

Estate farming and Ndau people's displacement from Zimbabwe into Mozambique, c.1940-2010

James Hlongwana
Great Zimbabwe University
jlongwana@gzu.ac.zw

Abstract

This article focuses on the development of plantation farming close to the Zimbabwe-Mozambique border and its effects on the Ndau people. Colonial incursions on the Zimbabwe/Mozambique border areas resulted in the development of estate farming in the Chimanimani/Chipinge region. European settlements in the borderland led to land expropriation by the colonial state and multi-national companies for estate farming. These estates ranged from natural and exotic forests, coffee, tea to sugarcane plantations. The majority of the plantations lie along the Zimbabwe/Mozambique border. The estates are vast, numerous and cover a significant area of Chimanimani/Chipinge district. Apart from protecting tree and animal species, the promotion of tourism and provision of employment, the estates have assisted in the development of amenities and infrastructure in the region. In spite of the positives highlighted above, this article argues that the establishment of plantation agriculture displaced the Ndau people from their ancestral lands and pushed them into Mozambique.

Keywords: Cross-border; Estate; Farming; Migration; Plantation; Ndau people; Zimbabwe.

Introduction

The inconclusive border demarcation between the British and Portuguese in 1891 prompted both sides to safeguard their spheres of influence. The failure to conclude the boundary modalities in time forced the British to establish settlements along the proposed border to prevent Portuguese expansion into “their” territory.¹In particular, Rhodes encouraged Dunbar Moodie who was assisted by his uncle Thomas, to organise interested people to trek northwards from South Africa to Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe).²

Rhodes authorised white farmers and missionaries to establish stations along the eastern border in order to prevent the Portuguese from infiltrating into the British

-
- 1 United Nations Report, “Arbitration between Great Britain and Portugal as regards questions relative to the delimitation of their spheres of influence in East Africa,” United Nations, xxviii, 2007, pp. 283-322.
 - 2 N Ndumeya, “Acquisition, ownership and use of natural resources in South East Zimbabwe, 1929-1969”(PhD Thesis, University of the Free State, 2015), p. 25.

territory.³ This resulted in a long stretch of mission stations along the Mozambique/Zimbabwe border. Here, missionaries acquired large tracts of land which meant that, like settler farmers, they became complicit in displacing indigenous people from their ancestral lands.⁴ For example, the American Board of Mission church received from Rhodes 37500 acres of land.⁵ It can thus be argued that missionaries became part and parcel of the settler system and operated within the established set of colonial rules. Plantations were therefore established along the border in the 1940s as an additional barrier against Portuguese encroachment into British territory. The question that this article seeks to respond to is whether estate farming displaced the Ndau from their arable land or not. To do so, the discussion relies on a growing body of scholarship on plantation farming in the focal borderland. Significant studies on estate farming in the Zimbabwe/Mozambique borderland have been made by scholars such as Hughs and Ndumeya.⁶ Hughes focused mainly on the decimation of indigenous forests in the border region leading to the decision to establish exotic forests as replacement of native forests. Equally informative is the work of Ndumeya whose emphasis is on natural resource utilisation during the colonial period. Like Hughes, Ndumeya produced a detailed discussion on coffee, tea and forest estates on the borderland. While these studies highlight the establishment and presence of estates in Chipinge region, this study mostly foregrounds the impact of estate farming and landlessness among the Ndau people, and the subsequent cross-border migration into Mozambique to secure land for farming. At the same time, attention is drawn to post-colonial estate farming and its contributory impact on Ndau displacement.

The article attempts to situate the study within its historical context by drawing attention to Ndau history in the discussion. It also pays attention to the colonial landscape changes epitomised by the creation of tea, coffee and forest plantations in the Ndau region. Further, the paper pays attention to the Ndau predicament in the post colonial economy where the reality of plantation farming continues to sideline them in terms of land and its redistribution. Lastly, the article looks at the positives and negatives of plantation agriculture in the Ndau region.

The article is a product of a multi-pronged methodological approach that was employed to collect data. Informal interviews with respondents in the Ndau region were conducted to ensure that this study covered the bottom-up indigenous knowledge

3 N Ndumeya, "Conserving wildlife resources in Zimbabwe: Reflections on Chirinda Forest 1920s-1979", Forth coming in Environment and History, *The White Horse Press* (available at www.whpress.co.uk, as accessed on 15 November 2019), p. 13.

4 J Hlongwana, "Landlords and tenants in Chipinge district of Zimbabwe" (MA Dissertation Midlands State University, 2007), p. 64.

5 Congregational Church of the United States and Canada, "Report of East Central Africa Mission under the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions", ABC, 15(4-23), 1901.

6 DM Hughes, "Cadastral politics: The making of community forestry in Mozambique and Zimbabwe, paper presented to the biennial conference of the International Association for the Study of Common Property", Bloomington Indiana, USA, 31 May-4 June 2000, p. 3.

experiences and thoughts of the Ndaу people. To solicit data from the informants, personal unstructured questions were asked.⁷ This was through qualitative research interviews which placed emphasis on the interviewee's thoughts.

Document interrogation, involving archival sources' analysis was carried out at the National Archives of Zimbabwe, in Harare. The collection consisted of Native Commissioners' reports, field notes and diaries on the origins of the Ndaу people; their social, economic and political organisation, the demarcation of the Zimbabwe/Mozambique border and cross-border migration. Further, textual analysis of sources such as books, theses, journal articles and other sources was undertaken to compliment the aforementioned sources. The data was subsequently analysed qualitatively.

The Ndaу people

The Ndaу speaking people migrated from the Guruuswa region of pre-colonial Zimbabwe and inhabited the south-eastern region of Zimbabwe and western and central districts of Mozambique in the 17th century. In Zimbabwe, the Ndaу people live mainly in the Chimanimani and Chipinge districts⁸ (formerly Melssetter District) and, in Mozambique, most of them are found in places such as Mossurize, Machaze, Sussundenga, Chimoio, as well as Chibawawa.⁹ Chipinge district is located south of the Chimanimani region of Zimbabwe¹⁰ while, in the east, it shares an international border with Mozambique (see Image 1).

Most of the Ndaу living in Mozambique are regarded as "Danda" while those in Zimbabwe belong to the Tomboji group. The Danda are more traditional in orientation and outlook and are generally viewed as backward people. In stark contrast, the Tomboji are less reserved and are considered to be cleverer than them.¹¹ According to Dube, the Tomboji speak a diluted version of the Ndaу language because of their proximity to Ndaу non-speaking groups such as the Karanga and Manyika. However, these different perceptions have not entirely destroyed Ndaу unity.¹²

7 D Kale, *Interviews* (London, Sage Publications, 2002), p. 14.

8 JK Rennie, "Colonialism and the origins of nationalism among the Ndaу of Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1935" (PhD Thesis North-Western University, 1973), p. 35.

9 M Mawere, "Violation and abuse of women's human rights in the customary practice of 'kuzvarirwa' among the Ndaу people of Mozambique", *International Journal of Politics and Good Governance*, 3(1), 2012, p. 4.

10 National Archive of Zimbabwe (NAZ), (Harare), S 2929/1/7:Report, J L Reid (Secretary for Internal Affairs), 25 June 1966.

11 EEN Dube, "Getting married twice: The relationship between indigenous and Christian marriages among the Ndaу of Chimanimani areas of Zimbabwe" (PhD Thesis, University of South Africa, 2017), p. 48.

12 J Hlongwana (Personal Collection – Hereafter JHPC), Interview, EZS Chikaka (Councillor, Chipinge), 7 December 2015.

Image 1: Shows Chipinge and Mossurize districts of Zimbabwe and Mozambique



Source: Illustration by Thomas Thondhlana, 2018.

The Tomboji are found on the Zimbabwean highlands and have been affected by external influences such as Christianity and western education while the Danda are predominantly located in the eastern and southern margins of the Mossurize District and have managed to maintain contact with the past and hence are considered to be “more Ndau” than their counterparts in Zimbabwe.¹³ Both groups became

13 JHPC, Interview, J Chitoronga (Border region settler, Chipinge), 6 December 2018.

victims of European colonisation of southern Africa; they lost their prime land to the British and Portuguese respectively. While the colonisers expropriated land from the local African population, the Portuguese brutal colonial system forced the Ndau people to seek 'refuge' in remote and unproductive areas of the Mossurize District. In Zimbabwe, the capitalist-inspired legislations inflicted permanent damage on the African society. A capitalist economy which rested upon ownership of resources such as land and labour (both of which the African society could provide) and the maximisation of profits was introduced by the British settlers in Zimbabwe with far-reaching consequences on the Ndau society. To provide a veneer of legality, successive Rhodesian governments enacted discriminatory laws to support the systematic expropriation of land from the Africans. The pieces of legislations which included, among others, the Land Apportionment Act of 1931,¹⁴ facilitated the confiscation of fertile land from the Ndau people in Zimbabwe and contributed to chronic food shortage among them. The result was that the Ndau, particularly those living near the border with Mozambique, relocated to Mozambique or established cross-border families as creative strategies to mitigate hunger and starvation.¹⁵

Colonial time landscape changes close to Ndau territory

As argued above, the Ndau region was too good to be left at the mercy of one colonial power. Not only did the British and Portuguese clash over the place of the boundary line, their geopolitical differences were also fuelled by the desire to control the Ndau region because it had good climatic and soil conditions.¹⁶ In the early days of colonisation, the landscape of the Chipinge/Chimanimani highlands captured the imagination of the Europeans who visited it, with one romanticist commenting thus: "We passed many streams, and the rippling of whose waters was a novelty to me who had heard nothing like it in Africa since I left England".¹⁷ Similarly Bruce, as cited in Moyana, remarked that: "... they all agreed that the equitable temperature and rainfall of the highlands made them quite favourable for agricultural production".¹⁸ This evidences that the agricultural potential of the region forced the British to protect their sphere of influence by increasing their presence in the region. The next section discusses the establishment of coffee and tea plantations as barriers against Portuguese infiltration into the British territory.

Coffee and tea plantations along the border

Driven by the desire to consolidate the British geopolitical position in the study area, the British authorised international companies to invest in the Chipinge area. It

14 VH Moyana, *The political economy of land in Zimbabwe* (Gweru, Mambo Press, 2002).

15 NAZ, S235/511: Report, G Brown (Secretary in the Native Affairs Department), 31 December 1933.

16 W Roder, *The Sabi valley irrigation* (Chicago, Illinois, 1965), p. 15.

17 VH Moyana, *The political economy of land in*, p. 127.

18 W Roder, *The Sabi valley...*, p. 15.

can be argued that the abundance of land as well as good climatic and soil conditions were used as a bait to encourage plantation companies to invest in the area.¹⁹The following comment in a company document of 1965 lends weight to this suspicion:²⁰

... areas of 25-30 miles of radius of Chipinge itself has in my opinion, vast potential, it has been proved that coffee, tea, maize, peas, in fact all the ingredients which go to make a successful farm, economy, can all be grown in this area. Cattle do well; beckoners are being got away at 5 ½ months which is good by any standards. It must be one of the very few areas in the world where coffee, tea, tobacco, wheat, maize, citrus, etc. will grow on the same farm, with livestock doing equally well.

Indeed, good climatic and soil conditions made the Chipinge region the most productive agricultural zone in Zimbabwe.²¹ To ensure that the Chipinge area was utilised, the Rhodesian government advertised it to prospective farmers:²²

Applicants are invited for persons interested in leasing land with an option of purchase for the purpose of producing coffee [and partaking in other farming activities] in Chipinge district. Applicants should have a general farming experience and a minimum uncommitted capital, machinery inclusive the value of relevant farming equipment of £2500. Preference may be given to those with capital in excess of the minimum. Government is prepared to assist approved applicants in obtaining leases of suitable land and by making available loans during the first 5 years after which period the crop should be in economic production...

Thus, vast expanses of land were given to agro-based companies in the region. The Tanganda Tea Company is one of such company which invested in plantation agriculture in Chipinge specialised in the production of tea. From these humble beginnings, the Tanganda Tea Company went on to establish several estates such as Ratelshoek, Jersey and Zona Tea Estates (1944).²³ In feature most of the estates were located along the border between Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Allied to tea plantation growing was the establishment of coffee estates such as Smalldeel Estate,²⁴ now Makandi Estate. Unfortunately, these estates were established in areas which were heavily populated by the Ndau prior to the advent of colonial rule.²⁵ The next section looks at the establishment of exotic forests in the Chipinge region and their impact on landlessness among the Ndau.

19 J Hlongwana, "Landlords and tenants in Chipinge district of Zimbabwe" (MA Dissertation Midlands State University, 2007), p. 34.

20 NAZ (Harare), L.1.7.4F, B: 938335: Report, K George (Secretary of Mines and Lands), 20 July 1965.

21 J Hlongwana, "Landlords and tenants in Chipinge district of Zimbabwe" (MA Dissertation Midlands State University, 2007), p. 30.

22 NAZ, L.1.7.4F, B: 938335: Report, K George (Secretary of Mines and Lands), 25 May 1964.

23 BC Grier, "Child Labour in colonial Zimbabwe", HD Hindman (ed.), *The world of child labour. An historical and regional survey* (New York, ME Sharp, 2009), p. 175.

24 NAZ, L.1.7.4F, B: 938335: Report, K George (Secretary of Mines and Lands), 20 July 1965.

25 JHPC, Interview, L Dekeya (Border region settler, Chipinge), 5 January 2016.

The creation of exotic forests

The presence of evergreen natural forests such as Haroni, Chirinda, Hadowa, and several others²⁶ made Chimanimani/Chipinge region a suitable place for the establishment of exotic forests. The Forest Act was promulgated in 1948 and became the legal basis for the creation of forests in Zimbabwe. To address the problem of indigenous forests' depletion, recommendations were made to establish exotic forests. Additionally, land for the creation of forests was acquired from white farmers who were abandoning farming in the region. In the late 1940s, individual farmers in Chipinge were beginning to leave the area citing market unreliability as the major reason for their departure from the region. They argued that in spite of the good soil and climatic conditions found in the area, the distance from Salisbury (the then capital city and now Harare) did not make economic sense. So, they moved to places which were near Salisbury such as Rusape, Marondera, Karoyi²⁷ and others, especially in the Mashonaland provinces. As a result, they sold their farms to big international companies which had business interests in forestry.²⁸

In addition to the desire to prevent the depletion of natural trees, Ndumeya argued that the need for large-scale timber production was proposed in the 1950s to function as a barrier against the transmission of cattle diseases from Mozambique. Cattle from neighbouring Mozambique wandered into colonial Zimbabwe because the two adjacent governments had difficulties in controlling animal movement across the border.²⁹ The Rhodesian authorities' fears were justified as there were limited dip tanks in Mozambique, and also cattle from the southern parts of the Mossurize District in Mozambique occasionally mingled with buffaloes (vectors which transmit the Foot and Mouth disease to cattle) from the nearby game park. It was argued that the forests would check animal interaction thereby minimising the spread of diseases from Mozambique into colonial Zimbabwe.³⁰ A decision was, therefore, passed to amalgamate individual farms that were found along the eastern border in order to create a buffer zone against animal movement and diseases. As a result, timber companies bought the individual farms and consolidated them into expansive timber estates which, in the end, deprived the ordinary people of land for subsistence farming. In the Chimanimani/Chipinge area, the entry of the timber company began with the establishment of the Gungunyana Estate in Mapungwana chiefdom which overlooked the Chipungumbira (Espungabera) hill on the Mozambican side.³¹ Sinclair also argued that in the Chimanimani area, the

26 NAZ, L: C32.15.9 R, B.126947, Report, P Roberts (Secretary of Mines and Lands), 11 March 1968.

27 N Ndumeya, "Acquisition, ownership and use of natural resources..." (PhD Thesis, University of the Free State, 2015), p. 82.

28 DM Hughes, "Cadastral politics: The making of community forestry in Mozambique...", Paper presented to the biennial conference of the International Association for the Study of Common Property, Bloomington Indiana, USA 31 May-4 June, 2000, p. 8.

29 NAZ, S 2827/2/2/3: Report, H Gordon (Secretary for Native Commissioner Chipinga), 31 December 1955.

30 N Ndumeya, "Acquisition, ownership and use of natural resources...", p. 82

31 NAZ, L.25.12: Report, B McMillan (Officer in the Forestry Department), 2 May 1939.

Forestry Department purchased several isolated farms and created the Martin Forest Reserve which specialised in pine trees production.³² Other companies that invested in timber plantation included the Wattle Company, Gwingingwe, Silver Stream and Border Timbers which, by 1957, had planted trees in an area covering 21000 acres.³³ The result was that by 1945, timber companies were now in control of 162526 acres of land, representing 49% of land on the plateau.³⁴ Thus, plantation agriculture deprived the Ndaus of arable land and subsequently forced them to become wage labourers or to relocate to neighbouring Mozambique where land could be acquired easily.³⁵ The next section looks at the Ndaus land problem during the post colonial period.

The Ndaus in the era of the post-colonial economy

The discussion in this section of the article centres on the survival and further development of plantation agriculture in post-colonial Zimbabwe. The argument proffered in this segment of the paper is that obsession with capital accumulation constrained the Government of Zimbabwe from attending to the land problem which has afflicted the Ndaus since the colonial period.

Sugar plantations in south-eastern Chipinge

The sugarcane plantation that was established at Chisumbanje in 2009 to produce green fuel had historical precedents in the area. While the Sabi Valley was generally shunned by European settlers, the area was attractive to big business because of its flat terrain and proximity to the perennial Save River.³⁶ However, the imposition of sanctions on Rhodesia after Ian Smith had unilaterally declared independence from Britain contributed to the development of irrigation projects. To mitigate the impact of the sanctions, the Rhodesian government pursued inward-looking policies which involved undertaking an irrigation scheme in the Sabi Valley.³⁷ The initial phase of the irrigation scheme was started in 1966 and it covered about 486 hectares of land.³⁸ However, the project was not fully implemented because of the insecurity caused by the armed struggle in Rhodesia. When the war ended in 1980, the post independence government in Zimbabwe showed great interest in the project, leading to the Arkins Commission which was tasked to carry out feasibility studies on the establishment of a mega irrigation scheme in the

32 S Sinclair, *The story of Melsetter* (Salisbury, M.O. Collins, 1971), p. 159.

33 N Ndumeya, "Acquisition, ownership and use of natural resources..." p. 82.

34 NAZ, F1511CA1 CAFile 2: Report, G Adams (Conservation and extension officer), 27 April 1957.

35 JHPC, Interview, D Matiti, (Cross-border farmer, Chipinge), 12 December 2015.

36 JHPC, Interview, W Mashava (Chipinge district Administrator, Chipinge), 1 December 2015.

37 EK Makombe, "I would rather have my land back, subaltern voices and corporate grab in the Save Valley", *Land Deal Policies Initiative LDPI*, Working Paper 20, 2013, p. 4.

38 J Wack, "In the beginning, The Chisumbanje story" (TILCOR, 1973), pp. 1-3.

Chisumbanje area.³⁹ It can thus be argued that the Green Fuel project was authored by the colonial government. The Government of Zimbabwe has a 10 % stake while Macdom invested 90% worth of capital in the company.⁴⁰ It was envisaged that the establishment of the Company would provide employment to the Ndaу, reduce the Zimbabwe import bill and improve infrastructure and amenities in the area.⁴¹

However, the Green Fuel Plant at Chisumbanje in the Sabi Valley brought misery to the Ndaу people. When the agreement was signed in 2009, it was thought that the government company, the Agricultural Rural Development Authority (ARDA) would give 40 000 hectares of land to the Green Fuel. ARDA had 5, 112 hectares of land at its disposal. The Company which had the backing of the government of Zimbabwe got the needed extra land arbitrarily expropriated from the neighbouring communities, resulting in the displacement of thousands of villagers.⁴²

To make matters worse, only 499 out of the 1733 families were compensated for the loss of land to the company.⁴³ The communities pointed out that the Green Fuel company attempted to give them land as compensation, but the pieces of land given were inadequate for the needs of each household and their livelihoods.⁴⁴ Furthermore, some respondents blamed the Company for renegeing on its promises as some of the plots that were given to the evicted people did not benefit from small scale irrigation as that promised infrastructure was not constructed.⁴⁵ Complementing the above sentiments, Thondlana argued that the bio-fuel project in Chisumbanje replaced food crops with fuel crops, thereby undermining household food security and relegating the communities to poverty.⁴⁶ In view of the foregoing concerns, it can be argued that the Company's operations in the Chisumbanje area undermined the livelihoods of the Ndaу. In consequence, the affected communities resorted to cross-border farming in neighbouring Mozambique (as visualised in Image 2) below:

39 "Atkins land and water management feasibility study for the development of hectares of irrigation at Chisumbanje", Zimbabwe, Harare, ARDA, 1983, Report.

40 PB Matondi & CT Nhliziyo, "Zimbabwe contested large scale land based investment: The Chisumbanje, Ethanol...", *Policy Brief*, 43, 2015, p. 2.

41 C Pindiri, "The economic and environmental costs/benefits of green fuel: The case of the Chisumbanje Ethanol Plant", *African Economic Research Consortium Special paper*, 50, Nairobi, 2016, p. 2.

42 E Makombe, "I would rather have my land back: Subaltern voices and corporate/state land grab in the Save Valley", LDPI Working Paper 20, 2013 (available at [https://www.iss.nl/fileadm/ASSET/ISS/Reserach and projects/Research networks/LDPLI/LDPI WP20.pdf](https://www.iss.nl/fileadm/ASSET/ISS/Reserach%20and%20projects/Research%20networks/LDPLI/LDPI%20WP20.pdf), as accessed on 08 March 2018).

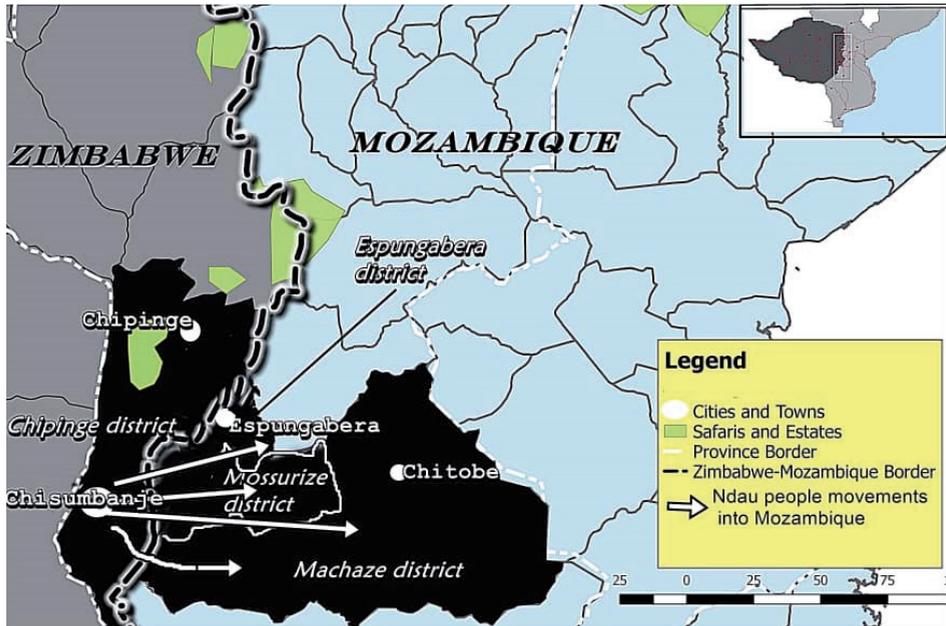
43 MK Chiweshe & P Mutupo, "National and international actors in the orchestration of large-scale land deals in Zimbabwe: What's in it for smaller-holder...", Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA), *Policy Brief*, 2, 2014, p. 2.

44 G Thondlana, "The local livelihoods of bio-fuel development and acquisition in Zimbabwe", Discussion Paper Series, 11, *African Initiative*, 2014, pp. 1-25.

45 JHPC, Interview, D Mwabuya (Cross-border farmer, Chipinge), 5 January 2018.

46 G Thondlana, "The local livelihoods of bio-fuel development...", *Discussion Paper Series*, 11, *African Initiative*, 2014, pp. 1-25.

Image 2: Displaced Ndau people find land in Mozambique after 2000



Source: Illustration by Sekai Kasamba, 2019.

The next section describes the estates as obstacles to the land crisis resolution.

Structural impediments to the government land redistribution policy in the Chimanimani/Chipinge region

Zimbabwe's liberation struggle was fought to recover land, among other grievances. Consequently, the government of Zimbabwe resolved to resettle landless Zimbabweans, the Ndau included, resulting in the creation of resettlement schemes in the country. However, a cursory look at the implementation of the resettlement policy in the Chimanimani/Chipinge region shows that the 1980-2000 resettlement policy was largely a failure. The majority of the Ndau are still living in congested reserves and others live in the African Purchase Areas where they pay labour or rent to the African landlords. Respondents asserted that the failure to acquire land for resettlement was a consequence of deep-seated agrarian obstacles.⁴⁷ Economic considerations for the estates in the borderlands as well as the fear of antagonising Western nations whose companies run the estates have been cited as obstacles against land transfer from the Europeans to the Ndau.

In addition, the existence of numerous settler estates and farms in the Chipinge district militated against any immediate equitable land redistribution after the

⁴⁷ JHPC, Interview, C Zibuke (Headman, Chipinge), 14 December 2015.

attainment of independence.⁴⁸ During the 1980s, the district was home to several vast estates which specialised in coffee, tea, timber, banana, milk and beef production and a host of other farming activities.⁴⁹ Apart from the desire to maintain cordial working and political relations with the estate owners, the government of Zimbabwe also took into consideration the critical role the estates played in the economy such as employment creation and the development of infrastructure.

Moreover, the government of Zimbabwe's policy of growth with equity in the 1980s and 1990s was informed by the notion that increased growth in the economy would result in the economic development of the country.⁵⁰ The commercial forestry industry based on exotic trees, for example, contributed about 4% to the Gross Domestic Product and employed an average of 14600 people between 2005 and 2010.⁵¹ As a result of the sector's contributions to the economy, it was not surprising that the land reform exercise did not even consider expropriating these of their productivity and contributions in the nation's economic growth.⁵² The result was that the government's wish to rectify the racial imbalances in the distribution of land played second fiddle to its desire to maintain sound relations with the agro multinational companies.⁵³ The next section looks at government policies that safeguarded agro companies' interests in the post independence Zimbabwe.

The Lancaster House Constitution 1979

Zimbabwe became independent from British colonial rule in 1980. The transfer of power was preceded by a constitutional conference that was held in London in 1979. The Conference, which later became known as the Lancaster Conference, was attended mainly by members of the Rhodesian government, representatives of Zimbabwean guerrilla movements, British delegates and others.⁵⁴ Among other things that were agreed upon at the Conference was that the Zimbabwean government was to be guided by the Lancaster Conference Constitution which was crafted by the British. The Constitution, among other things, protected white farmers from losing their land to the new government in Zimbabwe.

48 RS Maposa, J Hlongwana & D Gamira, "Aluta continua: A critical reflection on the Chimurenga-Within Third Chimurenga among the Ndaou People in Chipinge district of south-eastern Zimbabwe", *Journal of African Studies and Development*, 2(6), 2010, pp. 175-184.

49 E Nhandara, *Geography today...* (Harare, Zimbabwe Educational Books, 1996), p. 19.

50 RS Maposa, J Hlongwana & D Gamira, "Aluta Continua: A critical reflection on the Chimurenga-Within Third Chimurenga among the Ndaou People in Chipinge district...", *Journal of African Studies and Development*, 2(6), 2010, pp. 175-184.

51 Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources Management, Republic of Zimbabwe, Forest Commission Report, 2011, p. 7.

52 L Tshuma, *A matter of (In) justice: Law, state and the agrarian question in Zimbabwe* (Harare, SAPES Books, 1997), p. 56.

53 T Mkandawire, "Home-grown (?), austerity measures: The case of Zimbabwe", *African Development*, 10(2), 1985, p. 247.

54 L Tshuma, *A matter of (In) justice: Law, state...*, p. 38.

In conformity with the spirit of protecting individual property, the government of Zimbabwe made major policy pronouncements in the 1980s which benefitted the powerful agro companies in the Chimanimani/Chipinge region based on the provisions of the Lancaster House Conference Constitution and Policy of Reconciliation. In this regard, Palmer argued that the slow pace in the land redistribution was a result of the Lancaster House Conference Constitution.⁵⁵ Drawing from the same line of reasoning, Chambati and several other scholars have asserted that the constitution was concerned with some benchmarks of constitutionalism such as limited government and individual rights which prevented radical land redistribution in the post-independence era.⁵⁶ In this context, constitutionalism was concerned with:⁵⁷

...limited government, adherence to the rule of law, protection of fundamental interests and compliance with the demands of abstract equality—that are bound to circumscribe the number of possible legitimate orderings of relevant identities.

It can, thus, be argued that the constitution was written with a view to prevent radical transformation of the colonial relations of production. It was made clear in the constitution that land could be acquired compulsorily only on grounds of underutilisation and the white farmer was supposed to be compensated for the loss of land.⁵⁸ This paper posits that the proviso for adequate and prompt land compensation was a mechanism to thwart land redistribution as the new government of Zimbabwe did not have foreign currency to compensate white farmers. It can also be opined that the ten year grace period during which compulsory land acquisition was outlawed placed constraints on the government of Zimbabwe because any attempt to reclaim land would have been viewed by the white community in Zimbabwe as undermining the constitution.⁵⁹ In these circumstances, it can be argued that the constitution insulated land reclamation by the state, thus perpetuating landlessness in Zimbabwe even after independence. However, where land had to be acquired, it was supposed to be based on the willing seller and willing buyer principle which further protected the white commercial farmers from radical land acquisition processes.⁶⁰ One of the clauses of the independence constitution reserved twenty seats in the Zimbabwean parliament and protected white farmers from losing their land. The beneficiaries of the clause, who included the former Rhodesian Prime Minister, Ian Smith, constantly reminded Zimbabwean officials against tampering with white-owned farms as it

55 R Palmer, "Land reform in Zimbabwe 1980-1990", *African Affairs*, 89, 1990, pp. 163-181.

56 W Chamati, "A review of land reallocation in Zimbabwe 1980-2000", Working Paper AEE/2001.

57 M Rosenfeld, "Modern constitutionalism as interplay between identity and diversity", M Rosenfeld (ed.), *Constitutionalism, identity, difference and legitimacy: Theoretical perspectives* (Durham, Duke University Press, 1994), p. 14.

58 J Ngwenya, "An assessment of the impact of fast track land and agrarian reforms on food security in Umguza district" (MA Dissertation Midlands State University 2014), p. 2.

59 CJ Richardson, "The loss of property rights and the collapse of Zimbabwe", *Cato Journal*, 25(3), 2005, p. 525.

60 S Moyo, "A failed land reform strategy. The willing seller willing buyer", *Public Policies and Administration Review*, 2(1), 2014, p. 67.

would have a negative impact on the economy. It was clear to the Zimbabwean government that the white parliamentarians were speaking their kith and kin's language, the British and other Western countries whose companies had invested in agriculture and whose view was that any attempt to violate that would attract sanctions.⁶¹ The Zimbabwean government, which was mindful of the need to build bridges with its erstwhile foes, especially the white community, suspended radical land reclamation in order to promote peace and prosperity.⁶² As shown later in this article, the white settlers were willing only to dispose farms in marginal areas of the borderland. Regarding the Lancaster House Constitution, it can be surmised that the constitution prevented land redistribution and entrenched white land ownership in post-independent Zimbabwe. The next section looks at the role of the Policy of Reconciliation in preventing land reclamation from the multinational companies.

The policy of reconciliation 1980

The protection of the powerful land owners in Zimbabwe was further augmented by the proclamation of the Policy of Reconciliation. The government, through this policy, promised to respect the rule of law and private property which included, in the context of the white farmers, land possession:⁶³

Henceforth you and I must strive to adapt ourselves, intellectually and spiritually to the reality of our political change and relate to each other as brothers bound one to the other by a bond of comradeship. If yesterday I fought you as an enemy, today you have become a friend and ally with the same national interests, loyalty, rights and duties as myself. If yesterday you hated me, today you cannot avoid the love that binds you to me and me to you. Is it not folly, therefore, that in these circumstances anybody should seek to revive the wounds and grievances of the past? The wrongs of the past must now stand forgiven and forgotten.

While the government pledged to bring about fundamental changes to the Zimbabwean society, it called for patience as change in land ownership would take time to be realised. In the spirit of reconciliation, Mugabe, the Prime Minister, formed a coalition with Joshua Nkomo-led Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and Ian Smith's Rhodesian Front party. In the spirit Mugabe included in his cabinet Dennis Norman and David Smith who became Ministers of Agriculture and Trade

61 See The Lancaster House Agreement 21 December 1979, Southern Rhodesia Constitutional Conference Held at Lancaster House, London, September-December 1979, Report, London (<https://peacemaker.un.org>, as accessed on 15 April 2018).

62 S Moyo, "The political economy of land acquisition in Zimbabwe, 1990-1999", *JSAS*, 1999, 26(1), pp. 5-28.

63 B Raftopoulos, "Unreconciled differences: The limits of reconciliation in Zimbabwe", B Raftopoulos & T Savage (eds.), Zimbabwe, *Injustice and political reconciliation* (Cape Town, Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, 2004), p. VIII; R Mugabe, *Independence message. In struggle for independence: Documents of the recent development of Zimbabwe 1975-1980*, December 1979-April 1980 (Hamburg, Institute of African Studies Document Centre 1980).

and Commerce respectively.⁶⁴ While the inclusion of such powerful Rhodesians in the new government was done in the spirit of achieving a multiracial society and stability, the promotion of Dennis Norman to the Agriculture Ministry revealed that the government had been captured by the white commercial farmers.⁶⁵ Expressing similar sentiments, Masiwa and Mandaza argued that government policies in the 1980s were informed by the desire to promote peace in a country which had been divided by war and to allay the fears from the white community which owned land and controlled the economy.⁶⁶ Since colonial policies had made the Rhodesian economy an appendage of foreign and white capital, and to encourage white farmers to stay in Zimbabwe, it was essential to be seen to be preaching the politics of inclusion in the new dispensation. Indeed, the administration of the country was a balancing act for Mugabe who had to nurse both the interests of the landless Zimbabweans, the Ndaus included, and the estate owners.⁶⁷ However, some Ndaus inhabitants feel that the Mugabe government sacrificed the interests of the Ndaus in favour of the powerful land owners in the region.⁶⁸

A close examination of the clauses of the Land Acquisition Act of 1992 bears testimony to the argument that the government of Zimbabwe spared the estates in its land reform programme because of the fear of victimisation by the Western nations. The Act was promulgated after the expiry of the provisions of the Lancaster House Constitution in 1990. It was amended in 2000 and 2002 and eventually empowered the government of Zimbabwe to compulsorily acquire land in certain circumstances.⁶⁹ The amended versions of the Act provided the legal basis for undertaking the Land Reform Programme in the 2000s. The land which was supposed to be acquired included underutilised land and farms that were closer to rural communities.⁷⁰ However, plantation farms, church farms, land owned by indigenous Zimbabweans and several other categories were protected from seizures by government's foot soldiers.⁷¹ These were the war veterans, ZANU PF Party members and peasants who spear-headed the nationwide land invasions in the 2000s. It should be pointed out that while the involvement of the aforesaid groups in the land invasion represented a revolution from below, the government of Zimbabwe supported the chaotic land reform for political mileage. But, while Zimbabwean officials condoned the farm invasions elsewhere, they seemingly developed cold feet to acquire land that belonged

64 L Tshuma, *A matter of (In) justice: Law, state and the agrarian question...*, p. 52.

65 JHPC, Interview, EZS Chikaka (Councillor, Chipinge), 7 December 2015.

66 M Masiwa & O Chigejo, *The Agrarian reform in Zimbabwe: Sustainability and empowerment of rural communities* (Harare, IDS University of Zimbabwe, 2003), p. 9.

67 JHPC, Interview EZS Chikaka, 7 December 2015.

68 JHPC, Interview, FB Kwanayi (Border region settler, Chipinge), 20 December 2016.

69 C Utete, *Report of the Presidential Land Review Committee on the implementation of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme 2000-2002* (Harare, Government Printers, 2003), p. 21.

70 RS Maposa *et al.*, "Aluta Continua?: ...", *Journal of African Studies and Development*, 2(6), 2010, pp. 192-200.

71 RS Maposa *et al.*, "Land as Sacrificial Lamb?...", *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 2(1), 2010, pp. 192-207.

to estate owners in Chipinge district. Accordingly, war veterans and peasants who invaded certain company properties in Chipinge district were evicted by the police. Interestingly, both the government and Ndau people appreciated the role that was being played by the agro companies. In this context, Ndau peasants, most of whom were working in the estates and had their livelihoods threatened by farm occupations, formed “anti-land invaders” movement in the region and chased away war veterans and their compatriots.⁷² In Chipinge district, for example, peasants from Gwenzi communal areas attacked and chased away war veterans who had illegally occupied Makandi Estate.⁷³ While the estates contributed to landlessness, it can be argued that both the government and the peasants dreaded that economic fallout that would follow any attempts to evict the white farmers from their property in the Chipinge border areas.

Even though the Zimbabwean government proceeded with caution with regards to the interests of the powerful land owners, the European countries reacted with anger to the land reform programme in 2000. Notwithstanding the fact that large companies were spared from the violent land seizures, the farm occupations led to the souring of relations between Zimbabwe and Western countries.⁷⁴ The United States of America (USA), together with its western allies, imposed sanctions code-named Zimbabwe Democratic and Economic Recovery Act (ZDERA) on Zimbabwe in 2001. The Western countries argued that the Land Reform Programme undermined the rule of law as it violated the inviolability of private property. Indeed, the Zimbabwean government had reneged on its constitutional obligation to protect its citizens against violence. The Western countries were thus compelled to demonstrate solidarity with their kith and kin in the face of apparent victimisation by the Zimbabwean government.⁷⁵

George Bush (junior), who was at the time the President of the United States of America in 2001, argued that:⁷⁶

My administration shares fully the Congress' deep concerns about the political and economic hardships visited upon Zimbabwe by that country's leadership. I hope the provisions of this important legislation will support the people of Zimbabwe in their struggle to effect peaceful democratic change, achieve economic growth and restore the rule of law.

72 JHPC, Interview, D Mwabuya, 5 January 2018

73 JHPC, Interview, FB Kwanayi, 20 December 2016.

74 C Chipanga & T Mude, “An analysis of the effectiveness of sanctions as law enforcement tool in international law: A case study of Zimbabwe from 2001 to 2013”, *Open Journal of Political Science*, 5, 2013, pp. 291-310.

75 B Derman, “After Zimbabwe's Fast Track Land Reform: Preliminary observation on the near future of Zimbabwe's efforts to resist ...”, *Colloque International, At the Frontier of Land Issues*, Montpellier, 2006, p. 1; 3.

76 B Ankomah, “Sanctions, which sanctions?”, *New African*, 2007, p. 7.

ZDERA barred the USA and multi-lateral institutions from extending financial support to Zimbabwe.⁷⁷ It can be argued that by imposing sanctions on Zimbabwe, Western countries were demonstrating their opposition against the radical land reclamation policy.

While scholars and commentators attribute the fall of the Zimbabwean economy to internal economic mismanagement, sanctions had a significant impact in causing economic mayhem in the farming communities in Chipinge district as the farmers failed to secure cheap inputs and access to lucrative markets for their commodities.⁷⁸ The hyper-inflationary environment had far reaching consequences on agro-companies that operated in Chipinge district. In addition to reducing the number of workers, companies such as the Tanganda Tea Company had to pay workers in “tea leaves” since the Zimbabwean dollar had become worthless.⁷⁹ The desperate economic situation compelled the majority of the Ndaus former farm workers to resort to cross-border farming in Mozambique. The section that follows highlights the futility of Zimbabwe’s endeavours in land resettlement in Chipinge district because of the presence of estates.

Unsuitable resettlements for the Ndaus amidst arable estate owned land (1980-2010)

Since land to resettle the landless Ndaus people was hard to come by in the region the government established resettlement schemes which had poor soils. The places were either rugged or dry river valleys whose unsuitability for farming was so bad that they did not attract white farmers’ settlement during the colonial period.⁸⁰ In Chipinge district, the government acquired land for resettlement in Musirizwi, Lungile, Nyagadza and Sakuinje⁸¹ and it was implemented under the Accelerated Resettlement Programme (ARP).⁸² In accordance with the terms of the ARP, the government only provided land and people used the infrastructure and services in the nearby communal areas.⁸³ However, it is important to note that all these Resettlement areas did not have clinics, tarred roads, schools, clean water supplies, and other facilities.⁸⁴ Nyagadza, Lungile and Sakuinje are located in a rocky and

77 D Masaka, “Paradoxes in the sanctions discourse in Zimbabwe: A critical reflection”, *African Study Monographs*, 33(1), 2012, pp. 49-71.

78 C Chipanga & T Mude, “An analysis of the effectiveness of sanctions as law enforcement tool in international law: A case study of Zimbabwe from 2001 to 2013”, *Open Journal of Political Science*, 5, 2013, pp. 291-310.

79 JHPC, Interview, FB Kwanayi, 20 December 2016.

80 JHPC, Interview, B Mutondoro (Border region settler, Chipinge), 5 December 2015.

81 JHPC, Interview, EZS Chikaka (Councillor, Chipinge), 7 December 2015.

82 E Nhandara *et al.*, *Geography today: Human and economic* (Harare, Zimbabwe Educational Books, 1996), p. 19.

83 RS Maposa *et al.*, “Marching forward to the past?..”, *European Journal of Sustainable Development*, 2(1), 2003, pp. 133-148.

84 B Kinsey, “Forever gained: Resettlement and land policy in the context of national development in Zimbabwe”, *Affairs*, 52(3), 1982, p. 210.

barren terrain.⁸⁵ Sakuinje Resettlement, for example, poses a danger to human beings and animals because it shares a border with Chipangayi Game Park from which lions frequently escape and kill domestic animals from the Resettlement area. Also, Musirwizwi resettlement Scheme is found in a steep-sided river valley which is malaria- ridden and prone to flooding. This partly explains why the colonial government did not allow human settlements there; instead it was used for cattle ranching.⁸⁶ It should be mentioned that the choice of these areas for resettlement was a consequence of the Lancaster House Constitution which prescribed that land acquisition was to be guided by the willing- seller-willing- buyer policy.⁸⁷ As it turned out, most farm owners were unwilling to part with the productive land in the estates; instead they were willing to sell land to the government in places that had poor soils and climatic conditions. Consequently, most peasants from the adjoining areas such as Mapungwana, Gwenzi and Musikavanhu chiefdoms did not relocate to the resettlement areas.⁸⁸ The section that follows looks at the impact of plantation farming in the Ndaou region.

Positives and negatives of colonial land intervention

The campaign by environmentalists to protect flora and fauna in Southern Rhodesia was a consequence of the depletion of animal and tree species by hunters and loggers.⁸⁹ Game hunting coincided with the colonisation of Southern Africa as hunters and explorers became the forerunners of colonial rule since they had criss-crossed the region and knew where game and tree species were found in abundance. As a result of increased hunting and logging activities, the state introduced measures to protect game and forests.⁹⁰ Furthermore, places that were endowed with natural forests were declared protected sites. In keeping with this, Rusitu and Haroni valleys became part of the Chimanimani National Park and were turned into botanical reserves. Whereas natural forests were previously historically protected by local communities who viewed such forests as the abode of the local spirits,⁹¹ they became protected state properties where consumptive utilisation of resources without permission became illegal. Equally, Chirinda and Ngungunyana forests in Mapungwana Kingdom were privatised, forcing the Ndaou who lived in the area to enter into labour tenancy

85 JHPC, Interview, E Zako (Border region settler, Chipinge), 24 December 2018.

86 JHPC, Interview, EZS Chikaka, 7 December 2015.

87 L Tshuma, *A matter of (In) justice: Law, state and the agrarian question...*, p. 43.

88 JHPC, Interview, EZS Chikaka, 7 December 2015.

89 N Ndumeya, "Conserving wildlife resources in Zimbabwe: Reflections on Chirinda forest...", *Environment and History*, The White Horse Press, 2017 (available at www.whpress.co.uk, as accessed on 15 April 2018).

90 F Matose, "Conflicts around forest reserves in Zimbabwe; What prospects for communities management?", *IDS Bulletin*, 28(4), 1997, p. 70.

91 Z Chidhakwa, "Managing conflict around contested natural resources: A case study of Rusitu Valley area Chimanimani Zimbabwe", *Southern Alliance for Indigenous Resources (SAFIR)*, 1993, p. 190.

arrangements with the land owners.⁹²

Further, the spill over effect of the plantation international companies were noticeable: They created jobs not only to Zimbabwean Ndaus, but also to Mozambicans, particularly from the adjacent Mossurize District whose many inhabitants are Ndaus. They established schools and clinics in the area and, to link and coordinate their farming activities, good road networks were created. The proliferation of growth points in the estates transformed places which may have remained backward owing to their remoteness from big economic centres.⁹³

Despite of the positives outlined earlier, the establishment of forests in the Ndauland had far reaching ramifications. As vast expanses of land became filled with exotic trees, the Ndaus communities were evicted from their land.⁹⁴ As a result of the displacements, the Ndaus relocated to the reserves that were unsuitable for farming such as Vhimba,⁹⁵ Mapungwana, Musikavanhu and Gwenzi areas. Since the communities in Chipinge and Chimanimani are surrounded by plantations, it meant lack of grazing areas for animals and Ndaus cattle owners have had to graze their animals along fireguards.⁹⁶ Not only did the Ndaus lose arable land as a result of the creation of forests, but also the natural forests which, prior to colonisation, supported the lives of the Ndaus in other important ways. In order to survive under the harsh circumstances, the Ndaus had to defy the laws so as to have access to their shrines, to harvest firewood, fruits and to hunt animals in the forests.⁹⁷ However, not many dared to transgress the laws as loitering in the forests became a punishable offence.⁹⁸ As a consequence of the establishment of forestry and non-forestry companies, most Ndaus families relocated to Mozambique.⁹⁹ The majority of them settled in areas along the border such as Makuyana, Gogoyo, Mapungwana, Gwenzi and others.¹⁰⁰ However, it should be noted that the availability of land in Mozambique did not mean that the Portuguese were necessarily sympathetic to the Ndaus people. It was probably a reflection of the desperation of the Ndaus people and an attempt to make the best of a bad situation.

92 JHPC, Interview, W Maposa (Border region settler, Chipinge), 4 December 2015.

93 J Hlongwana, "Landlords and tenants in Chipinge district...", p. 26.

94 C Utebe, *Report of the Presidential Land Review Committee...*, p. 42.

95 Z Chidhakwa, "Managing conflict around contested natural resources: A case study of Rusitu Valley area Chimanimani...", *Southern Alliance for Indigenous Resources (SAFIR)*, 1993, p. 193.

96 L Marisa, "The impact of commercial forest areas on nearby rural communities in eastern highlands of Zimbabwe", *Social Science Research Report Series, No. 32, Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa*, Addis Ababa, 2004, p. 50.

97 N Ndumeya, "Conserving wildlife resources in Zimbabwe: ...", *Environment and History* (available at www.whpress.co.uk, as accessed on 15 November 2018), p. 21.

98 JHPC, Interview, Z Magadaire (Border region settler, Chipinge), 21 December 2015.

99 JHPC, Interview, B Jakarazi (Cross-border farmer, Chipinge), 12 December 2018.

100 JHPC, Interview, L Mapungwana (Chief, Chipinge), 4 December 2015.

Conclusion

The discussion in this article centred on the impact of estate farming on Ndaou land ownership in Chipinge/Chimanimani District of Zimbabwe. It was argued that the establishment of estate farming in the region was part of the grand scheme by the colonial Rhodesian government to promote and consolidate European presence in the borderland. In pursuit of this, attractive advertisements were posted in international news media to lure settlers into Rhodesia, resulting in the creation of coffee, tea and several estates. That the majority of these large estates are dotted along the border lends weight to the argument that they constituted a bulwark against Portuguese encroachment into the British territory. Drawing from the same line of thought, the colonial government further established exotic forests to augment natural forests. It was noted in this article that the soils and weather conditions attracted white settlers' investment in forests in the region. It was argued that the exotic forests complemented natural forests in timber production. Additionally, it also argued that the forests which were mainly located in the border region constituted a buffer zone against Mozambican cattle. It was feared that the free movement of animals would spread deadly bovine diseases to Zimbabwean cattle. It was equally stressed that additional land for the forestry project was acquired from private farmers who were leaving the Chimanimani/Chipinge region for places that were near Salisbury, the capital city of Southern Rhodesia. The farmers cited market unreliability due to distance as the main reason for abandoning farming in the most productive region of Zimbabwe. As a result of this gap, vast and numerous estates were created in the region, thereby displacing the Ndaou. Furthermore, the discussion drew attention to the establishment of sugar plantations in Chisumbanje area in the post- independence era implicitly showing that governments, whether black or white, exist to protect the interests of those who own capital. It was pointed out in the paper that the idea to create a mega green belt in the Sabi Valley was the brain child of the colonial government whose inward-looking policies to bust the international sanctions involved massive investment in agriculture. However, the project was not fully implemented because of the liberation war in the 1970s which disrupted business in the country. It was argued that the advent of the Green Fuel Company caused serious existential challenges to the Ndaou communities. The Company expropriated land from the adjoining communities, resulting in reduction of land for cultivation and grazing. It was shown in the article that in spite of the estates' contribution to landlessness in the region, the government of Zimbabwe developed cold feet to repossess land from the estates in order to resettle the landless Ndaou. It was revealed that the economic considerations, ranging from the contribution to the economic well-being of the country to the fear of antagonising Western countries whose companies run the estates in Zimbabwe prevented the Zimbabwean government from reclaiming land from the estates. In this context, the Zimbabwean government was dissuaded by the Lancaster House Constitution and the Policy of Reconciliation from compulsorily acquiring

the big estates. These had the effect of entrenching private property, including land ownership, in Zimbabwe. In this regard, land invaders who attempted to acquire land from the estates were chased away by the police. It is prudent to highlight that the government of Zimbabwe's fear of the estates was not misplaced as the 2000 land reform Programme, which merely targeted individual white farmers, attracted sanctions which produced far reaching consequences. The estrangement of relations resulted in the cancellation of humanitarian and developmental aid to Zimbabwe which negatively affected the farming sector in Chipinge. The malfunctioning of the agricultural sector, owing to the Western imposed sanctions on Zimbabwe, led to loss of farm employment and subsequently the embracement of cross-border farming by the Ndaus. Lastly, the discussion drew attention to the futile land redistribution endeavours in Chipinge region. In an attempt to solve the land problem facing the Ndaus, the government established resettlement schemes in places such as Musirwizi, Nyagadza, Lungile and several others. It was shown in the study that the places were so bad that many landless Ndaus opted to remain in the overcrowded reserves, mission farms and African Purchase farms. Overall, the discussion in this paper underscored the argument that estate farming not only displaced the Ndaus from arable land but it constituted a structural impediment to land crisis resolution in the region.