaders to the White settlers was seen in Chief Chirau who openly supported Ian Smith together with Abel Muzorewa and Ndabaningi Sithole resulting in the formation of the short lived Executive Council (Norman, 2008; Smith, 1993; Mufuka, 1979).

Robert Mugabe and Edgar Tekere left the country to join the liberation movement at a time when many people were crossing into Mozambique to join the war front. The notion of 'Mwana Wevhu' 'Son of the Soil' (Muhwati, 2006), initiated by Joshua Nkomo was a nationalist slogan that drove the native initiatives as they fought to reposes what belonged to them in the protracted armed revolution. The war cost many lives and the Lancaster House Conference finally brought an agreement that saw an end to the war. Guided by the Lancaster House Agreement Zimbabwe attained its independence in 1980 with high expectations of finally resolving the land issue and traditional leaders that were removed by the colonial regime hoping to retain their former leadership roles.

2.6 Conclusion

The chapter discussed Traditional Leadership and Land Control in the pre and colonial era from the Mutapa dynasty where land was allocated as and when it was necessary. The powers were however under threat as the Muslims and Portuguese sought to dis-empower the natives in order to take control of the land. The study also shows that the Portuguese managed to take control and ruled through Mavura whom they had imposed and this is similar to the imposition of Abel Muzorewa that was made by Ian Smith in the short lived Zimbabwe-Rhodesia just before the Lancaster House Conference. The desire to fight for land rights was there before the colonial regime and persisted throughout this era till the attainment of independence.

Displacement of black people by other blacks started with the Shona/Bantu who displaced the Khoisan. The Bantu who are the ancestors to the Shona people were then defeated by the Ndebele people from the South. The Shona and Ndebele were later to be defeated by the White settlers and faced a new form of governance and land apportionment which resulted in the protracted war leading to independence. What is evident from this chapter is that some Chiefs were imposed by the colonial regime such that some of the current traditional leaders may not be in their original places due to displacement and secondly, they may not be entitled to chieftainship in accordance with the traditional family hierarchy.

Traditional leaders in the pre-colonial era had legal structures with representatives for the various sectors such as army, legal and others. This control ran the government like system before the arrival of the white people. The study also showed how the current boundaries are not a reflection of the original states together with the displacement and removal from Chieftainship of traditional leaders under the colonial regime. Control therefore did not start with the colonial system but rather that they modified what already existed including the payment of penalties. It will be important to understand if these distortions have been resolved by the current government in the now independent Zimbabwe. The next chapter focuses on the independent country and how it has attempted to resolve traditional leadership roles, land issues and governance.

CHAPTER 3: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: INDEPENDENCE TO THE PRESENT

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed both the pre-colonial and colonial periods showing how traditional roles and the land question changed with the systems that were taking place either within the ranks of black against black or black against white regimes. The achievements of the liberation war that cost many lives were then viewed in the context of the corrective measures that are related to the human sacrifices particularly in the context of traditional leadership and control of land under President Robert Mugabe. The expectations and results were weighed to explore a more focussed discussion on the changes that have taken place and their implications.

Section 3.2 discusses a democratic process in a divided and formerly segregative system. Section 3.3 covers the Lancaster House Agreement, implications to freedoms that were sought by the liberation movements and the Zimbabwean people at large. These discussions brought about the ceasefire resulting in the independence of Zimbabwe. Section 3.4 explores the Land Reform Programme from 1980 till 1998 while section 3.5 focuses on the Fast Track Land Reform programme and the challenges including violence that were associated with it. Section 3.6 raises issues related to the Law on Traditional Leadership and Land redistribution while section 3.7 discusses distortions in traditional/cultural practices as a result of displacement. Section 3.8 draws the chapter to a conclusion.

3.2 The Lancaster House Agreement in 1979

The warring parties attracted the attention of the International Community, not only because Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) was a former British Colony but also due to the huge economic interests in terms of investments. As a follow up to the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting held in Lusaka in 1979, the Patriotic Front leaders (Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo) Abel Muzorewa of the short lived Zimbabwe-Rhodesia and Her Majesty's Government participated in the Constitutional Conference at Lancaster House (Lancaster House, 1979). Interesting, in these developments was that Ian Smith had declared a Unilateral Declaration of Independence in 1965 against Britain and one can assume that Britain only had a facilitator's role but this was not to be as was noted from Lord Carrington's speech. In his speech he stated that; *it is the responsibility of the British Government to grant legal*

independence to Rhodesia. First, as the constitutional authority for Southern Rhodesia, the United Kingdom intends to take direct responsibility for the independence constitution' (ibid) and this therefore meant that the Unilateral Declaration for Independence by Ian Smith from Britain in 1965 was not recognized over the entire period of their governance.

One may also look closely and question what the implications would have been if the talks at Lancaster House had collapsed, would it have meant that continuing with the war then would have been an act against Britain or that it would have reverted back to the Ian Smith era. It is true to assume that Britain had taken control of the issues of the colony and Ramphal (2009) states that when they were failing to reach an agreement, Britain stated separate talks with Muzorewa and Ian Smith without the Patriotic Front. This was as a result of the challenges that they were facing with the Patriotic Front whom they could have excluded at this time but with consequences. The challenge however was that support for the Patriotic Front was also fading and the Front Line States were putting pressure on them to end the fighting (Palley, 1980). The liberation movements finally agreed to the signing of the Lancaster House agreement.

Another interesting statement from Lord Carrington was that; *thereby lay the foundations for a free, independent and democratic society in which all the people of Rhodesia, irrespective of their race or political beliefs, would be able to live in security and at peace with each other and with their neighbours. In summary, the Commonwealth Heads of Government at Lusaka confirmed that they were wholly committed to genuine majority rule for the people of Rhodesia, and accepted that this requires the adoption of a democratic constitution including appropriate safeguards for the minorities' (Lancaster House Report 1979)* at a time the expectations from the natives were that of repossessing what had been taken away from them and not safeguarding the interests of the minority.

The adoption of a protectionist constitution for the minority, also touched on the role of traditional leaders and the land question as it had been taken away from the natives and safeguarding the minority interests implied safeguarding their rights to land which was a contradiction to the whole purpose of the liberation war and concept of 'Mwana Wevhu' 'Son of the Soil' (Chitando, 1998). The notion of 'Mwana Wevhu' sought to reverse land ownership back to the natives and the Lancaster House Constitution therefore meant that it was going to be a process rather than what might have been advocated for as a reversal or disposition of the white minority. There is no evidence however of how this reversal could

have been carried out supposing it had been accepted as will be seen in the chaotic land redistribution program that was undertaken later in the independent Zimbabwe by the Mugabe regime.

In accepting the Lancaster House Agreement, questions to be asked then rested on how the traditional leadership roles would be restored. Further to this was also the question of how traditional leaders would take control of the land that had been taken away from the natives by the white regime if a protectionist constitution was adopted. This is noted in the point that was raised by Joshua Nkomo when he asked, *"What will be the future of the people's land"?* (Lancaster House, 1979). Assuming then that the majority of the people expected to repossess their land, Ramphal (2009) suggests that it would only have been possible if the British Government had offered to buy out all the white farmers' land in full and return it to the black Zimbabweans. The author states that this was never a political reality as the white farmers were at the time considered rebels by the British Government for their support of Ian Smith's Unilateral Declaration of Independence.

The protectionist clauses in the Constitution however provided the white farmers with security for 70% of the land they held while they made up less than 15% of the population (Ramphal, 2009). This author, further states that Britain had proposed a resettlement scheme through a 'willing-seller and willing-buyer' restriction while giving the new government of Zimbabwe first refusal while underutilized land could be compulsorily purchased. An important point at the time was the promise by Britain that it could provide funds to assist with the buying of land from willing sellers. This however was disputed as the Africa all Party Parliamentary Group [3] stated that it did not receive any evidence of such an agreement and there is no merit in the claim that Britain ever promised or reneged on the promise (Ramphal, 2009).

The notion then of forced or total buy-out of land was not supported or provided for in the Lancaster House Agreement while freedom from deprivation of property was provided for under part V. (1) *every person will be protected from having his property compulsorily acquired except when the acquisition is in the interests of defence, public safety, public order, public morality, public health, town and country planning, the development or utilization of that or other property in such manner as to promote the public benefit* (Lancaster House,

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[3] Africa All Party Parliamentary Group was established in 2003 to focus on structural issues that affect the continent across a range of policy areas, foreign affairs, economics, trade, business, industrialisation and politics.

1979). The white farmers were thus protected while the issue of land acquisition in the massive manner as might have been expected was not possible under this agreement. Faulty as it might have been, the agreement was finally signed by both parties despite the demands for land as raised by the Patriotic Front leaders

3.3 Democracy in an independent Zimbabwe

The coming of Zimbabwe's independence in 1980 gave hope for a national democratic era as people wanted to see an end to segregation that had prevailed through the colonial system. The issue of land redistribution was part of the solution to fundamental concerns regarding peripheral capitalism, the state and nationalism (Moyo and Yaros, 2005). The expectation for equitable land redistribution was however not isolated to Zimbabwe alone, but was a manifestation of a much larger phenomenon across the South, Latin America, Asia and other African countries. Moyo (2001) posits that national differences resulted from unresolved agrarian questions that were located in the development dialogue of the rural poor and as subject to welfarist rural development programmes.

The colonial system had maintained an exclusion of blacks from the white society and the coming in of independence was to usher in the rule of law while protecting the interests of the minority white population (Lancaster House Agreement, 1979). The genuine intellectual challenges demanded solutions to how the issue of land redistribution could be resolved in a democratic state and this could not be offered by the academia or political forces (Moyo, 2001). Accordingly, the expectations of the black population involved in the drive for land was to find a quick solution while the national democratic efforts had to deal with the nature of the neo-colonial state, inter-capitalist conflict, peasant worker relations and the class struggle within the land occupation movement.

Concerns then were on whether structural systems could deliver democracy or according to Moyo (2001), had the national form of sovereignty been superseded by neoliberal globalization. One might also question if the Lancaster House Agreement was meant to bring a democratic system to Zimbabwe while the minority whites held onto most of the wealth or resources.

The academia and opposition politics could question the role of imperialism as a tool of self-determination while creating an obscure state that would result in the abandonment of the agrarian question. Moyo (2001) argues that radical nationalism and land reform have proved

unpalatable to the civic and post nationalism of domestic and international social forces due to the manner in which it is advocated. The colonial experience had thus created structures of white colonial capitalism despite contradictions between minority and majority capitalist accumulation strategies premised on their power over the indigenous black population.

Productive land was held by the minority whites that had developed an agrarian capital base from a segregative system completely divorced from a democratic or national scope (Phimister, 1988). Food processing, construction, textiles, clothing industries among others were owned by whites (Phimister, 2000) who had to be protected in an independent Zimbabwe (Lancaster House Agreement 1979) while the black population felt the need for equitable redistribution of economic resources.

The expectations were not to share power between the black majority and the white minority but to see the neo-colonial state ceding formal power to the black petty-bourgeoisie (Mandaza, 1986a, 1986b). The issues at independence were to go beyond race reconciliation and Sibanda (1988) argues that it involved capital held under the white monopoly conditions while Zimbabwe was moving into an independent era. The dismantling of racial divisions could not result in the national unity for as long as capital was in the hands of the minority whites. Control of capital consolidated class domination and exploitation of the majority blacks by the minority whites unless wealth was redistributed (Sibanda, 1988).

Reconciliation, had to be sustained in order to maintain a transitional period from the infamous colonial system into a democratic process which was a challenge to the expectations of the majority black Zimbabweans. Du Toit (1995), states that a strong autonomous state was necessary although it offered insufficient conditions for sustaining democracy. This complex situation saw the involvement of the British Government as it made efforts to protect the minority whites through the Lancaster House Agreement.

3.4 Land Reform Programme from 1980 to 1998.

Isolation, congestion and the disempowerment of natives was part of the oppressive system perpetrated through the colonial system. Land occupation was denounced as a destructive process of the State, as nationalism was defined as authoritarian, while others celebrated this occupation as a culmination of black empowerment or economic indigenisation (Moyo & Yeros, 2005). Enshrined in this process were African traditions and cultures that are at the centre of everyday indigenous life in Zimbabwe particularly in rural areas. Whilst traditional

leaders have always been custodians of culture and land, their power and control during the colonial era tended to be representative of the oppressive governments, however their role in reinforcing customary rights to land has continued (IIED, 1999; Toulmin & Quan, 2000; Toulmin et al., 2002). The challenge however is in what context it has continued as changes normally affect arrangements particularly in this situation where some of the Chiefs were aligned to a colonial regime.

The adoption of the Land Reform Programme came as a relief to many disadvantaged blacks, some of whom might have expected a total reversal of land ownership, land control and resettlement on fertile land. The system disregarded whether one was originally from a specific area including traditional leaders that sought resettlement from the rural to white commercial farming areas. The dilemma with this approach was that traditional leadership roles had to extend into the commercial farming areas in order to incorporate Chiefs and Headmen. Chiefs and Headmen as leaders of the people were at the forefront of seeking land for the peasants that were congested in the rural areas. Resettling traditional leaders outside this scope meant that they would be allocated land in areas where their powers would not apply and if their people were randomly resettled the later would cease to fall under their authority. A random resettlement programme therefore meant a distortion of existing traditional roles or placement of people under different traditional leadership or total removal from traditional leadership control. This also meant that families could be separated thereby removing the unitary traditional family practice common within the black Zimbabwean culture.

Land resettlement therefore faced challenges of further changing the role of traditional leaders through taking them out of their jurisdiction or surrounding them with foreign people. If people were randomly resettled their cultures would differ further complicating the role of tradition leaders whose role is to unite people through cultural practices that are normally tribal. On the other hand if traditional leaders moved into new areas without traditional powers it meant that peasants would use services of a Chief or Headman nearest to them or alternatively that the Chief would appoint a representative and then travel to his area from time to time. Another alternative was that traditional leaders would seek land for their people while they continued to stay in their rural areas with poor soils solely for purposes of providing traditional leadership roles. This was a dilemma for both traditional leaders and the

government. The Lancaster House Agreement had not provided for this technicality therefore the new government of Robert Mugabe had to deal with these issues.

Another challenge facing the new government of Zimbabwe was that of Chiefs and Headmen that had been removed from Chieftainship by the colonial system for not supporting them and the question was on whether they would be brought back to their original places by the black government. This however would have meant that those that were not rightfully appointed as Chiefs would be removed from Chieftainship. A further complication was on choosing who was entitled to which land and a normal approach to reversing land ownership even through a resettlement programme was not an easy task for the government. Some of the traditional leaders knew their own specific areas which they controlled prior to colonisation and these areas had either been placed under new Chiefs or were now placed under the resettlement programme (Moyo 2007) that covered the former white commercial farm land. In the event that parts of the former white commercial farm land were allocated to the traditional leaders, it might have been expected then that they would control land thus correcting history. The struggle for land by traditional leaders therefore simultaneously challenged cultural norms (Berry, 1988), and this might have resulted in the adoption of a chaotic resettlement programme. Land redistribution was thus to take place under such a distorted traditional situation as correcting history was a challenge.

The Land Resettlement Programme bought land from the white commercial farmers on a willing-seller willing-buyer basis. Moyo (1987), states that between 1980 and 1998 3.5 million hectares were bought and 71,000 families were resettled while the government's target was 162,000 families. The majority of that land however came from underutilized farms or areas in poor rainfall regions. This forced the government to enact a new Land Reform Policy 1991-1998 as the process was both slow and less productive for the black farmers that were being resettled on former white commercial farm land. The Land Acquisition Act of 1991 gave the government of Zimbabwe an opportunity to speed up the land reform programme through designation and compulsory acquisition of land deemed unproductive (Mabaye, 2005). It is not very clear how land was defined as not being productive but it is assumed that failure to fully utilize land by some of the white commercial farmers resulted from a systematic review of output from a given number of hectares. This presumably would have resulted in a replacement of white farmers by more productive black farmers if this assumption on land redistribution had to be economically beneficial.

Land Reform Resettlement Programme phase one ran from 1980 till 1997 (Chiremba & Masters, 2003). The Land Reform Programme under the Land Acquisition Act of 1991 was meant to address non productivity by some white commercial farmers. It meant therefore that those that were resettled on this land had to produce more in order to compensate for the losses from the idle land. This had its own challenges as there was need to resettle people that could produce more yet there was no way of knowing their capacity as they were only required to complete application forms for land and to show if it was small scale or large commercial land with a declaration that they had equipment and were financially able to farm. The majority would indicate that they had the capacity to produce when they had no knowledge of agriculture and regrettably there was no way of checking if they had adequate equipment to fully utilize the land that was allocated to them.

The other challenge facing this programme was the instrumentalisation of violence (Raftopoulos & Phimister 2004) that was used as people were choosing areas say with good soils or rainfall patterns despite incapacity to produce. Regions 1 and II were previously occupied by white farmers (Mlambo 2005, Herbst 1988) while regions III, IV and V were rural areas with poor rainfall (Manyanhaire, Mhishi, Svotwa & Sithole 2009). Without a way of establishing competences, people were resettled regardless of where they came from as anyone could apply for any piece of land in Zimbabwe. The result was an influx of people (Chimhowu & Woodhouse 2010) with cultures and practices different to the rural areas close to these former white commercial farming areas. Traditional leaders therefore had to adjust to this new challenge as they also lost some control as some of the people from their areas were being settled in far-away places.

Traditional leaders also qualified for land (Moyo 2007) and some of them were resettled on former white commercial farm land. They were separated from their people because of the land allocated to them but they continued to be Chiefs for their former rural areas. Whilst some could be allocated land together with some of their people, there was no guarantee that it would be possible for every traditional leader. Some were separated from their people (Beall & Ngonyama 2009), and had to continue to associate with spirit mediums and traditional practices that did not fit in with some of the new areas.

The resettlement programme was to be speeded up disregarding the challenges that persisted then, as the government focused on providing land including to those displaced by war (Kinsey, 1982). New black farmers could not borrow from the banks as they did not have title

deeds to the new areas yet the former white commercial farmers had used title-deeds, favourable government policies and subsidies that excluded blacks (Andrew & Fox 2003). The white farmers had equipment while some of the new black farmers brought cattle and ox drawn ploughs to cultivate vast tracks of land. They did not have money to pay wages for the farm labour force that was necessary for full productive use of the land. Farming proved to be a difficult business for many and the U.K. Overseas Development Administration in 1988, in its preliminary evaluation of the Land Reform Programme reported that it was positive but lacked input after resettlement, while much of the resettled land was in less arable regions (Sachikonye, 2003). Pilossof (2014), states that some farmers became desperate for the freehold title deeds to safeguard the land and future ownership as government was seemingly controlling people while keeping bureaucracy at arm's length. The former Minister of Agriculture, at the evidence session with Africa APPG was said to have reported that the reason why resettled farmers were denied title was for fear that they would re-sell their land on the open market although he felt it was not justified (Ramphal, 2009).

Other resettled farmers had challenges with children that could not be transported to the expensive schools that had been previously designed for the white racist system. Besides not affording the fees they faced long distances that needed to be traveled on a daily basis or alternatively sending the children to boarding schools where fees were very high. Children dropped out of school as parents' secured land and had to provide labour on the new pieces of land (Chambati, 2013). The resettlement programme had not been proactive given that priority had not been given to the construction of schools (Sachikonye, 2003). This further highlights the disadvantages that had been faced by farm labourers' children that could not access education and were destined to provide farm labour. To continue with a resettlement programme disregarding this challenge was denying the children the right to education and this was a dilemma facing the new government.

Medical services on the farms were designed for white communities (Moyo, Rutherford, & Amanor-Wilks, 2000) so clinics were not provided for as the white farmers would drive to expensive hospitals in the nearby towns or cities. The white farmers would either keep some first aid boxes for their workers or drive them to hospital when necessary which was not affordable by some of the newly resettled black farmers. The new black farmers were in some instances without cars neither could they find public transport in some of these areas to ferry the sick to the hospitals or clinics particularly pregnant women. Whilst the country sought to reduce the infant mortality rate it faced the challenge of lack of facilities (Chattopadhyay,

2000) as some of the people sought traditional healers' help in the absence of western medicine. The challenge facing government was that it did not have enough money for the resettlement programme so it was even more difficult for it to give priority to the construction of clinics and hospitals.

Demand for land continued to increase at a time when the constitutional obligation of willing-seller willing-buyer had expired in 1990 (Deininger, Hoogeveen, & Kinsey, 2004). The enactment of the Land Acquisition Act of 1991 was followed by the Land Reform Policy of 1991-1998 (Mabaye, 2005). The Land Reform Policy sought to both speed up the land resettlement process and to make land available for resettlement as government was moving away from the constraints of the Lancaster House Agreement.

3.4.1 Donor Assistance for Land Reform up to 1998

The refusal by Britain to fund the land resettlement programme compelled the government of Zimbabwe to seek assistance from other countries and interested groups. The Land Reform Donor Conference was held in the month of September, 1998 in Harare (Mabaye 2005) with a mandate to seek financial assistance for the resettlement programme. In attendance were Britain, USA, South Africa, Middle East and Asian countries, the UN, AU, IMF and World Bank. Tabling its policy framework for Land Reform Resettlement Programme Phase II (LRRP II), the government of Zimbabwe sought financial support estimated at US$1.1 billion. This was to cover land acquisition, development, infrastructure, roads, schools, clinics, farming implements and financial assistance for the farmers as banks needed collateral that was not available.

The government sought to purchase 5 million hectares from the 11 million owned by white commercial farmers, parastatals, corporations and multi-national companies. The plan was to purchase 1 million hectares every year for five years up to 2003 (Mabaye, 2005). The donors however only pledged US$100 million based on non compulsory but on willing-seller willing-buyer basis which faced resistance as whites were not willing to sell (Goebel 2005). This was bound to fail as it fell way too short of the required land necessary to speed up land reform with emotions running high. The government of Zimbabwe up to this stage was making efforts to ensure that white commercial farmers would be compensated for any land taken away from them for purposes of resettlement. Black Zimbabweans had waited for too long while the resettlement pace was slow and painful given the human sacrifices during the

struggle. The Government had to act and given the oversights in the initial programme they were bound to face more changes with the implementation of the resettlement programme.

Further financing was received from the African Development Bank in the form of a loan to the government of Zimbabwe of US$27 million, the Kuwait government provided a loan/grant of £7.8 million and the European Economic Community $6.3 million (Ramphal, 2009). The UK Department for International Development was said to have provided £47 million since 1980 for land reform broken down as $20 million for specific Land Resettlement Grant and £27 million in the form of budgetary support for the programme, however, the government of Zimbabwe claims that the figure was $36.5 million. Moyo (2000) concludes that it was the wider development assistance initiated through ZIMCORD in 1981/1982 that contributed to the institutional and financial capacity to implement the resettlement programme. Despite this assistance which fell short of the initial request by the government of Zimbabwe, resettlement continued at a slow pace and people in need of land were getting frustrated as they began to wonder why government was not simply grabbing the land from white commercial farmers and giving it to the black Zimbabweans. Some felt that there was no need to compensate white commercial farmers as the blacks were not initially compensated when land was taken away from them during the colonial era (Yates, 1980). This was now the birth of an aggressive or violent demand and occupation of land by black Zimbabweans.

3.5 Third Chimurenga: forced land occupation

The country was now in a dilemma as patience was running out more than ten years after independence and the majority of the black people were still waiting for land still in the hands of the white minority. The constitutional obligations of the Lancaster House Agreement had come to an end so the government was passing legislation to speed up the resettlement programme rather than continuing with the willing-seller willing-buyer arrangement. Deininger, Hoogeveen and Kinsey (2004) posit that by 1997, about 1,471 farms had been designated for compulsory acquisition. This however fell short of the land needed for meaningful resettlement in a country that had sacrificed human lives for land. By 1998, copycat farm invasions were taking place as government had failed to secure adequate funding thereby delaying the process. People had fought a war and were prepared to fight for the conclusion of the initial cause of the war to find closure through repossession of land.

Violence was slowly being advocated for as the pain from the liberation war was still fresh in the minds of those that had suffered during the war together with the war veterans. [4]

Traditional leaders and war veterans were impatient as people continued to be congested in rural areas where they were failing to sustain themselves (Kinsey, Burger, & Gunning, 1998). The land issue was becoming more complex as pressure was mounting on the government, villagers where some of the war veterans lived were demanding land. The promises during the war were not being fulfilled and War Collaborators and villagers began to feel some form of betrayal by the government. Traditional leaders were not being involved or consulted by the government in areas that they felt were under their control and frustration increased by the day as some were being left out while resettlement was taking place close to their areas with land being occupied by people from outside the respective traditional leadership areas (Ramphal, 2009).

The Government of Zimbabwe had made efforts to amicably resolve the land issue without success and by failing to recognise that Robert Mugabe was falling vulnerable to the War Veterans; the International Community (Ramphal, 2009) put the lives of the minority white community in danger after ignoring pleas for assistance. Coupled with the uneasy relationship between Robert Mugabe and Tony Blair who refused to provide substantial sums for land acquisition citing concerns over transparency, the situation worsened. In response to this, Robert Mugabe sent a letter to Britain stating; "*we are going to take the land and we are not going to pay for the soil. This is our policy. 'Our land was never bought and there is no way we could buy back the land. However, if Britain wants compensation they should give us the money and we pass it on to their children'* and this is confirmed by Mlambo (2010). To this Clare Short, the Secretary of State put emphasis and support for the willing-seller willing-buyer principle and further demanded that they needed transparency on the land reform programme before they could commit further funding. In her extract of the letter to Zimbabwe, she stated; '*I should make it clear that we do not accept that Britain has a special responsibility to meet the costs of land purchase in Zimbabwe. We are a new government from diverse backgrounds without links to former colonial interests. My own origins are Irish and as you know we were colonised and not colonisers'* (Willems, 2005), although the request for funding was directed at the British government which was not solely represented by her.

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[4] War Veterans is a term used to refer to tthe former liberation fighters in Zimbabwe and these were drawn from the Zimbabwe African National Union and the Zimbabwe African People's Union's forces

Meanwhile Robert Mugabe was under pressure from the landless people now fronted by the War Veterans. Ramphal (2009) suggests that the problems had been coupled with the demands for pensions by the former fighters that had hackled Robert Mugabe at Heroes Day celebrations under the leadership of Dr. Chenjerai 'Hitler' Hunzvi. They demanded to see him and went to his office where Robert Mugabe was forced to agree and announce a generous pension package of Z$2,000 for life and Z$50,000 as lump sum payment (Chaumba, Scoones & Wolmer, 2003). It was not long before they were back and demanded $4,000 which Robert Mugabe agreed to and paid. Dennis Norman commented that; *it's like dealing with a blackmailer. You pay once and they come back, you pay again and on the third visit they'd really got him by this stage – I think- so it was a fairly rapid progression from the initial request for money, doubling the money and then 'let's have the land'* (Chaumba, Scoones & Wolmer, 2003).

Admittedly, the War Veterans were now in control and Robert Mugabe was at their mercy as they could have meetings with him without any other Minister or person present. Mugabe had to find a legal way of taking land from the white farmers so a referendum was held proposing changes to the Constitution, so that government could now acquire farms without making compensation to the white farmers. The white farmers were at this stage financially supporting a newly formed opposition party formed by the labour movement and fronted by Morgan Tsvangirai. The opposition party, the Movement for Democratic Change campaigned vigorously against the amendments resulting in the defeat of Robert Mugabe's government. Ramphal, (2009) suggests that Mugabe took the defeat as a personal rejection partly because the opposition was supported by the white farmers and he was now seeking to disposes them of the land.

Traditional leaders, who were part of those, demanding land resettlement, were also impatient and given the large numbers of people in the rural areas demanding land and also being the largest electorate this situation became unbearable for the government. The failure of the referendum had thus shown that support for Robert Mugabe in the strongholds (rural areas) had fallen. A radical Land Reform Policy was necessary as elections were near and this was passed and used as a re-election campaign strategy (Ramphal, 2009). Traditional leaders organised their people together with the War Veterans and they began to occupy commercial farms at times using violence on the farmers and farm workers (Hammar, 2001), without due process of allocation, they seized any farm they targeted thus marking a dramatic change in the physical and political landscape (Chaumba, Scoones & Wolmer, 2003). Britain responded

by sending a team to re-open the land reform issue with the government of Zimbabwe. Britain agreed to fund the Land Reform Programme on condition that it was transparent and also that rule of law was maintained. The biggest challenge was on how the Rule of Law could be put in place as the whole system was crumbling rapidly and any military or other resistance would result in direct confrontation between Robert Mugabe and the War Veterans who had earlier on pressed and received pensions.

The British Government, through the department for International Development established a £5 million Land Resettlement Challenge Fund in March 2000 (ibid). This was meant to support the private and civil society initiatives but this was too late as the government of Zimbabwe blocked any attempt at private sector initiatives. At the Abuja Foreign Ministers of the Commonwealth meeting in 2001, Zimbabwe renewed its pledges for funding a fair, just and sustainable land reform programme. The British government declared itself willing to support a land reform programme only if it was carried out in accordance with the principles agreed to by donors and the government of Zimbabwe in 1998. Frustrated and under undue pressure the government of Zimbabwe amended the Land Acquisition Act to allow it to allocate land without giving white farmers the right to contest seizures. Robert Mugabe was under immense pressure and little could be done as houses were burning on the commercial farms with direct attacks on the white farmers. Police was reluctant to provide protection and the situation was now out of control (Chaumba, Scoones & Wolmer, 2003).

3.6 Fast track Land Reform Programme

The fast track Land Reform Programme was an initiative by government to offer solutions to the high demands that were coming not only from landless people but those with land they considered not suitable for their needs either because of location, size or other reasons. This was to be the greatest movement of people across the country since the colonial discriminatory laws that had moved blacks to the rural areas. The African All Party Parliament Group voiced that the Fast Track Land Reform Programme was illegal at a time no one could stop it without creating a direct confrontation with the black people (Ramphal, 2009). People saw success through illegal land occupation and they could not be removed from the farms that they now occupied including houses that had belonged to the former white commercial farmers and had been left in some instances fully furnished also with some farming equipment on the premises.

There could not be changes other than formalising what was on the ground. Provisions for the implementation of this programme were put in place and this saw the amendment of the Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 20:10) section 5; *(a) in subsection (1) by the insertion of the following proviso to paragraph (b) "Provided that in respect of agricultural land required for resettlement purposes the publication of a preliminary notice in the Gazette is published in a newspaper circulating on the day on which the land to be acquired is situated, shall be deemed to constitute service of notice in writing on the owner of the land to be acquired and the holder of any registered real right in that land"*. This now set the Fast Track Resettlement programme on its path to fulfil the need for land by black people.

Violence continued as human rights for children, farm workers and white commercial farmers (Hellum, & Derman, 2004) were displaced with some leaving with the clothes that they were wearing and nothing else. Those that resisted were assaulted as their workers were also displaced (Sachikonye, 2003; Worby, 2001). Displacement was regardless of whether a white farmer had bought a farm after independence or had not fully paid for it as they were all considered to be fruits of the colonial system. This disruption was not without consequences as it naturally took time for people to be organised on new land and to grow crops so the economy plunged (Moyo, 2000). Between 2000 and 2008, Zimbabwe faced acute and persistent maize shortages (Zimbabwe Emergency Food Security Assessment Report, 2002; Human Rights Watch, 2003; FEWSNET, 2008) and this led to substantial emergency grain imports (Cross, 2009). Displaced white farmers were offered land in Nigeria, Zambia and other countries that needed their expertise. Zimbabwe was soon to import maize grown by the former white commercial farmers now settled in some of these countries as hunger took siege over the nation. Zimbabwe, that had been considered 'the bread basket of Africa' (Besser & Meurer 2008) was crumbling at a fast pace as countries that supported land initiatives by the government quickly became producers of Zimbabwe's much needed food which to this day it is still importing from Zambia and other countries but grown by its former commercial farmers.

3.6.1 Land resettlement models

Zimbabwe adopted four different land resettlement schemes and the first one was the Land Reform Resettlement Programme Phase 1 from 1980 till 1997 (LRRPP1) (Chiremba & Masters, 2003). Under this phase beneficiaries were assisted with tillage and inputs to cover half a hectare since they were expected to have the capacity of cultivating the other five

hectares on their own or secure loans through financial institutions or public and private supplier schemes. This programme was not successful as there was a drought and lack of production by the new black farmers. Regrettably after the drought, production did not resume as expected as the newly resettled farmers could not afford to fully utilize the land either due to lack of funds, lack of support from the banks or lack of skill.

This was followed by the second phase from 1997 and its target was to acquire 5 million hectares and beneficiaries were to include the landless poor congested in the communal areas, graduates from agricultural colleges, individuals with established agricultural experience and women. Land Reform Resettlement Phase 2 began as a way of addressing the little progress made under Phase 1. The government resolved to distribute 5 million hectares by December 2001 (Chiremba & Masters, 2003). The authors posit that the land acquisition, beneficiary, selection and resettlement support were changed to a command driven approach. This was to be supported by the Agricultural Development Bank through an Assistance Fund. As is common, banks cannot provide funds where there are no guaranteed returns or repayments and it is common that where one gets money without risk of loss of something, chances are that it will not be used with maximum returns. This programme was not successful and due to pressure on the government, the Fast Track Resettlement Programme was adopted through the violent displacement of white farmers (Chaumba; Scoones & Wolmer, 2003).

The Fast Track Land Resettlement Programme had two different models of resettlement known as the A1 and A2 models. The A1 model was designed for small scale farmers that were allocated a minimum of 3 hectares of arable land but with shared grazing land. The A2 model was designed for medium to large scale commercial farmers with individual grazing land. Chiremba and Masters (2003) argue that the most successful scheme was under the A1 model. Other than resettling more people on A1 model farms however, there is no other evidence of its successes as alluded to by Chiremba and Masters if success is measured on the basis of output.

3.6.2 Resettlement Model A1

The A1 Resettlement Model adopted small villagised schemes dominated by those below the age of 50 years. Scoones, (2011) states that about 18.3% of households under this scheme came from the urban areas. The terms and conditions for this scheme were gazetted as Statutory Instrument 53 of 2014. Under this Statutory Instrument, the permit holders and their dependents have indefinite rights under the scheme. Under the A1 Scheme traditional

inheritance is recognised and family can hand it down as and when necessary (Mombeshora, 2015).

The homestead under this model covers 0.5 hectares with arable land covering an average of six hectares and grazing space for seven livestock units. These beneficiaries would then pay a development levy and rental currently totalling $15 annually to the government for road maintenance and other purposes. This is a concern as it is not clear what will happen to those that fail to pay and the other problem is that the money is defined as rent which means that people can be removed instead of the notion that is held by many that it is indefinite occupation. The beneficiaries are all mixed regardless of where one comes from so traditional arrangements are disregarded in this instance. Human Rights Watch (2002) claims that twenty four percent of the resettlement plots are officially reserved for war veterans.

Within these models however were some similarities of the A1 Model with the rural areas. Suffice to say it might be based on a similar model with the colonial era that had arable land for individual and communal or shared grazing land. The adoption of similar systems together with the size of land however has challenges in that on the A1 model farms they pay levy and on similar pieces of land in the rural areas there is no levy demanded by government yet both areas have development needs. It may be considered fair however on the basis that the rural occupants have poor soils and those on the former commercial farms must fully utilise land and produce enough to afford payment as the soils are considered better.

3.6. 3 Resettlement Model A2

The A2 model was designed for commercial farming based on a medium and large scale. This model was designed for people with agricultural experience and beneficiaries had to have access to funds for developing the farms (Chiremba & Masters, 2003). Beneficiaries are given 99 year leases and Scoones, (2011) claims that the majority of beneficiaries were not initially poor people from the rural areas. The author further posits that 46.5% of the new farmers have a Master Farmer Certificate. Some of the occupants are from the cities and they occupy some of the large commercial farms.

The A2 model maintained a similar farmer status to the former white commercial farmers but without title-ship to the land as all the land now belongs to the State. The greatest challenge with these models was their location. They were not designed in a way that specific areas would be A1 and located close to rural areas but are mixed with commercial farming areas.

Resulting from this arrangement, one will find A1 model farms in the midst of A2 commercial farming areas. This is a change from the former colonial system that sought to separate rural and commercial farms on the basis of a segregative system.

3.6.4 Displacement of Traditional Leaders through Land Resettlement

Land resettlement has adopted some similarities with the former colonial system on roles given to Chiefs as the role of traditional leaders is questioned in the new system. The map below shows the provinces as questions are raised about the role of traditional leaders and control under the A1 model.

Figure 5 Map showing provinces in Zimbabwe - Source; Zimbabwe Geohive

The above map 5 shows the provinces in Zimbabwe and if they were to be placed under traditional leadership they would remove boundaries placed by the former colonial system thereby placing former white commercial farms now A2 model and A1 farms under

traditional leadership. Within these areas therefore are commercial farming areas that are under resettlement and outside the jurisdiction of traditional leaders. The distortion in settlement areas is shown in figure 6 below where commercial farming areas cut across rural settlements depending on where good soils were identified by the settler regime.
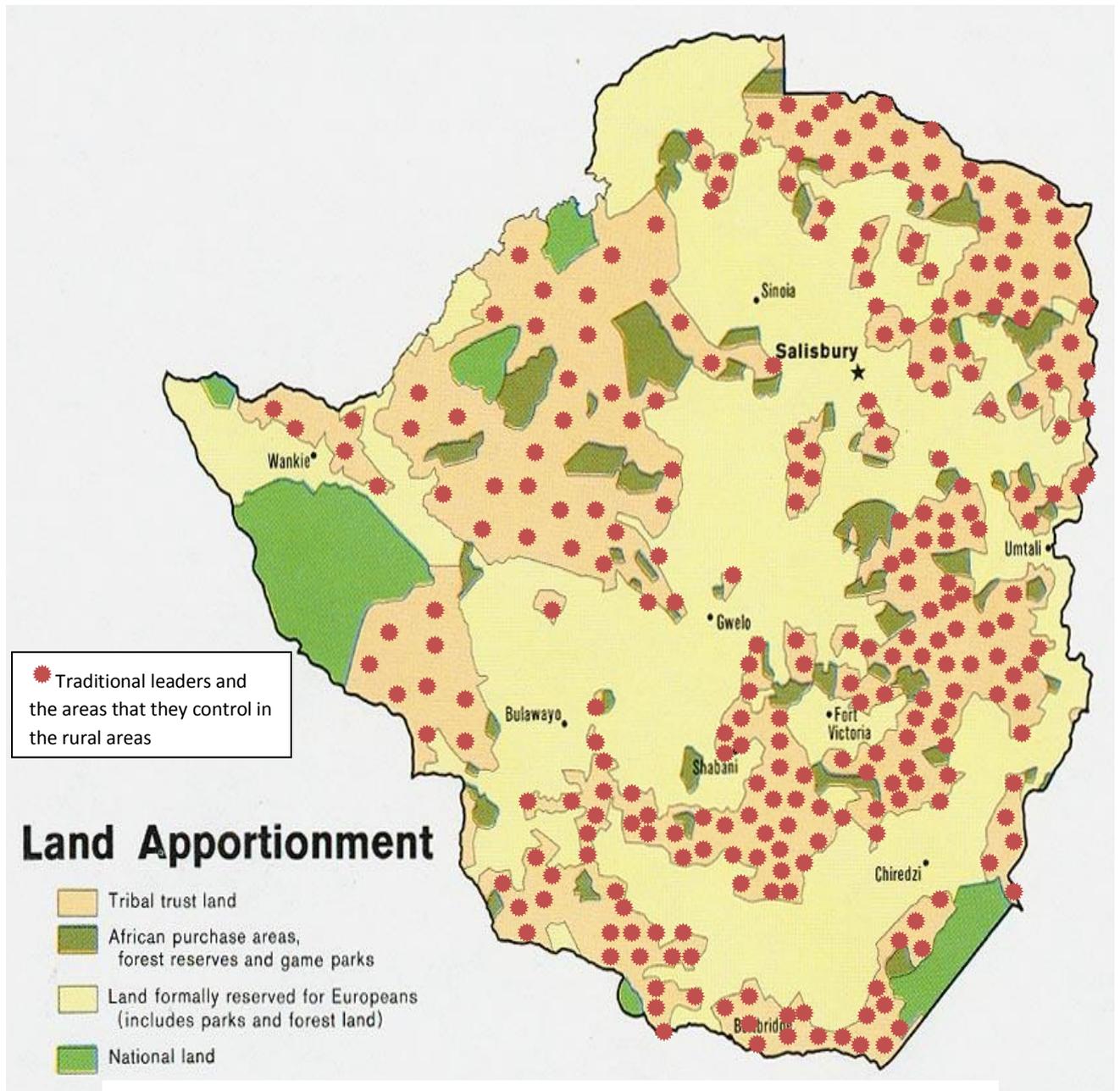
Figure 6 Map showing areas occupied by Chiefs in Zimbabwe - Source;
Adapted by author (location of traditional leaders) map by
Zimbabwe.geohive.gif

The above map 6 shows the various commercial farming areas that were affected by the resettlement programmes. Their location in relation to the rural areas raises questions on how

traditional leadership roles are carried out including those that are within the boundaries of these areas. The map shows the demarcations of rural land under the control of traditional leaders. The list of traditional leaders is shown below and Appendix 1 shows the list of areas that are under the control of traditional leaders in relation to the above maps. There are a total of 277 Chiefs, 1300 Headmen and 80,000 Village Heads in Zimbabwe (TheZimbabwean, 2015)

List of Chiefs

Bakwayi, Bango, Bidi, Gambo III, Gambu, Hobodo, Kandana, Mabhena, Madhlabuzi, Madhuna, Malaba, Marupi, Masendu, Masuku, Mathe, Mathema, Matibe, Mayenga, Mpini, Mtonzima, Ndube, Nhlamba, Nyangazonke, Nzula, Sangulube, Siamupa, Sibasa, Sigola, Sitauze, Tshitshi, Wasi,	Matabeleland South
Binga, Dakamela, Deli, Dingani, Dobola, Kaula, Mabigwa, Madhliwa, Magama, Mahlathini, Matupula, Menyeza, Mtshane, Mvutu, Ndondo, Nekatambe, Nkalakata, Pashu, Saba, Shana, Saibuwa, Siachilaba, Sianzali, Sikalenge, Sikobokobo, Sinakatenge, Sinakoma, Sinamagonde, Sinampande, Sinamsanga, Sinamweda, Sinansengwa, Siphosa, Sivalo, Tategulu, Tshugulu, Wange,	Matabeleland North
Banga, Bankwe, Bunina, Bvute, Chingoma, Chireya, Chirimanzu, Chiwundura, Chizungu, Gambiza, Gobo, Gwesela, Hama, Jahana, Jiri, Mafala, Mahlebadza, Malisa,Shonhayi, Mapiravana, Masunda, Mataga, Mataruse, Mazivofa, Mazvihwa, Mketi, Mkoka, Mposi, Mudavanhu, Mutubaidze, Ndanga, Negove, Nemangwe, Nenyunga, Ngungumbane, Nhema, Njelele, Ntabeni, Nyamondo, Ruya, Sai, Sigodo, Simuchembu, Sogwala, Wedza,	Midlands
Benhura, Chirau, Chivero, Chundu, Dandawa, Dendera, Kazangarara, Mashayamombe, Mola, Mujinga, Murambwa, Musambakaruma, Mushava, Nebiri, Negande, Nemakonde, Nematombo, Neuso, Ngezi, Nherera, Nyamhunga, Nyamweda, Nyika, Rwizi, Samambwa, Wozhele, Zvimba	Mashonaland West
Bepura, Bushu, Chisunga, Chiswiti, Chitsungo, Chiweshe, Chiweshe (ii), Dotito, Kandeya, Madziwa, Makope, Makuni, Masembura, Matope, Matsiwo, Musana, Mutumba, Negomo, Nembire, Nyakusengwa, Nyamaropa, Rusambo,	Mashonaland Central
Chapoto, Charewa, Chihota, Chikwaka, Chikwizo, Chimoyo, Chimukoko, Chinamhora, Chinyerere, Chipfuyamiti, Chipuriro, Chirinda, Chitsungo, Chivese, Svosve, Goronga, Hwata, Kasekete, Mangwende, Mkota, Mudzimurema, Musarurwa, Mutekedza, Mutoko, Nechombo, Nenguwo, Neshangwe, Nyahuye, Nyajina, Nyakuchena, Nyamukoho, Nyandoro, Nyoka, Rusike, Ruzane, Samuriwo, Seke,	Mashonaland East
Bota, Budzi, Charumbira, Chikwanda, Chimombe, Chitanga, Chitsa, Chivi, Chiwara, Gudo, Gutu, Mabika, Makore, Mapanzure, Maranda, Marozva,Mawarire, Mazetesa, Mazungunye, Mugabe, Mukanganwi, Munyaradzi, Munyikwa, Murinye, Murove, Ndanga, Negari,	Masvingo

Nemauzhe, Neshuro, Nhema, Nyajena, Nyakunhuwa, Nyamandi, Sengwa, Serima, Shindi, Shumba, Tshovani, Ziki, Zimuto,	
Chamutsa, Chiduku, Chikore, Chikukwa, Chimombe, Chipunza, Chitsunge, Gwebu, Garahwa, Gwenzi, Hata, Katerera, Mahenye, Makoni, Makumbe, Mapungwana, Marange, Mupungu, Musikavanhu, Mutambara, Mutasa, Mutema, Muusha, Ndima, Nerutanga, Ngorima, Nyashanu, Saunyama, Tandi, Tangwena, Zimunya,	Manicaland

Table 2 Names of Chiefs and areas occupied; Source, drawn by author

3.6.5 Traditional Leaders and their role in the Fast Track Land Reform Programme

The Fast Track Land Reform programme includes Chiefs, Headmen and other traditional leaders with some of them being allocated land outside their jurisdiction. The traditional leaders are appointed in terms of Chapter 7:05 of the Customary Law and Local Courts Acts 2/1990, 22/1992 (s. 18), 22/1995, 6, 1997, 9/1997 (s. 10), 22/2001; "chief" means—(a) any person appointed as a chief in terms of subsection (1) of section 3 of the Chiefs and Headmen Act [Chapter 29:01]; (b) any person appointed as an acting chief in terms of subsection (1) of section 4 of the Chiefs and Headmen Act [Chapter 29:01]. The Chiefs have community courts constituted in terms of paragraph (b) of subsection (1) of section ten; "customary law" and this means the customary law of the people of Zimbabwe, or of any section or community of such people, before the 10th June, 1981, as modified and developed since that date S.I's 220/2001, 29/2002. There are challenges with how the hereditary system would work in the event that a Chief died and his family was outside the area of jurisdiction. This legislation does not stipulate how a Chief or Headman residing within a certain distance from his area should continue to be responsible for the rural area neither does it provide guidelines on future inheritance or chieftainship where the family has been resettled in separate parts of the country. Whilst it is noted that the Traditional Leaders Act provides guidelines on areas of jurisdiction it still remains unclear how this is managed in a situation of total absence from the constituency or area.

The powers of traditional leaders are also enshrined in the Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment no. 20 states under Section 282 '*Functions of Traditional leaders' Section (1) Subsection (d): 'Traditional leaders have the function within their areas of jurisdiction (d) in accordance with an Act of Parliament to administer Communal Land and to protect the Environment. (2) Except as provided in an Act of Parliament, traditional leaders have authority, jurisdiction and control over the Communal Land or other areas for which they have been appointed and over persons within these communal lands or areas'*. It is also not

clear as to who deals with matters that arise in the A1 model farming areas where the Chief or Headman is allocated land in an area that does not fall within the definition of rural area as enshrined in both the Constitution and Traditional Leaders' Act. These issues are the reason why this study has been undertaken and the next section seeks to provide answers to these grey areas.

3.7 Traditional Leaders' historical and current position in relation to Government

The role of traditional leadership has tended to diminish in Zimbabwe unlike changes that have taken place in South Africa. In South Africa, the role of traditional leaders is still powerful including having some forms of political influence. The Kings in South Africa continue to hold power and their demands for control are recognised unlike in Zimbabwe where traditional roles have been reduced to the level of Chief as the highest level of traditional representation. As discussed earlier, the role of traditional leaders has changed in Zimbabwe following the abolition of the Emperor and King positions as these were replaced by the Crown during the colonial era. The figure below shows how the roles of traditional leaders have changed over the period and this helps explain why they have lost power.

Pre-Colonial era	Colonial era/Pre Unilateral Declaration of Independence	Unilateral Declaration of Independence era	Independent Zimbabwe
Emperor	British Crown	Prime Minister	President and Vice Presidents
↓	↓	↓	↓
Kings	British South Africa Company	Ministers	Ministers and Deputy Ministers
↓	↓	↓	↓
Chiefs	Legislative Council and various departments	Land Commissioners and other departments	Provincial and Metropolitan Councils
	↓	↓	↓
	Chiefs	Chiefs	Chiefs

Figure 7. Changing roles of traditional leaders from pre-colonial, colonial and post colonial era. Source; Drawn by author

The above figure 7 shows the changing roles or position of Chief as head of traditional leaders from the pre-colonial era to the now independent Zimbabwe. Prior to the colonial era chiefs were responsible and answerable to the Kings who then reported to the emperor if we are using the Nemapangare dynasty as an example. The role of Emperor was the highest with other roles falling into facilitatory or supportive roles as they assisted the system. Trade and all the other activities were carried out under the control of the Emperor. The land demarcations of the areas they controlled are however not the same as those adopted when the colonial system took over control of the land. Figure 2 by Willem Janszoon Blaeu (1571-1638) shows the Mutapa dynasty extending into South Africa and Mozambique. The area of control was larger than the now Zimbabwe using the information as contained in figure 2 and it highlights the magnitude of the responsibility that went with traditional leadership.

A great change is noted under the colonial era but prior to the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in 1965. This era marked the changing roles for traditional leaders as both Emperor and King were abolished through a replacement of the traditional system with the Monarchy/British Crown. The British South Africa Company that was then given the mandate to run the state under Cecil John Rhodes reported to the British Crown. The diagram shows how the role of Chief as then the highest level of traditional leadership was placed below the Legislative Council. Whilst their role could be argued not to have changed much as they still had to report to another level similar to the pre-colonial era, it is noted that at this level they were also subjected to colonial systems which negated the notion of tradition as conversion to Christianity sought to remove them from their allegiance to spirit mediums and abandonment of African religion.

Those traditional leaders that did not agree with the demands of the colonial system were either replaced or moved to new areas where their influence was naturally diluted. Chiefs and other traditional leaders were thus co-opted into the system for as long as they supported the colonial efforts (Chitiyo, 2000). Kessel and Oomen (1997:561) argue that during this era some Chiefs were maligned as puppets of the regime. Some of the Chiefs became functionaries who allocated land in the best interests of their constituency. Rolin (1978), states that the natives believed that the real land owners were the ancestors and made particular spaces sacred in recognition of this practice. This gave them allegiance to land and culture while the colonial system sought to destroy this.

The Unilateral Declaration of Independence in 1965 did little to change the status of the Chiefs who now had to report to the Land Commissioners that were appointed by the colonial regime. This was a role allocated to the Chief on condition he was willing to comply with the demands of the colonial system. Rekai Tangwena and other Chiefs were known for rebelling and they suffered at the hands of the system (Moore, 1998, Chikuhwa, 2006; Ngara, 1978; Fontein, 2007). In the absence of Kings and Emperors, the role of Chief was merely facilitatory as directives came from the white regime. This further disempowered black Zimbabweans as the role of traditional leaders also included punishing their people on behalf of the white system and this was an extension of what had taken place prior to the Unilateral Declaration of Independence where blacks were sent on forced labour through some coordinated efforts with some of the Chiefs.

The coming in of independence therefore was expected to restore the role of traditional leaders and this is yet to be achieved in some way as they have now been placed under the Minister and respective Councils that administer land. It is fair therefore to view the role of traditional leaders more as symbolic rather than being custodians of land as it has now been declared State land. It is equally important to note that the role of Emperor or King during the pre-colonial era was equivalent in a way to that of Head of State so this role cannot be restored without changing the other roles.

3.8 Distortions and destruction of traditional/cultural practices

Traditional leaders were part of the colonial system and are still part of the independent Zimbabwe. The current boundaries are still the same as they were demarcated by the colonial system. Rural areas continue to be rural while the new resettlement areas that are being created now pay tax, this is similar to the colonial era where land tax was used to force blacks to work for the white regime as they had to earn the money to use for tax purposes. The Land Apportionment Act was enacted to condition blacks into selling their labour so as to raise money for tax (Maravanyika & Huijzenveld, 2010). Refusal to pay tax resulted in imprisonment with hard labour.

It has also been established that traditional leaders were moved to different areas during the land acquisition period thus destroying cultural control areas. It needs to be established in this study how this is now achieved if the controls are still not available in the A1 model areas. Cultural practices have also been affected by the movement as people from outlying areas

continue to move into areas close to rural areas where some of the past traditional practices such as rain making ceremonies are still in place.

3.9 Conclusion

The role played by traditional leaders and the War Veterans resulted in the speeding up of the land redistribution programme. Despite the chaotic manner in which it was implemented, some people expressed progress as the normal processes had failed to yield support from the International Community that was not willing to fund the programme in a way that would quickly benefit the blacks. It is also possible that had Britain assisted in this programme, the violent nature of its up-take might have been avoided if we take events in South Africa as an example of how such an economic sector (agriculture) can be sustained whilst efforts are made to redistribute land.

The War Veterans have continued to support Mugabe's government and the growing patronage has resulted in a dependency relationship as the President needs support from the former fighters while they in return need financial and other support. The traditional leadership role however is not clear in the A1 model while the A2 seems to be a continuation of the colonial seclusion system. The A1 settlements have all the similarities with rural settlements and are thus an extension although it has been said that permits will be issued to land owners. Some traditional leaders have also been settled outside their areas of control and it is not clear how the appointments are made legal in that context.

CHAPTER 4: THEORY FROM A TRADITIONAL AND LAND RIGHTS PERSPECTIVE

4.1 Introduction

The discussions in the previous chapters articulated the challenges faced by changing traditional practices and their relationship to the land issue in Zimbabwe. This chapter seeks to place the discussions within a theoretical framework so that the assertions can be linked to events before a conclusion to this study is drawn. This adds relevance to the study as it is then placed within a context of academic discussions in the form of collating suppositions of ideas intended to explain the narrative and counter-narrative of Traditional Leaders, Land Tenure and Governance. These discussions hold important theoretical phenomena requiring testing to establish explanations to Zimbabwe's challenges with the land issue, possible tenure and traditional leadership role for a solution.

The use of assertions may be the basis for any society despite their departure at times from founded or tested outcomes hence the need to adopt theory. This therefore places the study in a cognitive academic content held to be true through use of rules, assumptions and procedures of an academic and useful nature. Section 4.2 discusses Traditional Theory placing it within the context of this study. This is followed by section 4.3 that discusses theory of Land Tenure, and the last section 4.4 concludes the chapter.

4.2 Theory of Traditional Leadership

The traditional theory was contextualised by Kompi and Twala (2014) who referred to it as a democratic theory of traditional leadership. Dahl, however argued that there is no democratic theory but democratic theories (Pateman, 1976). Koelble (2005) stressed the need for theory to take into account the context within which democracy finds itself. The theory of Traditional Leadership therefore refers to propositions whose legitimacy lies in an already existing or an act/behaviour that is related to that already formed prior to the act of its representation. Harkheimer defined the concept of theory as an object under examination from a set of facts with a subject as a passive element in the act of cognition (Castro-Gómez, González & Moskowitz, 2001).

Culture therefore became an object of cognition in response to that which man has established as an object of history (ibid). It was noted that within the theory of Traditional Leadership are controversies with other theories such as Trait theory, Behavioural Theory,

Situational theory and Charismatic just to name a few, that in modern academic studies cloud its traditional or cultural norms. Others have referred to it as a 'traditionalist and modernist basis of traditional leadership (Logan, 2008). The challenges to both the role and context within which traditional leadership must be included in the independent era despite its oppressive role in the colonial system emanated from the challenges of discarding it because of culture, so attempts were made to democratise and decentralise it thus bringing competing claims to power and legitimacy to the fore. Using Logan's (2008:1) arguments, modernists, institutional frameworks aspire to democratise systems in line with the West. This raises opposing views that treat traditional political systems as relics of the past and aligning them to a democratic system that is viewed as being impeded thus needing to be overcome.

Traditionalists however argue that their institutions have proven to be both malleable and adaptable as they draw from their historical roots in unique and valuable ways. Mapungubwe and Zimbabwe Ruins bring to the fore traditional governance prior to the arrival of the colonial regime. There is also argument that recognises that customary systems have increasingly abandoned any notion of customary tenure as a code of fixed rules of pre-colonial provenance (Baland & Platteau 1996; Benjaminsen & Lund 2002; Lavigne-Delville 2000; Peters, 2004; Ribot, 1999; Woodhouse et al., 2000; Woodhouse, 2003). Mamdani (1997) argues against this 'bifurcated state' and perceives all contemporary African customary authorities as a legacy of experiences of the colonial rule, which constructed for Africans a rural, tribal identity under traditional authority as a means for political and administrative control. This may be true about the setting up of legalised traditional land control under the colonial period, and their use in the collection of land tax; however, it could also be an indication of an end or a total revolution to this traditional practice.

The role of traditional leadership seems to be complex and multifaceted in most country contexts including Zimbabwe. The coming of independence in Zimbabwe was assumed by some to usher in a new role for traditional leaders as rural communities sought to decongest their areas while maintaining their cultural and traditional heritage. Kompi, and Twala; (2014) highlight the complexity of traditional roles post apartheid in South Africa and how issues remain outstanding more than twenty years after independence. The complexity of traditional leadership in relation to land ownership manifests itself both from a historical perspective and current comparative assumptions of the white minority population in relation to area of land against the black majority in relation to land area occupied. This disparity may

be viewed as a natural dilemma to democratic processes as it could be viewed as unjust as black people failed to access land because it was in the hands of few white people that benefited from an unfair and unjust colonial regime.

Whilst Kessel and Oomen (1997) argue that Chiefs were puppets of the oppressive regime, the same have been maintained by the independent system with similar or more defined roles and laws designed to support them such as the Traditional Leaders Act (Chapter 29:17). The powers of traditional leaders are enshrined in the Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment no. 20 which states under Section 282 'Functions of traditional leaders' Section (1) Subsection (d).

4.3 Land Tenure and Governance

Traditional leadership rights and control of rural areas are enshrined under the auspices of the customary tenure on land. The background to the process of rural land has been marked by a dualism between colonial and post-independence state with controls over customary systems of land tenure (Chimhowu & Woodhouse, 2006). Whilst it may be important to investigate these systems under colonialism in order to better understand how rural areas were established and the role of traditional leadership, the main focus of this study is to investigate the historical and current ways of how traditional leaders practice their constitutional roles in view of land ownership rights. Ideally, further research lines might broaden this approach and answer some of the questions.

The issue of traditional rights to land through tenure and governance can be viewed in the context of society and values. Feder and Feeny, (1991) place these issues under (i) constitutional order, (ii) institutional arrangement and normative codes. In the constitutional order they refer to the fundamental rules of how society is organized in view of rule making. The institutional arrangements are created within the rules specified by the constitutional order under laws, regulations, associations, contracts and property rights. The normative behavior code refers to the cultural values which legitimates the arrangements and constrains behavior. The rights to land are therefore supported by laws that give rights within the context of cultural norms and values.

The situation in Zimbabwe is however not unique as other countries have faced challenges with land tenure and governance. In Mexico, the Constitution was amended in 1992 to pave way for a redistributive agrarian reform based on a social property sector (Assies, 2008). This system sought to enhance tenure security through certification which can be compared to the permits for A1 Model farmers in Zimbabwe. In Mexico, land redistribution faced the opposing views that it had to cater for those with insufficient land while the liberal sentiment viewed the indigenous forms of communal tenure as an impediment to progress and modernity won the day (Rodriquez & Scharrer, 1990). There are however similarities in that landholding in Mexico took place under the authoritarian rule of General Porfirio Diaz and in Zimbabwe under Robert Mugabe's rule both under a revolutionary rhetoric.

Feder and Feeny (1991) place property rights into four categories that are relevant to this study. These are (i) none or open access – here rights are unassigned (ii) communal property-here rights are assigned to a group of individuals (iii) private property – the land is under the authority of an individual and (iv) state property – land is under the authority of the public sector. Issues of land disputes and resolution were faced both in Mexico and Zimbabwe. Mexico set up Federal Agrarian Tribunals to substitute administrative jurisdictional procedures to resolve tenure issues (Assies, 2008) while in Zimbabwe this area is not clear and this study attempts to identify how this is to be addressed.

4.4 Conclusion

The use of theory places traditional leadership, land tenure and issues of governance into an academic study. This chapter sought to highlight that this issue is not negligible as it has and continues to affect some governments in independent states. The greatest challenge is on how traditional leadership rights and land control can be included in the new democratic systems that were adopted at independence. It is noted however that in countries such as South Africa, the role of the King is more pronounced with powers that are different from the powers of Chiefs in Zimbabwe. The question of land rights therefore cannot be corrected easily given the history during the colonial era particularly with reference to the role played by some Chiefs in facilitating colonial endeavours at the time.

There is reluctance on the part of traditional leadership to part with their powers and this continues to pose challenges in most countries. This study is placed in a methodological

structure to identify a system of analysis suitable for extracting appropriate data to answer the questions raised herein.

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

5.1 Introduction

The adoption of theory in chapter 4 was meant to facilitate a discussion on the utility of theory in generic terms in relation to traditional leadership, land tenure and governance. This methodological approach was designed to facilitate a synchronised and integrated approach to research in an environment deemed unstable such as Zimbabwe. To extrapolate what was held to be the prerogative of the government, research tools facilitated justification of a chosen approach better explaining why other methods were not suitable. Only through this justification were narrative and counter-narrative tools found appropriate for this study. A process of establishing appropriate tools unfolded data collection and analysis using a thematic lens. It was important to justify why one method was chosen against other methods.

5.2 Philosophical underpinnings

The use of narrative research made a difference to the philosophical assumptions in that narratives and counter-narratives formed a departure from the norms or normal qualitative or mixed methods approach. Rigorous methods of knowledge creation in a philosophical way of thinking was said to have four pillars namely, metaphysics, epistemology, ethics and logic (Chia, 2002). The philosophical underpinnings therefore resulted from a study of fundamental issues that shaped the nature of reality. Guba; Lincoln, (1994) and Ponterotto (2005) argue that there is variability among traditions with respect to positions of philosophical dimensions although these alone do not adequately account for diversity among traditions in interpretive research. It was important therefore for one to have familiarity with some of the multiple traditions of interpretive inquiry in order to refine one's own approach (Rogers, 2003).

The Ontological and epistemological choices were considered for this study in a qualitative context and various conceptual issues such as ontology which is said to hold our truth about nature and reality (Patton; 2002) were also contemplated. Verifying reality was complex as it became a product of facts relating to ways that could be used to address a being. Phenomenology which is one approach of epistemology involved the way in which events were interpreted as seen by one person. Empathy was an important aspect of appreciating a given disposition as it also brought a better understanding of a given narrative.

5.3 Research strategies

This study considered a number of research strategies prior to selecting the narrative and counter-narrative approach.

5.4 Research design

This study used narrative and counter narrative lenses in a Case study (Chief Charumbira's area) context as it was not possible to study the role of all the traditional leaders in Zimbabwe. Using a narrative and counter-narrative lens in this study was a process that involved gathering stories from the interviewee/s and documents. This involved face to face interviews and use of secondary sources. Secondary data formed narratives and counter narratives and such data is defined by Stewart (1984) Frankfort – Nachmias and Nachmias (1992) as data collected by others, not specifically for the research question at hand. Most important to this is the fact that the researcher does not gather the respective secondary data. It is for this reason that such data took a wide variety of forms as guides to bodies of data that is collected by others (Miller, 1991).

5.4.1 Case study

The interpretive paradigm results from the philosophical roots of Case study which was depicted in different forms. An investigation of any contemporary phenomenon within its everyday or natural setting formed a strong basis for case study. Stake (1995) acknowledges that it is a study expected to catch and explain the complexity of a single case. The intention for cases is that they must represent people and programmes that are clearly representative of other cases.

This study used Charumbira as case study for understanding other traditional leaders in Zimbabwe. Honourable/Senator Chief Charumbira who is the current President of the Chiefs Council in Zimbabwe was a suitable case because of the history of Charumbira and the representative role played. Charumbira agreed to give an interview in August, 2015 initially in Zimbabwe and later in South Africa where he is member of the Pan African Parliament. The choice of an interview in South Africa and not in Zimbabwe was assumed to be a deliberate attempt to avoid suspicion that could easily result in retribution.

Using human subjects in research involves consideration of its impact on those involved. There is impact or implication on the subjects especially in an unstable environment and

Elliott (2005:134) uses the term 'political' to define results on specific subgroups within society. Those being studied understand the researcher's desire to intrude and decide on their level of tolerance through encroaching into their sensitive past. Narratives however allowed people to tell their stories in their own way.

5.4.2 Research agenda

The agenda of this study was to collect data through the interviews and secondary sources. The case study facilitated the collection, presentation of comprehensive narratives and counter-narratives. These were the basis under which traditional leadership, land tenure and governance could be studied. The study also sought to establish the role of government in relation to past practices by traditional leaders in the colonial era and to verify if changes were being made to address unfairness if any.

5.4.3 Research Instruments

This study used interviews and secondary sources to extract narrative and counter-narrative accounts. The following is an account of each of the sources that were used:

Interviews

Three interviews were held with Charumbira with the first interview at Parliament buildings in Zimbabwe and two in Midrand (South Africa). Details of the purpose of this study were read out to the participant together with the right to withdraw at any time during the interview. The interviewee was also advised that in the event he was not willing or comfortable with any question, comment or otherwise, he had the right not to respond without giving reasons. It was also agreed that any data collected would only be used after verification of the researcher's transcript as a condition to the holding of the interview and right to publish results. The participant was also advised that no payment would be made as it was voluntary. Finally, the interviewee was advised that the Wits research reports, dissertations/thesis at seminars/ conferences and academic papers will be available on the world-wide web.

Government and regulatory bodies

The study used Acts, Statutory instruments, and other Government publications that provided data. This was one of the best forms attributed to records in terms of its relevance (Frankfort – Nachmias and Nachmias, 1992). This resulted from its relevance as a source as they were

derived from administrative records including sample surveys (Hakim, 1982). This method provided narrative and counter-narrative accounts that were important for supporting or disputing those from interviews and other sources.

The Press

Narratives and counter-narratives from the press provided a source of data through use of articles in providing pertinent and timely value as a research source (Bain, 1994). These commissioned opinion polls also gave the researcher a "free ride", while distancing him from the construction of the evacuations. It was also noted that biases were used in some media circles and Cowton (1998) warned that these were to be treated with care. This source however was useful in that in most cases supporting or opposing views were easily attainable through publications and government records.

Academic researchers

This study used academic sources both in the historical review and as sources of narratives and counter-narratives. It was noted that at times it was not necessary to replicate data collection that was already available but to acknowledge and use academic sources at hand. These were found to be useful particularly in countering narratives. The study pursued its objectives through these academic sources that were at times peer reviewed. Cowton (1998) supported the notion of using academic sources that were at times subject to some form of peer review.

The advantage with this approach was that it generated a larger effective sample than an individual study in isolation. Hunter et al. (1982) posit that results from such use could be tabulated and investigated with possible influences on differences in results and could often provide fruitful suggestions for further research.

Data and theory

It was noted that use of secondary data tended to result in loss of control over the generation of data. This at times results from the researcher's attempts to manipulate data into a suitable form (Cowton, 1998; Randall & Gibson 1990; Robertson, 1993). Issues arise over the relationship between research development and theory development when using primary data. This however was countered by Hakim (1982:16) who argued that the perspective that suggests that relying on secondary data rather than gathering primary data could actually help

the development of theory. In sum, they argue that this approach forced the researcher to think more closely about theoretical aims and substantive issues, rather than the practical and methodological problems of collecting new data. This study however did not seek to develop theory but used existing theory.

5.4.4 Selection of interviewee and secondary sources

Access to information in an unstable political environment was not only difficult to find but could be risky. It is the norm for some research work that one would pick a topic that is both easy and hospitable to inquiry avoiding conflict or troubled areas. This not only limits the scope of academic study but tends to reduce available information which was in fact the reason behind a choice that countered this line of thought in this study. A research study cannot always be easy and this is supported by Saunders and Thornhill (1997) who argue that a research process is not always straight forward.

A number of traditional leaders, some, related to the researcher were approached and were either not willing to give an interview or requested that the interviewer sought approval from the government. The Ministry of Local Government and National Housing which were responsible for the traditional leaders was approached by the researcher in Harare to seek permission to interview traditional leaders which was denied. The study might have been considered anti-government as it sought to discuss land redistribution and tenure in view of the role of traditional leaders. The political party in government was approached and the researcher was referred back to the Ministry of Local Government and National Housing resulting in the abandonment of this approach.

The researcher then went to Parliament buildings to seek a solution from any of the legislators and was referred to the office of the President of the Chiefs' Council. The President of the Chiefs' Council gave audience and requested time to respond to some of the issues that were important to the study. Follow up attempts failed and the researcher was advised to conduct the follow up interviews in Midrand, South Africa. This was more successful and this provided narratives and counter narratives necessary for the study.

The choice of secondary sources that were used in the study was based on available information. The study sought data relevant to addressing the questions in the study. Similar to narrative and counter-narrative interviews some of the data was not relevant and thus was

discarded of while some information was incomplete and this forced the researcher to pursue specific lines of thought to find answers.

5.4.5 Approval to conduct interviews

Approval to conduct interviews was not easy as some of the traditional leaders refused to be interviewed. As discussed earlier, permission from the relevant Ministry was denied and this made the purpose of the study more valid while other alternatives were sought. The interviews with Charumbira were authorized on the basis that data that was collected was transcribed and taken back for approval.

People change stories and as was expected some changes that tended to be contrary to certain lines of thought against the government were changed. This however was minimal in view of the wider scope of the data and it was also weighed against secondary sources to produce useful narratives and counter-narratives.

Interview process

The interview process was a difficult task as the interviewee refused to be recorded so all the notes were handwritten. There was deliberate avoidance of pertinent answers to questions that sought opinion in view of the government legislation while we were in Zimbabwe but the situation changed when the interviews moved to South Africa. Whilst the environment was conducive as interviews were held at a hotel, some of the questions were not addressed fully, however as the study used a thematic lens words and sentences formed opinions for the study.

There was no expectation of payment as had already been explained prior to the interviews and this was not a problem. Time was of essence and the researcher made several trips to conclude interviews which proved costly but necessary. Contradictions within narratives also served to show deliberate attempts to find favourable answers ignoring truth. Interviews served a very important purpose and given the fear shown by some of the traditional leaders in Zimbabwe, this study would not have achieved much if it had been pursued in that country.

5.4.6 Procedure for Data collection

Data was collected by means of interviews with Charumbira and a total of three interviews were conducted in Zimbabwe and South Africa. This involved travelling to Parliament buildings in Zimbabwe and to Midrand in South Africa. The interview process called for

considerable skill as patience was necessary because of the interruptions from telephone calls during interviews due to the nature of the responsibilities of Charumbira. Giving uninterrupted time for him to talk however speeded up the process of narrative and counter-narrative data although at times interviews went completely off course and probes were used to bring the process back on track.

Secondary sources that were used included those from the National Archives, for authentic records and these records were available at a small fee. It took several weeks of visits to the Archives to access information before and after the interviews. The press and academic sources were also used in this study to provide narratives that supported or countered the data that was at hand. The researcher spent two weeks visiting the University of Zimbabwe and interacting with academics. They gave full support and shared a lot of information as they were also keen to engage in narrative work which I hold a qualification in. This was both a very useful engagement and learning curve for both parties.

5.4.7 Data analysis

Data analysis was considered before data collection although others may advocate for interactive processes where data was collected and analysed simultaneously. In this study data analysis was undertaken after data collection and the process of analysis was time consuming. It was noted prior to the study that analysis could be a messy task as it involved narratives and counter-narratives with use of meanings of words thematically analysed. The sorting process of using colour coding, cuttings and constantly referring back to the text made the task time consuming. This was followed by categorizing, sorting, organizing, tabulating, recombining and retrieving data for analysis. This process facilitated the drawing up of a descriptive account of data used in drawing up patterns firstly using individual cases and comparing with other data in a cross case analysis using a well suited narrative analysis approach.

Analysis models

Several analysis approaches were considered for this study and each one of them was tested in relation to narrative and counter-narrative context to find its suitability.

Thematic analysis

The thematic analysis approach was used in this study within the framework of a narrative and counter-narrative approach. This method was used in narrative research and Braun and Clarke (2006) defined it as a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns within data. This resulted from how data was interpreted within the aspects of the research topic. It was noted that this description was not conclusive as Stirling et al; (2001) argued that there was no clear way or agreement on what thematic analysis is and how it is done. Notable advantage however was that when using thematic analysis, the researcher was denied the role of identifying and selecting themes of one's own interests because themes captured information about data in relation to a patterned response or meaning generated. Words or sentences can reflect themes and much of the data my not necessarily reflect themes so it was the researcher's responsibility to determine a theme. Themes captured something important in relation to the question using an inductive approach (for grounded theory) or theoretical approach that is driven by theoretical or analytical interest from a previous research finding and by a current research project's research questions.

Semantic and latent themes

Semantic themes are said to reflect the surface meanings of data (Braun & Clarke, 2006:84). While using the Semantic approach, the researcher did not look beyond what was said or written and the analysis became a progression from the description to interpretation. The latent approach however went beyond the content of data as they identified underlying ideas, assumptions, conceptualizations and ideologies. The themes that were then developed were a result of interpretative work while the analysis produced was already theorized.

Structural analysis

The structure resulted from how a story was told in a narrative or counter-narrative context. Riessman (2004:706) argues that focus is on how a teller tells the story using selected narrative or counter narrative devices to make the story persuasive. Language was therefore tailor made or suited to an investigation and it is the object of an investigation in a first person account context from past, present and future giving a beginning and end to a story (Labov, 1972). This was important as the sequence also reflected a relationship to the formed themes.

Interactional analysis

In narratives, the listener also formed part of the narrative structure as the story teller co-constructed the past while the researcher created meaning collaboratively. The story teller relied on the past putting it in the present or past-present to create narratives or counter-narratives. This involved co-creating of events in the present and the mind played the role of creating narratives that could be influenced by events or context. An example is of a woman who may be abused by her husband and accepts this on the basis of culture but after discussing the same issue with a Human Rights Group for example, the woman can claim total abuse and co-creates different narratives.

This therefore questioned what the researcher heard in relation to what was said and at what stage we could say the researcher heard what was said as it was told. It is possible for two people to listen to one story and understand or draw up two different conclusions. The story teller may understand the story he/she is telling in a different way creating a third understanding of the same story. This challenges researchers into what they understand in a told story and whether another person can listen to the same story and not only draw a different conclusion but draw counter-narratives to the original narratives. Riessman (2004: 707) acknowledges this challenge and states that this involves the inclusion of paralinguistic features of interaction which are strengthened. People express themselves in a way that can help create narratives including facial expressions in telling their stories and observations are equally important in interviews of this nature. This study therefore noted these challenges in both transcribing and analysis of the data through a thematic lens.

Performance analysis

Story telling by a self was an extension of interactional calls for interest going beyond the spoken word as it involves, persuades and moves an audience through language and gesture rather than story telling alone (Riessman: 2004). Dramaturgic and narrative as praxis or social action resulted from the telling of the self story for the actors. The researcher had to listen and then interpret that story as it unfolded not only based on the spoken words but expression or gesture. It was however important to note that narratives were not persuaded in their creation by emotion but that it was relevant.

Content analysis

The emersion of text to show the participant's sense making of lived life experience was seen through the thematic organization (Riessman, 2004:708). This focused on the individual data analysis followed by cross-case analysis to discover common elements of the experiences. Coding therefore made sense of the data as further analysis fell into different themes.

Account themes

This involved use of labels that were attached to each section of the text to index as relating to themes or issues in the data. Codes and themes were used interchangeably. Marks and Yardley (2004) argue that the researcher's knowledge and perceptions may influence the identification of themes. Limitation of knowledge however, did not necessarily limit the identification of themes in this study, thus it was not a prerequisite to have knowledge of a study area in order to find themes, but rather that questions could influence themes in an effort to find answers. A natural selection at times resulted from the failure of themes to address questions rendering them important but not related to the questions resulting in them being left out of the analysis due to lack of relevance despite their good construction.

Template

This was a systematic technique of organizing and analyzing data through defining a structural way of comparing data with preselected codes or themes. Template analysis was considered within a realist qualitative work that accepted most of the conventional positivistic position of social science or in contextual constructivist ways where assumptions of multiple interpretations to phenomenon were made. Cassell and Symon (2004:257) claim that template analysis is a more flexible technique with fewer specific procedures and this permits researchers to tailor it to match their own requirements.

5.5 Conclusion

The discussions on thematic approach were meant to define the context within which this study must be understood. Whilst categories such as those for Labov and others have not been discussed in detail it is felt that the discussion was adequately addressed for this project and that it clears the path for data analysis and findings.

People may see different things while looking at the same object and others may see or experience what cannot be scientifically tested such as religious sightings of angels that are

only seen by those few but it does not mean in a religious context that they do not exist because others claim that they see them. The use of a thematic approach has been chosen as the appropriate way of analysis within the narrative and counter-narrative context. The stories were tested and meaning making was established. The analysis and results are presented in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 6: PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter is concerned solely with the results of the analysis through contrasting narrative and counter narrative content. Data collection was followed by data analysis with a focus on narrative and counter-narrative content related to the research questions. Collating sequence of data also facilitated the relationship between narratives and counter-narratives resulting in the affirmation of unfolding themes. Counter narratives disputed the notions of truth held by other data and this also supported the process of meaning making through a thematic lens which focused on determining an accurate account for purposes of this study. To highlight why a specific finding is stated, it is necessary for some of the narratives and counter-narratives to be included although it is not possible to include the whole analysis exercise in a study of this limited length. Including them will also give a lens into how the analysis was conducted.

Section 5.2 highlights the initial propositions to this study and section 5.3 discusses assertion 1 in relation to the findings or results of the analysis. Section 5.4 discusses the findings of the study in relation to assertion 2 while section 5.4 discusses assertion 3 in relation to the results of the analysis. Section 5.5 evaluates use of theory in relation to this study while section 5.6 draws this chapter to a conclusion.

6.2 Assertions and their relationship to results

The process of analyzing data focused on the assertions that were meant to be addressed through this study. The advantage with narrative research is that some parts of the data might not be used in a particular study but the rich data is available for future use. It is not possible to include the documents used in the data analysis because of the size of the exercise however clips will be used to show some areas of narratives and counter narratives in the summarized results. The following diagram shows how this was achieved:
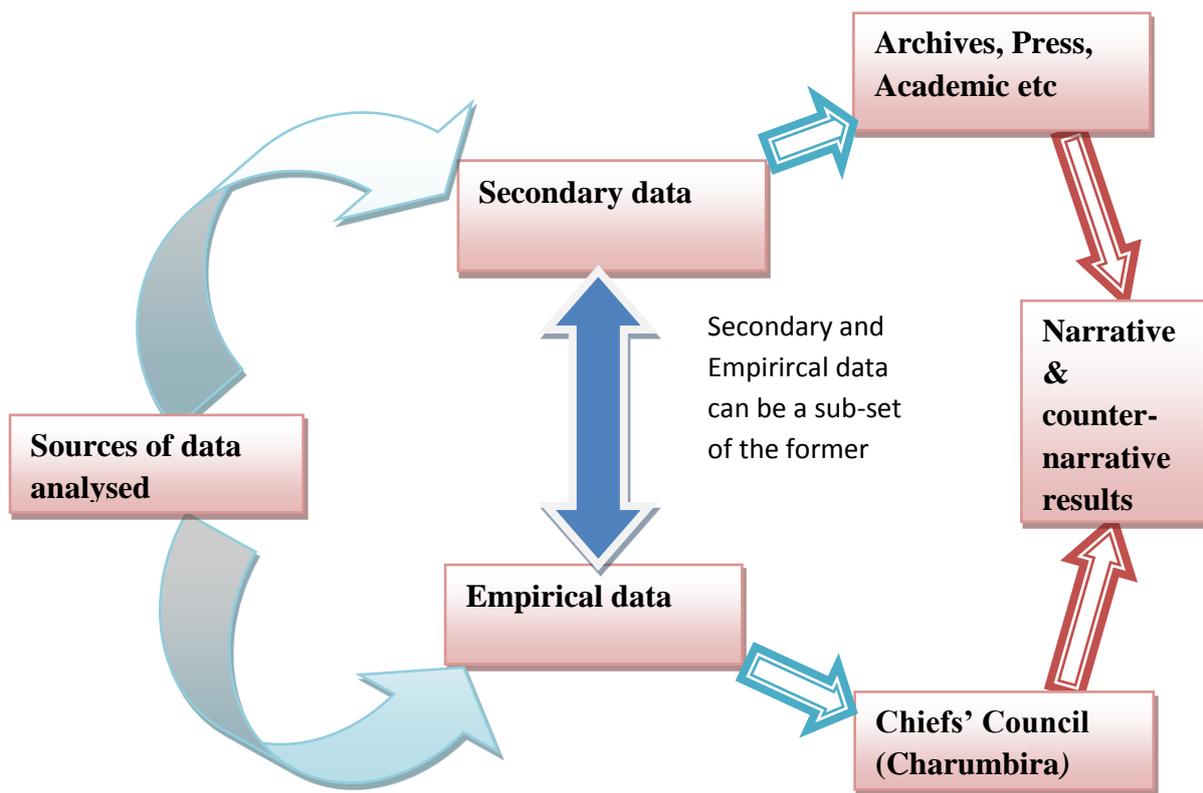
Figure 8 Source of data. Source - developed by author

6.3 Results pertaining to assertion 1

The Land Reform programme in Zimbabwe has a historical context of allegiance to the government and is using the A1 farming model to defuse the power of traditional leaders in order to create a political support base through allegiance to the government under fear of non issuance or cancelation of permits.

Findings

The A1 model has created a different centre of power by removing communal farmers from their normal traditional practices or control to a new setting within the former commercial white farming areas. This has some similarities to the colonial system that had structures that were different for different areas as designed by the regime such as rural, white commercial or purchase areas. Relating the 2008 election results where Mugabe lost due to massive rural political shift draws signs of desperation resulting from the dwindling political support for the current government.

Chief Zimunya acknowledged that Chiefs' powers have been eroded by ZANU PF (the political party in government) *"we no longer have control or respect in our own areas (Zimbabwe news 2015)"*. This narrative confirms how a deliberate move by the political party in power has removed some of the chiefs and headmen from their traditional areas to new resettlements far from the people. The following is important in showing where their power is derived from *"after consultation with the rural district council and the chief of the area concerned, the Minister may by notice in the Gazette declare that any area of resettlement land-(a) shall fall under the authority of such chief as he may specify in the notice"* (Traditional Leaders' Act Chapter 29) this means that traditional leaders may be denied such powers after being resettled in a given area which is at the discretion of the government. Map 5 shows the demarcations of farming areas in relation to rural areas and this has an effect on how resettled traditional leaders relate to their former rural constituencies.

The areas surrounding some traditional leaders have not been occupied by A1 model farmers only but also by commercial farmers under the A2 farming model who do not fall under the control of traditional leaders. This means therefore that some traditional leaders are in areas far divorced from their people and their influence may be affected by distance or absence from constituency/areas of control. Administratively and politically, there are 1600 wards and 53 Districts in the 10 Provinces linked to the Government through the District Administrators and not Traditional Leaders (The Zimbabwean, 2015). This counters the narrative that Traditional leaders have control over land.

To further complicate the lives of the people particularly those that have moved to the A1 farming plots, they are targeted by the changes since the majority of the new settlers do not hold permits, 15 years after the land redistribution. The counter-narrative from Karimakwenda (2015) is in contrast with Charumbira who stated that progress was being made in the issuance of permits to A1 farmers. *There is progress with the issuance of A1 Permits* (Charumbira); *Government has cancelled all the A1 permits following the changes to the land redistribution programme* (Karimakwenda, 2015). These people now being displaced left communal areas and their land was reallocated to other needy people so they cannot go back to their former homes *"since independence the situation has deteriorated-chiefs and headmen are expected to act as agents of Zanu PF political party"* (The Zimbabwean 2015) *"we have been stripped of our powers"* by Chief Zimunya (Karimakwenda, 2015).

It was found therefore that A1 model farmers may not necessarily pay allegiance to traditional leaders as they are not responsible for resettling them, neither are they consulted in the resettlement process. The greatest limitation in this respect for traditional leaders is that some of them have also been allocated A2 model commercial farms far from their rural/communal and A1 model farms. Traditional leaders are under the same controls or conditions as their former subjects in terms of government control in their new resettlement areas. The structures in the communal areas function in their absence and slowly this may not only separate them from their people but also takes away the traditional powers they had in the process. The implications of this separation from their people are that they have to undertake costly journeys to go and settle matters in the rural villages. The costs negatively affect the frequency with which such visits can be undertaken and this results in delayed or denied justice. Where visits are frequent, it may result in high charges being imposed on the rural community particularly the guilty parties in order to compensate for the costs incurred. Rural communities may also fail to report issues because of costs involved and could therefore resort to violence particularly in domestic cases.

6.4 Results pertaining to assertion 2

Traditional leaders want new roles that remunerate and accord them modern type powers instead of limited (confined to rural practice) customary powers.

Findings

Chiefs and Headmen as traditional leaders are remunerated by the Government on a monthly basis. The establishment of the Council of Chiefs was meant to place the traditional leaders under the control of the Minister to whom they report. Their appointment falls under the Minister and they cannot be candidates for any political party under section 45 of the Traditional Leaders Act Chapter 29:17 – "no chief, headman or village head shall be eligible for election as President, member of Parliament or Councillor whilst still holding office". A Provincial Assembly elects neither fewer than three nor more than five members – Traditional Leaders' Act Chapter 29. *We have the Council of Chiefs and our role continues to be recognised as important by Government*-Charumbira. A counter narrative "*we have been stripped of our powers*" by Chief Zimunya (Karimakwenda, 2015). Chief Ernest Musarurwa-'*Why can't we be given the same salaries and benefits like magistrates and judges when we are doing the same job and even more in the rural areas?*' (NewZimbabwenews, 2015). Moyo, (2015), 'While yesterday, traditional leaders were agents of colonialism, today they

are champions of neo-authoritarianism'. It appears the recognition alluded to by Charumbira is contrary to what is being advocated for by other Chiefs as some now see themselves as employees of the State.

A total of 750 Chiefs and Headman countrywide will undergo legal training at three Universities in the country as part of Government efforts to improve justice delivery. This training will include customary law and will be impacted with skills in local governance for them to be able to administer areas under their jurisdiction. The programme is funded by the United Nations Development Programme, Legal Resources Foundation together with the Ministries of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs and Local Government Public Works and Urban Development (TheHerald, 2015).

This shows how much the role of traditional leaders has changed and while they have lost powers they are happy with the new role as they are paid and given vehicles to use in their areas by the government. The new roles being put in place for traditional leaders are not only beneficial to them but take away the traditional historical beliefs that they only deal with culture and traditional issues as they take on new roles in the legal fraternity.

6.5 Results pertaining to assertion 3

Traditional leaders are aware of the implications of the amendments and may in due course demand traditional control of land in the A1 areas as these will slowly degrade to the level of rural areas around them. When this happens there will be no demarcations as exists now and such demand or control will also help in inheritance and further allocation of land such as is the case in rural areas due to the increase in population. To tie land to a particular person through a lease or permit while the population is increasing limits the scope of access to land for future generations. The use of permits on A1 farms may be seen as a continuation of the former occupation of land by a few when the majority in the rural areas are congested.

Proposition 2 shows that Traditional Leaders are on the Government's pay-role thus making them similar to employees although bound by a different set of conditions. *We have control of rural land and we allocate land but in the resettlement programme it is different* – Charumbira. A counter narrative states that '*No land shall be allocated in terms of the Act except with the approval of the appropriate Rural District Council, which shall be the administrative authority with overall control over the use and allocation of all Communal Land* Section 26 (1), (Traditional Leaders' Act Chapter 29:17). The traditional leaders therefore have no powers to allocate land unless their request or recommendation is approved

by the respective Rural District Council. The conflict on rural and A1 or A2 boundaries was catered for; 'The Minister shall cause all Communal Land to be surveyed for the purpose of showing, by way of maps, the boundaries demarcating each village and such maps shall be filed for record at the offices of the Ministry for which the Minister is responsible with copies for the areas for which Rural District Council is responsible, to be held at the offices of the Rural District Council and the District Administrator concerned' (section 23 of the Traditional Leaders Act chapter 29:17).

The traditional leaders have no authority according to this Act to hold records showing boundaries unless otherwise with authority from the government. The Minister has the right to issue a village registration certificate: 'Upon the filing of record of any map in terms of subsection (1) of section twenty three, the Minister shall issue a village registration certificate to each village head describing the boundaries of the village area as depicted on the map. (2) Upon the issue of a village registration certificate, the Rural District Council concerned shall, in terms of the Rural District Councils Act (Chapter 29:13) prepare a land use plan for the village in accordance with such details as may be prescribed and issue a settlement permit to the head of each household in the village concerned. (3) The Rural District Council and the District Administrator concerned shall keep an accurate record of all settlement permits issued to each household (section 24 of the Traditional Leaders Act chapter 29:17). Subject to this Act and the Regional Town and Country Planning Act (Chapter 29:12) and any order issued in terms thereof, a person may occupy and use Communal Land for agricultural or residential purposes with the consent of the Rural District Council established for the area concerned (section 8 (1) Communal Land Act Chapter 20:04). The above counters Charumbira's narrative that they control rural land; *we have control of rural land and we allocate land but in the resettlement programme it is different* – Charumbira. The disposal of land rights conferred under settlement permits shall only be sought through the Rural District Councils removing the traditional leaders from holding such authority; It shall not be construed as preventing an inhabitant from disposing of rights conferred under a settlement permit: provided that- (1) no such disposal shall be effected unless the other adult members of the inhabitant's household and the Rural District Council established for the area concerned have consented to it (section 28 Traditional Leaders' Act Chapter 29:17).

Traditional Leaders may not necessarily demand control of A1 areas as this control is available to Rural Councils that can then extend them to these leaders. A notable feature is that demarcation similar to the A1 areas is also to be undertaken in the rural areas in terms of

the Act so degradation may not be an issue as new demarcations will be put in place possibly after the resettlement programme. The traditional leaders have had their roles changed and Chief Zimunya's comments that their powers have been taken may be valid. There appears to be no reasonable expectation that with time the traditional leaders may seek a reversal of the traditional roles currently being changed because they have already accepted or adopted new roles that place them directly under the Minister and these now slowly discriminate as there is need for education because of the legal training at Universities. It will not be a traditional role in the old context as those that cannot train at universities naturally cannot be appointed as Chiefs in due course because of the requirement to acquire legal training.

6.6 Evaluating theory in relation to this study

This study used two theoretical frameworks, traditional theory and tenure and governance. These theories were important as this established links, changes in traditional leadership and land control. Logan, (2008) referred to traditional theory by arguing against Kompi and Twala (2014) who referred to it as a democratic process of traditional leadership while referring to it as democratic and modernist. This study confirmed Logan's (2009:1) assertion that modernists, institutional frameworks aspire to democratise systems in line with the West. Whilst it may be argued that tradition must be maintained it may be noted that traditions are not static but changing all the time as people move into new areas and marry across tribes. It means therefore that what was traditional during Mutapa's time might not be accepted by people today because of the global exchanges and cultural distortions more aligned to the West. The role of traditional leaders is thus found to be more pro-western and traditional values risk being discarded of or left behind as modern society moves forward rendering it to the risk of being constantly changed to suit events in Zimbabwe.

The other theory relating to traditional rights to land through land tenure and governance is covered under the Traditional Leaders' Act chapter 29:17, the Constitution of Zimbabwe and the Communal Land Act Chapter 20:04. It confirms Feber and Feeny's (1991) assertions that land tenure and governance must be placed under a constitutional order with institutional arrangements and normative codes as prevails in Zimbabwe. In the constitutional order they refer to the fundamental rules of how society is organized in view of rule-making. The institutional arrangements are created within the rules specific to the constitutional order under laws, regulations, associations, contracts and property rights. The normative behavior code refers to the cultural values which legitimates the arrangements and constrains behavior.

The rights to land are therefore supported by laws that give rights within the context of cultural norms and values. The theories adopted in the study were proven to be appropriate and suitable frameworks.

6.7. Conclusion

Relating the results of the analysis to the initial assertions drawn up to guide the study was important in that it facilitated the drawing up of narrative and counter-narrative points and arguments that enriched the exercise. The role of traditional leaders, land control and governance drew parallels and similarities when viewed in the context of traditional roles in the colonial era. The traditional leaders have less power in land governance when compared to the colonial era however it has also been established that their role has changed into a modern role of leadership. The colonial era gave them areas of control with their own leaders although they were overally controlled by a government yet the independence era has not reversed but rather taken more powers from traditional leaders leaving them worse off.

It was necessary therefore to use these findings and establish if they fall within theory used in the study and also to make sure that an understanding is drawn up using the pre-colonial, colonial and post colonial eras. The value of doing this was also to find meaning to what is being studied because traditions are not static. The following chapter draws this study to a close with a discussion and recommendations.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

Reading and researching into traditional leadership roles, changes, land control and governance formed the research orientation for this study. To achieve an academic study, it was necessary to examine the historical context of traditional leadership, land control and governance in order to make a conclusion that is not biased towards perceived achievements by the government of Zimbabwe but rather in relation to what transpired before independence. As this chapter summarises the findings it was also noted that no research is conclusive therefore it is expected that this study opens a different way of looking at developments in Zimbabwe and that such interests will enrich the academic field.

Section 7.2 discusses what is unique in this study to further highlight its role in adding value to the study while section 7.3 discusses some limitations to the study. Section 7.4 discusses implications to research while section 7.5 brings the study to a close.

7.2 What is there that is unique in this study?

This study noted that the role of Chiefs has never been the leading traditional leadership role in the culture or history of Shona inhabitants in Zimbabwe. Chiefs were placed below the level of Kings or Emperor in the Mutapa dynasty.

The study also noted that the colonial system abolished the positions of Emperor and King from the black people while subjecting them to the crown. Noted also, is the important role played by the spirit mediums as they resisted the adoption of the Christian faith that sought to remove or abolish cultural practices and this resulted in the hanging of spirit mediums such as Nehanda and Kaguvi.

The use of narratives and counter narratives was useful in the manner in which they provided further evidence about the utility of the approach in making sense of people's lived experiences. Important in this approach was the way face to face interviews tended to give an opportunity to interviewees to manipulate information that was countered by proven or legal sources that formed counter narratives for this study. This was very important in that it showed how far people will go to support a system and this also proved that there is possible continuation of the colonial manipulation of some traditional leaders by the government in an independent Zimbabwe. Whilst it was noted and could be argued that traditional leadership

may not fit into a democratic system as leaders are not elected, it is the past practice that is fundamental to the practices of traditional leaders. Using democracy for such a study would bring conflict as traditional leaders were never elected in Zimbabwe. It may also be questioned how a democratic government can then cede governance to tradition leaders that are not elected implying flaws within the democratic process. The role of traditional leaders would fall out of the context of 'traditional practice or past practice' if democracy had to play a guiding principle on how black people live in rural settings. The colonial system was very successful at this and the changes so far did not indicate a reversal of the practice.

Last but not least was the unique and original use of narrative and counter-narratives in the framework of traditional leadership in a hostile environment. This went a long way in facilitating use of narratives as a research tool.

7.3 Limitations to the research

The most limiting factor was the politicization and hostility associated with research in Zimbabwe. The element of risk both pre and post research could not be ruled out to any researcher undertaking a similar study in Zimbabwe. Researchers however give validity to their work through its uniqueness and if all the researchers had to work in safe areas then this would be a great limitation to the academia. The refusal to be interviewed told a rich story that positively added value to a study as interest in the reasons for the refusal also supported notions that may be held by some on the dangers or risks pertaining in a country that is said to be democratic. This brought life stories of disappearance or murder that are written about and the fear that these bring to people as one tries to use empathy on life for the general population.

7.4 Implications for researchers

This study proved that similar work can be undertaken in a hostile environment however it is important to note that it is equally risky. The study spoke for the silent voice which meant that people cannot freely say what is said in the study which requires correct and valid research work to support the researcher. The researcher stood by valid facts and anything short of valid research material was not included in the study.

7.5 Conclusion to the study

Traditional role is not static but dynamic and the movement of people into different areas distorts what is defined as traditional by a given people. With this distortion it becomes impossible for people of different tribes and different traditional backgrounds to refer to a practice as traditional. Land resettlement has worsened an already bad situation by its failure to reverse the appointment of traditional leaders that were installed by the colonial system. One therefore might question if it is the expectation of anyone to remove those that were appointed by the colonial system and to replace them with the original traditional leaders. There will be many challenges because the country is still divided under commercial A2, A1 Models and Communal areas, it would also not be possible to establish who was in charge of which area resulting in a country that would possibly have less than 10 chiefs instead of over 270 currently appointed.

The other challenge is that reversing the role of traditional leaders to the original role needs a basis and justification. Traditional leaders in the pre-colonial era formed a government that could be viewed in today's context as having a military wing, legal, tax department and other roles such as was at Mapungubwe and Zimbabwe Ruins. There were specific people for specific tasks as they traded with the Portuguese and Muslims. This role now falls under the modern day government so reversing it means giving governance to the traditional leaders thereby destroying democracy. The role of traditional leaders as set out by the colonial system is justified in that it was placed under a government and not a governance role in itself. This role cannot be reversed to the original traditional role as the Emperor and Kings are no longer part of the traditional system.

Land was never placed under the traditional leadership control in their varied forms but under one centre of power such as Mutapa or Lobengula. Chiefs, however had control of the allocated areas and could act on behalf of Mutapa. The role of traditional leaders also included the maintenance of cultural practices through links with spirit mediums. The land belonged to the then state under Mutapa and there is resemblance in how land is currently being administered and during the pre-colonial era. People did not have the freedom to settle where they wanted but were allocated land through a system of land control. Mutapa appointed sub-chiefs to administer certain pieces of land under his full control; this meant that any new chief was accountable to Mutapa.

The issue of land control is also seen in the historical review where white settlers sought and were granted land by Lobengula through the Rudd Concession. It was very important for one to hold land and the whites continued with land allocation after taking control of the whole country although secluding the natives in the allocation of prime land. There are similarities in the way the land issue was handled and even prior to the colonial era people might have been allocated land in the areas that were later chosen for settlement as reserves by the colonial system. Land control belonged to Mutapa, Lobengula and other leaders prior to the colonial era and this tradition has continued however in the form of an established government. Land never belonged to the people in general but was held or occupied under the traditional leadership while during the colonial era title deeds were issued for commercial farm land under Smith's Unilateral Declaration of Independence which was a revolt from land ownership by the British Crown

This study established that the desire to control land by traditional leaders is misplaced. In terms of the Traditional Leaders Act Chapter 29:17 section 24, both communal and resettlement areas are to be issued with Village Registration Certificates (communal areas) and Permits for A1 model farms. These are both administered by government through Rural District Councils and it is an illusion to think that traditional leaders have land control because they only have a limited say in how land is administered in Zimbabwe.

It is evident that because these exercises of permits and certificates have not taken place it appears as though Chiefs still have powers although they have been reduced like what was said by Chief Zimunya *"all our powers have been taken away".* The government is drawing up a new role for traditional leaders through training as legal officers to run communal courts as they have now been enrolled at universities. The challenge this brings however is that there is also a new breed or culture of leaders being advocated for though not openly. This new role requires people that can read and write more so people who can undergo training for a qualification in legal practice at local or lower levels. The traditional role of handing chieftainship within the same house or family will soon be challenged if those in the family are illiterate. This challenge although seemingly not important may soon result in traditional leaders having a new role as part of the governing system but not elected. There is no role for traditional leaders in the current A1 Model farming areas other than that granted to them by Rural Councils in terms of the relevant acts. The government continues to deal directly with the people through Rural District Councils and other institutions and this has the role of negating the powers of traditional leaders.

The role of Chiefs may continue to diminish and with time it may render them the same roles as civil servants (Government employees) that can be dismissed as and when the government feels, resulting in the resurgence of the former colonial era where Chiefs were chosen by the government. This strong possibility of the adoption of the colonial system of choosing traditional leaders will grow as less and less powers are given to traditional leaders and this has started with the removal of some and their settlement outside their areas of control. This makes the political party in power stronger as there is no say or influence from traditional leaders to the general rural population.

The traditional leadership roles in Zimbabwe appear to be different from those in other countries such as South Africa. Modernisation of these roles in Zimbabwe however brings in fears that it may with time be diluted into non-existence. It is recommended therefore that traditional leadership in Zimbabwe needs to be redefined not as traditional leadership but as simply leadership in communal areas. Taking out the term 'Traditional' will help with the eradication of distortions into what people refer to as traditional as if it is static yet dynamic.

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Appendix 1

CHIEF	Surname, Forename	DISTRICT	PROVINCE	Status
Bakwayi	Sithole, Stanley	Matobo	Matabeleland South	Substantive
Banga	Toendepi, Lameck	Shurugwi	Midlands	Substantive
Bango	Dube, Godin	Bulilimamangwe	Matabeleland South	Substantive
Bankwe	Sibanda, Silinga	Mberengwa	Midlands	Substantive
Benhura	Zhangazha, P Agakapito	Kadoma	Mashonaland West	Acting
Bepura	Bepura, Kenneth Silas	Guruve	Mashonaland Central	Substantive
Bidi		Matobo	Matabeleland South	Vacant
Binga	Muleya, Gasita	Binga	Matabeleland North	Substantive
Bota	Mugabe, Chiyo	Zaka	Masvingo	Substantive
Budzi	Dziyakwe, Gwinyai	Bikita	Masvingo	Substantive
Bunina	Mkoba, Stephen	Gweru	Midlands	Substantive
Bushu	Bushu, Show	Shamva	Mashonaland Central	Substantive
Bvute	Siziba, Nkatazo	Mberengwa	Midlands	Substantive
Chamutsa	Muchini, Erija	Buhera	Manicaland	Acting
Chapoto	Chapoto, Peter Enock	Guruve	Mashonaland East	Substantive
Charewa		Mutoko	Mashonaland East	Vacant
Charumbira	Charumbira,Fortune Zephania	Masvingo	Masvingo	Substantive
Chiduku	Mbaimbai, Rivai	Makoni	Manicaland	Substantive
Chihota	Chigodora, Frederick Mapfumo	Marondera	Mashonaland East	Substantive
Chikore	Mushamba, Denis	Makoni	Manicaland	Substantive
Chikukwa	Chikukwa, Chardworth	Chimanimani	Manicaland	Substantive

CHIEF	Surname, Forename	DISTRICT	PROVINCE	Status
Chikwaka	Chigeramasambe, Kimpton	Goromonzi	Mashonaland East	Acting
Chikwanda	Chikwanda, Kadiwa	Masvingo	Masvingo	Substantive
Chikwizo	Mawonera, Peter	Mudzi t	Mashonaland East	Substantive
Chimombe	Manyuwa, Causemore	Buhera	Manicaland	Acting
Chimombe	Rutsate, Rutsate	Gutu	Masvingo	Substantive
Chimoyo	Zambezi, Jeremiah	Mutoko	Mashonaland East	Substantive
Chimukoko	Chimukoko, Ottilia	Mudzi	Mashonaland East	Substantive
Chinamhora	Chidziva, Simon	Goromonzi	Mashonaland East	Substantive
Chingoma	Dziva, Amon	Mberengwa	Midlands	Acting
Chinyerere	Kafura, Shine	Uzumba - Maramba- Pfungwe	Mashonaland East	Acting
Chipfuyamiti	Zimonte, Tichafa	Uzumba- Maramba- Pfungwe	Mashonaland East	Substantive
Chipunza	Mukonyera, Fungai	Makoni	Manicaland	Substantive
Chipuriro	Mashiki, Clever	Guruve	Mashonaland Central	Substantive
Chirau	Dzvakakuyambwa, Tinashe	Zvimba	Mashonaland West	Acting
Chireya	Chidzivo, Henry	Gokwe North	Midlands	Substantive
Chirinda	Chikono, Joshua	Uzumba- Maramba- Pfungwe	Mashonaland East	Substantive
Chirumanzu	Mudzengi, Gerald	Chirumhanzu	Midlands	Substantive
Chisunga	Chisunga, Daster	Guruve	Mashonaland Central	Substantive
Chiswiti	Kanzou, Short	Mount Darwin	Mashonaland Central	Substantive
Chitanga	Chauke, Felani	Mwenzi	Masvingo	Substantive
Chitsa	Chibvongodze, Hatidani	Gutu	Masvingo	Substantive

CHIEF	Surname, Forename	DISTRICT	PROVINCE	Status
Chitsunge	Gunguwo, Magaya	Buhera	Manicaland	Substantive
Chitsungo		Guruve	Mashonaland Central	Vacant
Chitsungo	Kafura, Chitsingo Mosted	Uzumba-Maramba-Pfungwe	Mashonaland East	Substantive
Chivero	Shopo, Brown	Chegutu	Mashonaland West	Acting
Chivese	Makambe, Thomas Mashoko	Chikomba	Mashonaland East	Substantive
Chivi	Sundire, Chimba	Chivi	Masvingo	Substantive
Chiwara		Gutu	Masvingo	Vacant
Chiweshe	Chigariro, Joseph	Mazowe	Mashonaland Central	Substantive
Chiweshe	Chitemamuswe, Mathew	Mashonaland Central	Substantive	28/05/1996
Chiwundura	Tavengwa, Zebediah D	Gweru	Midlands	Acting
Chizungu	Tshuma, Mfazoyabo	Mberengwa	Midlands	Substantive
Chundu	Chundu, Picky	Hurungwe	Mashonaland West	Acting
Dakamela	Dakamela, Hleziphi	Nkayi	Matabeleland North	no data
Dandawa	Manyepa, F	Hurungwe	Mashonaland West	Substantive
Deli	Mabhena, Asher	Umguza	Matabeleland North	Substantive
Dendera	Dendera, Noah Kerechani	Hurungwe	Mashonaland West	Substantive
Dingani	Dingani, Boy Joseph	Hwange	Matabeleland North	Substantive
Dobola	Muleya, Themba	Binga	Matabeleland North	Substantive
Dotito	Manyika, Sirako	Mt. Darwin	Mashonaland Central	Substantive
Fish Gwebu	Gwebu, Gabarones	Buhera	Manicaland	Substantive
Gahadzawa-Svosve	Zenda, Lovemore C	Marondera	Mashonaland East	Acting
Gambiza	Sami, Freddy	Gweru	Midlands	Substanti

CHIEF	Surname, Forename	DISTRICT	PROVINCE	Status
				ve
Gambo III	Sithole, Ashel	Tsholotsho	Matabeleland South	Substantive
Gampu	Vusumuzi Nicodemus Mabhikwa			
Garahwa	Hliziyo, Tobias Marega	Chipinge	Manicaland	Substantive
Gobo	Machona, Clever	Kwekwe	Midlands	Substantive
Goronga	Mpatiseni, Tickey	Mudzi	Mashonaland East	Substantive
Gudo	Kanukai, Mavivi	Chiredzi	Masvingo	Acting
Gutu	Masanganise, Anos Kasirayi	Gutu	Masvingo	Substantive
Gwenzi	Gwenzi, Daniel	Chipinge	Manicaland	Substantive
Gwesela		Kwekwe	Midlands	vacant
Hama	Zishiri, Joseph Mativenga	Chirumhanzu	Midlands	Substantive
Hata	Magaso, Joseph	Nyanga	Manicaland	Substantive
Hobodo	Ncube, Simon Thela	Mangwe	Matabeleland South	Substantive
Hwata	Musemwa, Maxwell	Muzarabani	Mashonaland East	Substantive
Jahana	Khumalo, Solomon	Insiza/Filabusi	Midlands	Substantive
Jiri	Moyo, Chipo	Gokwe South	Midlands	Substantive
Kandana	Magutshwa, Michael	Bulilima	Matabeleland South	Substantive
Kandeya	Mawande, Zabron	Mt. Darwin	Mashonaland Central	Substantive
Kasekete	Mutinhima, Faxwell	Muzarabani	Mashonaland East	Substantive
Katerera	Chifodya, Matambo	Nyanga	Manicaland	Substantive
Kavula	Kavula, Mukusi N	Binga	Matebeleland North	Substantive
Kazangara ra	Maendaenda, Obiri Peter	Hurungwe	Mashonaland West	Substantive
Mabhena	Mabhena, Sinqobile	Umzingwane	Matabeleland South	Substantive

CHIEF	Surname, Forename	DISTRICT	PROVINCE	Status
Mabigwa	Khumalo, Vusumuzi Nicodemus	Lupane	Matabeleland North	Substantive
Mabika	Mabika, Tafiranido	Bikita	Masvingo	Substantive
Madhlambudzi	Ncube, Patrick	Bulilima	Matabeleland South	Substantive
Madhliwa	Khumalo, Timothy K	Nkayi	Matabeleland North	Substantive
Madhuna	Madhuna, Vezi	Insiza	Matabeleland South	Substantive
Madziwa	Gatsi, Elijah	Shamva	Mashonaland Central	Acting
Mafala	Matshazi, Jongilizwe	Zvishavane	Midlands	Substantive
Magama	Hadebe, Conrad Lucky Magama	Tsholotsho	Matebeleland North	Substantive
Mahenye	Jojo, Thomas	Chipinge	Manicaland	Substantive
Mahlathini	Jiyane, Edward Nkalivema	Tsholotsho	Matebeleland North	Substantive
Mahlebadza	Damba, Phelile	Mberengwa	Midlands	Substantive
Makoni	Nyahada, Mark Manson Muswati	Makoni	Manicaland	Acting
Makope	Kuvataiya, M J	Mazowe	Mashonaland Central	Substantive
Makore	Makore, Phenias	Gutu	Masvingo	Substantive
Makumbe		Buhera	Manicaland	Substantive
Makuni	Muzika, Nicholas	Rushinga	Mashonaland Central	Substantive
Malaba	Ncube, Christopher	Matobo	Matabeleland South	Substantive
Malisa	Moyo, Cyprian	Kwekwe	Midlands	Substantive
Mangwende	Chibanda, Tafirenyika John	Murehwa	Mashonaland East	Substantive
Mapanzure		Masvingo	Masvingo	Vacant
Mapanzure	Shonhayi, Chimhofu Albert	Zvishavane	Midlands	Acting
Mapiravana	Madewareba, Rungano	Mberengwa	Midlands	Substantive
Mapungwa	Mapungwana, Anias	Chipinge	Manicaland	Substanti

CHIEF	Surname, Forename	DISTRICT	PROVINCE	Status
na				ve
Maranda	Ngwenya, Josephat	Mwenezi	Masvingo	Substantive
Marange	Marange, Gilbert	Mutare	Manicaland	Acting
Marozva	Mudhe, Joseph	Bikita	Masvingo	Substantive
Marupi	Nare, Oteng	Gwanda	Matabeleland South	Substantive
Masembura	Nhapi, Amon	Bindura	Mashonaland Central	Substantive
Masendu	Dube, Sindilizwe	Bulilimamangwe	Matabeleland South	Substantive
Mashayambombe	Chiketa, Ignatius Stephen	Chegutu	Mashonaland West	Substantive
Masuku	Masuku, Mbiko	Gwanda	Matabeleland South	Substantive
Masunda	Hungwe, Simon	Zvishavane	Midlands	Acting
Mataga	Nkomo, Malaini	Mberengwa	Midlands	Substantive
Mataruse/ Muchembere	Hove, John Bera	Mberengwa	Midlands	Substantive
Mathe	Mathe, Leonard	Umzingwane	Matabeleland South	Substantive
Mathe	Ncube, Ketso	Gwanda	Matabeleland South	Substantive
Mathema	Mathema, Khulumani	Gwanda	Matabeleland South	Substantive
Matibe	Mbedzi, Elisha	Beitbridge	Matabeleland South	Substantive
Matope	Kapfava, Petros	Mt. Darwin	Mashonaland Central	Substantive
Matsiwo		Guruve	Mashonaland Central	Vacant
Matupula	Khumalo, Mandlakuzulu	Tsholotsho	Matabeleland North	Substantive
Mawarire	Mamhanje, Vengo	Mwenezi	Masvingo	Substantive
Mayenga	Fuyana, Ngwenyama	Matobo	Matabeleland South	Substantive
Mazetese	Tapera, Finga	Mwenezi	Masvingo	Substantive
Mazivofa	Hove, Koda Joshua	Mberengwa	Midlands	Substanti

CHIEF	Surname, Forename	DISTRICT	PROVINCE	Status
				ve
Mazungunye	Mazungunye, Lazarus Maipisi	Bikita	Masvingo	Substantive
Mazvihwa		Zvishavane	Midlands	Vacant
Menyeza	Gumede, Johnson	Lupane	Matabeleland North	Substantive
Mketi	Ngwenya, Bayayi	Mberengwa	Midlands	Substantive
Mkoka	Nkomo, Doubt	Gokwe South	Midlands	Acting
Mkota	Jigu, Solomon	Mudzi	Mashonaland East	Acting
Mola	Rare, Champion	Kariba	Mashonaland West	Substantive
Mpini	Ndiweni, Jabulani	Bulilimamangwe	Matabeleland South	Substantive
Mposi		Mberengwa	Midlands	Vacant
Mtonzima/ Gwebu	Gwebu, Stanley	Umzingwane	Matabeleland South	Substantive
Mtshane	Khumalo, Mtshane	Bubi	Matabeleland North	Substantive
Mudavanhu		Mberengwa	Midlands	vacant
Mudzimurema	Mchenje, Patrick	Marondera	Mashonaland East	Substantive
Mugabe	Mudavanhu, Matubede	Masvingo	Masvingo	Acting
Mujinga	Mudanhairwa, Mutenhe	Hurungwe	Mashonaland West	Substantive
Mukanganwi	Gobo, Chinhanho	Bikita	Masvingo	Substantive
Munyaradzi		Gutu	Masvingo	Substantive
Munyikwa	Kubiku, Sanangurai	Gutu	Masvingo	Substantive
Mupungu		Chipinge	Manicaland	Vacant
Murambwa	Chabu, Claver	Kadoma	Mashonaland West	Substantive
Murinye	Munodawafa, Ephias	Masvingo	Masvingo	Substantive
Murove	Machere, Zivengwa	Mwenezi	Masvingo	Substantive
Musampakaruma	Chabwededza, J	Kariba t	Mashonaland West	Substantive

CHIEF	Surname, Forename	DISTRICT	PROVINCE	Status
Musana	Nyarumwe, Joel	Bindura	Mashonaland Central	Substantive
Musarurwa	Musakwa, Enos	Chikomba	Mashonaland East	Substantive
Mushava	Machokoto, Elijah	Kadoma	Mashonaland West	Substantive
Musikavanhu	Musikavanhu, Vusani Mutemebvi	Chipinge	Manicaland	Substantive
Mutambara	Mutambara, John Godfrey	Chimanimani	Manicaland	Substantive
Mutasa	Mutasa, Misheck Pasi	Mutasa	Manicaland	Substantive
Mutekedza	Zhakata, Andrew	Chikomba	Mashonaland East	Substantive
Mutema	Sonani, Philemon	Chipinge	Manicaland	Substantive
Mutoko	Gurupira, Michael	Mutoko	Mashonaland East	Acting
Mutubaidze	Moyo, Frank	Mberengwa	Midlands	Substantive
Mutumba	Mandaza, Marufu	Shamva	Mashonaland Central	Substantive
Muusha	Muusha, Willie	Chimanimani	Manicaland	Substantive
Mvutu		Hwange	Matabeleland North	no data
Ndanga	Musavengana, Christmas	Shurugwi	Midlands	Substantive
Ndanga	Charinda, Simon	Zaka	Masvingo	Substantive
Ndima	Murombo, Tizirepi	Chimanimani	Manicaland	Substantive
Ndondo	Ndondo, Neville	Umguza	Matabeleland North	Substantive
Ndube	Sibanda, Nonhlanhla	Insiza	Matabeleland South	Substantive
Nebiri	Nebiri, Wilson	Kariba	Mashonaland West	Substantive
Nechombo	Nyamukondiwa, Ngoni	Mutoko	Mashonaland East	Acting
Negande	Mpofu, K	Kariba	Mashonaland West	Substantive
Negari	Tinofirei, Vunganai	Mwenezi	Masvingo	Substanti

CHIEF	Surname, Forename	DISTRICT	PROVINCE	Status
				ve
Negomo	Chibvongodze, Lucius	Mazowe	Mashonaland Central	Acting
Negove	Moyo, Munyungati	Mberengwa	Midlands	Substantive
Nekatambe	Ncube, Charles	Hwange	Matabeleland North	Substantive
Nemakonde	Mhende, W Jimani	Makonde	Mashonaland West	Substantive
Nemangwe	Musongo, Elijah	Gokwe South	Midlands	Substantive
Nematombo	Shiridzinodya, Ben	Hurungwe	Mashonaland West	Acting
Nemauzhe	Pamburayi, Jestiya	Chivi	Masvingo	Acting
Nembire	Nembire, Clemence	Mount Darwin	Mashonaland Central	Substantive
Nenguwo	Chagaresango, Cephas Zingai	Marondera	Mashonaland East	Substantive
Nenyunka	Msindo, Mwanga	Gokwe North	Midlands	Substantive
Nerutanga	Donhwe, Elias	Buhera	Manicaland	Acting
Neshangwe	Dangwa, Elisha Marufu	Chikomba	Mashonaland East	Substantive
Neshuro	Gudo, Rodwell	Mwenezi	Masvingo	Substantive
Neuso	Mudzimiri, Titos	Kadoma	Mashonaland West	Substantive
Ngezi	Machipisa, Barnabas	Chegutu	Mashonaland West	Acting
Ngorima	Ngorima, Aaron Hondo	Chimanimani	Manicaland	Acting
Ngungumbane	Nugungumbane, Zamuntha	Mberengwa	Midlands	Substantive
Nhema	Daidai, Gilbert	Shurugwi	Midlands	Acting
Nhema	Bwawanda, Ranganai	Zaka	Masvingo	Substantive
Nherera	Masvisvi, Mutizwa	Chegutu	Mashonaland West	Substantive
Nhlamba	Ndlovu, Dennis	Gwanda	Matabeleland South	Substantive
Njelele	Njelele, Misheck	Gokwe South	Midlands	Substantive
Nkalakatha	Ndiweni, Gilford	Nkayi	Matabeleland North	Substantive

CHIEF	Surname, Forename	DISTRICT	PROVINCE	Status
Ntabeni	Ntabeni, Milton	Kwekwe	Midlands	Substantive
Nyahuye wa svosve		Hwedza	Mashonaland East	Substantive
Nyajena	Mapfekera, Tadu	Masvingo	Masvingo	Substantive
Nyajina		Uzumba-Maramba-Pfungwe	Mashonaland East	vacant
Nyakuchena	Bvunzawabaya, Pera	Mudzi	Mashonaland East	Substantive
Nyakunhuwa	Mashavave, Jerera Wafa	Zaka	Masvingo	Substantive
Nyakusengwa	Chimunya, Moffat	Rushinga	Mashonaland Central	Acting
Nyamandi	Mambayo, Elias	Gutu	Masvingo	Acting
Nyamaropa	Ndivangi, Enock	Shamva	Mashonaland Central	Substantive
Nyamhunga	Chinehasha, Boniface	Hurungwe	Mashonaland West	Substantive
Nyamondo	Gore, Runesu Solomon	Mberengwa	Midlands	Substantive
Nyamukoho	Katsande, Samson	Mudzi	Mashonaland East	Substantive
Nyamweda	Mandaza, Claudius	Chegutu	Mashonaland West	Substantive
Nyandoro	Nyandoro, Richness	Marondera	Mashonaland East	Acting
Nyangazonke/Mabuyana	Ndiweni, Vuyane	Matobo	Matabeleland South	Substantive
Nyashanu	Kangenga, Rugare Chemwi	Buhera	Manicaland	Substantive
Nyika	Marere, Topaya	Kadoma	Mashonaland West	Substantive
Nyoka	Muringani, Cyprian Tazvivinga	Chikomba	Mashonaland East	Substantive
Nzula	Masuku, Malaki	Matobo	Matabeleland South	Substantive
Pashu	Nyathi, George	Binga	Matabeleland North	Substantive
Rusambo	Kangora, Gladmore	Rushinga	Mashonaland Central	Acting

CHIEF	Surname, Forename	DISTRICT	PROVINCE	Status
Rusike	Mashave, Aaron M	Goromonzi	Mashonaland East	Substantive
Ruya	Chihata, Amon	Kwekwe	Midlands	Acting
Ruzane	Ruzane, Lesley Chinembiri	Hwedza	Mashonaland East	Substantive
Rwizi	Mude, Francis	Chegutu	Mashonaland West	Acting
Saba	Dickson, Kadoko	Binga	Matabeleland North	Substantive
Sai	Ncube, Gideon Ngwanda	Gokwe South	Midlands	Substantive
Samambwa	Samambwa, Willard S	Kwekwe	Mashonaland West	Acting
Samuriwo	Bidi, Muza Gibson	Marondera District	Mashonaland East	Substantive
Sangulube	Moyo, Chap	Mangwe	Matabeleland South	Substantive
Saunyama	Saunyama, Ephraim V	Nyanga	Manicaland	Acting
Seke	Kunaka, Tichafa	Seke	Mashonaland East	Acting
Sengwa	Makoti, Lisimati Willie	Chiredzi	Masvingo	
Serima	Rushwaya, Vengai	Gutu	Masvingo	Substantive
Shana	Neluswi, Zondani Jonah	Hwange	Matabeleland North	Substantive
Shindi	Chikwiriro, Kwangwari	Chivi	Masvingo	Substantive
Shumba	Chikava, Mugaviri	Masvingo	Masvingo	Substantive
Siabuwa	Njaya, Edward	Binga	Matebeleland North	Substantive
Siachilaba	Mudimba, Mackson	Binga	Matabeleland North	Substantive
Siamupa	Muchimba, Wilson S	Binga	Matabeleland North	Substantive
Siansali	Siabatwa, Nkatazo	Binga	Matabeleland North	Substantive
Sibasa	Sibasa, Bekezela	Insiza	Matabeleland South	Substantive
Sigodo	Mhlope, Apollo	Kwekwe	Midlands	Acting
Sigola	Sigola, Zephania N	Umzingwane	Matabeleland South	Substantive
Sikalenge	Tshuma, Bayela Charles	Binga	Matabelela	Substanti

CHIEF	Surname, Forename	DISTRICT	PROVINCE	Status
			nd North	ve
Sikobokobo	Khumalo, Michael Zwide	Nkayi	Matabeleland North	Substantive
Simuchembu	Simuchembu, Robert	Gokwe North	Midlands	Substantive
Sinakatenge	Mukonka, David Sialubono	Binga	Matabeleland North	Substantive
Sinakoma	Mutale, Wireless Ngolo	Binga	Matabeleland North	Substantive
Sinamagonde	Muchiwayile, Simangazi	Binga	Matabeleland North	Substantive
Sinampande	Sinampande, Siakupwanya G	Binga	Matabeleland North	Substantive
Sinamsanga	Mutale, Siakachoma Government	Binga	Matabeleland North	Substantive
Sinamweda	Muchimba, Shepherd	Binga	Matabeleland North	Substantive
Sinansengwa	Mdenda, Timothy Chimbunda	Binga	Matabeleland North	Substantive
Siphoso	Dlodlo, Alphius Msindazi	Tsholotsho	Matabeleland North	Substantive
Sitauze		Beitbridge	Matabeleland South	vacant
Sivalo	Mahlangu, Solomon	Nkayi	Matabeleland North	Substantive
Sogwala	Sagwala, Mdulshula	Gweru	Midlands	Substantive
Tandi	Samhungu, William Chiyangwa	Makoni	Manicaland	Substantive
Tangwena	Tangwena, Morris	Nyanga	Manicaland	Substantive
Tategulu	Nhlonipo, Brilliant	Tsholotsho	Matabeleland North	Substantive
Tshitshi	Mpofu, Fanyana A S	Mangwe	Matabeleland South	Substantive
Tshovani	Mundau, Hlaisi	Chiredzi	Masvingo	Substantive
Tshugulu		Nkayi	Matabeleland North	Vacant
Wange		Hwange	Matabeleland North	Vacant
Wasi	Ndiweni, Ashel Wasi	Mangwe	Matabeleland South	Substantive

CHIEF	Surname, Forename	DISTRICT	PROVINCE	Status
Wedza	Tumbudzuku, Hlati Philip	Zvishavane	Midlands	Substantive
Wozhele	Mudzingwa, Gochomo J	Kadoma	Mashonaland West	Substantive
Ziki	Nedombwe, Ishmael T M	Bikita	Masvingo	Substantive
Zimunya	Bvirindi, Kiben	Mutare	Manicaland	Acting
Zimuto	Gono, Nyeve Benedict	Masvingo	Masvingo	Substantive
Zvimba	Mhondoro, Stanley Wurayayi	Zvimba	Mashonaland West	Substantive

Appendix 2 Questionnaire

Questionnaire

This study uses a Narrative method to extract narrative and counter-narrative data. A more informal approach is useful as these are told stories and people tell their stories differently.

After the introductory process the following will be asked:

- Can you please tell me about the background to Traditional Leadership in relationship to land governance and control. *This creates the unfolding of the story in the manner the participant chooses and prompts will be used such as* – how does that affect the role of traditional leaders or is that prevalent throughout the country?

- Can you please comment on why you might think the A1 settlements have been kept outside the control of land rights by traditional leaders?. *Prompts could be used such as,* have you been consulted on the land redistribution programme itself and how has the involvement helped in terms of addressing the concerns that you might have and what might these concerns be?.

- Finally I may ask him to comment on what efforts are currently taking place or what government may be doing to address any concerns?.

Signed…………………….