

Published by: ZERO Regional Environment Organisation

Author: Nelson Marongwe

Printed: 2002

Copyright: 2002, ZERO Regional Environment Organisation. No part of this publication may be reproduced, transmitted in any means be it electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without the permission of copy right owners.

Citation: Nelson Marongwe: 2002 Conflicts over Land and other Natural Resources in Zimbabwe, ZERO Regional Environment Organisation.

ISBN: 1-77917-013-0

Design and Layout: Roughedge Designs

Printed by: Ort Stationers

Available from: ZERO Regional Environment Organisation
158 Fife Avenue, Greenwood Park,
P O Box 5338, Harare, ZIMBABWE
Tel/Fax: (263 4) 791333/732858/700030/730230/720405
Email: zero@mwweb.co.zw
Website: www.zero.org.zw

CONTENTS

List of Tables	iii
List of Boxes	iv
List of Acronyms	v
Acknowledgements	vii
Executive Summary	viii
Chapter Outline	ix

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY	1
1.1 An Overview of Zimbabwe's Land Problems	1
1.2 Conceptual Overview	2
1.2.1 Definition of Concepts	2
1.2.2 Conflict Concepts	3
1.2.3 History of Land Occupations	4
1.2.4 Context of Natural Resource Conflicts in Zimbabwe	8
1.2.4.1 Land Occupations /Illegal Settlements (Rural to Rural Migration)	9
1.2.4.2 Development Projects and the Displacement of People	12
1.2.4.3 Boundaries and Conflict Development	13
1.3 Research Approach	14
1.4 Study Area	20

CHAPTER TWO: LAND CONFLICTS IN LARGE SCALE COMMERCIAL FARMS:	
FOCUS ON THE 1998 AND 2000 FARM OCCUPATIONS	22
2.0 INTRODUCTION	22
2.1 SCOPE OF FARM OCCUPATIONS (1998-2000)	22
2.2 SCALE, INTENSITY AND SETTLEMENT TYPE	27
2.3 TYPE OF LAND OCCUPIED	29
2.4 MAJOR REASONS WHY CERTAIN FARMS WERE OCCUPIED	31
2.4.1 Proximity to Resettlement and Communal Farmers	34
2.4.2 Social Relations between Farmer & Surrounding Resettlement/ Communal Farmers	35
2.4.3 Land Claims by Communities	36
2.4.4 Multiple Ownership and Under-Utilisation of Land	40
2.4.5 Political Affiliation	40
2.4.6 Demand for Residential Land in Urban Areas	41
2.5 MOBILISATION	42

2.6	FOOD SUPPLIES AND OTHER SOCIAL SERVICES AT THE OCCUPIED FARMS	46
2.7	WHO WERE THE OCCUPIERS?	47
2.8	FARM OCCUPATIONS AND FARM WORKERS	52
2.9	CONCLUSION	54

CHAPTER THREE:

	LAND CONFLICTS IN COMMUNAL AND RESETTLEMENT AREAS	56
3.0	INTRODUCTION	56
3.1	BOUNDARIES IN COMMUNAL AND RESETTLEMENT AREAS	56
3.1.1	Communal Areas	56
3.1.2	Resettlement Areas	59
3.2	DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS AND THE DISPLACEMENT OF PEOPLE	60
3.3	LAND OCCUPATIONS/ILLEGAL SETTLEMENTS	61
3.3.1	The Case of Enyandeni Resettlement Scheme in Gwanda	61
3.4	GRAZING DISPUTES	63
3.4.1	The Gwanda-BeitBridge Boundary and Grazingland Dispute	64
3.4.2	The Case of a Model D Resettlement Project in Gwanda	65
3.5	LAND ALLOCATION DISPUTES	66
3.6	ETHNIC BASED CLASHES	71
3.7	CONCLUSION	71

CHAPTER FOUR: LAND CONFLICTS ON STATE LANDS

4.0	INTRODUCTION	72
4.1	LAND CLAIMS ON PROTECTED AREAS	72
4.2	THE CASE OF STATE FARMS ADMINISTERED BY ARDA	74
4.3	LAND OCCUPATIONS/ILLEGAL SETTLEMENTS ON STATE FORESTS	76
4.4	CONCLUSION	84

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUDING REMARKS

5.1	GENERAL OBSERVATIONS	85
5.2	CONCLUDING REMARKS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS	85
5.2.1	Land Occupations: A Resettlement Model in the Making?	85
5.2.2	Opening of Dialogue Between Large-Scale Commercial Farmers and Villagers	86
5.2.3	Institutional Framework for Resolution and Management of Conflicts	88
5.2.4	Conflicts and Social Instability	88
5.3	RECOMMENDATIONS AND WAY FORWARD FOR ZIMBABWE	89

5.3.1	Restitution of Historical Land Rights	89
5.3.2	Conflict Resolution Mechanisms	89
5.3.3	Democratic Participation	90
5.3.4	Legitimising Farm Occupations	90
CHAPTER SIX: REFERENCES		91
CHAPTER SEVEN: LIST OF ANNEXES		96
ANNEX 1: LIST OF OCCUPIED FARMS IN THE HARARE ENVIRONS		96
ANNEX 2 LIST OF MAPS		96
Map 1: Distribution of land by land tenure		96
Map 2: Zimbabwe gazetted indigenouse forests		97
ANNEX 3: SELECTED VARIABLES ON SOME OF THE OCCUPIED FARMS		98

List of Tables

Table 1.1:	A Range of Community Demands on State Farms & Protected Areas ...	11
Table 1.2:	Case Studies	18
Table 1.3:	Study Area	21
Table 2.1:	Details of Farm Occupations in the 1998	24
Table 2.2:	Examples of Reactions /Responses to some of land occupations in the 1998-1999 period	26
Table 2.3:	Examples of farms occupied as a result of long-standing land claims, by surrounding communities.	37
Table 2.4:	Sacred Areas in the Bunga area of Nemakonde District	39
Table 2.5:	Major reasons for the occupation of specific farms by war veterans	41
Table 2.6:	Key functional roles of members of various committees that had been developed: an example from Chiredzi	45
Table 2.7:	How farm occupiers accessed food and water on selected farms.	47
Table 2.8:	Occupiers and their Place of Origin in Selected Cases	49
Table 2.9:	Numbers of ex-combatants in selected occupied farms	50
Table 2.10:	Estimated numbers of occupiers in selected farms in Mashonaland East Province by Category.	52
Table 3.1:	Composition of the inspection team to the disputed areas.	70
Table 4.1:	Trends in the Squatter Population in the Gazetted Forest Areas	78
Table 4.2:	Settlements in the Forests Areas of Matabeleland North	79
Table 4.3:	District of Origin of Settlers by Forest Area	80
Table 7.1:	Estimated Population & Dates of Occupation for Selected Farms	98
Table 7.2:	Intensity of Farm Occupations by District in Mashonaland East	99

Table 7.3: Intensity of Farm Occupations by District in Parts of Matabeleland Province	99
Table 7.4: Intensity of Farm Occupations in Mashonaland West	99
Table 7.5: Intensity of Farm Occupations in Masvingo	99
Table 7.6: Occupied Commercial Farms In FCTZ Programme as At 15 May 2000.	100
Table 7.7: Some of the most overpopulated Communal Lands (CL) in Zimbabwe	101

List of Boxes

Box 1.1: The Case of Kanyati Gatshe Land-Use Project	13
Box 2.1: The Case of an Indigenous Black Farm which was occupied	30
Box 2.2: 1998 Farm Occupations: The Case of Mbalabala Ranch, Umzingwane District, and Matabeleland South Province.	32
Box 2.3: The Case of Svosve Farm Occupations	33
Box 2.4: Examples of bad social relations that led to the occupation of farms.	36
Box 2.5: Land Restitution Claims in the Bunga Area of Makonde District	38
Box 2.6: Position of War Veterans after the No Vote to the Referendum	43
Box 2.7: Wilfred Hope Farm, Bulilimamangwe District, Matabeleland South Province	53
Box 2.8: The Case of Janee Ranch, Gwanda District	54
Box 3.1: Land Conflicts in the Communal Areas: Masamha Village versus Zenda Village in the 1970s	58
Box 3.2: Politically induced boundary conflicts in Wards 4 and 5, Chiredzi.	58
Box 3.3: Chaengeni D Vs Kraalhead Chimhau (Buhera RDC)	67
Box 3.4: Mangwanya Vs Mangwanya (Buhera RDC),	68
Box 3.5: Land Rights Claims in Communal Areas	69
Box 3.6: Furidze R.K.T. Vs Kraalhead Gonah M.T. (Buhera Rural District)	70
Box 4.1: Responses to Land Occupations in State Forests	81
Box 4.2: Matthew Makanyanga versus Forestry Commission	83

List of Acronyms

AFC	:	Agricultural Finance Corporation
AGRITEX	:	Department of Agricultural, Technical and Extension Services
ARDA	:	Agricultural and Rural Development Authority
BRDC	:	Buhera Rural District Council
CAMPFIRE	:	Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources
CEO	:	Chief Executive Officer
CFU	:	Commercial Farmers' Union
CIDA	:	Canadian International Development Agency
CIO	:	Central Intelligence Organisation
CL	:	Communal Lands
DA	:	District Administrator
DAPP	:	Development Aid from People to People
DDF	:	District Development Fund
DERUDE	:	Department of Rural Development
DFID	:	Department for International Development
DNPWL	:	Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management
ESAP	:	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
FAO	:	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FCTZ	:	Farm Community Trust of Zimbabwe
GTZ	:	German Agency for Technical Co-operation
HC	:	High Court
IFAD	:	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IMF	:	International Monetary Fund
LSCF	:	Large Scale Commercial Farms
MDC	:	Movement for Democratic Change
MP	:	Member of Parliament
NGO	:	Non-Governmental Organisation
NP	:	National Parks
PRA	:	Participatory Rural Appraisal
SADC	:	Southern Africa Development Community
SC	:	Supreme Court
SLA	:	Sabi Limpopo Authority
SSCF	:	Small-Scale Commercial Farms
TILCOR	:	Tribal Trust Land Development Corporation
TTL	:	Tribal Trust Land
RDC	:	Rural District Council

RDDC	:	Rural District Development Committee
UK	:	United Kingdom
UNDP	:	United Nations Development Programme
USA	:	United States of America
USAID	:	United States Agency for International Development
VIDCO	:	Village Development Committee
WADCO	:	Ward Development Committee
WB	:	World Bank
ZANU-PF	:	Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front
ZLR	:	Zimbabwe Law Report
ZNA	:	Zimbabwe National Army
ZRP	:	Zimbabwe Republic Police

Acknowledgements

Land reform in Zimbabwe has become a controversial issue at the local, national, regional and international level. ZERO-Regional Environment Organisation contributes to the generation and dissemination of facts, ideas and opinions by conducting research and providing public fora for the debate of hot topical issues, such as land reform. This study was carried out in that light.

The study could not have been successfully executed without the dedicated support of work-mates and a wide range of professionals. Professor Sam Moyo made tremendous inputs into the study, from proposal development right through to the final product. Further, he must be thanked for supervising the study and the technical and editorial services rendered. This study also benefited from various SAPES workshops on land, in particular the Land Policy Training Seminar of 2000. Professor Moyo's work on land and his immense experience played a pivotal role in shaping various components of this study. Dr Yemi Katerere and Mr Enock Moyo provided invaluable guidance to the research project. I would also like to pay tribute to Ms Dorothy Manuel, ZERO Acting Director, for her encouragement and inspiration throughout the project.

Professionals like Kudzai Chatiza, N.T. Kuipa, Tiisetso Dube, Dr Solomon Mombeshora and Wellington Muriritirwa provided background papers to Chapters Three and Four of this study. Their input was critical in shaping the outcome of the study and they must be thanked for their efforts. The Forestry Commission and the Agricultural and Rural Development Authority (ARDA) must be thanked for their immense contribution to Chapter Five of this study.

Among friends and colleagues to whom I am indebted for help and advice, I would like to mention Rudo Nyamazana, Desire Matirekwe, Fannie Mutepfa, Joseph Mutsigwa, Constance Masawi and Shepherd Zvigadza. They gave invaluable support. Special thanks also go to Dr Vupenyu Dzingirai for his professional assistance.

Last but not least, I would like to record my appreciation to Mr Bornwell Chakaodza for his technical and editorial services, which greatly improved the quality of this research report. Thanks also go to Simon Ngena for his thorough proof reading. There are many other colleagues that facilitated data collection in the field. Very few people understand that a conflict situation also provides a learning process. Many thanks go to all those who realised this and contributed to the success of the study.

Whilst there are many people who contributed to this study, the views expressed in this report strictly remain the author's.

The Ford Foundation provided financial support for this project.



Executive Summary

Conflicts over land and other natural resources are normally low key but if ignored or forgotten they go on smouldering until they explode into open conflict, and even war.

When people hear of land conflicts in Zimbabwe, they normally think of the colonial injustices that divided the country into fertile large-scale commercial farms for whites and semi-arid and infertile communal areas for blacks. More immediately, they think of the occupation of large-scale commercial farms by war veterans and villagers in the year 2000.

In its analysis of Zimbabwe's conflicts over land and other natural resources, this study makes the 2000 farm occupations the centrepiece of the research. That is because of the extent, intensity, visibility and national and international repercussions of the occupations. What distinguishes this study, however, is that it demonstrates that, despite the much-publicised land occupations of the year 2000, the large-scale commercial farming sector is not the only locus of land conflicts in Zimbabwe. There are many other conflicts over land and other natural resources that are taking place in Zimbabwe, with varying degrees of intensity. The other loci of conflict, which the study brings to the fore, are state lands, communal and resettlement areas. The main themes addressed by the study are land occupations/illegal settlements, boundaries, land allocation and grazing disputes and the displacement of people by development projects.

The study argues that war veterans were mere catalysts in the 2000 farm occupations. The root cause of Zimbabwe's land conflicts, including the 2000 farm occupations, was the frustration felt by communities over the non-restitution of their historical rights to land. The lack of decentralisation of Zimbabwe's land reforms was also observed to be leading to the development of land-based conflicts. The study also argues that there is no national agreement, particularly amongst different communities, on issues relating to beneficiary selection and land redistribution.

This study, therefore, provides invaluable analysis, findings and recommendations to all those involved in trying to resolve Zimbabwe's land problems: Government policymakers, large-scale commercial farmers, Members of Parliament, representatives of Western governments and international donors, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), researchers and the general public.





The research report makes the point that the imbalances that Zimbabwe is experiencing today in land redistribution are a legacy of the colonial past that must be redressed for the benefit of present and future generations. A fair distribution of the country's resources is a prerequisite for peaceful co-existence and the stable development of Zimbabwe. The study also laments the absence of appropriate conflict resolution mechanisms at the district level and below.

Chapter Outline

Chapter One provides an historical background of the land problem in Zimbabwe as well as land occupations in South America and elsewhere.

Chapter Two presents the study's main findings on land occupations in Zimbabwe. It focuses on the 1998 and 2000 land occupations giving detailed examples. Chapter Three analyses conflicts over land and other natural resources that occur in the communal and resettlement areas. It also provides specific examples and attempts to link the situation in communal areas to conflicts in state lands.

Chapter Four looks at conflicts that obtain in state lands particularly state forests, national parks and state farms administered by the Agricultural and Rural Development Authority (ARDA). The chapter analyses the different claims made by communities on state lands and how this is leading to the development of antagonism/conflict.

Chapter Five provides the main challenges presented by the conflict situations that obtain in the country. It re-visits the hypotheses the study sought to test and the research questions it set out to answer. This short chapter also asks relevant questions directed at both researchers and policymakers.



INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 An Overview of Zimbabwe's Land Problems

Conflicts over land and other natural resources in Zimbabwe are both a pre- and post-independence phenomenon. They were evident in the country between individuals and among communities even before the arrival of British settlers in 1890. The colonial era, however, introduced new dimensions that exacerbated the conflicts. Conquest and a battery of oppressive legislation effected a racially discriminatory settlement pattern. The cornerstone of land discrimination was the Land Apportionment Act of 1931.¹

Moyo (1995, 2000) and Tshuma (1997) have dwelt at length on how Zimbabwe's Lancaster House Constitution compromised the country's land reform programme. Over the past two decades in the post-independence era, the willing seller-willing buyer approach has proved to be the main obstacle to land acquisition. Despite pledges by the UK and USA that they would help finance a multinational fund to assist in agricultural and economic development, the major bottleneck was, as Nkomo (1984:196) put it, that "Neither the Americans nor the British would tell us how much they would put up....". Consequently, land acquisition has been hampered by the shortage of financial resources (ODA Report 1996, Moyo 1995, 1998, 2000). Yet at the same time land prices have risen to astronomical levels.²

Since the expiry of the Lancaster House Constitution, the Government of Zimbabwe has made numerous constitutional amendments and introduced the Land Acquisition Act of 1992 and its subsequent amendments in an effort to speed up land acquisition (see Moyo 2000). However, land acquisition faced difficulties even during the first 10 years of independence when the UK government was co-sponsoring the purchase of land for resettlement. For example, Moyo (2000) reported that the Zimbabwe Government later failed to match the British financial inputs while the British made allegations that some of the farms purchased were not voluntarily sold due to land occupations in the early 1980s. The British government also maintained that some farms bought using its money were used for state farming and did not benefit the landless. On the other hand, the Zimbabwe Government was not happy with the quality of land that was made available

¹ The Act legalised the allocation of 198 539 square kilometres to 50 000 whites and 117 602 square kilometres to 1 080 000 Africans. The remaining 74 859 square kilometres was set aside for national parks, forestry and other forms of state land ownership.

² For instance, evidence has shown that in 1980 farm prices generally ranged between \$20 000 and \$165 000 but by the year 2000, farm prices ranged from \$1,5 million to \$6 million.

for sale. Differences over these and other policy issues resulted in some three million pounds of the initial project agreement not being spent (Moyo 2000:13). Thus Zimbabwe's land reforms under-performed in terms of both policy targets and social expectations. The willing seller-willing buyer system of acquiring land proved grossly inadequate in meeting the demands of Zimbabwe's land reform programme.

Thus for the past 20 years of independence, Zimbabwe has been acquiring land for redistribution through the market. A combination of lack of financial resources, particularly for compensating the large-scale commercial farmers, and court proceedings by farmers contesting acquisition of their farms, have been largely held responsible for the slow pace of land reform.

Following the rejection of the Draft Constitution in February 2000, the Government amended Section 16 of Zimbabwe's constitution so that it recognises the colonial dispossession of Zimbabweans of their land. Section 16A enables them to re-assert their rights and regain ownership of their land, through compulsory acquisition of agricultural land for resettlement of people in accordance with a programme of land reform. It places the obligation to pay compensation for agricultural land compulsorily acquired for resettlement on the former colonial power, failure of which, the Government of Zimbabwe has no obligation to pay compensation.

This study argues that policy constraints, lack of democratisation and decentralisation have been fundamental causes of clashes over land and other natural resources in this country. With the help of specific case studies on antagonism over land, the study unravels the social, economic, political and environmental processes that are at the centre of the development of conflicts in the country. Central to this study were the questions of access to land and other natural resources, legitimacy of boundaries and their role in the evolution and resolution of conflicts, and an analysis of historically based land claims.

1.2 Conceptual Overview

1.2.1 Definition of Concepts

The main concepts used in this study are land occupations, illegal settlements, or self-provisioning methods of land acquisition in Moyo's terminology. These terms are often used by researchers to refer to land-based conflicts where communities take it upon themselves to allocate land. For the purposes of this study, these terms are used interchangeably. Moyo (2001) has illustrated how different interest groups have described land occupations/illegal settlements. Concepts such as "land grabbing" and "land invasion"

have also been used to describe the current wave of land occupations. Conflicts are a feature of all societies and societal conflicts have been a subject of research in the social science arena for a long time (Widstrand 1980). Conflict is a form of social interaction, a struggle over claims to scarce resources, in terms of power and status, in which the aims of the opponents might be to neutralise, injure or eliminate rivals (Coser 1956, Widstrand 1980).

Another term used in this study is restitution. According to the Oxford Dictionary, restitution means, “restoring of a thing to its proper owner.” The Random House College Thesaurus gives the following as synonyms of the word restitution: redress, atonement, paying back, reinstatement, compensation. In this study the term is used narrowly to refer to situations where communities are persistently making historically and culturally based land claims on selected parcels of land. The possible options for redress of the situation remain an area that requires dialogue and consultation with the relevant stakeholders.

1.2.2 Conflict Concepts

According to conventional wisdom two major reasons explain the occurrence of conflicts in society: scarcity of resources induced by increasing human population numbers and ethnicity. Hildrad (1999:3) chooses to call this the “blood” (ethnicity) and “babies” (population) explanation. People have for a long time used “blood” and “babies” to explain far-off conflicts in which they themselves are not involved. But “...scratch below the surface of the violence that is increasingly explained by labels such as population wars or inter-tribal conflict and the shallowness and deceptiveness of the ‘blood and babies’ line is soon revealed” (Appadurai 1996 as quoted in Hildrad 1999:3). In analysing conflicts, it is, therefore, important not to rely on simplistic explanations such as population and ethnicity. For instance, Hildrad (1993) has elaborated on how small groups in society often manipulate other people using the false “blood”-based explanations to further their own interests, creating conflicts that in the long run become extremely difficult to handle.

Scholars have identified three forms of scarcity, which can induce conflicts in society. These are supply-induced, demand-induced and structural-based scarcity. The limited supply of a resource can lead to the development of conflicts. This happens when renewable resources are not given sufficient time to recuperate and excess demand is created, or when population growth leads to increased demand over a resource. Structural-based scarcity leads to skewed distribution of resources, resulting from the failure of existing policies, institutions and programmes to distribute resources in a more equitable and socially acceptable manner. Zimbabwe’s land problems can be viewed in this context.

In analysing the development of peasant organisations in relation to the incidence of conflicts in society, Moyo (2001:6) presents a conceptual framework that focuses on their "social basis and origins, their class and material identity, their organisational dynamics and democratic content, ...and the linkages of the peasant organisations to wider society, particularly the state, NGOs and other political actors." This study uses components of this conceptual framework to analyse conflicts over land and other natural resources in Zimbabwe, particularly the farm occupations.

1.2.3 History of Land Occupations

Land occupations have happened with different degrees of intensity in various parts of the globe. Several writers, including Barraclough (1991), Huizer (1967), Wolf (1969), Hardsberger (1969) have illustrated that peasant movements meant to defend, conserve or recover their ancestral land and livelihood have proliferated during the past century. The major threat to this proliferation has been the firm entrenchment of commercial land interests (Huizer, 1991). Research has also shown the strong linkages between social mobilisation and peasant-initiated land reforms. Sharin (1971) makes reference to three types of peasant mobilisation, namely, independent class action, guided political action and fully spontaneous amorphous political action (as quoted in Huizer 1999:5). The land occupations that took place in Zimbabwe in 1998 and 2000 were analysed within Sharin's theoretical framework. This entailed examining the dynamics of land occupations by unravelling the different forces at play, the motivation, mobilisation and organisation of communities. Were the land occupations the result of independent class action by peasants? Were the occupations spontaneous or were they the result of politically guided action?

Peasant mobilisation has taken place, with various degrees of intensity, in many parts of the world such as Mexico, Russia, China, Japan, the Philippines, Bolivia, Cuba, Brazil and Indonesia. Huizer (1999: 5) observed, "... a certain level of frustration incites peasants to risk building or joining a peasant organisation. Peasants who wanted to solve a specific problem or deal with a concrete grievance engineered the first steps towards peasant organisation. A real impulse was often achieved ...when those who were in a position to solve the problem ... were not willing to do so. This forced the peasants to become more aware of their frustration ... The availability of charismatic or solidarity inspiring leadership among the peasants was highly important in getting an organisation to the point where it could confront the elite ..."

At the global level, international organisations that include various donors, the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) have played a significant role in

shaping land reform processes in several countries. Major bilateral donors such as DFID, GTZ and USAID, as well as other international institutions such as FAO, UNDP and IFAD have increasingly paid greater attention to land related activities. The WB has been at the centre of activities aimed at promoting market-based land reforms in Brazil, Colombia, the Philippines and many others. It has supported land activities in the areas of, among other things, legal reform, policy dialogue, land administration and providing agricultural inputs (in the form of loans). In Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, the World Bank has implemented structural adjustment programmes, supported legal drafting and the development of decentralised mechanisms for farm privatisation. In its efforts to promote “enforceable” land rights, the Bank has supported the development of basic land administration infrastructure, examples being the land titling projects in Thailand and Nicaragua. In Brazil and Colombia, market-based land acquisition has received massive financial support from external sources even in cases where such acquisitions were a reaction to land occupations that had already taken place (Moyo 2000). While in Zimbabwe the World Bank has placed emphasis on market-based land reforms, this has not been accompanied by commensurate resource mobilisation to finance land acquisition. For example, Moyo (2000) has shown that Zimbabwe’s Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) failed to integrate land reform in its design and hence no resources were allocated for land acquisition. Even countries like Mozambique, which nationalised land ownership at independence, have since been forced to adapt to the new-socio economic order that allows the free movement of international capital.

In countries such as Colombia, land redistribution began as early as 1936. Despite this seemingly long period, a high land concentration pattern still characterises the agrarian structure of that country. Violence is a major characteristic of the land reforms in Colombia and issues pertaining to land access and territory are some of the root causes of conflicts in the rural sector. Some of the groups fighting for the different interests of large landowners include the narcotraffic, guerrilla groups, the army and the paramilitary forces. The segmentation of land markets between small and large farmers remains one of the greatest hurdles to be overcome by the market-driven process.

The main strategy used by the Brazilian government to distribute land to the rural landless has been based on the expropriation of land occupied by rural workers or the buying of land by the federal or state governments in prioritised regions. Expropriation is by law a federal government function. Because of serious land shortages, the implementation of land settlements is a response to land occupations that take place. Powerful rural workers organisations like the Movimento sin Terra and CONTAG are at the centre of these occupations and they define the land reform dynamics in the country. IFAD (1997:20)

noted, "Land occupations are the main strategy used by members of the Movimento to obtain the land. These occupations have been increasing ... and some of them had violent confrontations with the police." The World Bank, through the Land Reform Pilot Project, is implementing a market-based land reform process in Brazil, with beneficiaries obtaining financing for the purchase of suitable land negotiated directly between rural communities and the willing sellers.

Whilst some countries have gone for market-based land reforms, several others have opted for radical land reforms through the nationalisation of land ownership. Typical examples on the African continent include Tanzania, Mozambique and Angola. Tanzania provides a classic example of state-driven land reforms based on socialist principles in an African context. After independence, the government abolished freehold titles and passed legislation against absentee landlordism. After the Arusha Declaration of 1967 and the policy of Ujamaa, rural development policies in Tanzania were predominantly divided into large-scale agriculture and ranching under parastatals and small-scale agriculture under villagisation. The production of cash crops for export intensified (Shivji 1998) and the role of the state in production, management and supervision became direct. The role of the state was further entrenched through legislation and administrative policy while more land belonging to customary holders in the villages was alienated to parastatals. This, however, proved to be a breeding ground for conflicts between the state and villagers, especially pastoralists.

An important rural development model, which was implemented by the Tanzania government, is the villagisation exercise, which was centred on communal production. Due to the slow development of Ujamaa villages based on voluntarism and persuasion, villagisation was made compulsory in 1973 and the target was to move all the rural populace into these settlements by 1976. The tenure arrangements in the Ujamaa villages remained unclear while the relocation of villages resulted in boundary problems that still persist to date.

The poor performance of most economies under the World Bank-initiated ESAPs has meant that in most countries, including Zimbabwe, industry has failed to absorb the surplus labour. If anything, industry, by relocating and scaling down operations, has off-loaded a huge chunk of the labour force back onto the land and thus creating a potentially conflict-brewing situation.

In post-independence Zimbabwe, the mushrooming of illegal settlements has been one of the most visible forms of land-based conflicts and this problem has received conflicting

responses from the Government. Various studies have shown that soon after independence the peasantry resorted to occupying abandoned land or land that was occupied and utilised by landowners. As Tshuma (1997:62) noted: "Given that the liberation of land from the agrarian bourgeoisie had been the main grievance which mobilised peasant support for the struggle for independence, peasant occupation of abandoned land which had been purchased by the state was initially tolerated". Generally, tolerance of squatters by Government did not cover situations where squatting threatened to disrupt commercial farming.

Illegal settlements/land occupations have been at the centre of Zimbabwe's land crisis since the attainment of independence in 1980 when around 200 farms were occupied. The figure, however, increased to a peak of about 800 farms during the mid-1980s. During this time, the Government responded to the crisis by adopting the accelerated land resettlement model. As Tshuma (1997) observed: "In response to peasant occupation of vacant land in the early 1980s, the Government modified the Model A scheme and introduced an accelerated version". The main difference between the original Model A scheme and the accelerated one was that under the latter, settler emplacement was done before the provision of infrastructure and services. Thus, the concept being propounded under the fast track resettlement programme cannot be viewed as new in Zimbabwe. What could be different is the method in which fast-tracked land is being acquired. In analysing land occupations in Zimbabwe, Moyo (2001) uses an analytical model that classifies land occupations into **low profile high-intensity** occupations covering the 1980-1985 period, **normal low-intensity occupation** (1985 to 1990) and the **high profile intensive** occupations (1997 onwards). This study focuses on the 1998 and 2000 land occupations, which fall under Moyo's high-profile intensive occupations.

Rural communities in Zimbabwe have played an active role in various forms of struggles and resistance in both pre- and post-independence periods. Moyo (2001) alluded to the role of peasant organisations as a force to reckon with in the emerging democratisation and policy reform debates in southern Africa. Further, research has shown that such forms of resistance have pitted rural communities against their governments and have largely centred on community livelihoods *vis-à-vis* their access to land and other natural resources. Several studies by Moyo (e.g. Moyo *et al* 2000, Moyo 1995) have shown that land occupations have always existed in various forms in the communal areas. For example, illegal settlement in grazing areas is one of the long-standing problems in both communal and resettlement areas. However, "no noise" has been made by different interest groups over the years whilst the current land occupations in privately owned land have generated wide publicity in Zimbabwe and abroad. The public outcry over occupation of private

land raises two important questions, i.e. “who is the commercial farmer” in Zimbabwe and whose interests are at stake under the current wave of land occupations?

Recent work by scholars such as Moyo (2001) has even challenged the traditional views held by other scholars such as Scott who have argued that: “In the Third World, it is rare for peasants to risk an outright confrontation with the authorities over taxes, cropping patterns, development policies or onerous new laws; instead they are likely to nibble away at such policies by non-compliance, foot dragging and deception. In place of a land invasion, they prefer piecemeal squatting, in place of open mutiny, they prefer desertion and in place of attacks on public or private grain stores, they prefer pilfering. When such strategies are abandoned in favour of more quixotic action, it is usually a sign of great desperation” (Scott 1985: XVI, as quoted in Ghimire 1999:1). Thus, whilst this quotation remains valid in certain respects, events in Zimbabwe over the past two decades show a marked departure from some of the traditional characteristics of rural communities as highlighted.

1.2.4 Context of Natural Resource Conflicts in Zimbabwe

It has already been mentioned that Zimbabwe’s land-based conflicts are rooted in the country’s colonial history. Discourse on land conflicts in Zimbabwe has centred on land acquisition and land redistribution (Moyo 1995, Moyo 1998, Moyo 2000). Moyo (2000) elaborates on land-use changes as a factor contributing to the development of conflicts in society. Studies on the Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) had long identified conflicts between wildlife and human populations (Hawkes 1991, Murombedzi 1992, Matzke 1993). Sithole and Bradley (1995) analysed institutional conflicts in the management of natural resources in the communal areas between the state and NGOs and amongst local indigenous institutions. The commercialisation and commoditisation of communal land resources is an emerging cause of conflicts in the communal areas (Sithole and Bradley 1995, Moyo *et al* 1998). In a case study on conflicts in the management of miombo woodlands in Romwe Catchment in Masvingo, Nyamayaro Village in Murehwa, and Mafungabusi Forest Reserve, Mamimine *et al* (2001) classified conflicts into ethnic friction, contested boundaries, institutional conflicts, intergenerational conflicts and co-management problems.

The mismatch between quantity and quality of land in the communal areas³ versus the population size the sector supports is largely responsible for both environmental problems and land conflicts in the communal areas. At the same time, population density has

³Communal lands in Zimbabwe occupy a total of 16 355 000 hectares, which is 41.86 % of the country’s total area. According to the 1992 census, the communal areas is home to just over 75% of the country’s rural population, representing about 56% of the total population in the country. Most of the land in communal areas lies in the marginal natural regions IV and V. About 74.2% of all land in the communal areas is in natural regions IV and V, whilst only 0.8% is in natural region I and 7.8% and 17.2% in natural region II and III, respectively.

continued to grow in the communal areas. For example, while the national population density in the country is below 30 people per square kilometre, population densities in some of the communal areas are in excess of over 100 people per square kilometre. A good example is Zimunya Communal Land, about 25 km south of Mutare, with over 200 people per square kilometre. Localised population densities in some of the areas are even higher. This has the effect of straining the environment in those areas and the livelihood of communal area inhabitants, which is largely agriculture and natural resource based.

Land conflicts on most state lands are linked to landlessness and overcrowding in Zimbabwe's communal lands. For example, landlessness in communal areas is estimated at between 6 and 12% in six of Zimbabwe's provinces. In the country's eight provinces, 11-28% of the households have holdings of less than 1 ha, 40-50% 2.5 hectares and 20-25% 4 hectares. Given this situation, and coupled with an expanding population, agricultural land is continuously expanding into grazing and other lands that the communities consider idle. This is the major cause of land conflicts between the communal areas and surrounding state lands.

Competing livelihood strategies have also been at the centre of some land disputes (Sithole and Bradley 1995, Mamimine *et al* 2001) over land and other natural resources. Sithole and Bradley (1995) noted an increase in the poaching of communal-area resources, such as wood, sand and non-wood products (wild fruits, mopane worms), mostly by urban dwellers. What Mamimine *et al* (2001) referred to as intergenerational conflict is mainly a livelihood-based conflict. For example, wood carvers, mostly the younger generation, were observed to be in conflict with certain conservation practices by some users of woodland resources.

1.2.4.1 Land Occupations /Illegal Settlements (Rural to Rural Migration)

Rural to rural migration has increasingly been seen as a survival strategy by some communities, especially those from overcrowded communal lands in provinces such as Masvingo and Manicaland. The resultant effect of such migration has been the occupation of land considered vacant by communities. The settlement of the Zambezi Valley and the high influx of people into Gokwe District are clear testimonies of community responses to the problem of over-population in certain localities. In both situations, the eradication of tsetse fly by Government has seen the opening up of more land, previously unsuitable for human habitation, for cultivation. Dzingirai (2000) has divided Zambezi Valley immigrants into four categories as follows:

- Retrenchees, among them ex-farm workers who were born on white commercial farms but with no homes of their own, as well as ex-mine workers.

- Political and social refugees, with the former referring to people who fled their original homes during the liberation war and the biggest number of this group live in areas bordering with Mozambique. Social refugee groups include inhabitants who were expelled from their home areas for various reasons, ranging from witchcraft to anti-social behaviour.
- Landless households, including men and women who did not have land in their original homes but saw the Zambezi Valley as a source of abundant, under-utilised land.
- Well-to-do households who owned large herds of cattle and other forms of property. This group exports agricultural products, especially cotton and tobacco.

Migration by rural communities to previously unoccupied or under populated areas has sparked various forms of conflicts. At one level, tension has been created between immigrants and the original inhabitants of the areas. This has been quite pronounced in Gokwe. For example, Hammar (1999) observed that although land seekers were welcome, the existing local leadership in Gokwe's Vumba area had raised various concerns. Ethnic differences and disrespect of local folklore have increasingly come into play, fuelling antagonisms between the Tonga people and Shona/Ndebele settlers. Basic struggles over land, livelihood and leadership in Vumba have become, in a simplistic manner, correlated with ethnic conflicts. In interviews with some of the locals, Hammar (1999:9) was told: "The new comers looked down upon the local people as though they were primitive...they took themselves as highly educated. They wanted to take prominent leadership positions in the area, such as VIDCO Chairman, and Councillor. They even wanted to take the position of Kraal head". Such perceptions explain the social origins of conflicts notwithstanding the positive factors brought by the new migrants (Hammar 1999:7).

The history of the various forms of state-land ownership shows that many indigenous communities were displaced and this forms the basis of claims by individual communities on state lands. As Matzek (1993) pointed out, even though the historical process in Zimbabwe gave central government the "power" to own and manage state lands, it did not automatically give it the "authority" to do so. Many communal people, especially those linked to strong traditional authority, do not see state tenure as superseding their own claims to the land and its resources as, according to them, the state itself never had any legitimacy "(Matzek 1993:13). This perception has been one of the root causes of conflicts between indigenous communities and the state. That is why many protected areas (e.g. Gonarezhou and Kaerezi National Parks) and other types of state rural lands have been locked in disputes with communities that claim historical association with the

lands now designated as protected areas. The demands of communities on protected areas or other state lands are quite many and varied. Matzek (1996) gives a detailed range of such demands on protected areas (Table 1.1 refers).

Table 1.1 A Range of Community Demands on State Farms & Protected Areas

CLAIMED RIGHT	LIKELY POTENTIAL CLAIMANTS
Rights of Trespass & Passage herders	Neighbouring Residents & Livestock
Rights of Access to Cultural Sites and to Perform Rituals	Spirit Mediums & Traditional Leadership
Water Rights	Neighbouring People
Gathering of Wild Fruits and Mushrooms	Women and People Facing Food Shortages
Collection of Edible Insects	Women
Broom Grass, Basketry Materials, Bark & Pottery Clays	Women
Firewood & Charcoal Stock	Neighbouring Residents
Wild Honey Gathering & Beehive Placement	Men
Medicinal Plants	Traditional Healers
Hunting Wildlife	Men
Safari & Tourist Revenues	District Councils, State Agents
Timber Concession Revenues Communities	District Councils, State Agents,
Fencing Materials	Communal Land Farmers
Ox Yoke Timber, Hoe & Axe Handles	Communal Land Farmers
Grazing	Cattle Herders
Construction Materials (Brick clays, poles, thatching grass, heavy timbers)	Local Communities
Merchandisable Timber	Concessionaires
Carvable Stones	Artists
Saleable Minerals	Unemployed, Mining Entrepreneurs
Cultivation	Former Residents, Landless
Residence	Former Residents
Land Ownership	Former Residents & Landless

Matzek (1996)

The historical non-response by policy to such demands explains the conflicting situations that obtain between some communities and the state. Most state-land was established during the colonial era, a situation, which has created the social basis for poaching in state lands and privately owned farms. Illegal resource sharing, or “poaching”, is perhaps the biggest avenue for the movement of resources across tenurial boundaries. It involves a wide range of resource uses that, on occasion, result in the arrest of communal people taking unlicensed advantage of the protected areas’ boundaries. In the case of the Mafungautsi Forest, for example, the arrest records in the Gokwe Forestry Commission office showed that violators of hunting regulations were frequently brought to book. However, there is also a lot of illegal broom grass harvesting and tree cutting which has resulted in the arrest of suspects. Even the casual observer can see evidence of regular export of building materials, especially poles, by scotch-cart.

1.2.4.2 Development Projects and the Displacement of People

Development projects continue to claim their share as a major cause of the displacement of communal people (See Box 1.1). Activities such as dam construction and urban development, in particular the development of growth points, have been blamed for displacing quite a significant number of people (Marongwe 1995). Extensive literature is available on the displacement of the Tonga people during the construction of the Kariba Dam. Tremel (1994), Colsun (1971) and Weinrich (1977) described in detail the various acts of resistance to the forced removals. On the Zambian side, the resistance of displaced communities was militant and marked by riots that culminated in the killing of eight people and wounding of 32 others. Another dimension to natural resource based conflicts is the existence of landmines, a legacy of Zimbabwe’s liberation war (Rupiya 1995).

Box 1.1: The Case of Kanyati Gatshe Land-Use Project

The development programme for the Communal Areas in Kariba District was started in 1988 with the implementation of the Kanyati Gatshe Land-Use Project. The rationale of the programme was the orderly planning and implementation of a sustainable land-use plan in an area where uncontrolled spontaneous settlements and the introduction of livestock constituted a threat to the fragile environment of the Zambezi Valley. After the area had been cleared of the tsetse fly, it became habitable for human populations. The project faced stiff resistance from its intended beneficiaries for the following reasons:

1. Relocation of some households to make way for the smooth implementation of the land-use plan. Some households, which were located in the areas that had been zoned for grazing, were the target of relocation. Affected households raised queries relating to the loss of homes. They also raised social and cultural issues with the opening up of new fields and the cultural norm of staying close to cemeteries where kin were buried. Some households fought their eviction orders in court.
2. Size of land allocated: the project was characterised by extreme rigidities in the size of the land allocated to each household. The 12 acres allocated to each household exceeded the managerial, labour and capital endowment of many families. This resulted in illegal land leasing and poaching of resources.
3. Loss of riverine cultivation. There was stiff opposition to the anticipated loss of riverine fields as environmental laws prohibited cultivation within 30 m of a river.

The project also led to the development of conflicts based on the land-use options between wildlife and tourism activities and the increase in small-scale agriculture settlement associated with human settlement.

Source: Summarised from Government Project Documents

1.2.4.3 Boundaries and Conflict Development

Boundaries are a critical element in debates on natural resource management and conflict resolution. Nkiwane (1997) describes international boundaries as the most visible symbol of state sovereignty and territorial integrity. However, at the international level, borders between nations have been responsible for the eruption of wars and conflicts. Within national boundaries, there are also sub-boundaries that demarcate national states into districts and provinces, as is the case in Zimbabwe. Still, within districts there are further boundaries separating villages and family households. Local land boundaries have tended to create conflicts between individual households, communities and institutions. In Tanzania, for example, the relocation of villages under the Ujamaa rural development



programme inevitably led to the redrawing of village boundaries. “This left boundary problems between and among villages which remain unresolved to this day” (Shivji, 1998: 15). Moyo *et al* (1998) also noted that the major conflicts occurring in communal and resettlement areas were related to boundary problems. In a survey of 441 households, 45,3% reported that they had not experienced any conflicts relating to land while 36.1% indicated that they had boundary problems.

What is evident from this section is that land-based conflicts in Zimbabwe are many and quite diversified. At the same time, there are many researchers who have tried to examine the various dimensions of such conflicts. Despite this, most research on conflicts over land and other natural resources is not backed by detailed case studies to support the different sub-themes that emerge from such studies. This study was conceptualised and implemented with a view to “fill in” that gap. In this vein, this study goes a step further in presenting the case on the incidence of land conflicts by developing detailed examples on land-based conflicts. In large-scale commercial farms, the study zeroes in on land occupations, which are currently the most evident form of conflict in those areas. Despite the high prevalence of conflicts in Zimbabwe, research into the nature and extent of these conflicts has been quite limited. In addition, many scholars believe there has been no conscious and deliberate attempt to develop African solutions to an African problem (Chilundo, 1998). The tendency has been to borrow and adopt Western ideas, with the hope of applying them to African problems. Zimbabwe is no exception. Further to that, despite the availability of individual expertise in the country, there is no centre of specialisation in critical areas such as land policy development, peace and conflict resolution. This study is one step towards correcting this anomaly. The case studies presented by this report provide an in-depth analysis of the issues at stake which in turn is the foundation for the development of appropriate conflict resolution mechanisms.

1.3 Research Approach

The aim of the study is to explore the nature and extent of land conflicts in Zimbabwe so as to understand the processes that have contributed to the escalation of land conflicts. The specific objectives of the study are to:

1. Analyse the dynamics of land conflicts in the main land tenure categories of Zimbabwe. The socio-economic and political processes that lead to the development of conflicts are analysed together with the existing relationships between large-scale commercial farms, communal and resettlement areas, and various forms of state-lands.



- 
- 
2. Analyse the nature and extent of the farm occupations of the year 2000. Of particular importance to the study was an in-depth analysis of peasant mobilisation, the role of war veterans in the process, the scale of the farm occupations as well as the reasons for occupying specific farms.
 3. Propose appropriate conflict resolution mechanisms based on the assessment made by the study.

The study sought to find answers to the following research questions:

- What are the main typologies of land conflicts in Zimbabwe and what are their main causes?
- What has been the major response to land conflicts by policy and legislation and how can these be correctly adjusted to appropriately deal with land conflicts?
- Are farm occupations a resettlement model in the making? What are the forces behind farm occupations and related processes?
- What are the broad implications of farm occupations on the security of tenure debates? How should security of tenure be defined and what socio-economic factors need to be considered in coming up with such a definition?
- What are the main conflict resolution mechanisms at the local level and what is the role of communities in conflict management and resolution? What capacity is required in Zimbabwe to adequately address the problem of increasing land conflicts?

This study argues that the root cause of land conflicts in Zimbabwe has been the shackles put on the Government land policy to recognise historical land claims made by various communities. These land claims were the rallying point for communities involved in land occupations. Although war veterans led the farm occupations of the year 2000, they were mere catalysts to the process. They presented the opportunity for frustrated communities to realise their long-standing land claims. Communities had been making land claims, albeit in a rather quiet way, outside the main policy and legal framework, on both state and freehold lands.

In the communal and resettlement areas, this study argues that the lack of clearly marked boundaries and exclusion of locals from enjoying the benefits of development projects are largely responsible for the escalation of land-based conflicts.



Another interesting argument furthered by this study is that there is an internal, ethnic and locally based form of social tension that cuts across the main tribal boundaries of the Shonas and Ndebeles that is developing in Zimbabwe. This is based mainly on the “false understanding” in communities that farms acquired for resettlement should be allocated to communities closest to such land. The communities nearest the land being acquired perceive land reform-based movements across borders, i.e. provinces, districts and regions, as unwarranted. Thus the lack of debate and indeed agreement on national priorities and vision on the land reform programme is another prime cause of the growing cases of dissension over land in Zimbabwe. In this respect, policymakers and communities hold divergent views on what a national programme is and the implications that come with such a definement. Lack of clarity and agreement on key policy issues, such as who should benefit and through what window of the land reform programme, will create an obvious case of discontent in society.

The conditions for the development of land-based conflicts have also been nurtured by the fact that decentralisation and the land reform programme have not been presented as allied processes that are essential for promoting rural development in Zimbabwe. As such, major decisions pertaining to the land reform programme continue to be made outside the realm of local level institutions. Even Parliament had little or no role in shaping the land reform programme due to inherited constraints of the Lancaster House Agreement. The role of Rural District Councils still remains undefined. In this vein, it can be argued that the lack of decentralisation in the implementation of the land reform programme is another source of grievance for communities and their local level institutions.

It has already been shown that land-based conflicts in Zimbabwe occur in different forms and no single research can pay sufficient attention to all the issues at once. In this light, this study chooses to examine land occupations as the main form of conflict in the large-scale commercial farms. In the communal and resettlement areas, the study focuses on boundary related problems, illegal settlements and the role of local power struggles in the development of land-based conflicts.

Both primary and secondary sources were used to gather data for this study. Interviews were conducted with members of local communities, Government officials, development agencies and other stakeholders. Key local informants, such as chiefs and village heads,

were targeted for interviews, as were large-scale commercial farmers and their representative organisations.

Case studies on communal land conflicts were based on one district, namely Buhera Rural District in Manicaland Province. The district does not have any large-scale commercial farms and hence land pressure is quite acute. Buhera was therefore selected to represent all other districts in terms of types of land-based conflicts that obtain in Zimbabwe. Examples were, however, picked from other districts such as Chiredzi in Masvingo Province and Gwanda in Matabeleland South Province to broaden the diversity of issues captured by the study.

The study collected data and developed detailed examples and case studies covering a wide range of themes, notably boundary-related conflicts in the communal areas; land occupations, with a focus on the 2000 farm occupations; conflicts over access to natural resources that pit communal residents against those from other land tenure categories; politically induced natural resource-based conflicts; the development of illegal settlements in resettlement areas and other state lands; land claims by selected groups of communities; and the displacement of communities by development projects. (Table 1.2)

Focused group discussions with selected communities were used to study farm occupations and land restitution claims. Farm occupiers and their war veterans leaders were the main group that participated in the focused group discussions on farm occupations. Entry into the occupied farms had to be negotiated with the war veterans' leaders at the district and local levels. Case studies on farm occupations were mainly developed using the focused group discussions and direct observation as the main data collection technique.

To complement the focused group discussions, research assistants were hired at the local level to help with the data collection. Both the research assistants and the head researcher conducted fieldwork on occupied farms. The politically sensitive nature of land conflicts meant that primary data collection, particularly for the farm occupations, remained very random and no sampling was done. Ability to access an area largely dictated the choice of farms for field data collection. The idea was also to develop case studies that were of a national relevance and, as such, most provinces were captured in the data collection process using the various themes developed by the study.

Table 1.2: Case Studies

Case Study categories	Issue Addressed	Data Collection method
1.	Boundary related conflicts in communal lands	Secondary data from Rural District Councils PRAs with communities and interviews
2.	Land occupations (1998 2000 occupations)	Direct observation during field visits to occupied farms Interviews and focused group discussions Secondary data from relevant institutions
3.	Conflicts over access to natural resources	Secondary data from relevant institutions, especially the courts
4.	Politically induced natural resource based conflicts	PRAs with selected communities Interviews
5.	Land claims by indigenous communities	Focused group discussions, interviews
6.	Illegal settlements in state lands and resettlement areas	Secondary literature, including court records
7.	Development and its impact on the displacement of communities	Secondary data from relevant institutions

Source: *Author*

Secondary data from Government files, newspapers and other media reports, court documents, project documents by private, Government and NGOs were used to apprise the study on a number of themes on land conflicts in Zimbabwe and other countries. International literature was used to develop the main framework of the theoretical underpinnings of conflicts over land and other natural resources. Thus, a broad literature review process was done to contextualise the study within the theories of natural resource conflicts and their resolution.

In analysing land occupations, the study borrows extensively from the conceptual framework developed by Moyo but goes further to ask the following questions as a guide to the analysis:

- What were the dynamics of the land occupations?
- What type of land was occupied?
- What were the major reasons for occupying specific farms?
- How were the people mobilised to participate in the process?
- How did the occupiers access food and other social services?
- Who were the occupiers?

Data analysis and the development of case studies in communal areas and selection for inclusion in the report was guided by:

- Clarity of contested issues. Cases showing a diversity of issues that offer a number of lessons and resolution challenges were generally preferred.
- Clarity in terms of the parties to the dispute.
- Progression over time, i.e. persistence.
- Availability of relevant literature, for information on steps taken by either party to the dispute and officials towards resolving the conflict. Literature was central to checking the validity of claims and counterclaims, as well as the planning of inquiry methods.
- Perceived openness of parties to the dispute. This was an impression created from discussing with council or other officials, especially where cases were identified through official channels.

The cases that have been left out informed the report in a significant way in terms of shaping the issues and concluding remarks.

This study encountered many constraints. The major ones included the undocumented nature of most land conflicts, restricted access to grey literature - especially from the courts and an unfriendly political environment.

The undocumented nature of most land conflicts presented a problem; hence there remains a massive lack of material on land conflicts. There is no proper recording, processing or packaging of information that relates to land conflicts at the local level. Most of the information, particularly in the communal and resettlement areas, lies uncollated and is in the “hands of villagers”. Even the data pertaining to how dissension

was resolved is poorly captured, if at all. The scenario therefore is one in which vital data is progressively lost with the passage of time. Even tracking specific case studies becomes difficult in such situations. Although pre-colonial land conflicts were not properly documented, information on this could, however, be gleaned from various instances. This study established that the older-generation leaders in society seemed to be reliable sources.

Although court records were an important source of information for the study, access to these documents proved very difficult. However, primarily reviewing court records developed a number of case studies. The provincial magistrates' courts hold most cases relating to conflicts over natural resources, and most are not published, unlike High Court and Supreme Court cases that are published and are available to the public. The then prevailing political environment was not conducive to the study of land occupations. The polarisation of the country along political lines brought about by the farm occupations made the task of any researcher working on land issues unenviable. In particular, field surveys of occupied farms met many obstacles. Gaining entry into the occupied large-scale commercial farms was also challenging.

Despite the hindrances elaborated above, the study managed to adhere to its objectives. However, it is acknowledged that the research could have been more comprehensive without the imposed restrictions.

1.4 Study Area

The focus of this study was the development of case studies on land-based conflicts based on national representation in terms of geographical coverage and themes covered. Table 1.3 summarises the location of the study area as dictated by these parameters.

Table 1.3: Study Area

Theme covered	Land-use/Land Tenure category	Province Covered	Districts covered
Land Occupations/Illegal Settlements	LSCF Communal Areas Resettlement Areas	Manicaland, Masvingo, Mashonaland East, Mashonaland West, Matabeleland South Midlands	Nyanga, Mutasa, Makoni, Chiredzi, Makonde, Marondera, Gwanda, Gokwe
Boundaries and Conflicts	Resettlement Areas Communal Areas	Matabeleland South Mashonaland Central Mashonaland West Manicaland Midlands	Gwanda, Beitbridge, Mt Darwin, Muzarabani, Kadoma Buhera Mberengwa
Land Allocation Disputes	Communal Areas	Manicaland	Buhera
Grazing Disputes	Resettlement Area Communal Areas	Matabeleland South Mashonaland Central	Gwanda, Beitbridge Shamva
Development Projects and the displacement of people	Resettlement Areas Communal Area LSCF (state farms)	Mashonaland West Matabeleland South Manicaland	Kariba Gwanda Buhera
Ethnic-based clashes	Communal areas	Masvingo	Chiredzi

Source: Author

LAND CONFLICTS IN LARGE SCALE COMMERCIAL FARMS:

Focus on the 1998 and 2000 Farm Occupations

2.0 Introduction

Land conflicts in the Large-Scale Commercial Farms (LSCF) have many dimensions. These include illegal settlements mainly by ex-farm workers who have no home in communal areas, poaching of resources by villagers, illegal grazing of communal cattle, etc. At present, the major forms of conflict affecting the LSCF sector are the land occupations. As such, this chapter focuses on land occupations as the main form of conflict currently obtaining in the LSCF. Land occupations in Zimbabwe have thrown into disarray the concept of security of tenure. They have, in addition, led to the development of even more confrontational situations at the local, regional and global levels. It is in the light of this that this chapter makes an attempt to unravel the dynamics of land occupations in Zimbabwe.

This chapter examines the 1998 and 2000 farm occupations in Zimbabwe. Land occupations before this period have been analysed in many other studies (see Moyo 1995, 1998, 2000). The 2000 farm occupations were, however, significantly different, in terms of character and the kind of state support they received. Further, the “immediate causes” of the 2000 farm occupations differ materially from previous ones. This chapter attempts to delve more into the issues that relate to the latest wave of farm occupations in this country. It builds on some of the issues raised by Sam Moyo in his studies on land occupations where he shows that from 1988, the number of occupations decreased until 1995 when a further 200 farms were occupied. From this period to 1997 the figure rose to 800 (Moyo 1998, 2000).

2.1 Scope of Farm Occupations (1998-2000)

Whilst Moyo argues that “land self-provisioning” methods have been ongoing in the country since independence, perhaps the most widespread and publicised initiatives were no less than experienced in 1998 and 2000. In 1998-1999, community-led land occupations took place in various parts of the country, such as Mashonaland East, West and Central and Matabeleland North and South provinces. The year 1998 also saw an increasing number of cases of communal farmers invading, *en masse*, large-scale

commercial farms in Zimbabwe (Table 2.1 refers). Press reports⁴ showed that no less than five of the country's eight provinces were affected by the 1998 farm occupations. The problem had suddenly taken a new dimension and indications were that the process was leading towards "large-scale violent confrontations". The development implies that communal farmers are beginning to "physically" present their land demands to the Government.

A combination of villagers and farm workers played an important role in the occupations. The major concerns by the villagers were delays by the Government in resettling them and the fact that, in general, they were not informed of the land reform programme. The proximity of the farms to their homes, poor relations between farmers and neighbouring farms and historical land claims by the communities pushed them to occupy farms (ZERO Field Interviews 1998, 2000). In Mashonaland East province, residents of Svosve Communal Lands spearheaded the campaign when they occupied four commercial farms in Marondera district, whilst in Matabeleland press reports indicated that 200 families occupied about four farms in the Nyamandlovu area. The delisting of 25 of the 26 farms that had been earmarked for acquisition in Matabeleland by the Government also contributed to the peasants' frustrations. The villagers who participated in the farm occupations were from the surrounding sawmills, parts of Tsholotsho and Nyamandlovu, while others came from surrounding resettlement schemes, such as Irisvale and Zimdabule, which were established in the 1980s. About 200 families occupied three state lands in the mountainous Muzura area of the Nyakapupu small-scale commercial farming area in Guruve District. The belt of state land stretches for about 10 km and was presumably left vacant when the colonial government demarcated land in the Nyakapupu small-scale commercial farming area in 1957. In Masvingo province, some 36-war veterans occupied ARDA Mkwasine Estate, in Chiredzi in 1999⁵, while some 700 "squatters" occupied Longdale Farm, 15 km south of Masvingo⁶.

⁴(*The Herald*, 24-11-1998, *The Herald* 24-11-1998, *The Herald*, 7-09-1998, *The Herald* 04-09-1998, *The Herald* 22-10-1998, *The Herald* 17-11-1998)

⁵*The Herald*, 8-12-1999:8

⁶(*Daily News*, 15-12-1999:3)

Table 2.1: Details of Farm Occupations in 1998

Province	District/ Area	Estimated no. of people	Original Homes of occupiers	Type of land occupied
Mashonaland Central	Nyakapupu SSCF, Guruve	200	**	Three state farms
Manicaland	Mutasa	Several hundreds	Chikomba CL	Aberfoyle Estate
Manicaland	Chipinge	150	**	Farm 96
Mashonaland West	Chegutu	100	Mhondoro CL	Buttercombe Farm
Mashonaland East	Marondera District	**	Svosve CL	Igava Farm DASKOP Farm Park Estate
Mashonaland East	Marondera	100	Svosve CL	Nurenzi farm
Mashonaland East	Seke (Beatrice area)	**	Mhondoro CL	Greenland, Gwalia, Alameni and Geluki farms
Matabeleland North	Nyamandlovu	100	**	Matabeleland concession, Statfield concession and Nyamandhlovu concession
Mashonaland West	Hurungwe District	50	Chisumba, Maumbe, Maparanga	Laughling Hills Farm
Matabeleland North	Binga District	5000	**	State-land in Lusulu

** Data not available

Source: Compiled from: ZERO Field Survey 1998, 2000 and Various Press Reports⁷

⁷(The Herald, 27-11-1998, 07-09-1998, 04-09-1998)

It can be argued that farm occupations during the year 2000 differed from previous ones in two ways. First, the occupations could be seen as being precipitated more by politically motivated intentions than by social/moral and economic considerations. However, data illustrates these concerns were a major pressure on Government. Second, and related to the above, was the issue of mobilising villagers to participate in the farm occupations. The war veterans, with direct state support, took the lead in mobilising villagers to participate in the farm occupations. The 2000 farm occupations were, therefore, war veterans-organised rather than peasantry-led demonstrations of land hunger.

The current wave of land occupations started in February 2000, soon after the rejection of the Draft Constitution by the majority of the electorate. The main opposition party in Zimbabwe, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), had called on Zimbabweans to reject the Draft while the ruling party campaigned for a “Yes” vote. Parliamentary elections, in which the young opposition party performed surprisingly well, were held in June of the same year. These two political events shaped the dynamics of the land occupations. On the part of the ruling ZANU (PF) party, it seems reasonable to argue that the land occupations, as directed by war veterans who are predominantly ZANU (PF) members, were a crucial part of the party’s election campaign for the 2000 elections. Of particular importance in the Draft Constitution was a clause allowing the Government to compulsorily acquire land for resettlement, without paying for the soil itself but for improvements on the land only. As a result of the support that the main opposition party was receiving from white farmers, the Government’s perception was that whites, working through MDC, wanted to thwart its efforts at comprehensive land reforms in the country.

The state’s response to the 1998 land occupations (and before) is in sharp contrast to the role it played in the 2000 land occupations. The Government’s reaction to the 1998 land-occupation was generally not supportive of this community-led land action. Although earlier Government statements ruled out the use of force, it did turn out that force was used to remove villagers from some occupied farms. Provincial and district government institutions, particularly the Governor’s and the District Administrator’s offices, took the leading role in persuading villagers to withdraw from the farms they had occupied as their actions were deemed illegal.

“What you have done is unlawful and the Government will not let you do that. Be prepared for eviction anytime ...”(B. Gezi, Governor, Mash Central, Herald 29/06/1998).

This was the general response of the Government on the 1998 farm occupations. In enforcing the evictions, there were violent skirmishes when villagers fought running

battles with the riot police. In extreme situations, villagers were arrested and brought before the courts where they were made to pay fines whilst those who failed to do so faced jail sentences (Table 2.2). Local politics also came into play as evidenced by the situation in Chegutu district where political differences between two senior ZANU (PF) officials led one to incite villagers to occupy the state farm that was being leased by the other.

Table 2.2: Examples of Reactions /Responses to some of land occupations in the 1998-1999 period

Details of Case	Reaction/response to the farm occupation
Occupation of Buttercombe Farm, a government property being leased to Harare Councillor Mrs. Audrey Hativagone	Communal village occupiers and their headmen were severely beaten up by workers on the farm
Occupation of Chinyika Farm near Juru in Chikwaka, Goromonzi District and Chipesa Farm in Marondera	12 villagers were arrested after failing to comply with a court order instructing them to leave the farm Some of the villagers were fined \$400 each while others were given \$200 bail but were all detained pending payment of fines Other villagers reluctantly moved out of the farms
Occupation of Victory Farm in Beatrice by 17 Mhondoro communal villagers	Occupants were brought to court and were convicted for contravening the Miscellaneous Offences Act
Occupation of Hull and Ellavale farms in the Odzi area by some 90 people	Eviction orders were served by the Messenger of Court on the occupiers and their temporary structures were burnt
Occupation of Nyatutu Farm by some 30 villagers from Shekwa village in Chipinge district	Eight members were arrested and charged with public violence

Source: Decoded from various Press reports⁸.

⁸The Herald, 19-11-1999, 24-11-1998, 27-11-1998, 07-09-1998, 04-09-1998, 23-11-1998, 25-11-1998

Although it is evident that ZANU (PF) and its party structures, down to the district level, played a pivotal role in initiating and sustaining the year 2000 land occupations, this does not suggest that it had complete control of what was happening on the ground. For example, issues pertaining to, say, the type of land that was supposed to be occupied, were decided based on local factors that might as well have been independent of the party. This partially explains why certain categories of state land, e.g. forest estates, national parks and ARDA estates were also occupied. The land occupations were shaped by a number of political, economic and social processes. Though some analysts would want to describe them as “an organised activity along political party lines”, they nevertheless had important policy implications on the development of the country and more so on the land-reform programme.

The following sections of this study are structured to answer the major questions raised earlier on. The focus of discussion is on the scale of land occupations, type of land that was occupied, the major reasons for occupation of specific farms, mobilisation of people to participate in the process, access to food and other social services by occupiers and a definition of who the occupiers were.

2.2 Scale, Intensity and Settlement Type

It was difficult for the study to establish trends on the intensity of farm occupations. Generally, the current land occupations affected all of the country’s eight rural provinces. Indications are also that most districts with large-scale commercial farms were affected. Statistics on the actual numbers of farms occupied varied according to source and time. Thus, for example, war veterans, the Commercial Farmers’ Union, Zimbabwe Republic Police and the Press gave conflicting figures on the total number of farms that were occupied. The figures from the police, for example, only captured statistics of commercial farmers who reported the cases. The other sources could have deliberately manipulated statistics on farm occupations to push for their own agenda (Moyo 2000). The non-official nature of the occupations meant that figures on the total number of farms and people involved could not be officially recorded, hence the data tended to be rather crude.

However, by 20 April 2000, a total of about 554 farmers had reported the occupation of their farms to the police. It was estimated that there were about 58 105 people on those farms (Moyo 2000 survey). Thus figures on total farms occupied at any given time, level of violence, etc. cannot be divorced from organisational propaganda. However, available data seems to confirm that the intensity of farm occupations varied across provinces and

districts. Intensity of farm occupations at the district/local level seemed to have been greatest in areas around Chegutu, Masvingo, Macheke and Mazowe. In Mashonaland East Province, Seke district had the highest number of farms under occupation, with about 16.7% of the total farms in the district, whilst Chikomba had only 8 farms (6.6% of total) occupied. Moyo (2000) observed that preliminary indications seemed to suggest that Matabeleland North and South, Manicaland and Midlands provinces experienced fewer occupations than the three Mashonaland provinces and Masvingo. The size of occupying communities varied from farm to farm, with some occupations described as “symbolic”. Symbolic occupations were those where a few war veterans occupied certain farms as a way of demonstrating the urgent need for land redistribution. In other situations, there were large numbers of people who occupied farms.

On most farms with high numbers of occupiers, points called “bases”, in the occupiers’ language, had been established. These were the places the occupiers had selected as their residential area and had put up temporary housing structures made of pole and daga. Building materials, mainly poles, daga and thatch grass, were sourced from the occupied farm. In many cases, this had acted as the first cause of tension between the occupiers and the farm owner. The occupiers were quickly labelled “degraders” of the environment. Settlement patterns were basically of two types: the villagised approach and the individual/isolated settlement. Under the villagised type of settlement, occupiers were settled in villages where they only had “residential plots”; arable plots were demarcated elsewhere, e.g. the Tongogara Base, Longfield Farm, Makoni district. Under the isolated system, occupiers allocated themselves land based on the “self-contained units” resettlement model (individual grazing and arable). There seemed to be no clear guideline as to how occupiers selected the type of settlement they wanted. Interviews with occupiers revealed that the villagised settlement pattern was selected when occupying communities wanted to come together for their own “security”. This form of settlement was also selected as a way of maintaining “community” cohesiveness, as well as boosting the morale of the occupiers.

As already observed, the number of farms occupied varied at any given point in time (see also Annex 3). Some farms were temporarily occupied and then abandoned, while others were occupied for longer periods. As the following sections will show, social relations and the reaction of the large-scale commercial farmers on the farm occupations became important in defining the fate of a given farm.

2.3 Type of Land Occupied

Generally, farm occupations have tended to target white-owned large-scale commercial farms. However, state lands (forest reserves and national parks) and farms belonging to some indigenous farmers (see Box 2.1) and NGOs were not spared. Discussions with black farmers whose land had been occupied indicated that the reason their farms had been targeted were based on suspicion that they were MDC supporters. This study could not, however, establish the authenticity of such claims. In some incidents, communities occupied state forests and national parks as a result of long-standing land claims.

The type of land occupied and the land-uses practised thereon varied from place to place. Data from different districts such as Nyanga, Mutasa, Makoni, Chiredzi, Bulilimangwe, Gwanda and Seke districts revealed that among the land uses affected by farm occupations were tourism, tobacco, maize, fruit, cattle ranching, forests and wildlife-related land-uses. Discussions with the occupiers also revealed that they had received instructions not “to occupy any land” that was being productively used and not to disrupt farm operations. The “rules” were, however, broken in certain situations, particularly in circumstances where there were “skirmishes” between occupiers and farm owners and their workers. In such scenarios, farming operations were disrupted, whilst in the worst cases, they were brought to a halt. A ZERO study (Marongwe 2001) of fast track resettlement confirmed this situation.

The sizes of farms occupied also varied from place to place. In the case of Nyanga district farms occupied ranged in size from 707 ha to 10 000 ha. The largest farm measured 10 000 ha in extent and belonged to the Forestry Commission. Land-use did not seem to be an important factor in determining which farm was occupied and evidence elsewhere across the country tended to support this. In Chiredzi district, Masvingo province, most farms occupied were used for tourism, examples being the Malilangwe Conservancy Trust and Gonarezhou National Park which measures 505 300 hectares. The situation was also similar in Matabeleland North and South provinces where most farms occupied were being used for cattle ranching and tourism.

Although the 2000 farm occupations were targeted primarily at white-owned commercial farms, state lands were also affected. The proximity of state lands and large-scale commercial farms to overcrowded communal lands was a key factor in the occupation of certain categories of farms. Available evidence shows that there was no discretion in deciding on the quality of the land to be occupied. This probably explains why even marginal land in natural regions IV and V was occupied.

Box 2.1: The Case of an Indigenous Black Farm which was occupied

War veterans and villagers occupied a farm belonging to an indigenous black horticultural farmer, Mr L.G. Musindo.⁹ An estimated 13 families were occupying the farm at the time the study team visited the site of occupation in July 2000. Discussions with the war veterans' leaders based in Rusape revealed that such occupations were just symbolic and hence the numbers of the occupiers were kept to a minimum. The strategy of the war veteran leaders was to temporarily settle occupiers on the farms whilst awaiting relocation elsewhere, when the Government finally gave them permanent resettlements.

Occupiers had built temporary grass thatched housing structures made of pole and daga. The farmer disliked the cutting down of trees by the occupiers. Initially, he went to report his objections to the war veterans' leaders in Rusape with the hope of negotiating a practicable settlement. The war veterans leaders promised to come and address the occupiers but warned the farmer against visiting the sites of occupation on his own. It is alleged that the farmer, perhaps worried by the continued cutting down of trees, visited the occupied sites and tried to stop the occupiers from erecting temporary structures. A struggle ensued between the farmer and one of the occupiers, a war veteran. The farmer was assaulted by the war veteran and injured. At the time the study team visited the farm, the farmer was still nursing a swollen face.

The case was reported to Headlands Police Station and the Police picked up two war veterans. By the time the study visit was made, the two were still in Police custody and the farmer was still negotiating with the district war veteran leaders, offering to withdraw charges against the two on condition the occupiers left his farm. The deal was yet to be concluded. However, press reports (November/December 2000) revealed that the farm was still occupied at the end of year 2000.

Source: ZERO Field Survey 2000.

⁹The farm is located in Makoni District, along Mutare-Harare road.

Tourism is a highly sensitive sector that thrives on politically stable environments. The scale of the 2000 farm occupations was widely publicised worldwide and, as a result, tourist arrivals in the country were adversely affected. Press reports and discussions with some of the affected farmers confirmed that tourism was one of the sectors hardest hit by the land occupations. The decline of tourism traffic to Malilangwe Conservancy Trust and Gonarezhou National Park in Masvingo and some farms in the Matabeleland province provides an indication of the negative effect of land occupations on tourism. Hence the real impact of the farm occupations on production must have been greatest on farms used for tourism-related ventures.

2.4 Major Reasons why certain Farms were Occupied

One of the most frequently asked questions is why certain farms were occupied whilst others were not. Boxes 2.2 and 2.3 outline some of the factors that influenced the 1998 farm occupations. From the two examples, it is clear that two different processes triggered the farm occupations. In the Svosve farm occupations, two main factors came into play. First, the apparent/perceived non-recognition of historical land claims by policy led the community to doubt the seriousness of the land-reform programme in addressing their grievances. Second, the non-consultative nature of previous resettlement programmes raised more questions than answers for the Svosve community when they saw people they considered “foreigners” being allocated land on farms surrounding their localities at their expense. If they understood the goals and objectives of the land reform programme and its principle that people can be resettled anywhere in the country, regardless of who is close to which acquired farm, then they certainly did not agree with those objectives. In the case of Mbalabala Ranch, the failure by resettlement policy to address the land needs of resettled farmers’ offspring and the perpetual problem of overcrowding in the communal lands led them to occupy adjoining farmlands. The Svosve and Mbalabala communities saw spontaneous farm occupations as the only way of making themselves heard.

Box 2.2: 1998 Farm Occupations: The Case of Mbalabala Ranch, Umzingwane District, and Matabeleland South Province

Mbalabala Ranch¹⁰ measures 7 281 hectares... In August 1998, about 40 villagers from the nearby Irisvale resettlement scheme and other parts of Umzingwane district forcibly entered the private ranch and occupied it. The numbers later swelled to about 160 as more villagers continued to pour in. Occupiers from Irisvale resettlement lamented that their children were not allocated land while those from communal areas raised concern over overcrowding in their communal areas, but in their view the large-scale commercial farms surrounding them were under-utilised. The occupiers brought with them their own cooking utensils, food and blankets and the farm was occupied for about three weeks.

A series of meetings between Government authorities and the villagers were held in an effort to convince the villagers to withdraw from the farms. Initially, the villagers refused to quit the farms. But after a second round of meetings, which included senior Government officials, Matabeleland South Party Provincial Chairman and the MP of the area, the villagers finally agreed to withdraw.

The villagers were advised to go and register for resettlement. However, they threatened to re-invade the farm if they were not resettled by November 1998. Despite the threats, the farm was not re-invaded. The farm has since been acquired by the Government for resettlement.

Source: *Field Data and Interviews, 1998, 2000.*

Generally, the land occupations of 1998-1999 and before were a warning that something was fundamentally wrong with Zimbabwe's land reform and resettlement programme. There was growing impatience among the villagers over their land grievances and yet both policymakers and the donor community failed to notice that the situation was deteriorating. It can be argued that villagers were ready to take any action that would secure them good farming land. That opportunity later emerged in the form of the war veterans-led farm occupations in the year 2000.

¹⁰The farm is located about 65 km from Bulawayo, along the Gwanda–Beitbridge road.

Box 2.3: The Case of Svosve Farm Occupations

The Svosve community¹¹ were displaced and forced to relocate a “record” four times during the colonial period (personal interviews with Chief Svosve, October 2000). The Svosve people were originally settled all over what is now Marondera town, including places such as Chipesa, now called Manyimo, Kanjiva, Wenimbe and Nemeni (now called Nyameni). The community claims the Svosve people used to have their traditional ‘dare’ (court) where the Marondera Police Station is located today. Some of the Svosve people were located at what is now Waddilove Mission School while other members were spread over what is now called Igava and Imire farms. The current Chief Svosve claims that about 7 chiefs are buried between the two farms, while others were buried at Chipesa Farm. The forced movement of the Svosve community has remained to this present day a thorn in the flesh of the community.

Horizon Magazine (August 1998) reported that only a handful of Svosve’s 12 000 people were resettled on the 11 farms acquired for resettlement around the Svosve area. “I can count on my fingers my people who were resettled on those farms... we don’t know, or understand how the farms were allocated... it was a major scandal which needs thorough investigation” (Chief Enock Gahadza Svosve, as quoted in Horizon Magazine, August ’98).

The failure by the Government to address the Svosve people’s historical claims on the land of their ancestors led to the 1998 farm occupations by the community. A series of meetings were held with the community and the general consensus reached was that they needed to urgently occupy the farms they claimed as their lands as a way of pressing the Government on their demand for land. The chief played a key role in mobilising his people and this led to the occupation of Rurenzo, Imire, Igava and Chipesa farms. Among the Svosve people were war veterans and they successfully mobilised other community members to occupy those farms. The existence of their ancestors’ graves, on those farms, was a strong rallying point. In Chief Svosve’s own words, “the aim was not to chase away the whites but just to share the land”.

Source: ZERO Field Surveys 1998, 2000, Horizon Magazine, August 1998.

¹¹This community is located in Marondera district, Mashonaland East Province

As for the 2000 farm occupations, more factors came into play in terms of which farms were targeted for occupation. The major reasons included:

1. Proximity to resettlement and communal areas
2. Social relations between farmers and surrounding resettlement/communal areas
3. Perceived under-utilisation of land and absentee landlordism
4. Urban demand for residential land
5. Historical land claims by communities over lands taken from them by colonial governments
6. Political affiliation (to ruling ZANU-PF party or opposition the MDC party)
7. Multiple ownership of land

2.4.1 Proximity to Resettlement and Communal Farmers

Perhaps one of the most important factors that determined which farm was occupied or not was its proximity to either communal or resettlement areas. Farms close to the resettlement or communal areas were more likely to be occupied, compared to those that were far away. There are many reasons to explain this scenario. One reason was that occupiers' wanted to remain close to their original homes so as to maintain their line of food supplies. To a large extent, occupiers had to provide themselves with food and had, therefore, to maintain constant links with their places of origin. This was found to be the case on many farms visited during the course of this study, including Charter Estate farm in Seke district, Gonarezhou National Park, Malilangwe Conservancy Trust and farms bordering Chief Gora's area in Mhondoro Communal Lands.

Generally, there was no public transport between the occupied farms and the occupiers' home areas; hence most occupied farms were within walking distances. However, despite the lococentric nature of occupations there were many incidents in which "occupiers" were bussed from various districts to occupy distant farms. For example, evidence from the field confirmed the bussing of people from major urban centres like Harare and Chitungwiza to surrounding farms, particularly those in Seke district. Such movements were noted to be more intense at weekends (ZERO Field Survey 2000).

Another reason that explains why occupations tended to concentrate on farms close to communal/resettlement areas was that most pressure for land is felt in these areas. This reason conforms to the "babies" part of Hildrad's "blood" and "babies" theory (see

Chapter One). At the same time, communities had “first hand knowledge” of how land on surrounding farms was under-utilised. Such communities could, therefore, be easily mobilised to participate in the land occupations.

2.4.2 Social Relations Between Farmer and Surrounding Resettlement/Communal Farmers

Poor social relations between a farmer and surrounding communities invariably led to the targeting of some farms for occupation by villagers and war veterans. Even the land occupations of 1998 also tended to target “un-neighbourly” white farmers. A good example is the Marondera farmer in Mashonaland East, who made public allegations that “her sheep had died because some Africans from surrounding villages and compounds were relieving themselves on the farm”. Consequently, about 70 villagers from Svosve Communal Lands demonstrated against the farmer and camped on her land.¹² Other examples of poor relations included the impounding of cattle that strayed from surrounding villages into large-scale commercial farms, the punishing of villagers caught collecting firewood illegally from large farms, and the shooting of poachers. Another example of bad relations was the shooting of stray dogs by a farmer bordering Taga resettlement scheme in Seke district. The farm was subsequently occupied during the 2000 occupations and the owner, popularly known as *MuGreek*, ran away when the study team visited the farm.

Historical factors also played an important role in shaping relations between large-scale farmers and surrounding communities. A farm in Nyanga district, Barron Down Estate, was occupied because villagers alleged that the farmer was a former staunch supporter of the colonial Rhodesian Front government who used to harass the community. In this case, villagers saw it fit to settle their score with him by occupying his farm. Similar cases were noted in the two Matabeleland provinces. For example, Wilfred Hope Farm in Bulililamangwe district was occupied mainly because the farm was used during the colonial era as a shooting range for the Rhodesian Army. The local community was also harassed. Occupiers also claimed that military attacks on freedom fighters were carried out from that farm. The social tension between the farmer and the villager was high even before the farm occupations started. At one time the farmer was accused of impounding stray cattle and demanding large sums of money or labour from villagers as a condition for the return of the beasts. Further, the farmer was alleged to be aggressive towards his workers. A summary of some of the important social concerns that led to the occupation of farms is given in Box 2.4.

¹²*Herald*, 19-09-98.

Box 2.4: Examples of bad social relations that led to the occupation of farms

Bad social relations between the farmer and the villagers that could possibly have led to the final decision on which farm was occupied included the following:

- ▶ Under-paying of farm-workers
- ▶ Shooting of stray dogs on the farm
- ▶ History of association with the colonial government
- ▶ Impounding of stray cattle that belonged to surrounding villagers (and demanding fines before releasing the livestock)

Source: ZERO Field Survey 2000

In the view of the Zimbabwe National Liberation War Veterans Association (ZNLWVA), hostility by farmers to their workers and surrounding communities was a strong factor that led to the occupation of certain farms.

This is not to suggest that these were the only factors that led to the occupation of farms. For instance, there were communities who could not wait any longer to get a piece of land to sustain their livelihood. The slow pace of the resettlement programme over the past 20 years could actually have meant that some communities lost faith in the programme. This being the case, one can argue that some villagers participated in the land occupations simply because they wanted to get access to productive land.

Some farms were even classified as “trouble spots” and in such cases large numbers of war veterans were involved in the occupations. In other words, both social and political factors were important in determining the fate of a particular farm. Table 2.5 summarises some of the reasons cited for the occupation of specific farms by war veterans in Mashonaland Central, East and West.

2.4.3 Land Claims by Communities

This study has hypothesised that continued failure by the country’s land reform programme to consider restitution of historical land rights was socially unsustainable and would always remain a recipe for conflict. Data from discussions with local communities and their leaders and farm occupiers has confirmed that certain communities would never consider the land reform programme as complete before the question of restitution is addressed. There were numerous cases where occupiers said they occupied a specific farm mainly because they had long-standing claims over the land. The claims dated back to the colonial period when communities were forcibly removed from their original homelands to reserves to make way for commercial farms or state lands (see Table 2.3 and Box 2 on the Svosve farm occupations).

Table 2.3: Examples of farms occupied as a result of long-standing land claims by surrounding communities

Name of farm	District	Comments on Ancestral land claims
E.C. Meikles Estate	Nyanga	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Nyangani and Muchena people used to reside on the land. Nyangani and Muchena mountains were named after these communities • The communities were evicted during the colonial era and were resettled outside the estate in the area now known as Mureha while others crossed the border to settle in Mozambique • About 50-60 occupiers had allocated land to themselves on the farm claiming that the Estate belonged to their forefathers
Eastern Highlands Plantation	Nyanga	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is believed that the plantation was the original home of the Tangwena, Zindi and Chavhanga people • Upon displacement, some communities moved into Mozambique while others resettled on the area outside the plantation namely Zindi, Chavhanga, Katiyo and Mandeya • Occupiers had settled within the plantation, claiming that land
Gonarezhou National Park	Chiredzi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Villagers and war-veterans from Chitsa communal lands, which borders the national parks, had occupied part of the park called "Seveni Jeki" • The name "Seveni Jeki" represents the traditional leader who was a headman in the area • The communities were later displaced in the 1960s when it was converted into ranches • Communities claimed they were promised at independence that they would get their land back but this did not happen. • A footpath (through the park) that had been maintained to link the communities to Chipinda was later closed, leading to even more disgruntlement • Some of the occupiers were direct descendants of Seveni Jeki
Dwala Ranch	Gwanda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Before the demarcation of Dwala into a farm in the early 1950s, the area was inhabited by the local people • Upon displacement some of the occupying communities went into Mberengwa district while others went as far as Galisupi and Gohoole in Gwanda South • Occupiers believed the farm was their original home
Farms surrounding Beatrice Centre	Seke	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Farms surrounding Chief Gora's area in Mhondoro Communal Lands are believed to be the original homes of the Gora chieftaincy • This was the main reason why the farms were occupied by villagers from Chief Gora's area

Source: ZERO Field Data 2000

Despite the fact that displacement of communities took place several decades ago, communities still believed and expected the Government to facilitate their return to their original home areas under the current land-reform programme. The passage of time has apparently not diminished the strength of claims by some communities, such as the Bunga area in Makonde district, Mashonaland West province (see Box 2.5 and Table 2.4). What is evident in this study is that the non-recognition of communities' claims by decision-makers under the country's land-reform programme has only served to defer the finding of lasting solutions to the land problem. In areas where such land claims existed, it became fairly easy for communities to be mobilised to participate in the land occupations.

Box 2.5: Land Restitution Claims in the Bunga Area of Makonde District

Bunga area in Makonde District, Mashonaland West Province, is believed to be a sacred area of national importance. It is said to be a place where the first group of the Rozvi who came into the country via Kariba first settled. The word *Bunga* means "*kuunganidza*" (to bring together). The area is hilly and local folk attest to the existence of three long caves. One of the caves is said to be linked to Chinhoyi Caves and another to Kariba. According to Chief Nemaakonde, the first 12 chiefs of Zimbabwe received their chieftainship (*kugadzwa umambo*) at the Bunga. The main spirit medium/*mhondoro* for the area is Nyamutswa who is believed to be a national spirit.

Bunga area is made up of a number of commercial farms. As a result of ancestral claims to the area, some farms were later turned into resettlement areas, examples being Kasoko Resettlement Scheme and Muvhami Resettlement, established in 1998 and 2000, respectively. The current Chief Nemaakonde used to stay at Mupfangure and would occasionally come to perform ritual functions in the Bunga area. The chief has since relocated to Kasoko Resettlement where other families have been settled. The farm, which was turned into Kasoko Resettlement, is understood to have been vacated by the owner because of "troubles associated with spirit mediums" who were claiming their land.

Chief Muvhami used to stay in an area now called Muvhami Resettlement. *Sekuru* Muvhami was possessed by Muvhami's spirit in 1987. At that time he was staying in Hurongonara in Hurungwe District. In 1999, the spirit led *Sekuru* Muvhami to Chihwiti area where *Mhondoro* Nyamutswa currently stays. After consultation with *Mhondoro* Nyamutswa, spirit medium Nehwahwa and Chief Nemaakonde, *Sekuru* Muvhami went to settle in the area where the original Chief Muvhami used to stay. As the site was understood to be sacred, the Government later turned the area into a resettlement scheme, Muvhami Resettlement.

When most of the Bunga area was still under large-scale commercial farming, a lot of “strange things” used to happen that contributed to some of the farmers vacating their farms. Some of these “strange things” (*minana/mashiripiti*) are listed below:

- ▶ A bull belonging to Machipisa (a black farmer), sank into the ground and just disappeared
- ▶ Some white farmers in the area tried to collect water from one of the dambos (*tsatsa*) but the pipes failed to draw any water. The pipes only sucked air.
- ▶ One white farmer would wake up every morning to find himself sleeping outside his home
- ▶ Another farmer took a stone from Muvhami’s grave for use on construction at his own premises. He was later accidentally killed by a drum that he wanted to use.
- ▶ One of the first white farmers shot a guinea fowl and prepared it for his meal. The bird flew back into the forest when the farmer was about to start having his meal.
- ▶ A bull in the area just died whilst standing.
- ▶ At Kasoko a tractor belonging to one of the farmers sank into the ground and disappeared.

The point here is not whether or not outsiders consider these things really happened. Rather that these are myths steeped deep in the psychology of local communities which are often used to reinforce their claims over the area.

Source: ZERO Field Data 2001

Table 2.4: Sacred Areas in the Bunga area of Nemakonde District

Place	Significance of the place
Kadenge Mountain	The graves of Muvhami, his father Kajamatimba and Muvhami’s brothers Chambati and Muzondo are in that mountain
Bunga Mountain	The first chief of the area who came from Guruhuswa is buried there. The mountain was later used as a burial place for chiefs
Hukuyagariraguyo Mountain	It has a large cave and it was used for performing ritual functions
Kasoko Mountain	The original chief from Guruhuswa used to stay there. Chief Nemakonde is now settled there
Magonde Mountain	One of the Chief Nemakondes used to stay there.
Chirambahuyo hills	<i>Nzvimbo inoparurwa homwe yaNyamutswa</i>
Sadhoma	<i>Nzvimbo inopenderwa mudzimu waNyamutswa</i>

Source: ZERO field Data 2001.

2.4.4 Multiple Ownership and Under-Utilisation of Land

Multiple ownership of farms and perceived under-utilisation of land were considered important factors when occupiers made decisions on which farms to occupy. Several farmers whose farms had been occupied were believed to have several farms. As most farm occupiers came from areas surrounding the occupied farms, they claimed inside knowledge on the extent of farm ownership patterns in their area. The study could not, however, confirm which of the farmers had more than one farm. Other farms were occupied because they were considered either too big, under-utilised or both. These factors were predominant in the case studies for Matabeleland North and South, and Masvingo. An analysis of the sizes of occupied farms in Chiredzi, Gwanda and Bulilimamangwe revealed that most of them were quite extensive in size and were used mainly for tourism and cattle ranching.

Malilangwe Conservancy Trust and Gonarezhou National Park (505 300 hectares), seemed to be the largest single blocks of land affected by the occupations in the study area. In Matabeleland, three of the largest occupied farms measured 15 247 hectares, 9 984 hectares and 5 621,72 hectares respectively. Such land sizes can be judged as fairly large. In Chiredzi district, other than Gonarezhou and Malilangwe, other farms occupied included Eaglemont Ranch (16 975 hectares) and Fair Ranch Naude (12 965 hectares). The sizes of these farms seem to confirm the perception that certain farms were too large for individual farm owners and, therefore, deserved to be occupied.

2.4.5 Political Affiliation

It has already been observed that the 2000 farm invasions seemed to have been a politically motivated process. War veterans, the majority of whom, if not all, belonged to the ruling ZANU (PF) party, championed the occupations. Further, the 2000 farm occupations could hardly be divorced from the populist campaign by ZANU (PF) for the 2000 parliamentary elections (Table 2.5). In this respect, the conclusion that some of the farms targeted for occupation were owned by members or supporters of the main opposition party, MDC, cannot be deemed as far-fetched. Moreover, the chanting of pro-ZANU (PF) and anti-MDC slogans by the occupiers of farms might also be an indication that the occupation of farms had a political agenda. However, as discussed elsewhere in this report, the debate is much broader.

There is also evidence that show that land demarcation and allocation on occupied farms was done along party lines. For example, discussions with leaders of the occupation at various farms revealed that one was required to produce a ZANU (PF) party card and data form if they wanted to be allocated land.

Table 2.5: Major reasons for the occupation of specific farms by war veterans

Farm No.	Province	No. of war vets on the farm	Reasons for occupying the farm
1	Mashonaland Central	46	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Perceived under-utilisation - Owner allegedly contributed to the military training of MDC supporters - Owner allegedly found in possession of MDC T-shirts and cards
2	Mashonaland West	43	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Owner is believed to have more than one farm and one of the farms is believed to be under-utilised
3	Mashonaland West	18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Alleged MDC supporter & allegedly used his farm for military training of MDC supporters under the disguise of training farm guards
4	Mashonaland West	35	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - MDC T-shirts and cards were recovered from farm
5	Mashonaland West	40	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The farm is considered too large for one person
6	Mashonaland West	30	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Farm has already been designated for resettlement
7	Mashonaland Central	42	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Alleged supporter of MDC who urged his workers to attend MDC rallies - Owner allegedly found with MDC T-shirts and cards

Source: War Veterans Association Documents, 2000

2.4.6 Demand for Residential Land in Urban Areas

Zimbabwe's land reform programme has largely ignored the land needs of urban populations, particularly for residential development. In fact, policy and decision-makers whose view is that land reform was meant to benefit the rural populations and, therefore, a "non-urban issue" have wrongly interpreted the process. Although urban development has been completely liberalised, the majority of city dwellers remain without decent accommodation as a result of the high cost of land and building materials. The majority of city dwellers, thus, remain landless and homeless.

The 2000 land occupations raised the expectations of some urban dwellers who were convinced that they, too, could access land for residential development. Some of them, particularly those from high-density suburbs, were easily mobilised to occupy farms and

other vacant land in the environs of major cities. In Harare, for example, several farms, among them Stockade Farm, Mt Hampden Farm, Dunhace Farm, York Farm, Kildonesa Farm, Lilfordia Estate, and many others, were occupied by urbanites (See Annex 1).

Some undeveloped land in Kambuzuma, Harare, has already seen the development of a permanent housing scheme by residents desperate to become homeowners. Press reports have confirmed the participation of urban dwellers in the occupation of farms that surround Harare. . . . "Yesterday 25 residents from parts of Dzivaresekwa and Kuwadzana descended on Lilfordia Estates in Mt Hampden . . . Another group of Harare residents travelled to Parklands Farm in Norton . . ." (*Daily News*, 24 March 2000). Hundreds of Harare residents from Hatfield have occupied three farms near Harare International Airport and partitioned them into thousands of residential stands" (*Daily News*, 13 April 2000). One cannot, therefore, escape the conclusion that the demand for urban residential land was a strong factor in the occupation of farms surrounding major urban centres.

Further to the political intent of the farm occupations, the poor performance of the economy could have played an important role in inciting people to participate in the occupations. Economic hardships, critical shortage of accommodation, high rates of unemployment and retrenchment made easier the task of persuading urbanites to participate in farm occupations. A piece of land, no matter how small, therefore, provided urbanites with their only insurance for survival. Hence some communities participated in the occupations, which promised to give them residential land.

2.5 Mobilisation

The success of the 2000 farm occupations depended largely on the role played by war veterans, who acted as catalysts to the process. Nation-wide, war veterans initiated farm occupations and mobilised villagers to participate in the occupations, with the blessing of the ZNLWVA, a civic organisation and pressure group representing the interests of former freedom fighters.

During the tenure of the Constitutional Commission and the process leading to the crafting of the Draft Constitution, about 10 war veterans were recruited to participate in the constitution drafting process. The war veterans had two pressing issues that related to the promotion of their interests. First, they wanted their pensions to be provided for in the Constitution. Second, they sought improved access to land by war veterans. These two demands were meant to protect the interests of war veterans against any future government that might be unsympathetic towards them.

According to the War Veteran's Association: "The initial draft did not bring out our concerns clearly and the point that the majority of the provincial reports recommended the compulsory acquisition of land without compensation except for improvements" (A. Gava, Secretary General ZNLWVA, 2000, personal communication). It did not therefore come as a surprise when war veterans demonstrated against two ZANU (PF) members of the Co-ordinating Committee of the Constitutional Commission for allowing the draft to be adopted without ensuring that it reflected the true wishes of the people on the land question.

The immediate cause of the farm occupations was the rejection of the Draft Constitution in the national referendum. This meant that the sweeping clause under Section 57 of the Draft Report and the hopes it had raised, notably among war veterans and many other groups, were dashed. Section 57 was later amended to include a clause that exempted the Government from compensating farmers for acquired land, except for improvements on it. However, the draft went on to receive a 'No Vote' in the National Referendum. In a document drafted by the Director of the ZNLWVA on 15 February 2000, entitled, "The NO VOTE to the Draft Constitution: Which Way Forward", the position of the Association was outlined as shown in Box 2.6.

Box 2.6: Position of War Veterans after the No Vote to the Referendum

"As the liberation war veterans of this country, we have done our best to the "YES" vote in the Constitutional Draft, not because the Draft favoured our position in all aspects, but because we realised the important aspect of the Draft as being the land issue. It will be recalled that the initial Draft had ignored the issue of land acquisition to be made categorically clear. We hold the opinion that the changes made on the clause invited opposition mainly from the white farming community and their international sponsors who had something to lose through changes made in that clause. We also uphold that the exclusion of that amendment when the people had spoken would have reduced any chances for the population to vote "YES". However, the result was still a 'NO' Vote... We venture into looking for the reasons that make the "NO" Vote populous...

Source: War Veterans Documents 2000

It is obvious that the rejection of the Draft Constitution was an unacceptable embarrassment to both ZANU (PF) and the war veterans. This, indeed, incited the war veterans to lead farm occupations and play a key role in mobilising villagers to join them. However, the ZNLWA has denied allegations that it was responsible for sanctioning the farm occupations. "What followed in Masvingo, the occupation of a number of farms by war veterans, cannot be attributed to any planning and decision-making by the highest body of the Zimbabwe National Liberation War Veterans' Association, but to local decisions by the

Masvingo Provincial Executive of the Association. The local Harare Provincial Executive planned the occupations in the Zvimba district, which borders the western suburban areas of the capital, Harare. At their meeting, the National Chairman of the Association, Dr Chenjerai Hunzvi, and the secretary-general, Endy Mhlanga, also took a stand in defending the occupations as the only way out” (A. Gava, 2000, personal communication).

But what did emerge from the study was that the war veterans were involved in an extensive outreach programme in their local areas, mobilising the masses to go and occupy farms. These included the youths and other middle-aged people who, in most cases, claimed to be landless. In all the farms visited, the number of war veterans was much less than that of the villagers. For example, at Pambili farm in Makoni District, about 200 people of who only three were war veterans occupied the camp/base visited. What was interesting was that war veterans had assumed “positions of authority” in all situations where farms were occupied. For example, every base was under a base-commander who was an ex-combatant who among other duties took a lead role in registering occupiers, as well as demarcating and allocating land.

Generally, occupants relied on their own sources for food, built their own temporary shelters and cared for their own health. Owing to various difficulties, the actual number of occupants at any given base varied on a daily basis. The mobility at the bases was high in the initial stages of the occupations. The numbers went down as the rainy season approached and the cold weather set in. Further, the patience of some of the occupiers quickly wore out as they felt they could no longer stand living in temporary built structures while getting erratic food supplies. The non-availability of social services, such as shops and clinics, served as a major disincentive for some members to continue participating in the farm occupations. For example, in the case of Gonarezhou National Park, the popular Seveni Jeki base had about 800 people at the peak of the farm occupations but the figures dwindled over time to less than 80 a day.

Settlement patterns on occupied farms tended to follow the roads that transacted the affected farms, a clear indication that occupiers relied on public transport. This was quite evident on occupied farms located far away from resettlement areas, communal lands or major urban centres. A drive through farms in most parts of the country showed that occupation patterns followed the major transport network. Some rudimentary organisational structures were set up at most of the occupied farms to facilitate the day-to-day activities (Table 2.6). The structures included: the base commander, base chairman, secretary and vice-secretary, treasurer, political commissar and committee members. These made up a committee, which was responsible for the mobilisation of peasants, in liaison with the local ZANU (PF) party structures.

As mentioned previously the actual population on occupied farms fluctuated on a daily basis, particularly on those close to either communal or resettlement areas. Some people commuted daily from their original homes to the occupied farms. This was observed in Gonarezhou National Park (Chitsa Communal Lands), Pangara Ranch (Nyanga, Nyarumvurwe Resettlement) and Janee Ranch in Gwanda District. The main incentive used to lure people into occupying farms was the promise of land. The mobilisation committee would visit local communities and call meetings where those who attended were promised land. During the mobilisation process, the war veterans and the communities would agree on which farms to occupy, set the day and decide on the gathering point. Where necessary, requisite arrangements were made to ferry people to the farm.

A register was kept at most of the occupation sites. This was mainly used to check the movement of people into and out of the occupied farms. Once people were allocated land, they or their representatives were registered and expected to man their “stands” at all times. Meetings were held regularly to facilitate the flow of “important information” among the occupiers.

Table 2.6: Key functional roles of members of various committees that had been developed: An example from Chiredzi

Position	Main Function
Political Commissariat	Morale-Booster at occupied farms
Logistics	Collection of food for the war veterans
Base Chairperson	Overall management and the receiving and transfer of information
Security officer	Maintaining security at occupied farm

Source: ZERO Field Study 2000

In some cases, youths were used to recruit people into occupying farms. For example, evidence from Chiredzi has shown that youths frequented surrounding villages, targeting social gatherings such as traditional beer drinking ceremonies to mobilise communities into occupying farms. Some amount of coercion was also used to recruit more people into farm occupations, particularly the youth. In Chiredzi, the practice was later abandoned after it was discovered that some youths fled from the occupied farms as soon as they were brought in. In other areas, a weekly timetable was developed and specific days were set aside for the recruitment of more people into the process.

2.6 Food Supplies and other Social Services at the Occupied Farms

The research team observed at most of the occupied farms villagers supplied their own food. In cases where the occupiers were close to their original homes, they would replenish their food supplies almost on a daily basis. In situations where their homes were far away, villagers would bring with them sufficient food reserves to last anything from one to four weeks. In other situations, arrangements were made with those left at home to bring more food supplies on a weekly or fortnightly basis. There were very few cases where villagers formed food groups for joint food purchase.

Visits to some occupied farms also showed that arrangements for the supply of food to the occupiers varied from place to place (see Table 2.7). In Gwanda, for example, the Gwanda War Veterans District Office supplied war veterans with food. Evidence gathered also showed that war veterans in the area who had not occupied farms were required to make contributions of about \$100.00 a month, which would go towards sustaining those on the farms. In other cases, villagers registering for resettlement through the war vets office were charged fees ranging from Z\$100.00-Z\$200.00, which also went towards sustaining war veterans on the farms.

There are numerous cases where farmers whose land had been occupied assisted in providing the occupiers with food, water and shelter. In Matabeleland, for example, most farmers provided the occupiers with game meat from their wildlife ranches while others donated mealie-meal. In some cases, food supplies to war veterans were reported to have ceased soon after the June 2000 parliamentary elections, together with a weekly allowance they received for occupying the farms. In some cases farmers allowed hunting to prevent poaching. But when it came to water, occupiers relied mostly on untreated water from rivers and shallow wells. There was a lot of mistrust and suspicion between the farmers and the villagers. For example, in Makoni district, villagers told the research team that they refused to drink water from a water bowser supplied by one farmer for fear of poisoning. In other circumstances, for instance the Gonarezhou National Park, villagers who exhausted their food supplies asked for permission from the base commander to go back home and collect more food. Generally, people were not allowed to stay away for more than two days. There were also cases where occupiers did not stay at the occupied farms permanently. These had organised themselves into groups and devised duty rosters where groups of about 10-12 members maintained their presence on the farms on a rotational basis.

Table 2.7 How farm occupiers accessed food and water on selected farms

Situation	Food Supplies Details
Case 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Relatives at home replenish food supplies after 1-2 weeks- Occupiers formed groups to purchase food and cook in groups- Initially the farm owner supplied occupiers with mealie-meal but he has since stopped
Case 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Occupiers replenish their own food supplies- Farmer occasionally supplies them with game meat/beef- Contributions from war veterans who were non-occupiers was used to purchase food for war vets on the farm- Registration fees paid by villagers who wanted more land was used to purchase food for war veterans
Case 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Occupiers provided themselves with food- Farmer and neighbouring farmer occasionally supplied them with food and fresh milk
Case 4	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- War veterans district committee provided food for war vets on the farms- Villagers who registered for land paid contributions towards purchasing food
Case 5	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- A local MP helped in supplying food- War vets not on farms supplied those on farms with food- A farmer who is a safari operator supplied them with meat
Case 6	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- War veterans made contributions to buy food- Occupiers generally responsible for supplying themselves with food- Occupiers allowed to fish in water reservoirs on the farms
Case 7	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Farmers provided occupiers with safe water- Occupiers provided themselves with food

Source: ZERO Field Study 2000

2.7 Who were the Occupiers?

There are no simple and conclusive or single answers to this question. One would have to unravel the composition of civil society along political, social or even economic lines to answer the question. But the following scenarios provide possible answers to the question.

1. They were ZANU (PF) Supporters!

To critics of Zimbabwe's land reform programme, farm occupations are an entirely ZANU (PF)-orchestrated process. However, this makes simplistic assumptions, for example, that there are no opportunists, and people are completely faithful to political parties and only belong to one political party. What stops an MDC supporter from posing as a ZANU (PF) supporter when he/she is promised free land? The strain of staying in the open for extended periods may have weeded out those who were not ZANU (PF) faithfuls. The championing of farm occupations by ZANU (PF) and its civic pressure group, in the mould of war veterans, the opposition to occupations by the MDC and the chanting of slogans denouncing the MDC lead to the conclusion that those who occupied farms were inevitably from the ruling party.

2. It was the Landless!

A tricky answer is that it was landless people who invaded farms. In the strict sense of the word, those who can be described as the landless include squatters and destitutes from both rural and urban areas. To the extent that the majority of the people occupying farms came from communal and resettlement areas, and that their social outlook did not correspond to the normal attributes of the landless, the notion of the landless occupying farms then becomes difficult to sustain.

There were many cases where the majority of the occupiers came from resettlement areas (see also Table 2.8). Typical examples picked up by the study included occupiers of Charter Estate in the Seke District who came from Masasa Resettlement Scheme and those on Longfield Farm who left their homes in Chinyika Resettlement Scheme. A common characteristic of people who claimed to have originated from the resettlement areas was that they were all young adults. They claimed that the existing resettlement schemes did not allow parents to allocate land to their offspring. Thus, all children who had become adults since their parents were resettled could not get access to land in the resettlement areas, unlike their counterparts in the communal areas.

Perhaps the crux of the matter is how one defines the landless.

Mainly people from towns and cities occupied farms on the periphery of urban areas. This was the case on most occupied farms in the vicinity of Harare. High-density areas such as Kuwadzana, Dzivaresekwa, Chitungwiza and Mabvuku provided the bulk of the people who occupied such farms, as shown in Annex 1. Indications are that urban dwellers were pressing for land for residential development. Farms surrounding the cities were normally occupied by the day while at night most people left for their urban homes. This alone is an indication that it was not the homeless groups, such as squatters and destitutes, that dominated the group, but rather the ordinary urban dweller who was excited at the prospect of getting a piece of land for free.

In urban areas, war veterans were at the forefront of registering people, demarcating and allocating plots and collecting fees. Press reports have indicated that thousands of occupiers were probably swindled out of their hard-earned cash on the pretext that they would get land for residential development. The participation of urban people in farm occupations was not confined to Harare, but occurred in other major cities and towns. In the case of Mashonaland West Province, urban dwellers from different backgrounds organised and occupied farms, some as far as 30km from the provincial capital of Chinhoyi and Banket and the mining areas in Mutorashanga. War veterans from the urban areas organised the occupation of farms surrounding such cities. In Chinhoyi and Banket, urbanites that had never had a rural home in Zimbabwe, particularly those of Malawian, Mozambican and Zambian origins, took part in the farm occupations. An important characteristic of urban-based farm occupations was the flexibility in the choice of farms to be occupied, which had little to do with ethnic identity or ancestral-based land claims.

Table 2.8: Occupiers and their Place of Origin in Selected Cases

Name of Occupied Farm	District	Original Homes of Occupiers
Gonarezhou N.P. Malilangwe Conservancy	Chiredzi Chiredzi	Chief Tshovani's area, Chitsa Communal Lands
Pangara Ranch Barwon Down Estate	Nyanga Nyanga	Nyarumvurwe Resettlement Nyanga Communal Lands
Wilfred Hope Farm	Bulilimamangwe	Brunapeg, Makororo, Tshakwa & Nyabane reserves in Plumtree, Plumtree town, surrounding farms
Dwala Ranch	Gwanda	Mberengwa Communal Lands, Mberengwa District
Janee Ranch Nelson's Farm	Gwanda	Mberengwa Communal Lands Gwanda Communal Lands
Matetsi River Ranch	Hwange	Jambezi, Mbiza, Nekabandan II & Chikandakubi Communal Lands, all in Hwange
Karna Block	Gwayi	Dangamuzi, Binga and Mabale Communal Lands
E.C. Meikles Estate	Mutasa	Muchena Communal Lands in Mutasa district
Stapleford Estate	Mutasa	Rupinda Area
Charter Estate	Seke	Masasa Resettlement Scheme
Longfield	Makoni	Chinyika Resettlement
Pambili	Makoni	Chiendambuya Communal Lands

Source: ZERO Field data 2000

It is evident from Table 2.8 that communal and resettlement areas were cited more frequently as providing the bulk of farm occupiers. But of interest is the fact that occupiers settled on the nearest commercial farms, regardless of whether they fell in the same administrative area (province or district) or not. This was against normal resettlement procedures where, in most cases, villagers are resettled in their own administrative district, except in cases where the district in question does not have commercial farms.

The same scenario was also observed in Mashonaland where villagers and ex-combatants from Mhondoro Communal Lands in Mashonaland West occupied and settled on farms that fall under Mashonaland East. The pattern was repeated in Matabeleland where movement across districts was very common. In Nyanga, about 10 war veterans crossed from Mutasa district to occupy Burnaby Farm, which is part of Pangara Ranch in Nyanga District.

3. It was the War Veterans

The study indicates that the process was led and orchestrated by war veterans. It is also clear that villagers were mobilised by war veterans to participate in the farm occupations. Although it was generally difficult to conduct a head count of the war veterans on each farm visited, the study managed to do so on some farms (Table 2.9). There were, however, exceptional cases where the farm occupiers' population consisted entirely of war veterans.

Table 2.9 Numbers of ex-combatants in selected occupied farms

Farm name	District	Estimated population	No. of Ex-combatants	% Ex-combatants
Pangara Ranch, Southfield Farm,	Nyanga	200	40	20%
Pangara Ranch, Burnaby Farm	Nyanga	10	10	100%
Barwon Down Estate	Nyanga	50	50	100%
Pambili Farm	Makoni	206	3	1.5%
Janee Ranch	Gwanda	12	12	100%
Matetsi River Ranch	Hwange	150	20	13.3%
Karwa Block	Gwayi	250	50	20%

Source: ZERO Field Study 2000

The gender balance at the occupied farms seemed to vary from place to place. Some farms, particularly those close to communal and resettlement areas, showed balanced numbers of male and female occupiers. In other cases, occupiers were young couples where both the wife and husband participated in the farm occupations. There were very few cases in the study area where there were no women occupiers at all.

There is evidence to show that the army and intelligence services played a key role in orchestrating farm occupations. The army was instrumental in providing transport, particularly for ferrying food to war veterans on occupied farms. Owing to the sensitivity of the matter, however, this study did not analyse the extent to which the army and the Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO) were involved in supporting the farm occupations.

However, statistics have shown that in the majority of cases, war veterans were only a fraction of the population on the occupied farms. In Mashonaland East Province (Table 2.10 refers), the percentage ranged from 8 % to 100 %, indicating that the peasants did not need anybody to push them to occupy land. Examples of events and processes at some occupied farms were as detailed in boxes 2.7 and 2.8.

Table 2.10: Estimated numbers of occupiers on selected farms in Mashonaland East Province by Category

Name of Farm	Total no. of occupiers	Estimated no. of war vets	% war veterans	Peasants
Glen Summerset	30	5	16.7	25
Greiglea	20	6	30.0	14
Arizona Farm	40	9	22.5	31
Blue Gums	25	2	8.0	20
Mt Bokoto	30	10	33.3	20
Nyagadzi	40	7	17.5	33
Springs	30	8	26.7	32
Kudu Ranch	35	6	17.1	29
Fairview	70	15	21.4	55
Doctor's Gift	50	50	100.0	nil
Green Acres	19	2	10.5	17
Maryland	35	3	8.6	32
Iver Valley	30	8	26.7	22
Chongwe Ranch	20	4	16.0	16
Campbell	18	2	11.1	16
Berrymore	30	5	16.7	25
Warren	50	12	24.0	38
Welcome Home	26	4	15.4	22
Belgravia	28	6	21.4	22
Chirangano Ranch	14	2	14.3	12
Yardford	85	70	82.4	65
Mt Petter	35	3	8.6	32

Source: ZERO Field Study 2000, War Veterans Association Documents.

2.8 Farm Occupations and Farm Workers

Generally, farm occupations had a negative effect on the farm worker population. Altercations often broke out between farm workers and the occupying villagers and war veterans. For example, disruptions of farm operations led to loss of jobs and income while provision of services such as health and sanitation, HIV counselling, home-based care, construction of Blair toilets, etc. by advocacy NGOs such as the Farm Community Trust of Zimbabwe (FCTZ)¹³ were curtailed. (Annex 4/Table 8.13 refers).

¹³The organisation also provides relevant support to key Ministries, such as the Ministry of Health through the provision of motorcycles and petrol for farm health workers who travel to farms to offer those services. Currently, the organisation is in the process of sourcing funds to set up depots that will facilitate the provision of condoms, a measure meant to reduce the spread of AIDS and other HIV related diseases. Farm Trust Community of Zimbabwe also assists farmers in setting up nutrition gardens.

Box 2.7: Wilfred Hope Farm, Bulilimamangwe District, Matabeleland South Province

Wilfred Hope Farm¹⁴ covers 22 881,71 hectares. The farm was used in the early 1970s by the Rhodesian Army as a shooting range, especially for the training of army officers. In the late 1980s, there was both a change of ownership and land-use. It was then converted to cattle ranch and is currently being leased to a commercial farmer who is also using it for cattle ranching.

An estimated 1 000 people had occupied the farm. Most of the occupiers were from the Plumtree District including places such as Brunapeg, Makotokoro, Plumtree Town, Tshankwa and Nyabane reserves and from the neighbouring farms. Several reasons were cited by the occupiers for targeting the farm for occupation. The main ones were the following:

- Historically, the use of the farm as a shooting range by the colonial army and its subsequent use as a spring-board for attacking the freedom fighters left bad memories in the local community and occupying it was seen as an effective means of settling old scores.
- The bad relationship between the current farmer and the surrounding communities “added salt” to the injury caused by the villagers’ longstanding grievances and as a result tension continued to build up. For example, the owner was accused of impounding the villagers’ stray cattle and demanding fines (cash or labour) before releasing them. Further, local communities have a grudge against the previous farm owner for not allowing his farm-workers to plough fields, keep dogs, cut grass for thatching and other forms of inhuman treatment.

A committee led by a war veteran was tasked with mobilising the people to occupy the farm. The farmer was not given any notice in advance of the intended occupation. The occupiers just moved in and immediately set up their temporary structures using plastic, canvas, grass, poles and various other materials. The occupiers did not interfere with production on the farm and a positive relationship had developed between the farm owner and the occupiers. Occupiers on the farm relied on their own food supply sources. In some cases, arrangements were made with family members left at home to replenish food supplies periodically (usually weekly or fortnightly). At one time the farm owner gave the occupiers some mealie-meal. Water was sourced from the nearby school and from the Government Veterinary Services Department, which was, located close by.

Occupiers of the farm had been allocated stand numbers and all beneficiaries were supposed to be present when the register was checked. However, despite previous accusations, a cordial relationship had also developed between the farmer and the occupiers. For example, the farmer offered his tractor to assist in firewood collection and the occupiers agreed not to cut down trees without his knowledge or permission. All administrative issues were in the hands of war veterans.

Source: ZERO Field Survey 2000

¹⁴The farm is located about 60km from Bulawayo along the Bulawayo-Plumtree Road.

Box 2.8: The Case of Janee Ranch, Gwanda District

Janee Ranch¹⁵ is about 15 247 hectares in extent. On the southeast and west, the farm is bordered by large-scale commercial farms while to the north it borders the communal areas of Matobo in Mberengwa District. The property was used solely for wildlife and game ranching, with no crop production at all. The farm was occupied on 15 March 2000. Among the main reasons given for occupying the farm were that the ranch was too large for one person, the owner was believed to own a multiplicity of other farms, historical claims by some villagers and the owner was described as racist and not co-operative.

The war veteran leader of the occupiers on Janee Ranch was tasked by the district committee to mobilise people to move onto the farm and amongst the occupiers were about 11 ex-combatants, 1 ex-detainee and ordinary villagers from Mberengwa district. War veterans established “temporary” structures on the farm whilst “civilian” villagers originally went back to their homes. They allegedly came back when they heard that land was then being allocated. Civilian villagers, particularly relatives, rotated in terms of coming to the occupied farms. At times the rotation was between spouses. The occupiers had set up about three “communal type” shacks, one each for men, boys and women.

Farm production was negatively affected as poaching was reported to have increased and a few cattle were reported missing. Occupiers supplied themselves with their own food, whilst the farmer provided them with fresh milk from his dairy on a daily basis. Occasionally, he also gave the occupiers some game meat. A neighbouring farmer at Mashura Ranch also supplied them with meat regularly.

The MP of the area and the Governor also visited the occupied farm. Discussions with the occupiers also showed that the farmer had offered to give 9 035 ha to the occupiers. The area offered was the one bordering the communal area and constituted the most developed part of the farm with fences and dams. However, it was alleged that the farmer had used three helicopters to drive away wildlife from the part of the farm he had offered (much to the anger and disappointment of politicians and war veterans). The farmer sounded insecure and believed that in future the Government might decide to take the remaining part of the farm after he had developed it. The owner was in Bulawayo at the time of the study.

Source: ZERO Field Survey 2000

2.9 Conclusion

The 2000 farm occupations and the subsequent fast track resettlement programme have added new dimensions to the land reform process in Zimbabwe. Conflicts over natural resources continue to worsen in Zimbabwe. The situation has not been helped by rigid tenurial arrangements, which have not allowed the majority of rural populations

¹⁵The farm is located 62 km east of Gwanda along the Gwanda-Beitbridge tarred road

opportunities for securing access to natural resources. Most state lands, particularly national parks and state forestlands, have remained inaccessible to the general public. Most large-scale commercial farmers bordering communal lands view communal people as a threat to their farming interests. A case in point is the Marondera farmer referred to earlier on (Source: *The Herald* 22-10-1998). Another extreme example is that of a Kwekwe farmer who stripped naked a group of women that had been caught illegally collecting firewood from his farm. All these incidents became important social factors that led to the occupation of certain farms.

The study has confirmed the frustration felt by communities over the slow pace of the land reform programme. Further, the non-transparent and non-participatory nature of beneficiary selection at the local levels has contributed to the build-up of discontent among communities over the programme. The frustration among communities was transformed into opportunism during the farm occupations. The 1998 farm occupations are particularly illustrative of this scenario. By engaging in farm occupations communities were apparently demonstrating their disapproval of previous attempts at land reform by Government.

Field data by this study shows that claims by communities on private and state lands were too significant for Government policy to continue ignoring restitution under Zimbabwe's land reforms. Land claims based on ancestral attachments and other historically based claims acted as a strong rallying point for communities to participate in the land occupations. Thus for some communities, it was the opportune time ("now or never") for them to be "reunited" with their ancestors.

The hunger for land for urban residential development remains unsatisfied in most urban areas. At the same time, land prices for urban development have skyrocketed. Yet, as already mentioned, land reform continues to be viewed as a rural people's issue, sidelining the land needs of urban populations. The promise of free land during farm occupations was more than an incentive for urban residents to participate in the occupation of farms on the outskirts of major cities. Despite the polarisation and politicisation of civil society, brought about by farm occupations, urban people of different social, economic and political backgrounds took part in the farm occupations. The subsequent fast track resettlement programme has witnessed movement by urban populations in search for land.

All the same, political factors were instrumental in the initiation and articulation of land occupations.

LAND CONFLICTS IN COMMUNAL AND RESETTLEMENT AREAS

3.0 Introduction

Boundaries are fast emerging as one of the most common causes of conflict in rural district council areas. In resettlement areas conflicts are due to increased household formation over time against a fixed carrying capacity for both arable and grazing land; communal households' encroachment onto resettlement grazing, especially for schemes adjacent to communal areas; natural fallout and "desertion" as original settlers abandon the scheme for a variety of reasons leaving behind their land, which can become a source of conflict when it comes to re-allocation. This chapter looks at these and other land-based conflicts such as illegal sales, historical claims and politics in communal and resettlement areas.

3.1 Boundaries in Communal and Resettlement Areas

Boundary problems exist in both communal and resettlement areas. They exist between and amongst individual households, communities or even institutions. We shall look at each area in turn.

3.1.1 Communal Areas

As already mentioned, boundaries have been the major cause of conflicts over land and other natural resources in Zimbabwe. At one level, existing administrative boundaries for wards and districts have fuelled disputes amongst a wide range of stakeholders. Disputes over the legitimacy of administrative boundaries have surfaced amongst several rural district councils, for example between Kadoma and Chikomba Rural District Councils in Mashonaland West and Mashonaland East provinces, respectively, and between Mt Darwin and Muzarabani districts in Mashonaland Central province. In the case of the latter, the conflict is centred on Chief Chisiwiti's area in Mt Darwin, which extends into Muzabarani district. People settled in Mt Darwin have been allocated land in Muzarabani District. Politicians from the area have fuelled the problem and to date over 200 people have been injured in the ongoing dispute. The respective rural district councils have been drawn into the conflict as they seek to increase their revenue base.

Other cases are the boundary dispute between Mberengwa and Insiza; Gwanda and Beitbridge, and Lupane and Hwange Rural District Councils. In the case of Insiza and Mberengwa, Insiza communal wards were seeking the removal of six villages of Zvikombe

(Mberengwa) district from what they perceived as Insiza land. The Zvikombe community refused to budge, arguing that, historically, the land in question belonged to Mberengwa. Similar inter-district boundary problems exist in many other parts of the country.

The introduction of Ward Development Committees (WADCs) and Village Development Committees (VIDCOs) by the Prime Minister's Directive of 1984 has also contributed to the development of boundary-related disputes. Ward boundaries are in certain situations at variance with the existing chieftainship boundaries. This has seen the sphere of influence of chiefs and spirit mediums (*mhondoros* and *svikiros*) being divided by such boundaries, causing social tension amongst communities. Areas that still have strong cultural practices, such as Rushinga District in Mashonaland Central, have been particularly affected. In this district, conflicts arose between Chief Rusambo and Chief Makuni over ward boundaries. In this particular case, the District Administrator had his own boundary, and so did the spirit mediums¹⁶ and chiefs. In the communal areas, the issue of boundaries between villages and amongst individual households in a community takes centre stage. Among households, tension is mainly over boundaries of arable fields. This is largely attributed to the shortage of land in the communal areas. In the majority of cases, "underhand" financial transactions take place as part of the land deals. Moyo *et al* (1998) observed that illegal land sales were taking place in various parts of the country. The blurred nature of boundaries in the communal areas has tended to create conditions conducive to illegal land occupation.

Boundary-related conflicts are caused by a multiplicity of factors. The non-availability of permanent beacons to demarcate land boundaries seems to be one of the leading causes in conflict development. Unlike in rural freehold and urban areas, where land is formally surveyed, pegged and supported by title deeds and related documentation, such "luxuries" do not exist in communal areas. Most pegs and beacons that were put in place during the colonial era have since been destroyed or removed. Most boundaries, therefore, tend to be arbitrary. As a result, some "*Sabhukus*" (village heads) have at times allocated land outside their village boundaries, out of carelessness or purposely in pursuit of some hidden agenda. Some households, out of greed, also take advantage of the lack of clearly marked boundaries and end up extending their arable land into other people's. Again, this is a consequence of the lack of firm boundaries. Land conflicts in the communal areas as illustrated earlier were not solely a post-independence phenomenon. Tension existed between and within communities long before independence (Box 3.1).

¹⁶ZERO Rural District Councils Workshop on Land Conflicts, 13-16 June 20001, Kadoma Ranch Motel.

Box 3.1: Land Conflicts in the Communal Areas: Masamha Village versus Zenda Village in the 1970s

Land conflicts in the communal areas existed even during the colonial period. At times the situation became violent when some communities were involved in physical confrontation against each other. The major conflicting points were around grazing and boundary issues.

In Chief Makumbe's area in Buhera, three villages were embroiled in a boundary related conflict. The villages were Zenda, Chipere (Chipere's village was born out of Masamha). In this particular incident, the Zenda village had ignored the traditional boundary between the two villages, which was marked by a natural watercourse. Zenda is alleged to have sent his subjects to settle on the other side of the river, sparking a row with the other village. Violence broke out as the communities fought one another with axes and knobkerries. The conflict finally ended when the situation was reported to the District Native Commissioner. Every household, which participated in the conflict, was made to surrender one beast as a fine to the colonial government.

Source: ZERO Field Survey 2000

The creation of VIDCOS and WADCOS following the Prime Minister's Directive of 1984 has spawned tension between the new spatial units and the existing traditional structures. Studies have shown that the various forms of conflict that have taken place are a result of confrontations between councillors and traditional institutions manifesting themselves in antagonism between village heads, headmen and chiefs. In various instances, councillors have been cited as the chief culprits in allocating land to desperate villagers in their attempt to win votes. Ward and village boundaries also have a tendency of creating artificial divisions between adjacent communities and have been a major factor in the development of conflicts at the local level. Box 3.2 narrates a classical example of how political issues at the local level translate into conflict over natural resources.

Box 3.2: Politically induced boundary conflicts in Wards 4 and 5, Chiredzi.

Wards 4 and 5 under Chief Tshovani's area in Chiredzi District, Masvingo, share a common boundary. Conflicts between the adjacent communities in the wards started during the 1995 council elections. Traditionally, residents in Sasekeni village in Ward 4 voted in Ward 5. One of the candidates for Ward 5, realising that he had no support in Ward 4 (Sasekeni village), raised an objection saying that people in Ward 4 constituted a district and hence there was no need for them to come and vote in Ward 5. The complainant is allegedly a descendant relative of the headman's lineage. Apparently there are residents of Ward 5, who have their arable

fields in Ward 4. Tension rose as residents of Sasekeni village were told not to come and cast their votes in Ward 5. In retaliation, residents from Sasekeni village demanded that residents of Ward 5 who had their fields in Ward 4 should stop using that land. The council elections were held during the wet season when farmers were busy ploughing their fields. People from Ward 4 physically tried to stop Ward 5 residents from accessing and utilising their fields. At that juncture, it is said, a local resident who is employed as a CIO officer, intervened in the dispute. Residents of Ward 4 were later allowed to vote. However, tension is reported to be still high and the dispute remains in the minds of the locals.

Source: ZERO Field Survey 2000

3.1.2 Resettlement Areas

Although the Government's land reform programme is central to rural development, there is apparently no end in sight to conflicts in resettlement areas. The dynamics of the problem and the forms it takes are also quite varied. At one level, tension has been observed among communal farmers, resettled farmers and new resettlement schemes. Such conflicts usually take the form of cutting down of trees, pulling down perimeter fences in resettlement schemes, irregular/illegal hunting, the grazing of communal farmers' cattle in the resettlement areas and the general plunder of resources. All these are normally pursued in the absence of any form of mutual agreement and/or resource-sharing arrangements.

Resettlement schemes are largely used as a strategy to de-congest communal areas by providing land to landless peasants in overcrowded communal areas, who bore the brunt of the liberation war. Communal farmers living next to resettlement areas cannot understand why they should be denied access to grazing land and other natural resources, which are abundant in resettlement areas, arguing that this is tantamount to denying them some of the fruits of political independence.

The predominant resettlement models in Zimbabwe are the villagised resettlement models and the self-contained-units model. In some situations, the two models exist side by side. Farmers resettled under the self-contained units are expected, *inter alia*, to finance the fencing of their plots, arable and grazing land. The shortage of financial resources has, however, prevented some farmers from fencing their fields and, as such, livestock and wild animals have destroyed crops. Farmers whose livestock destroy other farmers' crops often blame the latter for not protecting their fields with fencing. This has caused tension among resettled farmers.

In villagised schemes, each farmer, on average, is allocated about 12 acres for the homestead and cultivation. However, with the passage of time, children, especially sons of the resettled farmers, grow up, adding to the ranks of the landless in established resettlement schemes. Because the planning of resettlement schemes does not cater for the land needs of these adult children, a major problem is emerging, especially in the face of the high unemployment rate in the country.

3. 2 Development Projects and the Displacement of People

In independent Zimbabwe, the construction of dams and the development of growth points has displaced significant numbers of local communities. In some extreme cases, local communities have been left abandoned to look for alternative land on which to restart their lives. This happened in Hwedza and Buhera districts where Hwedza and Murambinda growth points were established in the midst of communal lands. The growth of urban centres in communal areas is, therefore, causing considerable conflict and overcrowding as growth centres encroach further into communal areas.

Land conflicts related to development projects usually pitted institutions against each other or the community. In Buhera Rural District, Murambinda Primary and Murambinda "B" Secondary schools were locked in a dispute in 1998. The latter had requested the former to allow them to construct a teacher's house on their premises, thus altering the boundary. The primary school's School Development Committee turned down the request in a bid to obviate future problems and to protect their school's land rights. The dispute was then brought before the council for arbitration in 1998 and the council advised the secondary school to apply for additional land to meet their current and future needs. In Nkayi Rural District, the gazettement of Mbazhe Bird Sanctuary created tension between the 20 illegal settlers within the project area on the one hand and the Ngomambi South ward residents, Nkayi Rural District Council and the project committee, on the other.

Another potentially explosive situation that has emerged is the direct confrontation between rural district councils and communities over access to certain pieces of land. The land needs of council-initiated development projects have often clashed with community needs and demands over access to agricultural land. The land demands for the CAMPFIRE programme and other development initiatives of the projects are a case in point. Despite all the benefits associated with CAMPFIRE, this development paradigm has contributed quite significantly to the development of inter- and intra-community conflicts, as well as between communities on the one hand and institutions on the other.

3.3 Land Occupations/Illegal Settlements

Squatter settlements are rampant in the resettlement areas and can cause their own type of conflicts. As an illustration, Moyo *et al* (1998) observed that Mupfurdzi resettlement in Shamva District, Mashonaland Central, has had its fair share of problems arising from illegal settlements. Youths and young households in resettlement areas have generally remained in the resettlement schemes, causing the areas to surpass their technically defined carrying capacities. Socially defined carrying capacities are generally higher than the technical ones, which explains why communal households in overcrowded areas are still able to eke out a living. This has compounded the land-shortage problem that has become a common feature of most resettlement schemes. Conflicts are sprouting up as adult children scramble for “vacant land” that exists in these schemes. Grazing areas have tended to be a “soft” target.

The existence of illegal settlements has, in some cases been linked to electioneering. In Masvingo, for example, disagreements between two ZANU (PF) factions apparently stemmed from illegal settlements in the province. According to a newspaper report, Masvingo had over 16 000 squatter families (*The Herald* 15-12-1999:6) and in one of the extreme cases, some 750 families who had settled between Masvingo town and Nemanwa growth point turned violent when they were forcibly evicted on the orders of the Masvingo Rural District Council. However, the squatters, upon instigation from some of the powerful politicians in the province, returned and re-built their shelters.

3.3.1 The Case of Enyandeni Resettlement Scheme in Gwanda

Another example of land occupations in resettlement areas was found in Enyandeni Resettlement Scheme.¹⁷ The resettlement scheme was established against a background of resistance from the local communities during the civil disturbances that rocked the Matabeleland and Midlands provinces in the mid-1980s. It is alleged that the then dissidents were opposed to locals participating in the government-sponsored resettlement programme and at some point the resettled farmers’ houses were burnt down. The situation only returned to normal after the signing of the 1987 Unity Accord.

¹⁷The scheme established in 1986, comprises three former commercial farms, namely Hollins Block, Draaispruit and Granite Kopjies, totalling 14 622ha. Located 30km from Gwanda town, the scheme lies in natural region IV and was settled under Model A. It was designed to hold 152 households, with each household given 0.25ha for residential land and grazing rights for 10 livestock units.

Instability in the resettlement scheme emerged again in 1996 when youths in the resettlement scheme demanded additional land for themselves. This, however, implied that farmers would be required to reduce their livestock in an effort not to exceed the scheme's carrying capacity for human and livestock populations. Several meetings were held between the settlers and Government resettlement officers to discuss the pending problem. The farmers agreed to reduce their stocking rates from 10 livestock units to between six and seven, i.e. by about three or four units, in order to accommodate the land needs of the youths. The proposal was, however, turned down by the Department of Rural Development (DERUDE) head office in charge of the resettlement programme citing the fact that the resettlement programme did not accommodate settler offspring and the land available was only for parents. The department did not want to set a precedent by accommodating offspring, as this would be replicated in other schemes and even in the same scheme after time had lapsed. This decision did not go down well with other settlers although it is understood that the elderly had accepted the verdict. However, the youths, in agreement with other settlers, decided to settle themselves on the grazing land. It is alleged that a man, who was campaigning to be a councillor and subsequently won the elections with the support of two other elders, supported the move to settle the youths on the grazing land.

After some time, it was discovered that the youths were involved in the wanton cutting down of trees. The resettlement office decided to evict the youths after inspecting the damage they had caused. The leader of the youths is said to have agreed to move out and also undertook to dissuade the other youths from engaging in bad practices. His colleagues accused him of being a sell-out and a struggle ensued. But to complicate the issue, it was an open secret among the youths that a Government Veterinary Officer and a Resettlement Officer owned land in the resettlement scheme. They persisted in their refusal to be evicted, saying there was enough 'under-utilised land' to accommodate them.

The ensuing struggle led to the calling of a meeting that brought together the Provincial Administrator's office, Police and the District Administrator to resolve the conflict situation. This did not succeed as the youths defied the order of the District Administrator and openly boasted that they had the support of ZANU (PF) party structures at district level in the province. Police would not intervene, as they wanted a court order before they could evict the youths. The squatter control committee also failed to evict them.

After realising that the ruling party had orchestrated the whole saga, settlers decided to approach the Provincial Governor over the dispute. On a site visit, the Governor ordered

the youths to leave within 14 days. The Police intervened and the youths temporarily vacated their squatter camp only to come back at a later stage. The squatter camp had not been destroyed. The youths are alleged to have terrorised settlers who had reported the case and some settlers were physically assaulted. Up to now, the situation remains unresolved. In fact, when the deadline given by the Governor came and passed, and nothing happened to those who had not moved, those who had moved away returned, with new recruits.

Most of the people in the resettlement scheme came from the surrounding communal areas of Wenlock, Matshetshe and Matobo. The resettlement scheme was reported in 1999 as having been “invaded” by the squatters. The squatters were settled in grazing areas for villages three and four, and the legal tenants of the scheme were warned by the illegal settlers not to take any action against them. A meeting was held in the beginning of 1999 and it was agreed that the squatters should vacate the premises. Apparently, some of the squatters had moved from their parents’ homes to establish their own homesteads in the grazing area.

However, out of the 28 squatters, only 12 had agreed to vacate the squatter camp. The rest remained on the camp and threatened physical violence against those who dared take the issue to higher authorities, especially the Governor’s office. Two of the 12 squatters who agreed to move on their own were not allowed to collect the property they had brought with them to the camp. In August 1999, the District Administrator’s office was contemplating litigation as the only way to solve the problem peacefully.

3.4 Grazing Disputes

Grazing areas have become flashpoints of conflict between communal and resettlement areas as well as amongst villagers within each of these areas. The preceding section has already shown grazing areas as “the target area” for occupation. On the one hand, grazing area related disputes tend to bring resettled farmers into conflict with surrounding communal areas. In most cases the cause of the dispute is the exclusion of communal farmers from accessing grazing land in resettlement areas. Once communal farmers have been refused right of access, their response has always been to cut fences surrounding such grazing land and poaching of natural resources. On the other hand, grazing areas have been a cause of conflict between resettled farmers and the “landless youths” in resettlement areas. Two examples will suffice to illustrate the different dimensions and forms of dispute relating to these areas.

3.4.1 The Gwanda-Beitbridge Boundary and Grazingland Dispute

During the pre-colonial era, the land that became known as Doddieburn and Manyale farms was inhabited by people of the Venda community of Beitbridge, while the Jahunda people of Gwanda used to reside in the Sibizeni area. With the advent of colonisation, the communities were forcibly evicted from their original homes when the land was demarcated into large-scale commercial farming land, which later became known as the Doddieburn and Manyale farms. The Vendas now reside in the neighbouring areas of Siyoka, Novhe and Sukwe. The displaced communities were resettled in areas that later fell into separate administrative districts of Gwanda and Beitbridge. Important to note is that some communities in both Gwanda and Beitbridge originally came from the same area and can be described as sharing the same “roots”.

In terms of physical location, the two farms are closer to communities that reside in Beitbridge than those in Gwanda District. In fact, the communities in Beitbridge contributed significantly to the farmer’s vacation of the property and yet the properties actually fell under Gwanda District. With the coming of political independence, the two farms were purchased by the Government of Zimbabwe and were later handed over to ARDA in 1985 for resettlement under the Model A scheme. This proved unpopular with the people of Gwanda and the farms were later resettled using the Model D resettlement scheme, based on the allocation of paddocks with no human settlement.

The conflict reached its peak in 1996 when armed guards from Gwanda shot and killed a Beitbridge villager. This forced the Governor of the province to convene a meeting between Gwanda and Beitbridge RDCs. The meeting resolved that communities from Beitbridge should be allocated 14 paddocks from the farm. This seemed to mark the end of the dispute, officially, although in practice, Beitbridge communities are reported to be still finding their way into Gwanda District in search of wildlife or to rustle cattle. However, the problem is now of less magnitude and does not appear organised or politically instigated.

The original dispute was clearly of a magnitude that necessitated bringing together a number of institutions, which included the ruling party and its structures, MPs, Rural District Councils, ARDA and the ZRP. Finding a solution to the problem was perceived as virtually the domain of politicians. Consequently, wards 15, 17 and 18 of Gwanda District were to benefit from Doddieburn and Manyale farms. The project was administered by ARDA, which went on to form project committees to facilitate the management of the

paddocks. On the other hand, communities from Beitbridge, who share boundaries with the farm, could not access the grazing area, which they desperately needed. Shobi Farm was bought in Beitbridge district, as a response to the grazing needs of the Beitbridge communities. However, the farm was too far away from the communities and areas such as Novhe, Dendele and Chamanangana villages did not benefit from it. At the same time they could not access Doddieburn Farm, as it was located in a different administrative district.

This fuelled the anger of the communities who started cutting down fences and driving their cattle into the two farms. Some communities from Beitbridge even went to the extent of setting traps that killed livestock belonging to communities in Gwanda. This prompted the communities in Gwanda District to view those perpetrating such “atrocities” as poachers and to thwart this, they employed armed guards to patrol the farms. Physical confrontation between the armed guards and Beitbridge communities ensued on a number of occasions. Beitbridge communities, together with their leadership, continued to dispute the boundary that separated them and the farms. With the help of the ARDA office, dialogue has since been opened between Beitbridge and Gwanda leadership. The conflict brought several politicians into the dispute and it is understood that the situation was reported to the Politburo, the ruling party’s supreme decision-making body.

3.4.2 The Case of a Model D Resettlement Project in Gwanda

The Model D resettlement project in Gwanda has another dimension to the development of conflicts. It was launched in 1985 as a pilot project, which sought to introduce an integrated community-based livestock and game management system. The project concept was centred on the use by the communities of the adjacent Doddieburn and Manyale ranches, bought by the Government, for resettlement. The properties covered 56 000 hectares and were to be used for relief grazing and commercial wildlife purposes under the CAMPFIRE programme. Settlements in the communal areas were expected to be replanned and at the same instance excess cattle were to be relocated into ranches. Despite the positive intentions of the programme, the following problems emerged:

- There were internal conflicts among the beneficiary villages arising from the unequal sizes of grazing lands allocated to them.
- One of the chiefs, Sitauze, claimed that the original owner of one of the ranches had officially moved the boundary towards the communal lands, resulting in the loss of 2 000 ha. There was, therefore, a dispute over the claimed piece of land.

- Targeting of beneficiaries: The project was targeted to benefit communities in wards 14,15,17 and 18 in the area. This did not augur well with other wards, which argued that they should also be included because, before the project, their cattle were grazing on the ranches and that wards only defined an area at the political level. In this light, the project was, therefore, viewed as dividing the community.

3.5 Land Allocation Disputes

In resettlement areas, land administration is done by the Government, which grants leases to settlers. Resettlement officers on the ground, although few, play a more hands-on role in dealing with land allocation and other administrative aspects. Party political structures also play a part in land administration, as do the village chairpersons and their support structures, acting as the equivalent of the *dare* in communal areas. Land and natural resource administration in resettlement areas is, therefore, basically a local government preserve since there are no traditional authorities with a claim to customary ownership of land as is the case in communal areas. Thus an understanding of institutional arrangements in both resettlement and communal areas is central to the debate on land conflicts. This is because the administration and policy complexities seem to arise to a large extent from institutional structures.

The absence of well-established institutional structures has worsened conflicts in the resettlement schemes. The settler selection process has brought together people from different parts of the country. The extension of the jurisdiction of surrounding chieftainships to the resettlement areas has not been smooth, as the allegiance of such settlers to a chief “unknown” to them has been brought into question. In such situations, some ethnic-based conflicts have developed in the resettlement areas.

The land allocation system is also at the centre of land disputes in communal areas. The lack of a proper registration system has contributed to the development of land allocation disputes. Communal residents who migrate to towns and cities and other places of employment at times leave their fields unattended for long periods. As a result of increased population pressure in communal areas, such “vacant land” ends up being reallocated to other people. This results in imminent confrontation once the original user of the land returns (upon retirement or retrenchment) to claim right of access to it. The problem has also been compounded by the lack of clearly marked boundaries. Other households take advantage of “absentee landlords” in the communal areas and decide to encroach deliberately onto somebody else’s land. Conflicts are also emerging as a result of the

illegal land allocation procedures that are currently taking place. Councillors, village heads and individuals have been involved in the illegal allocation of land, contrary to legal provisions in the Communal Lands Act, which bestow land allocation powers on Rural District Councils. A couple of examples from Buhera district will be used to illustrate the various types of land allocation related disputes (Boxes 3.3- 3.5).

The Chimhau vs Chaengeni (Box 3.3) dispute pits a villager against a kraalhead and called into question the legal issues with regards to land administration at local level. Armed with custom and ages-old tradition, Chimhau seemed to have laboured under the belief that the traditional authorities - and not council - were vested with powers to allocate land. While the Traditional Leaders Act has clarified this position by re-empowering traditional authorities to arbitrate in land disputes, first, before bringing such cases to council, considerable misunderstandings still remain, especially in cases where village heads are involved.

Box 3.3: Chaengeni D vs Kraalhead Chimhau (Buhera RDC)

A Mr Chaengeni came into Buhera in 1988 and occupied a homestead that had been left intact by another family. The original family had moved to another district and in this particular case it was just a question of a new village entrant taking over the homestead and the fields of another with the tacit consent of the kraalhead and his dare. However, after settling, the kraalhead did not allocate the family (Chaengeni's) any land and, in fact, barred his family from using the land that had been left by the family, which had "out-migrated".

The complainant (Mr. Chaengeni) brought his case to the attention of the Ministry of Local Government. The Ministry advised the RDC to look into the matter, taking into account the fact that kraalheads are not recognised by current legislation and that control of the occupation and the use of communal land is vested in council. It further exhorted council to allocate land to Mr. Chaengeni, noting that he had been paying development levy to council and further advised council to inform Mr. Chimhau (kraalhead) that any attempt to exercise control over communal land was in breach of the law.

Source: Buhera RDC Files

Box 3.4: Mangwanya vs Mangwanya (Buhera RDC)

Some land disputes are a spillover of underlying misunderstandings, brawls and emotionally strained relationships, especially between family members. Where this is the case a land dispute is only a tip of the iceberg that is fraught with complex problems and ambiguities. The case of Wilson and Ashel Mangwanya clearly demonstrates this situation. Wilson bought a piece of land from his brother, Munyaradzi, for about \$16.00 in 1963 (BRDC files 1998). Wilson ploughed and made use of the land from then till 1996, when Ashel came back from work and wanted to build a house in Wilson's field. Ashel further went on and ploughed in Munyaradzi's field, prompting a "triangular" land dispute amongst brothers.

The dispute was brought before the council and a meeting was convened on 14 August 1998 to try and resolve the issue. In attendance were three councillors, Manotama, Dube and Mupinda, Chief Nerutanga, Ashel, Wilson and Munyaradzi Mangwanya, and the village head Mangwanya. The meeting resolved that Ashel should remove the fence he had erected in Munyaradzi's field and to stop ploughing the field, failing which he would be prosecuted under the Communal Lands Act.

Source: Buhera RDC Files

The Mangwanya case presents a number of significant policy and social development dilemmas. On the policy front the appropriateness of having council jurisdiction over family feuds raises concern. Yet the extent to which council can provide solutions without offering alternative land in cases where there is active demand for it becomes questionable. While taking the law into one's hands is inadmissible, it is imperative that family feuds over land be handled with considerable care to obviate recurrence and degeneration.

As part of its coercive communal lands re-organisation programme and in keeping with provisions of the 1930 Land Apportionment Act and successive pieces of legislation, the colonial government established what were called quarantine areas meant for livestock grazing. Once an area was designated as such, all the inhabitants of that area were moved out to alternative land secured in the surrounding area by re-organising villages and kraal head areas (see Box 3.5).

Box 3.5: Land Rights Claims in Communal Areas

In Buhera's Chief Nyashanu area, a quarantine area was established resulting in a whole clan/family being moved. The Gotoru family were the victims of the programme and had to move out of the quarantined area, which was surrounded by, among others, the Muzerengwa village, remainder of Gotoru village, Zimhete kraal and Chuma village. At a later stage, in response to continued overcrowding, the Government allowed people to re-establish homes and fields in the quarantine area.

This is when the dispute emerged, with Gotoru claiming that since his family/clan was the one displaced in the first place, his clan was the rightful owner of the land, a fact hotly disputed and contested by Chuma and Muzerengwa, especially the latter. Gotoru's people returned to the area in 1975 and established their homes and reclaimed their fields, prompting Muzerengwa and his people to cut their fences and getting livestock onto their fields.

The case was reported to the police and to Chief Mawire. The offenders were arrested. Again, in 1993, Muzerengwa and his relatives invaded Gotoru's fields and built their houses, prompting Gotoru to report to the Rural District Council and the police. In 1996 Muzerengwa allocated his son a stand in Gotoru's field leading to a court case, heard in the Mutare Regional Court, which decided in Gotoru's favour. However, the aggression on the ground has not been removed and Gotoru has no fields to plough since 1993. Other parties to the dispute claim that Gotoru is, indeed, the aggressor¹⁸.

Because of the conflicting versions of the matter it was felt that a physical inspection of the disputed area would probably shed more light on the case and thus help in resolving the disputes. The inspection "in loco" was scheduled for 19 August 1998 with a 10-member visiting team (see Table 3.1). Headman Mawire and 30 of his village heads and some of their subjects attended the meeting held at Dumbahushe. Two members each from the parties in conflict were to accompany the Land Dispute Task Force to the land in question. Unfortunately, Muzerengwa's team refused to go, forcing a cancellation of the proposed on-site inspection. On the basis of these developments Council met and noted that:

- ▶ The case had dragged on for too long, Council should proceed to resolve the dispute.
- ▶ By refusing to participate in the inspection of the disputed land, the Muzerengwas were in defiance of a legal order made by Council.
- ▶ The facts drawn from a sketch map in Gotoru's possession and facts presented by other traditional leaders indicated that the land in question belonged to Nyararai village and, therefore, members of the Muzerengwa village occupying Gotoru's land should move out.

Despite this resolution by Council, enforcement remained a headache, with some of the families allocated land by Muzerengwa continuing to live on Gotoru's land in defiance of the Council's ruling.

Source: Buhera RDC Files

¹⁸The different versions by conflicting parties are that:

1. When the quarantine was established it covered parts of Muchuchu, Nhema, Mhuruyengwe, Mupota and Muzerengwe. After it was lifted in 1996, Mhuruyengwe and Muzerengwe returned to their land but Nyararai forced his way into the former quarantine areas sparking the current dispute. Attempts by Chief Nyashanu Makiwa to intervene were unsuccessful (Muzerengwa version).
2. Gotoru took parts of village heads Mupfumbi, Zimhete, Nhema and Wakarambwa's areas after the quarantine was removed (Samuel Muzerengwa version).
3. After the quarantine was removed Gotoru approached the District Commissioner asking for permission to plough in the area. Permission was not granted. Instead, Gotoru was advised that only a new village would be allowed into the area. A new village was established, Nyararai, sparking a dispute with Zimhete and Chuma over boundaries. (Zikayi Jasi's version).
4. When the quarantine was removed Mhuruyengwe approached Buhera Office for permission to settle in the area, which permission was granted. Nyemba and Chiki Gotoru took up a portion of Mhuruyengwe's area sparking the land dispute (Hama Mhuruyengwe's version).
5. Mungofa Gotoru (the complainant) is far away from the disputed area, which seems to give enough evidence that he is the aggressor (Sarayi Muzerengwi's version).
6. Gotoru applied to the Fort Victoria-base Commissioner (now Masvingo) to occupy the former quarantine area, which permission was granted upon setting up a new village (Nyararai). Even before the quarantine was established the area was occupied by Nyashanu Gotoru and as such it belongs to the Gotorus (Mukanwa Gotoru's version).

Table 3.1 Composition of the inspection team to the disputed areas.

Inspection Team Member	Position
1	Chair Land Dispute Task Force.
2	Assistant CEO, BRDC
3	Department of Natural Resources.
4	District Administrator's Office
5	AGRITEX.
6	Criminal Investigation Department.
7	Zimbabwe Republic Police
8	Zimbabwe Republic Police
9	Secretary, Buhera Rural District Council
10	Land Dispute Task Force Member

Source: BRDC Files

Another form of land conflict occurs when a farmer leaves his/her land fallow for a period either because he/she does not have sufficient resources for inputs or he/she has gainful employment outside the community. If the situation persists for two to three seasons it can become a source of dispute. A village head may suggest that the land be allocated to a deserving family on a temporary (lease back) or permanent basis (see Box 3.6). If the owner's resource situation is so glaringly desperate, the family might accept the suggestion (in good faith), leaving the option of repossession open. However, the problem usually arises when the family "leasing" the land invests significantly in it and then develops an attachment to a point of not wanting to return it to the owners. Situations like this are worse in cases where the "lease back" was just implied without any explicit provisions and undertakings, creating "fertile conditions" for corrupt practices.

Box 3.6: Furidze R.K.T. vs Kraalhead Gonah M.T. (Buhera Rural District)

In the Furidze-Gonah case the situation arose when the complainant, a Police Officer, left for Bulawayo together with his family at the height of the liberation struggle in 1978/9. A season later, in 1980 the family returned, only to discover that their land had been reallocated to another family. The village head, with what the complainant referred to as a "kangaroo court", informed him that he was not going to get his land back unless he made certain concessions and paid something to the village authorities. The complainant sought recourse through the council but to date the dispute remains unresolved.

Buhera RDC Files

3.6 Ethnic-Based Clashes

Although this study did not identify ethnicity as a major cause of land conflicts, an example of the problem was identified in Masvingo where there was ethnic conflict between the Shangani community and Karanga families in Chiredzi District. The MP for the area, who is Shangani, led an attack on 40 Karanga villagers in Chief Chilonga's area, destroyed their property and confiscated their livestock. The 40 villagers were originally from Gutu, Zaka and Bikita districts and had settled in the area in 1957. The Shangani were demanding that the Karanga families go back where they came from to free the land for use by the Shangani (*The Herald* 23-12-1999). At the time of writing this report, the case was being heard in the courts.

3.7 Conclusion

The situation of land conflicts in communal and resettlement areas is a cause for concern as frequent clashes distract people from applying their energies to development. One of the major gaps in this area is the absence of a properly constituted institution or a 'desk' at the rural district level to effectively deal with land conflicts, offering policy direction and resolving disputes. At present, cases or disputes are referred and counter-referred to the Rural District Councils, District Administrator's office as well as the traditional leadership. In a situation where VIDCOS, councillors, traditional leaders and Government technical agencies all stake their claim to land dispute resolution, land conflicts continue to be handled in a messy and clumsy manner.

It is imperative that in planning future resettlement schemes, provisions be made for expansion to accommodate new households that spawn from the original settlers. This has to be done without necessarily turning resettlement areas into communal areas in terms of both population density and land tenure. Wishing away growth is a recipe for the development of conflict. The situation in resettlement schemes brings up the need to debate the criteria or conditions under which land held under leasehold can be formally subdivided.

Unlike in resettlement areas where most of the land disputes related to use and application of resources, crop and livestock husbandry practices, in communal areas, land conflicts largely arose from "fluid" boundaries in part because there were no fixed and legally recognised pegs or other such markings. The communal land tenure also makes resource allocation a hotly contested area with *sabhukus* allocating grazing land without regard to the interests of villagers. In the absence of some formalised registration of land allocated to and held by households, ownership of arable land remains insecure and thus open to the whims of the traditional leadership structures.

LAND CONFLICTS ON STATE LANDS

4.0 Introduction

The state is a major landowner in Zimbabwe. Rural land administered by or on behalf of the state includes all national parks and game reserves, state forests, state farms administered by ARDA¹⁹ and by individuals. ARDA was constituted in 1982 following the amalgamation of three statutory bodies, namely the Sabi Limpopo Authority (SLA)²⁰, the Tribal Trust Land Development Corporation (TILCOR)²¹ and the Agricultural Development Authority (ADA). These institutions have their origin in the colonial era and their establishment was characterised by the displacement of communities. Land conflicts that obtain in various forms of state lands today have their seeds in the pre-independence period. This chapter examines land conflicts on wildlife estate administered by the Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management (DNPWM), state forests run by the Forestry Commission²² and state farms administered by ARDA.

Given the scarcity of land in the communal lands, one option that is readily available to the people is to intrude into neighbouring conservation areas, national parks and CAMPFIRE areas, Forestry Commission lands and ARDA estates. A combination of factors, which includes low investment on land in the communal areas and the equally low productivity in those areas, has only served to increase the pressures exerted by the communal population on the various forms of state land.

4.1 Land Claims on Protected Areas

The development of protected areas and other forms of state-land ownership during the colonial period saw the displacement of huge numbers of the indigenous population. The post-independence government simply inherited the problems. This has created the social basis for the occurrence of various forms of conflicts between the state and communities.

¹⁹The Agricultural and Rural Development Authority (ARDA) is a parastatal under the Ministry of Lands, Agriculture and Rural Resettlement, which manages about 314 754 hectares of land located in various parts of the country. The history of the estates varies as some were originally carved from the communal areas while others are estates in large-scale commercial farming areas (with title deeds).

²⁰The Sabi Limpopo Authority (SLA) was promulgated by an Act of Parliament, cited as Sabi Limpopo Authority Act (Chapter 156) of 1965. The main functions of the Authority were to exploit, conserve and utilise the water resources of the area bounded by the Save and Limpopo rivers. Further, the Authority was given the mandate to establish undertakings for the economic and social development of the Southeast Lowveld even when the area had no direct linkage with the water resource.

²¹TILCOR was established as a mirror image of the SLA by the Tribal Trust Land Development Corporation Act (Chapter 159) of 1968. TILCOR was tasked with the development of rural areas, in all sectors of the economy (agriculture, mining, forestry, agro-industry and commercial).

²²Indigenous forests gazetted under the Forest Act and managed by the Forestry Commission have a total area of about 800 258 hectares, which is about 2% of the country's total area. There are about 22 forest reserves, which range in size from a minimum of 567 ha, in the case of Ungwe Forest, to a maximum of 144 230 ha as in Gwaai Forest. The Parks and Wildlife estate occupies an area of about five million hectares, which constitutes some 12.7% of the country's landmass.

Such conflicts often take the form of “poaching” of state resources as well as occupation of state land. The case of Gonarezhou National Park will be used to illustrate how the establishment of such protected areas disadvantaged indigenous communities. The area, which is now known as Gonarezhou National Park, in Chiredzi District, Masvingo Province, used to be home to the Shangani people. The Shangani moved freely through this area as they commuted between Mozambique, Zimbabwe and South Africa. In 1966, the people were forcibly removed from the land they inhabited, which was made part of Gonarezhou National Park. Parts of the area were designated as a safari area for controlled hunting but in 1972 the entire area was then incorporated into Gonarezhou National Park.

The creation of the park “divided a unified people, placing them into three administrative units in two different districts belonging to two different provinces” (Peterson 1991:3). Thus one section was placed in Chipinge district in Manicaland Province while another was relocated in Chiredzi district in Masvingo Province. The Shangani communities, which were originally on the east bank of the Save River, together with those from within the park, constitute what is now called Mahenye Ward in the Gazaland district (now Chipinge district). The Shangani people, who moved north and northwest, went to Sengwe Communal Lands and Matibi No. 2. Communal Land, both of which are in Chiredzi District, Masvingo Province. Among those who went to Sengwe Area was Chief Chitsa who was demoted from a “chief who was owed allegiance from surrounding chiefs to a sub-chief in another chief’s territory” (Peterson 1991:3). The other small group went to Mozambique. As a result of their remote geographical location, the colonial government ignored the Shangani people.

The establishment of Gonarezhou National Park caused displaced indigenous communities to suffer permanent social and economic losses. Despite the establishment of the CAMPFIRE programme as a resource-sharing paradigm in the area, the programme has fallen far short of communities’ expectations, hence their continued claims to parts of Gonarezhou National Park.

The establishment of some resettlement schemes in the area has not dampened the Shangani people’s claims to the lands they were displaced from. In Chapter Two we have seen how Gonarezhou National Park and the adjacent privately owned conservancies were also targeted by the land occupiers. Although there were social, political and other factors behind the 2000 land occupations, historical land claims, such as those of the Shangani, explain why communities were easily mobilised to occupy Gonarezhou National Park and surrounding conservancies.

4.2 The Case of State Farms Administered by ARDA

The history of statutory bodies, like TILCOR and SLA, gave birth to the sporadic conflicts that continue to surface between ARDA estates and surrounding communities. For example, the African peasant population whose land had already been alienated in earlier periods was now vulnerable to further potential land losses following the establishment of SLA. In addition, the water rights in dams such as Kyle, Bangala, Manjirenji and Esquilingwe were also transferred to SLA, making it the sole user of all the water resources. The local African populations, whose land had been consumed at the installation of the water system and the related conservation programme protecting the catchments, were excluded from any water rights.

In promoting the development of the TTLs, TILCOR established growth points in selected locations, of which presently there are 11 of them, in the TTLs that were contiguous to estate farming operations²³. Examples of such estates included Tsholotsho, Katiyo Tea Estate, Muzarabani and Sanyati. These schemes were developed from land taken from the TTLs as provided for by the Land Tenure Act. ARDA's history is therefore characterised by the emergence of estates that had not only displaced the African population, but also, to a large extent, excluded them from enjoying the benefits accruing from the new developments. Thus the displacement of communities was not compensated for and this remains the major source of disgruntlement and conflict between various forms of state lands and surrounding communities.

In another mode, several white farmers have also made representation through the Commercial Farmers' Union (CFU) to repossess properties in Kezi-Marula areas or get cash compensation at market rates on these properties following the expiry of Government leases. Traditional leaders in these particular areas on the basis that they were the original inhabitants have made further claims on these same lands. Claims for restitution of land rights are unique in that they focus on a group of people displaced by the establishment or development agencies that include TILCOR and SLA. Another complication is that several communities with historical claims fight for land rights in the same area. Estates where restitution claims have been lodged include Middle Sabi, Katiyo, Chisumbanje and Transau.

²³The mandate of TILCOR was to develop core estates that were economically self-supporting and commercially profitable, with an emphasis on providing employment and urban infrastructure that would attract private sector investment opportunities. This development thrust was generally targeted for whites in the remote areas. TILCOR also established major operations in the form of industrial infrastructures and this led to the development of the industrialisation programme for present day Chitungwiza, but at the expense of the Seke people. It also provided infrastructure at Maphisa, Hauna, Zimunya and Sanyati.

The occupation of Kezi-Marula and Vungu estates is another resultant effect of land claims on those state farms. The Kezi Marula Ranching Estates in Matabeleland North is made up of nine estates totalling 100 000 ha and the areas are surrounded by communal areas. The ranches fall in natural region V, suitable for extensive livestock production. Commercial farmers abandoned the estates during the post-independence dissident uprising in Matabeleland in the 1980s. ARDA was then asked to take over the ranches. Since then, illegal settlements have increased. Efforts were made to remove the squatters but with limited success. To date, the problem still persists and widespread poaching of grazing land and the cutting down of trees continues. Even the carrying capacity of the ranches has been depleted.

Middle Sabi, originally in a TTL, was created by the SLA in the sixties. The displaced Ndaу inhabitants, most of them under headman Munyokowere, were relocated to the Mutema, Changazi and Birchenough areas. With the inception of the settler scheme, land was initially set aside for some of the displaced households but most of them failed to satisfy the requirements of the selection criteria. Currently, the displaced people, through the local political machinery, are contesting the land rights of ARDA and claiming cash compensation and resettlement on the 17 077 ha set aside for future development. A similar case is being witnessed in Katiyo where “squatters” numbering 110 households invaded an area of 2 457 ha, of which 500 ha had been earmarked for the expansion programme for tea production and the remainder for commercial forestry. The land is part of the area gazetted as ARDA land but which had remained part of the reserved land for future activities.

At Transau Estate, the land reform programme triggered decades-old land struggles, with people from the former reserves of Chikwanda, Mawoni, Matereke and Rourke demanding to re-establish their land rights. These people claim that the colonial settlers deprived them of their land and confined them to fenced areas within the farms only to use them as cheap labour. When ARDA acquired the farm some of them were resettled near Odzi River. The formal land claim was lodged in 1998, in which the claimant community argued that he wanted the ownership rights restored and was unwilling to be moved to other resettlement areas.

The Commercial Farmers’ Settlement Scheme has led to disputes of various kinds. For example, there is evidence to show that the scheme has benefited the powerful urban elite at the expense of those who depend on free access and collective use rights and those without any political leverage. In other cases, there has been a resurfacing of

historically based disputes, with communities surrounding some of the schemes claiming that they had occupied the land for generations and hence their families should have been given priority in settler selection.

In these situations, the emplacement of settlers has introduced insider/outsider-based tensions. In cases such as Kezi-Marula, Vungu and Sikato, it has culminated in farm occupations, destruction of infrastructure, stock thefts and disputes over farm boundaries. In most of these cases, the strategy used by the villagers has been to lobby politicians to their cause. The dispute has pitted politicians against administrators, often leaving the situation unresolved. What then becomes evident is that the land reform programme in itself is the spawn of local level conflicts. This raises questions on the ownership of rural development projects and methods being used to develop and implement them.

4.3 Land Occupations/Illegal Settlements on State Forests

Occupation of forest estates and state farms administered by the Forestry Commission has resulted in direct conflict between the state and concerned communities. Most of Zimbabwe's gazetted forest areas are located in the low rainfall areas and on the Kalahari sands of Matabeleland North and Midlands provinces. The forest areas are in ecologically fragile areas and are, therefore, susceptible to permanent environmental damage when mismanaged. This explains the rationale behind their designation as protected state forests. In many of the situations, pressure exists from the original forest inhabitants and other groups of illegal settlers to convert the forests into areas for cultivation. In addition to that, neighbouring local populations use forest areas for grazing, cultivation and other means of livelihood.

To reiterate, illegal settlement in the gazetted indigenous forest areas has its origins in tenants who used to reside in these forests since the de-gazetting of the forests. For many generations, there were cultivator families, although few, who had occupied the river valleys of these, forest areas practising subsistence cropping and ranching. Given the relatively small numbers of people and livestock involved, these activities did not at that time negatively impact on the forests' sustainability. As a consequence and coupled with the fact that labour was difficult to recruit, the Forestry Commission made a deliberate policy to allow these people to live in the forests under a permit lease system. In this arrangement, permit holders would live, cultivate and graze their livestock in the forests. At the same time, the system also allowed non-forest residents to graze their livestock in them.

The permit system continued to be pursued in the 1970s when an agricultural land-use plan was developed for the tenants. Since “a considerable area of land in the forests is more suited to agricultural use than forestry” the Forestry Commission resolved that such land could be used to improve the welfare of people in the region. The agricultural plan in question divided the forest areas into four zones each with a fixed number of permit holders.²⁴ Each permit holder would be allocated 50 ha of land for grazing, with cropping being restricted to the valleys. According to Government Notice 382 of 1970, which was issued in terms of the Forest Act, forest area occupations were restricted to permit holders and other authorised commercial leaseholders. Those were issued on a yearly basis and tenant selection was based on a good previous record of occupancy and on the number of cattle and other assets owned. Applicants who failed were asked to leave. Agriculturists, foresters and District Commissioners sanctioned this. A system of recording and monitoring tenant and livestock numbers was also put in place. Furthermore, tenant obligations with respect to environmental concerns such as fires, conservation of trees, soil, the veldt and wildfire were clearly spelt out. The Forestry Commission provided infrastructure such as boreholes, deep wells, dip tanks, schools and roads to the tenants. This clarity of policy and the strict adherence to it by all stakeholders provided an effective legal framework for the control of tenant numbers, their movements and activities.

Despite the foregoing successes, some of the shortfalls of the tenant system during its early years of implementation (1970-1975) were that:

1. In forest areas such as Molo, Molecombe and Mzola, the selection and tenancy regulations were either not implemented or not strictly adhered to as some families were asked to remain in the forests pending the issuing of permits.
2. The authenticity of the dependants, visitors and relatives of permit holders was sometimes not checked.
3. Unmarried male children, who were supposed to leave the forest areas at 21 years of age, normally stayed on.

The foregoing contributed to the birth of the current land occupations in forest areas.

²⁴The four zones were Gwaai, consisting of Gwaai, Bembesi and Ngamo forests; Umgusa, consisting of Umgusa, Umzibane, Inseze and Chesa forests; Gwampa, consisting of Gwampa, Lake Alice and Molo and the African Area, consisting of Mafungabusi and Mzola. Each of the above forest groups was designed to have 152, 180, 118 and 420 permit holders, respectively.

Occupation of state forests gained momentum during the war of national liberation. As the war intensified between 1977 and 1979, most Forestry Commission employees left their forest area-stations for the towns and cities, regarded as being safer. Some forest tenants also abandoned their homesteads. As this was happening, desperate landless families saw an opportunity to occupy forest areas, especially in Mzola, Gwaai, Bembesi and Gwampa. These occupations intensified with the attainment of independence in April 1980, as the promise was people could settle on any land of their choice. The insecurity situation was worsened by the dissident problems in the western and southern parts of the country, which lasted until 1987. Most forest stations therefore remained unmanned. Furthermore, experienced staff left the service in 1985, leaving very junior employees with limited resources to monitor and contain the squatters.

The year 1985 onwards saw the return of Forestry Commission employees to their respective stations. Attempts were then made to remove squatters from forest areas such as Gwaai, Umgusa, Gwampa, Bembesi and Chesa. However, although eviction notices were served and houses burnt, the squatters were not deterred. In fact, more illegal settlers began moving into the forest areas. For example, Table 4.1 shows an eight-fold increase in the number of squatter families between 1987 and 1998. Most of these families are in Mzola, Bembesi, Gwaai and Gwampa forests.

Table 4.1: Trends in the Squatter Population in the Gazetted Forest Areas

Year	Permit Holders	Squatters families	Total population
1987	806	321	6 498
1993	705	681	10 484
1998	*	2 420	22 264

Source: Forestry Commission Documents 2000

**Figure not available*

It was estimated that there were about 2 420 squatter families in gazetted indigenous forest areas. The Bembesi, Chesa, Gwaai, Gwampa, Ngamo, Inseze, Umgusa, Molo, Sikumi, Kavira and Mzola forest areas totalling some 63 000 ha were affected. Gwaai/ Bembesi, Umgusa/Inseze, Gwampa/Lake Alice and Mzola have the largest number of squatter families (Table 4.2). Given that some of the settlers also own livestock, their combined activities have had an adverse impact on the forests.

Table 4.2: Settlements in the Forests Areas of Matabeleland North

Forest Area	Total area (000 ha)	Area under settlement (000 ha)	No. of families
Gwaai/Bembesi	199.0	8.0	882
Umgusa/Inseze	66.0	8.0	570
Chesa	14.0	8.0	54
Gwampa/Lake Alice	79.0	10.0	424
Ngamo	103.0	3.0	85
Kavira	28.6	1.0	15
Mzola	67.2	25.0	390
Total	556.8	63.0	2 420

Source: Forestry Commission Documents 2000

The majority of the settlers have come from Matabeleland North province and only a small number are from outside the province. Even within the province, there is a greater tendency for the settlers to come from the neighbouring districts (see Table 4.3). However, these adjacent districts and their communal areas are characterised by low agricultural potential, largely due to their low rainfall patterns and inherent poor soil fertility. Poor agricultural production has led these communal area people to become more dependent on forests and forest products for subsistence. This has forced them to demand the recognition of their traditional rights to the demarcated forestland and its resources. However, their failure to access the forest resources and secure benefits from them has contributed to the incidences of squatting and poaching in these forests. The fact that these squatters came from neighbouring communal areas explains why the relevant districts are keen to have them evicted from the forest area.

The problem of illegal settlements in state forests has continued despite the Forest Act, which states that no dwellers are supposed to live in the forest areas. Strategies to implement this policy by the Forestry Commission include the strict regulation of entry into the forests and arresting trespassers. The latter are taken to the police and issued with tickets for payment of fines or for prosecution purposes. The most common prosecutions have been for poached timber. However, fines imposed for such crimes have generally been light and have failed to deter would-be offenders.

The sharp rise in the settler population in forest areas has contributed to:

1. Uncontrolled and unplanned cultivation of land, which involves the cutting down of trees and clearing of forests, resulting in land degradation
2. Soil erosion caused by overgrazing, removal of forests for construction and agricultural purposes, and forest fires, which are used as methods of hunting and land preparation
3. Poaching of forest products such as timber and wildlife.

Table 4.3: District of Origin of Settlers by Forest Area

Forest Area District	No. of Families	District of Origin	% of Settlers by area of Origin
Bembesi	706	Bubi/Nyathi	35.8
		Lupane	32.2
		Other	32.0
Chesa	105	Nyamandlovu	72.2
		Other	27.8
Gwaai	480	Lupane	79.4
		Other	20.6
Gwampa	350	Nkayi	32.6
		Bubi (Nyathi)	24.3
		Other	43.1
Ngamo	77	Lupane	84.4
		Other	15.6
Inseze	252	Nyamandlovu	69.8
		Other	30.2
Umgusa	240	Nyamandlovu	56.7
		Other	43.3
Molo	41	Lupane	63.4
		Other	36.6
Sikumi	17	Tsholothso	53.1
		Other	46.9
Kavira	16	Hwange	40.0
		Binga	60.0
Mzola	127	Lupane	40.2
		Binga	34.6
		Other	25.2

Source: Forestry Commission Documents 2000

Given the foregoing, it is becoming increasingly difficult for the Forestry Commission to manage the affected forest areas. This is worsened by the problem of trying to distinguish between the original permit holders and squatters, given that all settlers are claiming ancestral and political rights to the forest areas. As a result, the Commission has been forced to drop the tenancy system and to treat all settlers as illegal, as enshrined in the Forest Act. Consequently, since the mid-1980s relocation programmes have been mounted by Government (Box 4.1).

Box 4.1: Responses to Land Occupations in State Forests

1. Chesa Forest. A resettlement plan put together for this forest area by the Forestry Commission, the local Member of Parliament, District Administrator and the relevant District Council in 1990/91 failed due to lack of political commitment. Land had been identified in Tsholotsho and the Forestry Commission had sourced funds for the relocation exercise.
2. Gwaai/ Bembesi Forests. After reaching an agreement with the settlers, the Forestry Commission had resolved to move settlements on the western side of these forests to the east of the Bulawayo-Victoria Falls road in 1994/95. Unfortunately, political pressure again thwarted this initiative.
3. Mzola Forest. In 1994 the Forestry Commission resolved that this forest area served a conservation purpose and that all squatters should be removed from it. The removal process was initiated in 1995 but failed because of lack of support by the police in the face of angry settlers. However, in 1996 the High Court of Zimbabwe gave an order to evict the squatters but politicians stopped the exercise.
4. Umgusa/Inseze Forests. The Forestry Commission had discussions with Umgusa Rural District Council, the local Member of Parliament, the District Administrator, AGRITEX and resettlement officials and agreed to move squatters from Chesa, Ngamo, Umgusa and Inseze into an agreed area in Inseze. However, this plan was not implemented.
5. Mafungabusi Forest. In 1986 the Forestry Commission successfully removed settlers from this forest and relocated them in the surrounding districts. A forest co-management programme involving communities neighbouring this forest has since been put in place with financial support from CIDA.
6. Gwaai/Bembesi Forest. Since 1999, the Forestry Commission, with financial and technical support from the UK-based Department for International Development (DFID), has been developing shared forest management models that can be used to share benefits from the forest areas with neighbouring communities. However, these models are yet to be implemented.

Source: Forestry Commission Documents

Based on the foregoing analysis, it is clear that the long-term survival of these forests will depend on the complete removal of squatters. Yet the eviction of people, leaving them at the nearest bus stop outside the forest area, has made the Commission very unpopular. The current methods of evicting people are considered to be inhuman and are being resisted by the affected people (see also Box 4.2). Furthermore, the Forestry Commission has historically stood on its own and in direct opposition with local and national politicians. The dilemma it faces is that any relaxation of the enforcement of the Forest Act will lead to the accelerated destruction of forests and poaching of wildlife. The success of any eviction will, thus, require political commitment, involvement of all key stakeholders and implementation of benefit-sharing mechanisms for neighbouring communities, along the same lines as CAMPFIRE.

Despite the Forestry Commission's previous attempts to remove squatters from the forest areas, the problem remained critical and part of the affected land has been degraded to the extent that it would be very expensive to rehabilitate. Forest areas that fall in this category include the eastern part of Gwaai/Bembesi, the north-eastern portion of Inseze Forest, Molo and Molecomb. One option that can be considered is to have parts of these forests de-gazetted and turned into resettlement areas, with people from other parts of the forests also moving in to them. However, areas that are suitable for this option are very limited, hence only a small proportion of the squatter population can be accommodated. The rest will, therefore, have to be considered for resettlement under the ongoing land reform programme. Furthermore, according to the Forest Act, the Forestry Commission can only de-gazette if an equivalent amount of land has been identified and gazetted as a forest area. It is, however, important to note that the success of this option depends on a stringent population control strategy. This is because, in the medium to long term, population growth will result in encroachment into the greater part of these forests.

Box 4.2: Matthew Makanyanga versus Forestry Commission

An estimated 119 people moved into Nyagui demarcated state forest between 1980 and 1983. They had moved into the area of the forest known as Bende Gap. The people claimed the area was their traditional home with some alleging that they were born there. Nyagui was declared a forest area in 1958. The people claimed that they had moved away on their own accord in 1959 but returned at independence in 1980.

The Forestry Commission argued that the people, otherwise referred to as squatters, had no right to reside in the demarcated forest and that they had committed an offence in terms of Section 70 (1) of the Forest Act (Chapter 125). The Forestry Commission resorted to legal procedures in its efforts to secure the eviction of the squatters. Nine people who included the spokesman for the squatters, a headman of the community and the district chairman of ZANU (PF) for the area, who was also a teacher by profession, represented the squatters in court.

The squatters argued that their late Chief Rekayi Tangwena and the then Governor of Manicaland Province, Comrade Joshua Dube, had told them to regard the place as their home and encouraged them to develop all the necessary infrastructure.

The community, accordingly, went ahead and developed the area. The chronology of events as related by the villagers was as follows:

- ▶ A letter from the Governor dated 15 April 1985 written and addressed to them advised that the Government had changed its policy with regard to their stay in the area and they now wanted to use it for potato production. Alternative land for their resettlement was to be sought.
- ▶ At the end of 1986 while they waited for the next move by Government, employees of the Forestry Commission started planting trees in their fields where crops were growing. The villagers cut down the trees and were charged with destroying the property of the Forestry Commission.
- ▶ The homes and other property of villagers were destroyed by fire at the insistence of the Forestry Commission. The Governor apologised for the incidences and offered Government support and compensation for the lost property. Nothing was paid.
- ▶ Officials of the Forestry Commission also attended the meeting called by the Governor. The Government also assisted the villagers to obtain Agricultural Finance Corporation (AFC) loans.

The Court ruled against the villagers and ordered their eviction after they had harvested their crops. In arriving at its judgement, the Supreme Court ruled on appeal that "... the Governor's promises do not and cannot bind the state, least of all the respondent as a creature of statute".

Source: Supreme Court of Zimbabwe, S.C. 1/91

4.4 Conclusion

There are several reasons to explain incidence of conflicts over land and other natural resources on state lands. One such reason is the land restitution demands of local communities. Development itself emerged as a source of conflict. At the same time development can also be used as a conflict resolution mechanism. For instance, specific development projects can be initiated, with a view to “appease” certain communities over their demands. The state can actively initiate resource-sharing arrangements with the surrounding communities. Key resources to be shared include firewood, game meat, wild fruits and thatching grass.

It is clear from this study that uncontrolled settlements in the gazetted indigenous forest areas have adverse effects on these ecologically fragile areas. They have brought various parties into further conflict. Yet according to the Forestry Commission the long-term solution is the complete removal of these people from the forests to ensure that the objectives for which the forests were gazetted are fulfilled. Forest areas that are critically affected and hence deserve priority are Ngamo, Umgusa, Chesa, Mzola, Kavira, Umzibane, Sikumi, Batley and Franklands. Removal of the settlers will enable the forests to recuperate and become more productive in timber, wildlife and non-timber forest products. In operationalising this recommendation, the Forestry Commission would take advantage of the current land reform programme, through the appropriate authorities. Recently the Commission, with the concurrence of the relevant Provincial Administrator, compiled lists of squatter families according to their district of origin. Another factor that contributes to the intrusion by local communities on the state’s intensive conservation zones is that Government itself has never justified to local/adjacent communities its reasons for gazetting the land as state land. However, such an option remains unsustainable as it is difficult to justify the existence of (often under-utilised) state land to a “land hungry” people.

This chapter has shown the various kinds and different pressures that are being exerted on state lands. It has analysed the different dimensions to conflicts in state forests, national parks and ARDA farms. In Chapter Five, we shall revisit some of the issues raised in this and earlier chapters in our search for a way forward.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

5.1 General Observations

This study has shown that current and past attempts at land acquisition and land redistribution have generated controversies among the different stakeholder groups. For example, large-scale commercial farmers have been accused of frustrating equitable land redistribution and resorting to litigation to protect their own interests. On the other hand, the Government has invited the wrath of the Western world and media for supporting lawlessness by not compensating farmers for acquired land and not evicting war veterans and villagers from occupied commercial farms. At village level, beneficiary selection and land allocation have created distrust towards Government by some local communities. However, Government insists that decisions on who gets what (i.e. land), where, when, how and why should be seen as a form of restitution for support during the war of liberation and the ongoing land occupations.

In certain situations, conflicts over land and other natural resources have seen communities challenging or totally disregarding the legitimacy of boundaries across the main land tenure categories. As a result, communities, particularly those from communal areas, have found themselves “intruding” into surrounding land-tenure categories comprising private freehold land and other forms of state lands, including resettlement areas. In the Zimbabwean context, conflicts over land translate into confrontation over access to all natural resources - forests, wildlife, water and, to a certain extent, minerals.

To a large extent, this study has attempted to do justice to the objectives and research questions spelt out in the introductory chapter. In this regard it has explored the dynamics and underlying causes of conflicts over land and other natural resources in Zimbabwe with special focus on the 2000 farm occupations. An analysis of land conflicts in the Zimbabwean context has shown that their causes are as varied as the land-use and land-tenure categories. For example, boundaries led to more conflicts in the communal areas than in the other land-tenure categories, while farm occupations were mainly directed at large-scale commercial farms and state lands.

Social factors were important in defining the type of conflicts experienced at the local level. For example, in Chapter Three (on conflicts in communal and resettlement areas), we saw that conflicts over land and other natural resources can be just the tip of the iceberg of the long-standing social contentions among households or communities. On

farm occupations, the study found that social relations between a farmer and his farm-workers, or between him and surrounding communities, had a bearing on whether or not a farm was occupied.

A recurring theme in the development of conflicts in large-scale commercial farms is the issue of land claims by communities. It does not need emphasising that the merits and de-merits of restitution rights should be taken into consideration in Zimbabwe's land policy debate. There are vivid examples in which communities have been actively involved in efforts to reclaim parcels of land over which they have a cultural and historical attachment. As such, one can argue that Zimbabweans from all walks of life should stand up and engage in open debate on restitution as an option in the country's land reform programme. Some of the key issues that need to be addressed in such debates include the legitimacy of land claims by communities; modalities for compensating for the lost land rights (either in cash or kind); institutional arrangements for addressing land claims by communities; legal implications of restitution and methodological issues and procedures for registering, processing and management of land claims by communities. Open debate on such issues will certainly lead to a general consensus on restitution.

5.2 Concluding Remarks and Policy Implications

There are many policy implications and challenges that can be drawn from this study. The following section presents the major findings of the study.

5.2.1 Land Occupations: A Resettlement Model in the Making?

This study has observed that the problem of land occupations is not new to this country. Many other studies have confirmed this (Moyo 1995, 1998, 2000). During the early 1980s, the Government introduced the accelerated land reform programme as a response to the overwhelming demand for land by communities. Similar programmes have been implemented in countries such as Brazil, where land reforms are mainly a response to land occupations.

Perhaps the main difference between the 2000 farm occupations in Zimbabwe and other land occupations elsewhere is the encouragement and tacit support from the State. Whilst the 1998 occupations can be described as spontaneous and independent actions, the 2000 farm occupations were guided by political actions (Sharin 1971). The Government supported farm occupations, a move that at that time was in violation of existing laws governing land acquisition in the country. However, the December 2001 Supreme Court

ruling on Section 16A of the Constitution corrected this anomaly. In its landmark ruling, the Supreme Court of Zimbabwe said it was satisfied that the Government had put in place a Land Reform Programme which sufficiently complied with Section 16A of the Constitution of Zimbabwe. According to the court, the Rural Land Occupiers (Protection from Eviction) Act made it legal for demonstrators (i.e. farm occupiers) to stay on occupied farms.

5.2.2 Opening of Dialogue Between Large-Scale Commercial Farmers and Villagers

Perhaps, one of the most important and positive outcomes of the farm occupations to be considered is that the process opened up some form of dialogue between large-scale commercial farmers and villagers. Although in some situations interactions between commercial farmers and their farm workers, on the one hand, and villagers and war veterans, on the other, were marked by tension, violence or the threat of violence, intimidation and other forms of confrontation, it is remarkable that the two sides began to talk directly to one another. In other words, farm occupations succeeded where “quiet diplomacy” or “constructive engagement” had failed.

Negotiations did take place during the farm occupations, with some farmers agreeing or making some land sharing arrangements with the occupiers. Co-existence forced or otherwise, became a viable option during farm occupations. In this respect, it is important to observe that dialogue between large-scale commercial farmers and communities should have been the norm that did not need to wait for a crisis to bring it about. Such dialogue needs to be nurtured and practised as the nation searches for long-lasting solutions to the land problem and large-scale commercial farmers should start taking serious initiatives in consultation with communities to facilitate land redistribution. Dialogue was also established between Government and communities, especially after the 1998 occupations when citizens openly expressed their grievances in hitherto unheard of circumstances. For the first time, land hungry Zimbabweans were courageous enough to take the bull of land reform by the horns.

It is evident, after the 1998 and 2000 farm occupations that governance and land policy issues in Zimbabwe entered a new era. One can even hypothesise that communities learnt new lessons on methods of engaging the Government and on demanding their rights. Despite the fact that the state encouraged and supported land occupations, state farms and other state lands were also occupied. This is an indication that mass processes, like land occupations, may be easy to start but difficult to control once they have gathered momentum.

5.2.3 Institutional Framework for Resolution and Management of Conflicts

This study has noted with concern the absence of appropriate institutions to handle conflicts over land and other natural resources. Despite the high prevalence of land conflicts, there are no systems, especially at district level, skilled in handling land conflicts. The police and the army have been powerless to act against the land occupiers because land occupations are “a political issue”. The President is on record as saying he would not send war veterans to evict their fellow war veterans from occupied farms. (The bulk of Zimbabwe’s police and defence forces are veterans of the country’s liberation war). This explains why the battle for land has been fought in the courts of law, with the High Court, Administrative Court and Supreme Court taking centre stage. Yet there exists a need for a purely technical or administrative institution to fill this vacuum.

Conflict analysis, resolution and management are made more difficult by the fact that information on the nature, causes and magnitude of such conflicts is poorly managed and, in most cases, remains unrecorded. The absence of a land database, particularly in the communal areas, has made even the limited efforts at conflict resolution less objective. The problem will soon surface in the resettlement areas where not even a basic land information system is in place. It is important to note that the success of any conflict resolution mechanism is predicated on the development of an information system that captures all land-related material and transactions and continuously updates them. Thus, the whole concept of institutional development should go hand-in-hand with the development of a land information data system.

Many information gaps exist on land conflicts. Compounding this scenario is that the current amorphous situation does not guarantee that the limited information on land conflicts is properly recorded or safeguarded for future use. Land transfers continue to be made in both communal and resettlement areas without documentation. If this situation persists it will be a recipe for even more protracted land conflicts in the future.

5.2.4 Conflicts and Social Instability

That conflicts exist in every society is a fact. All the same, conflicts over access to resources can be a major cause of social instability. For example, civil wars in many parts of Africa such as the Sahel have been fuelled by struggles over access to resources. Conflicts over access to land and other resources have, in most cases, pitted communities against other communities. This tended to stretch at the strings of social cohesion. There is a tolerance threshold on which social conflicts do not present a threat to social stability. However, once the threshold is exceeded, conditions are created that undermine social stability.

Conflicts over land in some Zimbabwean societies have exceeded such a threshold. The fact that communities were mobilised quite easily to participate in the 2000 farm occupations suggests that there were some serious shortcomings in the country's land reform programme. Policymakers need to analyse and understand this. As this study has shown, there is more to the current conflicts over land than the political rationalisation that donors have not been forthcoming with financial resources to bankroll the land reform programme.

5.3 Recommendations and Way Forward for Zimbabwe

Conflicts over land and other natural resources can be subterranean but extremely dangerous. Ignored and forgotten they simmer like embers on an ammunition dump, until they explode into open conflict. This has already happened in 20th-century Zimbabwe with the liberation war and the 2000 farm occupations, which have been since dubbed the "Third Chimurenga".

5.3.1 Restitution of Historical Land Rights

The Government should not let simmering discontent over land and other natural resources get out of hand, but should play an active role in resolving them. A legal, policy and institutional framework should be put in place to deal with questions of restitution. In some cases, but not all, certain claims to land should be honoured. What Zimbabwe needs, at the very least, is dialogue among the conflicting parties.

5.3.2 Conflict Resolution Mechanisms

Technical institutions should be set up at national and local level to handle conflicts over land and other natural resources. At the local level, institutions like rural district councils, chiefs and headmen should be trained and equipped with knowledge and skills that will enable them to resolve land and natural resource conflicts in their areas.

Institutional development needs to be seen as a prerequisite for improved land governance, which remains very weak. Topical issues on land conflicts should be discussed at the local levels as part of the efforts towards finding community-based solutions. In the absence of strong local institutions, decentralisation in the implementation of land reforms remains largely unachievable.

5.3.3 Democratic Participation

The land reform process should be decentralised to ensure transparency and the democratic participation of communities in its implementation. Communities must not just be led or told what to do but should be involved in the decisions on acquisition of farms, selection of beneficiaries, allocation of plots and the type of resettlement model. All stakeholders, not just the rich and powerful, but also the poor majority should influence legislation and policy on conflict resolution and management.

5.3.4 Legitimising Farm Occupations

Those who oppose farm occupations as illegal and unjust, like white commercial farmers, the UK and other Western governments, international finance institutions and donors, should recognise the irreversibility of farm occupations and the fast track resettlement programme. This recognition is a *sine qua non* for any meaningful solutions that they might propose. But, while the process is seen as irreversible, the Government does not have capacity to compensate commercial farmers whose lands it has acquired and or provide infrastructure, services and agricultural inputs at fast track resettlements. Western governments, financial institutions and donors can assist by providing funds to compensate farmers whose lands are acquired and to put up infrastructure, such as schools, roads, clinics, etc.

As the national and international storm raised by farm occupations seems to be subsiding, it is now time for stakeholders to come together with proposals to resolve the crisis as well as the underlying land problem that caused it. The failure of fast track resettlement programme will not benefit anyone. If anything, it is likely to lead to more poverty, greater human suffering and environmental degradation.

REFERENCES

Andre, C and J.P. (1995):	Land Tenure under Endurable Stress or the Failure of Evolutionary Mechanisms: The Tragic Case of Rwanda , Faculty of Economics, University of Namur, Belgium.
Barracclough, S. L. (1999):	Land Reform in Developing Countries: The Role of the State and Other Actors , UNRISD Discussion Papers, DP 103, Geneva.
Barracclough, L. (1999):	An End to Hunger? The Social Origins of Food Strategies , S. ZED Books, London.
Bourdillon, M.F.C, Cheater, A.P. and Murphree, M.W. (1985):	Studies on Fishing on Lake Kariba , Mambo Occasional Papers – Socio-Economic Series No. 20, Mambo Press, Gweru
Carvet et al. (1998):	Sustainable Livelihoods; What Can we Contribute , Papers presented at the DFID Natural Resources Advisors' Conference, DFID
Chavunduka, G.L. (1982):	Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Agricultural Industry , Harare, Government of Zimbabwe.
Chilundo, A.G. (1998):	Training and Research Needs of the Region -Mozambique as the Case Study , Paper in Marongwe, N. and Matowanyika, J.Z.Z. 1998, Setting the Foundations for Building Capacities, Networking and Research on Land Reforms in Southern Africa , Proceedings of Regional Workshop held in Maseru, Lesotho, 1-3 July 1998, ZERO Publications, Harare.
Colson, F. (1971):	The Social Consequences of Resettlement: The Impact of the Kariba Resettlement upon the Gwembe Tonga , Kariba Studies, Volume V, Manchester University Press
Coser, L. A. (1956):	The Functions of Social Conflict , The Free Press, New York, USA. Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management (1990): Statutory Instruments of 1990, Government Printers, Zimbabwe.
Dzingirai, V (2000):	Land Reform and CAMPFIRE , Conference Proceedings of a Thematic Learning Workshop on Natural Resource Management and Sustainable Livelihoods; Compatibility or Conflict 27 April 2000, Jameson Hotel, Harare, hosted by ITDG-Southern Africa.
Derman, W (1987):	Preliminary Reflections on Research Issues and Strategies for a Long Term Study on Common Property and Natural Resource Management with Particular Emphasis Upon the Zambezi Valley Basin , Centre for Applied Social Sciences, University of Zimbabwe.

Hammar, J.A (1999):	Retrieving Lost Lands, Livelihoods and Leadership in Gokwe North; Struggle for Power and Entitlements in Zimbabwe's Communal Lands , Draft Paper presented at a Seminar at SARIPS, 22 nd June 1999, Harare.
Hawkes, R. K. (1991):	Crop and Livestock Losses to Wild Animals in the Bulilimangwe Natural Resources Management Project Area , Centre for Applied Social Sciences Working Paper 1-91, University of Zimbabwe, Harare.
Huizer, G. (1999):	Peasant Mobilisation for Land Reform: Historical Case Studies and Theoretical Considerations : UNRISD Discussion Papers, DP 103, Geneva.
Hildrad, (1999):	Blood, Babies and the Social Roots of Conflict : Chapter in Suliman M (ed.) 1999, Ecology, Politics and Violent Conflict, ZED Books, London.
Hyden, G. (1996):	Foreword article in Juma C and J.B. Ojwang (1996,eds) In Land we Trust: Environment, Private Property and Constitutional Change , ZED Books
Keane, F. (1996):	"No-man is an island" , in Letter to Daniel, Penguin, Harmondsworth.
Huizer, G. (1991):	Folk Spirituality and Liberation in Southern Africa , Centre d'Etude d'Afrique Noire, Bordeaux.
Land Tenure Commission (1994):	Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Appropriate Agriculture Land Tenure Systems , chaired by Professor Mandivamba Rukuni, Vol. 2: Technical Reports, Government Publishers, Harare.
Machena, C. and Moinuddin, H. (1993):	Management of the Lake Kariba Inshore Fisheries (Zimbabwe), A Proposal , Zambia-Zimbabwe SADC Fisheries Project, Report No.19.
Magadlela, D. (1999):	Whose Water Right is Right? A Look at Irrigators and Catchment Farmers' Watered Relations in Nyamaropa , in Water for Agriculture in Zimbabwe: Policy and Management Options for the Smallholder Sector, Manzungu, E et. al. (eds.), Harare: University of Zimbabwe.
Makombe, K. (ed. 1994):	Sharing the Land: Wildlife, People and Development in Africa , IUCN-ROSA, Harare.
Mamimine, P. W.; Nemarundwe, N. and Matose, F. (2001):	Conflict and Conflict Management of Miombo Woodlands: Three Case Studies of Miombo Woodlands in Zimbabwe , Miombo Woodlands Research Project, Centre for International Forestry Studies (CIFOR).

Matowanyika, J. Z. Z. and Marongwe, N. (1998):	Land and Sustainable Development in Southern Africa: An Exploration of Some Emerging Issues , Sustainable Land Management Discussion Paper Series No. 1, ZERO Publications, Harare.
Matzke, G. (1993):	Resource Sharing Schemes for State Owned Land in Zimbabwe: A Discussion of Conceptual Issues Needing Consideration in the Development and Planning of Co-management Regimes , Centre for Applied Social Sciences Working Paper 54/93, University of Zimbabwe, Harare.
Moyo, S. (2000):	Land Reform under Structural Adjustment in Zimbabwe: Land Use Change in the Mashonaland Provinces , Uppsala.
Moyo, S. (2000):	The Interaction of Market and Compulsory Land Acquisition Processes with Social Action in Zimbabwe's Land Reforms , Paper presented at the SARIPS of the SAPES Trust Annual Colloquium on Regional Integration: Past, Present and Future, Harare Sheraton Hotel, 24-27 September.
Moyo, S. (1996):	Land and Democracy , Paper presented to the International Conference on the Historical Dimensions of Democracy and Human Rights at U.Z. History Department, Harare.
Moyo, S. (1998):	The Land Acquisition Process in Zimbabwe (1997/8) , UNDP Resource Centre, Harare.
Moyo, S. (1995):	The Land Question in Zimbabwe , SAPES Trust, Harare, Zimbabwe
Moyo, S., Matondi, P.B. and Marongwe N. (1998):	Land Use Change and Communal Land Tenure Under Stress: The Case of Shamva District , article in Masuko L (Eds.)(1998): <i>Economic Policy Reforms Meso-Scale Rural Market Changes in Zimbabwe, The Case of Shamva District</i> , Institute of Development Studies, University of Zimbabwe, Harare.
Moore, S.D. (1992):	Competing Claims to Land and Legacy: Resource Conflicts in Nyanga, Zimbabwe , Paper presented at the Symposium entitled "Parks, People, Crops and Wildlife; Contesting Terrain in Southern Africa", Organised by William Derman and Robert Hitchcock, American Anthropological Association Meetings, San Francisco, C.A.
Murombedzi, J.C. (1992):	State Versus Local Control in Natural Resource Management: Zimbabwe's CAMPFIRE Programme , Unpublished paper presented at a workshop on Common Property, 22-24 September 1992, Stockholm Environment Institute, Stockholm, Sweden.
Muchena, S. C. (1994):	Diversification of the Agricultural Resource Base , Chapter in Mandivamba <i>et al</i> 1994, <i>Zimbabwe's Agricultural Revolution</i> , Harare, 361-390.
Murphree & Cumming, D.H.M. (1993):	Savannah Land-use: Policy and Practice in Zimbabwe , article in Young & Solbrig (Eds.), UNESCO and the Parthenon Publishing Group, Paris.

Nkiwane, S. M. (1997):	Zimbabwe's International Borders: A Study in National and Regional Development in Southern Africa , Volume 1: Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Namibia and South Africa, University of Zimbabwe Publications, Harare.
Nhira C., Baker S., Gondo P., Mangono, J.J. and Marunda, C. (1998):	Contesting Inequality in Access to Forests: Policy that Works for Forests and People Series No. 5, Zimbabwe , Centre for Applied Social Sciences and Forestry Commission, Harare and International Institute for Environment and Development
ODA (1996):	ODA Land Appraisal Mission to Zimbabwe , British Development Division in Central Africa, ODA.
Palmer, R. (1997):	Contested Lands in Southern Africa: A Literature Survey , OXFAM, London.
Peterson, J.H. (1991):	CAMPFIRE - A Zimbabwe Approach to Sustainable Development and Community Empowerment through Wildlife Utilisation , CASS, UZ
Ranger, T. (1985):	Peasant Consciousness and Guerrilla Warfare in Zimbabwe , James Currey, London
Rupiya, M. R. (1998):	Landmines in Zimbabwe: A Deadly Legacy , SAPES Books, Harare.
Sithole, B. and Bradley, P.N. (1995):	Institutional Conflicts over the Management of Communal Area Resources in Zimbabwe , Stockholm Environment Institute, Stockholm.
Scoones, I. et al (1996):	Hazards and Opportunities: Farming Livelihoods in Dryland Africa , ZED Books Limited, London.
Scott, J.C. (1989):	"Everyday Forms of Resistance" in Forest D. Colburn (ed.), Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance , M.E. Sharpe, Inc, London /New York.
Scott, J. (1985):	Weapons of the Weak , New Haven, Yale University Press.
Scott, J. C. (1976):	The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in South East Asia , Yale University Press, New Haven and London.
Shivji, I. G. (1998):	Not Yet Democracy: Reforming Land Tenure in Tanzania , IIED, University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.
Sharin, T. (1971):	"Peasantry as a Political Factor", in Teodo Sharin (ed.), Peasants and Peasant Societies: Selected Readings , Penguin Books, Harmondsworth.

Suliman, M. (ed.) (1999):	Ecology, Politics and Violent Conflict , ZED Books, London.
Supreme Court of Zimbabwe, 1984:	Johannes Jacobus Henderson vs. The State, Judgement No. S.C. 17/84, Criminal Appeal No. 26/84, Harare.
Tshuma, L. (1997):	A Matter of (In) justice: Law, State and the Agrarian Question in Zimbabwe , SAPES Books, Harare.
Tremel, M. (1994):	The People of the Great River: The Tonga Hoped the River Would Follow Them , Silveira House Social Series No 9, Mambo Press and Silveira House, Gweru.
Weinrich, A.C.H. (1977):	The Tonga People on the Southern Shore of Lake Kariba , Mambo Press, Gweru.
Wolf, E. (1969):	Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century , Harper and Row, New York.
Vhurumuku, E. and McGuire, M.L. (1999):	Survey of Commercial Farm Worker Characteristics and Living Conditions in Zimbabwe 1999 , Farm Community Trust of Zimbabwe, Harare.
Zimbabwe Law Reports (1990):	State vs. Muchemwa, ZLR 73 (SC), Harare

CHAPTER SEVEN

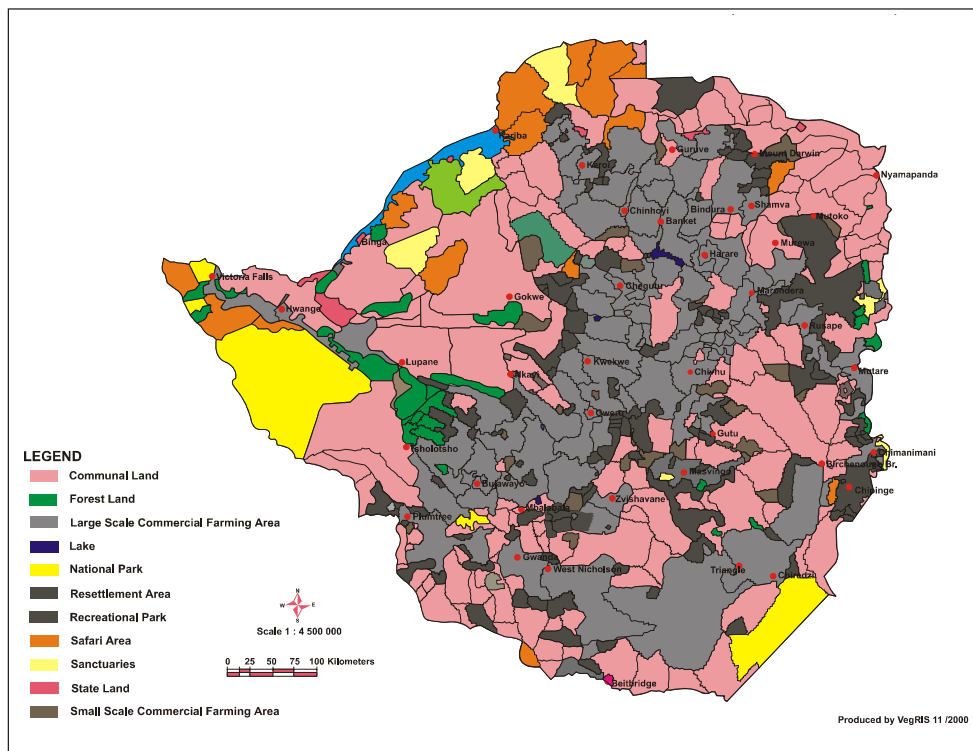
List of Annexes

Annex 1: List of Occupied Farms in the Harare Environs

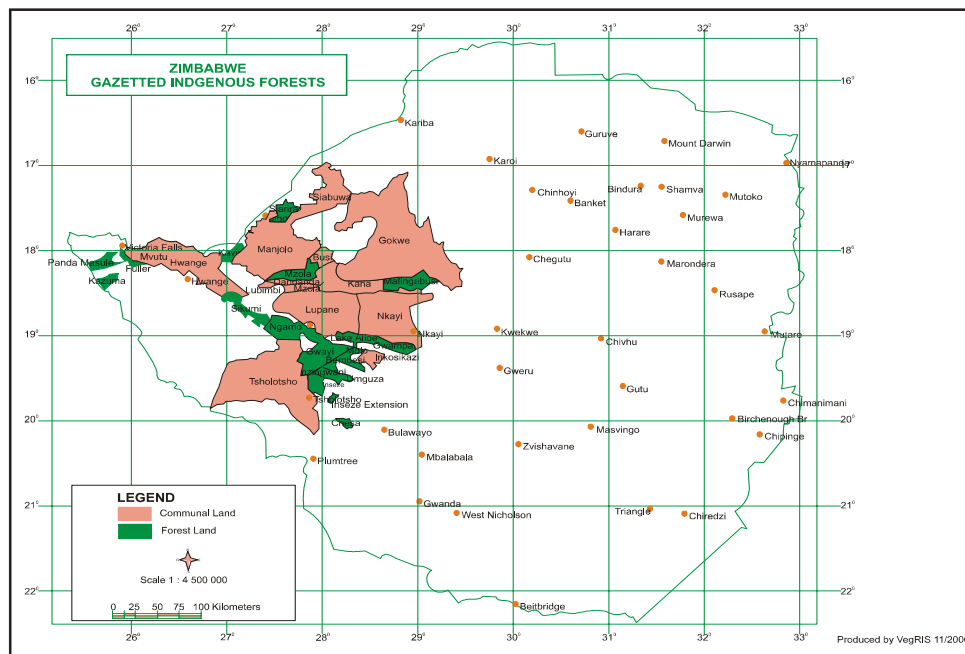
Donald, Butler, Dunstan, Peters, Danckwerts, Irvine's, Hopley Estates, Lilfordia Estate, Buttercombe Farm, Middle England Farm, Dunluce Farm, Stockade Farm, Mt Hampden Farm

Annex 2: List of maps

Map 1: Distribution of Land by Land Tenure



Map 2: Zimbabwe Gazetted Indigenous Forests



Annex 3: Selected variables on some of the occupied farms

Table 7.1: Estimated Population & Dates of Occupation for Selected Farms

Name of Farm	District	Date of Occupation	Estimated Population
Janee Ranch	Gwanda	15 March 2000	12 War veterans
Nelson's Farm	Gwanda	February 2000	10 War veterans
Matetsi River Ranch	Hwange	March 2000	150 War veterans
Karna Block	Gwayi	March 2000	250 War veterans
Gonarezhou National Parks	Chiredzi	May 2000	800 people at its peak, but reduced to around 80 per day
Malilangwe Conservancy	Chiredzi	March 2000	700 at its peak, but had reduced to around 100 people/day
Fair Ranche Naude Farm, Base 2	Chiredzi	March 2000	700 at peak, but had reduced to 300
Fair Ranche Naude Farm Base 3	Chiredzi	March 2000	900 at peak, but had reduced to < 100/day
Eaglemont Ranch	Chiredzi	March 2000	20 villagers and war veterans
Stapleford Estate	Mutasa	May 2000	20 villagers and war veterans
E.C. Meikles Estate	Mutasa	May 2000	50-60 villagers and war veterans
Kukwanira Estate	Mutasa	June 2000	15 war veterans
Pangara Ranch	Nyanga	May 2000	210 villagers and war veterans: 150 were war veterans
Barwin Down Estate	Nyanga	May 2000	50 war veterans

Source: ZERO Field Data 2000

Table 7.2: Intensity of Farm Occupations by District in Mashonaland East

District	No. of farms occupied	No. of farms in district	% of farms occupied
Macheke	22	**	**
Seke	36	216	16.7
Chikomba	8	121	6.6
Goromonzi	20	663	3.0
Hwedza	11	81	13.6
Marondera	22	349	6.3

Source: ZERO Field Study 2000, Farm Community Trust of Zimbabwe Documents 2000

Table 7.3: Intensity of Farm Occupations by District in Parts of Matabeleland Province

District	No. of farms occupied
Bubi	18
Insiza	4
Ntabazinduna	8
Nyamandhlovu	22
Bulilimamangwe	4

Source: ZERO Field Study 2000, Farm Community Trust of Zimbabwe Documents 2000

Table 7.4 Intensity of Farm Occupations in Mashonaland West

District	No. of Farms in District	No. of Farms occupied	% Occupied
Zvimba	400	13	3.25
Chegutu	380	10	2.63
Makonde	280	7	0.35
Kadoma	240	6	2.5
Hurungwe	380	5	1.31

Source: ZERO Field Study 2000, Farm Community Trust of Zimbabwe Documents 2000

Table 7.5: Intensity of Farm Occupations in Masvingo

District	No. Occupied
Masvingo	27
Gutu	10
Bikita	2
Zaka	12
Chivi	5
Mwenezi	10

** Data not available

Source: ZERO Field Study 2000, Farm Community Trust of Zimbabwe Documents 2000

Table 7.6: Occupied Commercial Farms in FCTZ Programme as at 15 May 2000.

Province	District	No. of Farms in District	No. of Farms in FCTZ programme	No. of Farms in FCTZ Programme occupied	% of Farms in FCTZ programme occupied
Mashonaland West	Hurungwe	380	45	10	22
	Zvimba	400	87	16	18
	Makonde	280	19	3	16
	Kadoma	240	5	5	100
	Chegutu	380	11	2	18
Total		1680	131	36	27
Mashonaland Central	Bindura	110	97	3	3
	Mazowe	258	241	90	37.3
	Shamva	60	60	21	35.0
	Centenary	95	83	63	75.9
	Guruve	75	66	43	65.1
	Mt Darwin	20	20	-	
Total		618	567	220	39
Mashonaland East	Marondera	349	32	9	28
	Goromonzi	663	31	8	29
	Chikomba	121	0	Nil	Nil
	Wedza	81	8	Nil	Nil
	Murehwa	55	3	Nil	Nil
	Seke	216	17	4	24
Total		1451	91	21	23
Grand Total		3 763	755	277	37

Source: Farm Community Trust of Zimbabwe Documents, 2000

Table 7.7: Some of the Most Overpopulated Communal Lands (CL) in Zimbabwe

NAME	DENSITY (PERSONS PER SQ.M.)
MANICALAND	
Chikukwa	196.176
Chinyauhwera	83.075
Dora	93.014
Holdenby	116.651
Manga	114.641
Muromo	91.191
Musikavanhu	100.957
Mutasa North	88.962
Mutasa South	92.646
Ngorima	98.589
Nyanga	77.637
Rowa	79.209
Tamandayi	186.159
Weya	63.621
Zimunya	207.147
Mutema	73.041
Chiduku	68.029
Makoni	60.614
MIDLANDS	
Chiwundura	87.165
Manyame	72.164
MASHONALAND CENTRAL	
Bushu	68.048
Chiweshe	83.087
Kandeya	65.017
Madziwa	76.072
Musana	84.763
Guruve	89.137

MASHONALAND EAST	
Chikwaka	83.862
Chinamora	105.412
Chiota	69.681
Kunzwi	62.904
Mangwende	104.510
Seke	64.510
Svosve	
MASVINGO	
Ndanga	63.951
Bikita	62.023
Chinyika	125.265
Masvingo	72.788
Mtirikwi	66.064
Nyajena	70.477
MASHONALAND WEST	
Zvimba	66.177
MATABELELAND NORTH	
Inyati	125.357
Ntabazinduna	77.510
MATABELELAND SOUTH	
Nswazi	63.816
Esiphezini	100.656

Source: FEWS aggregations of ward-level Census Information by Communal Land.