THE SOCIAL CAPITAL INFLUENCES OF LAND REFORM BENEFICIARIES AND COMMUNAL FARMERS ON SATELLITE SCHOOLS IN ZIMBABWE

By

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my beloved parents (late Solomon Tarisayi and Agnes Tarisayi) and family (my late sister, Joan Marundukwa Tarisayi and brother, Tawanda Hari). For their love, endless support, encouragement and sacrifices.

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DECLARATION

I, **KUDZAYI SAVIOUS TARISAYI** declare that;

(i) The research reported in this thesis, except where otherwise indicated, is my original work.

(ii) This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.

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ABSTRACT

The aim of present study was to establish the social capital influences of the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers on satellite schools in Zimbabwe. The study was motivated by the allocation of land through the Fast Track Land Reform Programme in areas previously without social services leading to the birth of satellite schools. The literature reviewed in this study revealed that land reform in Zimbabwe has mainly been explored using the political, human rights, livelihoods, and agricultural productivity perspectives while neglecting the social capital perspective. Thus, this study was guided by the social capital theories as espoused by Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam to unpack the influences of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers in Zimbabwe on satellite schools. This study's research design adopted a multiple case study approach. The study utilised two communities, one composed of land reform beneficiaries and another made up of communal farmers. The triangulated data were collected through semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions held at satellite schools in the Masvingo district. The purposively selected participants consisted of twelve farmers, four village heads and two satellite school heads making a total sample of eighteen participants. The study revealed that the social capital of both Tiro land reform beneficiaries and Sambo communal farmers influence satellite schools through voluntary resource mobilization and voluntary information sharing. However, the study revealed that there were disparities in the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries at Tiro and communal farmers at Sambo. The study further revealed that the land reform beneficiaries at Tiro engaged more with satellite schools as compared to communal farmers at Sambo due to differences in the proximity of their homesteads, social networks, nhimbe (work party), homage and indebtedness to the government, shared meaning and goals, social norms and their resource base. Future researchers should pursue the implications of social capital on well-established schools in Zimbabwe.

Keywords: Social Capital; Fast Track Land Reform Programme; Land reform beneficiaries; Communal farmers; Satellite Schools; resource mobilization; information sharing.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABS	- Australian Bureau of Statistics
FTLRP	- Fast Track Land Reform Programme
GoZ	-Government of Zimbabwe
GNP	-Gross National Product
MDC	-Movement for Democratic Change
MDG	- Millennium Development Goals
MST	- Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra (Landless Worker's Movement)
NCAER	-National Council for Applied Economic Research
OECD	-Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
UNDP	-United Nations Development Programme
SADC	-Southern African Development Community
ZANU-PF	- Zimbabwe African Nationalist Union Patriotic Front
ZIMSTAT	-Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

Land reform has increasingly been implemented around the world, mostly in former colonies using different approaches with varying implications. Some countries that have implemented land reform around the world include Albania in Europe and Iran in the Middle East (Dabale, Jagero & Chiringa, 2014), Brazil in South America (Filho & Mendonca, 2007) and in Africa: Ghana (Obeng-Odoom, 2015), Namibia (Mufune, 2011; Werner & Kruger, 2007), South Africa (Chitsike, 2003; Dabale et al, 2014; Manjengwa, 2006) and Zimbabwe (Derman, 2006; Hall, Jacobs & Lahiff, 2003; Mamdani, 2008; Moyo, 2010; Raftopoulos, 2003; Sachikonye, 2005; Scoones, Marongwe, Mavedzenge, Murimbarimba, Mahenehene & Sukume, 2011). There has been years of land reform implementation in numerous countries, and academic discourse on the phenomenon has not been limited to few perspectives. After a long period of being considered irrelevant, land reform has re-emerged in the media and political limelight (Derman, 2006; Hall et al, 2003; Moyo, 2010; Scoones et al, 2011). Derman (2006, p. 1) articulates that, "Zimbabwe's fast track land reform has generated significant attention in Southern Africa and beyond due to its speed, scale and the forced displacement of land owners and farm workers." Hentze and Menz (2015, p. 356) aver, "land reform in Zimbabwe has attracted extensive and ongoing attention among scholars in a number of disciplines." Thus, it can be noted that studies on land reform in general, and Zimbabwean land reform in particular, have been exponential in recent years. A systematic review of contemporary literature on the land reform in Zimbabwe reveals a number of explanatory models ranging from political, economic, agricultural and human rights perspectives while regrettably there has been a neglect of the influence of land reform on education in general as well as the influences of the social capital of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers on satellite schools in particular. Moreover, comparison of the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers on satellite schools have not been proffered in literature.

The provision of social services such as education in areas that underwent the land reform Programme in Zimbabwe as from the year 2000 avails phenomena that have been neglected in academic discourse. The provision of social services such as education through the construction of schools is among the prerequisites of after-settlement support needed by land reform beneficiaries. Rungasamy (2011, p. 127) reveals, "The majority of the recent land

reform Programmes (more specifically, the market based approach which came to the fore internationally during the 1990s) have tended to focus on land acquisition and less on the requisite settlement support that should accompany it." Thus, from contemporary literature it can be observed that the provision of education as part of settlement support has been neglected in the Zimbabwean land reform discourse. In addition, this was despite the acknowledgement that, "the education system needs to provide for all children, particularly for those children who find themselves in especially difficult circumstances …" (Nziramasanga, 1999, p. 211). Children and dependents of land reform beneficiaries in newly resettled areas can be viewed as being in difficult circumstances as they are growing up in an environment that has no social services such as schools, among others. Moreover, Section 81 (1) of Zimbabwe's Constitution states "every child, that is to say, every boy or girl, under the age of 18 years, has the right to education." (Government of Zimbabwe, 2013) Hence, the children and dependents of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers have a right to education as enshrined the country's constitution. Mutema (2012, p. 102) avers, "previously there were no schools around commercial farms as white farmers had very small families and they either drove their children to schools far away from their farms or sent them to boarding schools." Therefore, the resettling of people on these previously white-owned farms has led to a demand for the establishment of more public schools in order to make education accessible. Thus, land reform in Zimbabwe has brought a challenge emanating from the provision of education to children as the dependents of land reform beneficiaries.

Post independent Zimbabwe, prior to land reform had been applauded for the tremendous expansion and investment in education. Mugweni (2012) reveals that one of the country's major investments has been in the education sector. The World Bank (1990) (cited in Mapolisa and Tshabalala, 2013, p. 2268) observed, "the expansion of secondary education in the first ten years of independence was more phenomenal in Zimbabwe than in any developing country in the whole world." Secondary education was phenomenal in Zimbabwe in terms of the construction of new schools and enrolment. Ansell (2002, p. 91) states, "in 1981 alone, 463 new secondary schools opened." While, Bennell and Malaba (1993) revealed that enrolment increased from 66,215 in 1979 to 670,557 in 1989. Hence, the acknowledgement by this study that secondary education expansion was phenomenal. Nziramasanga (1999, p. 125) stated that, "Zimbabwe generally maintained public educational expenditure at above 5% of the GNP which translated into an average of 18% of the national budget." The United Nations Development Programme (1998, p. 31) revealed that in the

primary school sector "the number of schools increased by 43% from 3 161 in 1980 to 4 530 in 1990 while at the secondary level the number of schools increased from 197 in 1980 to 1 512 in 1990." Thus, it can be argued that between 1980 and 2000 the government invested resources into the expansion and construction of schools around the country.

Literature at the interface between land reform and education in Zimbabwe has arguably revealed a conundrum of perspectives. The most prominent perspective argues that land reform caused a decline in the education system while the other equally vocal perspective posits that land reform just coincided with the decline in the education system. Shizha and Kariwo (2011, p. xi) reveal, "arguably, land redistribution created an economic crisis that negatively affected the education sector." Hence, according to this narrative on the interface between land reform and education, land reform is blamed for causing an economic crisis that in turn adversely impacted on education. Coltart (2010, no pagination) observes, "Zimbabwe experienced a decade that comprised of an economic and political meltdown that saw both the government and parents finding it difficult to run the schools." Hlupo and Tsikira (2012, p. 604) concur with this assertion by stating, "Zimbabwe's education sector suffered greatly during the years of the economic crisis with declining budgets and large scale brain drain due to loss of personnel into the diaspora." Therefore, according to this perspective the decline in Zimbabwe's education system is located within the economic and political meltdown discourse. Whereas, the other perspective on the interface between land reform and education argues that schools in new resettlement areas had rudimentary requirements and therefore children were learning in deplorable conditions (Matondi, 2012). This perspective is premised on the narrative that the government apparently relocated people without social facilities (Government of Zimbabwe, 2001). However, both perspectives negate to interrogate the social capital influences of either land reform beneficiaries and or communal farmers on satellite schools in particular as is pursued this study.

There is a need to unpack the discourse on the social capital of the land reform beneficiaries in general, and its implications on satellite schools in particular. Moreover, it is imperative that the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries on satellite schools be compared to communal farmers who are also participating in the construction of satellite schools in Zimbabwe. Satellite schools are not a preserve for areas that have undergone land reform but have been extended to communal areas which did not have schools. This, avails fertile grounds for the pursuance of comparative studies of satellite schools between land reform

beneficiaries and communal farmers. The World Bank (2006, p. 162) in the World Development Report acknowledges that land ownership leads to "higher investments in education, permits participation in social networks and influences intra-household dynamics." In addition, there is ostensibly a dearth of literature on the social capital of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers and its contribution to the development of satellite schools in Zimbabwe despite the further acknowledgement by the Social Capital Initiative under the Social Development Department at the World Bank that social capital is the missing link in development discourse (Grootaert, 1998). Levien (2014, p. 3) states, "during the 1990s, powerful development institutions like the World Bank came to see the social networks and norms of the rural poor in developing countries as 'assets' to be tapped for poverty alleviation." Social capital has also been regarded as critical for attaining development in general (Emmett, 2000; Fox & Gershman, 2002; Vermaak, 2006; 2009), and sustainable development in particular (Bridger & Luloff, 2001; Devine-Wright, Flemming & Chadwick, 2001). Despite this perceived centrality of social capital in the development discourse, as enunciated by the World Bank and other scholars, the influences of the social capital of the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers in development in general, and education, has not been pursued by researchers around the world and in Zimbabwe.

In addition, the available narratives (political, agricultural productivity and human rights) to Zimbabwe's land reform disregard the importance of social capital in overcoming the ills of poverty and vulnerability. Woolcock and Narayan (2000, p. 3) argue, "those communities endowed with a diverse stock of social networks and civic associations will be in a stronger position to confront poverty and vulnerability resolve disputes and/or take advantage of new opportunities."

Therefore, comparatively it can be revealed that little attention has been paid to the implications of land reform on education; let alone from a social capital perspective. Abenakyo, Sanginga, Njuki, Kaaria, and Delve (2007, p. 539) state, "social capital is an important characteristic of a community which can influence and be influenced by the flow and stock of other capitals." Woolcock and Narayan (2000, p. 31) add that, "social capital should be seen as a component of orthodox development projects, from dams and irrigation systems to local schools and health clinics." Savioli and Patueli (2016, p. 2) argue,

> The social dimension is therefore a decisive economic force. Social capital, contributing to the capacity of individuals and groups to work together for a common goal, is however often overlooked by economic theory. Neoclassical economic

> models are sometimes too harsh in depicting human behaviour, choices and dynamics, and can result, at best, in fanciful economic theories and, at worst, in wrong policy prescriptions and forecasts.

Therefore, it becomes essential that social capital as a constituent of established development projects such as satellite schools be interrogated and fill the vacuum in the literature pertaining to satellite schools. Thus, this study is premised on the argument that social capital due to its articulated centrality and importance must be studied in the context of Zimbabwe's land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers its impact on satellite schools.

Social capital arguably has a well-known position in the treatise of various international development agencies and national agencies hence, it has been presented more often than not as the panacea for social and economic development problems including poverty. The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) adopted Winter's (2000) social capital definition that, "social relations of mutual benefits characterised by norms of trust and reciprocity" as the definition of social capital (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2000, p.4). The Asian Development Bank (1999, p. 7) states, "developing human and social capital increases political stability, raises productivity, and enhances international competitiveness, leading to faster growth." While the World Bank (2001, p. 10) concurs, "social norms and networks are a key form of capital that people can use to move out of poverty." Thus, the arguments by the Australian Bureau of Statistics, the Asian Development Bank and the World Bank bring to the fore the perceived centrality of social capital in the development discourse. In addition, Serageldin states in Grootaert (1998, p. iii) that,

> The challenge of development agencies such as the World Bank is to operationalize the concept of social capital and to demonstrate how and how much it affects development outcomes. Ways need to be found to create an environment supportive of the emergence of social capital as well as to invest in it directly.

Hence, it can be argued that the challenge to operationalise the conceptualisation of social capital is not only faced by development agencies by governments around the world as well as satellite schools as revealed by this study. The acknowledgement by the World Bank on social capital has been missed by scholars as they have negated to interrogate the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers on satellite schools. Furthermore, another international development agency, the Inter-American Development Bank cited in Villar (2003, p. 16) adds that the, "development of social capital for the promotion of social inclusion and the reduction of social problems … prevents economic

losses and provides incentives to the productive activity and investment." While, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (2001, p. 67) also states, "social capital is important for well-being, health, job search activities and … evidence regarding its potential role in supporting economic growth." Thus, there is consensus amongst the major international development agencies of the centrality of social capital on development and ultimately on poverty. It can therefore be argued that due to the submissions and concurrence by various international development agencies there is a convincing case for social capital influences in the development discourse. Yet, despite this prevalent consideration that social capital has received, its influences has not been pursued and explored empirically in the light of Zimbabwe's land reform. Moreover, surprisingly, researchers and development agencies studying and analysing land reform in Zimbabwe have opted to neglect the influences of the social capital of the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers on satellite schools, hence the need for this study with the following critical questions.

1.2 CRITICAL QUESTIONS

i) How does the social capital of the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmer influence satellite schools?

ii) Why are the land reform beneficiaries engaging with the satellite schools?

iii) Why are the communal farmers engaging with the satellite schools?

1.3 RATIONALE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The rationale for undertaking this study is premised on the researchers's personal interest in the land reform phenomenon. Reber (1993, p. xx) argues, "people often become interested in particular topics because they relate to them in some personal way." The researcher's curiosity was triggered by the migration of fellow neighbours from his village (Chiwariro Village in Daitai Communal Area, Masvingo) as they became beneficiaries of land reform in newly established settlements. Scoones (2016) states that some communal farmers benefited from land reform and thus, became land beneficiaries. Therefore, former communal farmers among other beneficiaries were allocated land in areas without any social services in general and schools in particular. Thus, the researcher being a teacher by profession became interested in the relocation. The communal farmers relocated together with their families, including school-going children. In addition, the researcher has had the opportunity to teach and head a satellite school in Masvingo district. However, the satellite school headed by the researcher was not part of this study but it is in the same district. Hence, due to his personal

background, the researcher decided to engage in a study and contribute on the social capital of the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers on satellite schools.

The contextual rationale for the study relates to perspective. A plethora of studies has been carried out pertaining to land reform around the world in general, and Zimbabwe in particular from different perspectives. Thus, researchers on Zimbabwe's land reform have studied the phenomena from a political perspective, livelihoods perspective, economic perspective, human rights perspective and agricultural productivity perspective, without necessarily delving into the social capital perspective. Literature on Zimbabwe's land reform has mainly been informed by the political economy discourse to a large extent (Chiweshe, 2013). However, Bourdieu (1986, p. 244) argues, "it is in fact impossible to account for the structure and functioning of the social world unless one reintroduces capital in all its forms and not solely in the one form recognized by economic theory". Therefore, this study finds rationale in the need to reintroduce capital in all its forms into the scrutiny of land reform in Zimbabwe in satellite schools which are a product of the land reform process in particular. Therefore, the researcher hopes to contribute to the growing body of literature on Zimbabwe's land reform, by pursuing a social capital perspective and thus filling the apparent dearth in literature.

The study is a potential eye-opener to the Government of Zimbabwe to take note of the value of social capital in education and the benefits of partnering with communities in the construction and infrastructural development of schools. The findings of this study might assist the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education, school heads of newly established schools and local leadership in harnessing social capital influences towards satellite schools. The findings of this study could influence the policies of the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education on involvement of the community in school development. The Ministry, as the author of policies guiding the interaction between schools and communities, can craft enabling policies which harness the resources embedded in social relationships and networks. The study adds to the body of knowledge on social capital and the contribution of the parents and the community to the infrastructural development of schools. The next section defines key terms in the thesis title.

1.4 DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

Satellite Schools: Hlupo and Tsikira (2012, p. 604) state, "a satellite school as a budding school operating under the auspices of a well-established mother school." In this study a satellite school means a newly established school that was established post the Zimbabwean land reform Programme which has attachments to an established school in terms of staff and other resources. Satellite schools have been established among land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers in Zimbabwe.

Social Capital: Putnam (1995, p. 67) views social capital as, "features of social organisation such as networks, norms and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation of mutual benefit." This study views social capital as entailing those networks between individual land reform beneficiaries and/or communities of land reform beneficiaries which facilitate cooperation, trust and reciprocity.

Influences: The Oxford Dictionary defines influences as the capacity to have an effect on the character or behaviour of someone or something or the effect itself (Oxford, 2006). In this study influences entail impacts on the development and functioning of satellite schools by land reform beneficiaries. The following section of this chapter provides an outline this thesis demarcating the seven chapters and their contents.

1.5 OUTLINE OF THE CHAPTERS

Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter consists of the introduction to the study. It provides the background to the study, the rationale of the study as well as the outline of chapters.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The main thrust of Chapter Two is to give a concise background to Zimbabwe's Fast Track Land Reform Programme while striving to avail to the reader a conceptual background to the land reform process. Various perspectives on land reform in Zimbabwe are interrogated

exposing research gaps. The above issues are reviewed in the chapter because they were seen as influencing the social capital of the land reform beneficiaries and satellite schools.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

The chapter discusses the social capital theories guiding this study. Bourdieu, Putnam and Coleman contributions to the social capital theoretical framework development by are discussed in detail.

Chapter 4: Methodology

The chapter outlines the methodology adopted for this study, the multiple case study approach and research tools as well as their justification. The chapter discusses the semi-structured interviews as well as focus group discussions and the justification thereof.

Chapter 5: Data Presentation, Analysis and Results

The results of the study on the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries on satellite schools are presented using themes, categories and sub-themes. The results are analysed in comparison with findings from other scholars and studies. In addition, Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam's work were used as an analytical framework for findings from this study.

Chapter 6: Discussion and Theorization

This chapter gives a discussion and theorization drawn from the findings from this study. The theoretical insights were guided by the critical questions and they are built on the foundation of the ideas of Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam linked to the conceptualization of social capital.

Chapter 7: Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

This chapter presents a summary of the whole study and conclusions in relation to the research questions guiding this study. There are recommendations for satellite school heads, the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education and community members in newly resettled areas with specific reference to the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries to satellite schools. Possible areas for further research problems encountered are also outlined.

1.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter outlined an introduction to the study which covered the background and rationale of the study. The background on the influences of the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers on education and satellite schools in particular, was discussed. The next chapter discusses the literature review relevant to this study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the concept of land reform; the findings from various studies are also discussed exposing research gaps which are supposed to be filled by the present study. The researcher further avails a background to Zimbabwe's land reform as well as interrogating the various perspectives proffered on Zimbabwe's land reform treatise. The chapter concludes by unravelling the nexus between land reform in Zimbabwe and education in general, and satellite schools in particular.

2.1 CONCEPTUALIZATION OF LAND REFORM

Agriculturists, social scientists, historians, correspondents, development academics and investigators who include Boyce, Rosset and Stanton (2005), Ghatak and Roy (2007), Griffin, Khan and Ickowitz (2002), Marongwe (2003, 2008, 2009), Moyo (1986, 2006, 2011, 2012) and Tarisayi (2014) have contributed to the overabundance of works on land reform. However, there seems to be neither unanimity on land reform nor its definition. Tarisayi (2014, p. 195) argued that, "most scholars and development agencies are concentrating on the success or lack thereof, of land reform without interrogating the concept of land reform." Thus, it therefore becomes imperative to interrogate the concept and avail a definition to guide any study of the concept. Obeng-Odoom (2012, p. 1) admitted that, "providing a universally accepted definition of land reform has remained elusive." Lipton (2009) averred that there is a vast literature on the definition of land reform spawning prescriptive, descriptive and purposive interpretations. Also, Boyce et al (2005, p. 1) argued that, "land reform comes in many shapes and sizes with varying dimensions." These dimensions include rights, structure, security, egalitarianism, gender, compensation, macroeconomic environment and process. Land reform can therefore be revealed to vary in size in the sense that it can be widespread and covering the whole country like in Zimbabwe, while in others it can be gradual, initially covering small geographical areas in a country. Also, land reform can take different approaches ranging from "land restitution, land redistribution, land tenure change and land consolidation among others." (Tarisayi, 2014, p. 199). In addition, Barraclough (1999, p. 11) elaborated that,

> Land reform means different things for different people and in different circumstances. For some, privatization of communal or state lands in order to make them available for commercial use, such as export crop production, is land reform. Many authorities put forward more restrictive definitions similar to that used here.

Furthermore, Barraclough (1999, p. 11) revealed,

> For example: "Land reform (agrarian reform) comprises (1) compulsory takeover of land, usually (a) by the state, (b) from the biggest landowners, and (c) with partial compensation; and (2) the farming of that land in such a way as to spread the benefits more widely than before the takeover. The state may give, sell or rent such land for private cultivation in smaller units than hitherto (distributionist reform); or the land may be jointly farmed and its usufruct shared although co-operative, collective or state farming (collectivist reform).

Therefore, land reform facilitates the transfer of benefits from big land owners to formerly disadvantaged and landless people. The transfer of benefits from land compulsory taken over can be shared through allocation of the land to individuals, cooperatives or state farming.

One of the most comprehensive analysis of the concept of land reform states that,

> It is a process of elimination of barriers to increase land sustainability in a given context. It includes a consideration of outcomes for social, economic, and political development. The main thrust of land reforms therefore is land tenure reorganization, restitution, and redistribution of property rights and access to land, and a creation of land markets for social and economic development (Narh, Lambini, Sabbi, Pham & Nguyen, 2016, p. 2).

Thus, various definitions have been proffered on the concept of land reform in literature. According to the conventional definition, "redistributive land reform is a public policy that transfers property rights over large private landholdings to small farmers and landless farm workers" (Tarisayi, 2014, p. 196). Bernstein in Ntsebeza and Hall (2007, p. 27) added, "land reform in the broad but populist sense refers to a redistributive policy instrument of government, targeted at property rights in agricultural land and it is usually motivated by political reasons." Consequently, "land reform can be reasoned to be the change in the property rights of land, normally involving a change from large privately owned land to

previously landless small scale farmers" (Tarisayi, 2014, p. 196). In addition, this perspective entails a scenario where the land reform has to be implemented from the top since it is viewed as a public policy. The implementation of land reform as a public policy is viewed as being from the top in that the government takes a deliberate policy, which is implemented as a directive. Thus, it fails to take cognisance of local needs and demands as done by a community-based approach to land reform. Tarisayi (2014, p. 198) stated, "This approach is supposed to be more reactive to political demands originating 'from below' and more responsive to local interests, institutions and practices." Binswanger-Mkhize, Bourguignon and Van de Brink (2009) added that land reform as a redistributive policy is often undertaken in an exceedingly politicised and challenged environment because land is a scarce resource. The community-based approach as exemplified in the Zimbabwean and Brazilian scenarios involved people invading private owned land and refusing to vacate. Sachikonye (2004) described this approach as jambanja[1]. Therefore, the community-based approach to land reform is spurred by demands of supposedly land-hungry citizens within a country and they may get support from the political leadership.

From empirical research over the years,

> Sam Moyo, one of the prominent researchers on Zimbabwe's land reform, contends that equitable land distribution relates to the distribution of land, denoting the deconcentration of prime land, the increased absolute number of landholders. (Tarisayi, 2014, p. 196).

Therefore, the major justification is centred on a deconcentration of prime land which involves reducing pressure on the land through relocation of people away from crowded areas. Hence, from this conceptualisation, Zimbabwean land reform entails relocation from overcrowded communal areas[2] to newly acquired farms. Furthermore, Mbaya (2001, p. 4) concurred that land reform, "decongests overpopulated and/or overstocked wards and villages for the generality of landless people." This view provides justification for land reform as targeting decongesting overpopulated villages. Scoones et al (2010) reveal that some beneficiaries who were from towns and cities were mainly civil servants, while the bulk were

[1] 'Jambanja' means mayhem, disorder in the Shona language.
[2] Communal areas such as the one studied in this study.

from neighbouring communal areas. This conceptualization of the land reform falls short in highlighting the approach that was utilised in implementing land reform.

Another perspective to land reform defines the concept by availing the ultimate objective of land reform which is equitable land redistribution. Boyce et al (2005, p. 1) stated that land reform is defined as, "the reallocation of rights to establish a more equitable distribution of farmland." White, Borras and Hall (2013, p. 4) revealed,

> Land reform objectives also tend to include a broader macro-economic aim of enhancing farm productivity and the farm sector's contribution to overall economic development: reformed land tenure structures are usually expected to promote agrarian transition (whether to capitalist, modernized, smallholder, or collective systems).

In addition, Ghatak and Roy (2007, p. 251) concurred, "land reform usually refers to redistribution of land from the rich to the poor." Ghatak and Roy (2007) disclosed the aim of land reform as equitable distribution of farmland. Therefore, land reform according to this conceptualisation entails addressing land inequalities and wealth redistribution within a country. While, Derman et al (2006, p. 1) posited, "it (land reform) is a means to address issues of inequality, historical injustices, inefficiencies in production and distribution, poverty in communal areas." White, et al (2013, p. 4) further explained,

> Land reforms generally are efforts to correct what are seen as historical distortions in the allocation of land ownership and use rights. These distortions may have resulted from colonial land grabbing and dispossessions, enclosures, landlordism, or previous reforms themselves (such as some forms of socialist collectivization). It is therefore not surprising to see that national land policies have been shaped by the historical experience of different countries.

This study is guided by the view that land reform entails reallocation of land from the affluent to the underprivileged (Ghatak & Roy, 2007). Mernon (1993, p. 44) stated, "land reform involves government intervention in the prevailing pattern of land ownership aimed at improving land productivity and broadening the distribution of benefits." Marongwe (2009, p. 7) stated that, "land reform in Zimbabwe has emphasized poverty alleviation and this has been operationalized through Programme objectives that sought to allocate land to the poor."

However, it should be noted that this view is often misconstrued as racial since the rich were mainly of European descent in Africa while the poor and landless were black. Hence, the proliferation of arguments with racial connotations is confined to the Zimbabwean land reform discourse.

Land reform has found justification from numerous scholars in land reform literature. Lipton (2009, p. 10) stated,

> In the past century, land reform has played a massive, central role in the time-paths of rural and national poverty, progress, freedom, conflict and suffering. For the next half-century at least, where agriculture continues central to the lives of the poor, the role of land reform will not decline.

The justifications that are proffered for land reform can be related to the importance given to land in different societies around the world. Jayadev and Ha (2015, p. 15) averred,

> Land is the most valuable, imperishable possession from which people derive their economic independence, social status and a modest and permanent means of livelihood. In addition, land also assures land owners an identity and dignity and creates conditions and opportunities for them to realise social equality….

Land can therefore be viewed as crucial in livelihoods, social status among others especially in developing countries. In addition, Mutondoro and Ncube (2013, p. 7) opined,

> Land is a finite resource whose mis-governance led most African states to embark on liberation struggles in an attempt to attain autonomy, transparency and equality in its allocation and access. The utility of land in any nation is central to the formulation of its socio-economic and political diaphragm pivotal for national progress.

The next section unravels land reform from a global perspective detailing varying experiences among countries that have implemented land reform as well as countries still implementing land reform.

2.2 LAND REFORM: A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

Land reforms have been implemented using different approaches leading to different ways of intellectualizing the concept. White (et al (2013, p. 6) argued,

> In the first three decades after the Second World War, various models of land and agrarian reforms were implemented. These were the agrarian components of the multiple different models of "development" that co-existed at the time, from purely capitalist to purely socialist, plus a variety of in-between models, all of them at that time still in the "mainstream" in contrast to recent decades in which a single, broadly neo-liberal model has dominated.

Therefore, from a global perspective it can be revealed that land reform is influenced by a number of models. The models of land reform have morphed over the decades from capitalist to socialist and recently neo-liberal. Barraclough (2016, p. 16) stated, "There is no general formula to start and effectively execute major land reforms; rather, it must evolve and adapt according to the complex economic and political dynamics that characterize a particular country at a given time." Therefore, the execution of land reform has to take due cognisance of the local conditions within a particular country. In addition, the economic and political dynamics are not static hence requiring that the approach to land reform be varied to suit the particular time. In addition, Barraclough (1999, p. 11) previously argued, "… its specific form depends on pre-reform land tenure systems and broader institutional structures, as well as on the political dynamics propelling reform." The approach taken by individual countries is also influenced by the land tenure system obtaining prior to the land reform. Thus, further revealing that land reform approach in different countries are often different because of differing backgrounds, land tenure systems among others. Barraclough (1999, p. ii) averred, "Social movements with important peasant support led to revolutionary regimes implementing significant land reforms in Mexico, Bolivia, Cuba and Nicaragua." Therefore, land reforms in Mexico, Bolivia, Cuba and Nicaragua have been pursued and spearheaded by social movements. However, it should be noted that land reforms are not a preserve of social movements as other forms of government and segments of the population have participated in land reform. Barraclough (1999, p. ii) elaborated,

> Similar processes produced massive land reforms in China and Viet Nam. Popularly based insurgencies in Peru and El Salvador convinced nationalist military officers wielding state power to undertake land reforms. Important land reforms by authoritarian

> regimes in South Korea and Taiwan had partially similar origins. Democratically elected regimes in Puerto Rico, Guatemala, Venezuela and Chile all initiated important land reforms.

Hence, it can be argued that land reforms have been initiated by social movements, authoritarian regimes and democratically elected regimes around the world.

In Latin America different approaches have been followed in implementing land reforms. Barraclough (2016, p. 18) revealed, "Land reform has been one of the most conflictive issues in twentieth- century Latin America. The reasons are simple. Effective reforms imply radical changes in economic and political relations both locally and nationally." Hence, it can be argued that land reform has been a source of conflict in Latin America because of the radical economic and political changes that have accompanied land reform. Barraclough (1999, p. 10) revealed of Mexico that, "The first major twentieth century land reform occurred in Mexico. Land reform began in several Mexican states soon after 1910 and culminated nation-wide in the late 1930s." The Mexican land reform has been credited as the first major land in the twentieth century. Furthermore, Barraclough (1999, p. 12) states,

> Usually the beneficiaries of land reforms in Mexico were not required to pay for the land they received, and the former large owners were not compensated. The state assumed the obligation to provide the peasants with credit, technical assistance, marketing and social services.

Therefore, it can be understoodthat land reform in Mexico did not take into consideration compensation for the large land owners who lost land in the processes of land reform. Literature on land reform in Mexico negates to analyse the implications of land reform on education suffice acknowledging that the state had an obligation to provide social services. Moreover, despite acknowledging that the peasants played an instrumental role in land reform, the peasants' social capital was not interrogated.

Land reform in Brazil has characteristically followed a community-based approach. The Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra (Landless Worker's Movement, or MST) is at the forefront of land reform in Brazil (Filho & Mendonca, 2007; Groppo, 2006). In 1984, the MST was officially founded in the south of Brazil, encouraging agrarian reform from

below, organizing thousands of rural workers and leading to the occupation of unproductive land around the country (Barnard, 2014). Branford and Rocha (2002, p. 122) revealed that,"the MST is the largest and most successful social movement in Latin America with one million members and has won 81,081 square miles of land." Additionally, Filho and Mendonca (2007, p. 3) stated "the MST has 1.5 million members and is broadly considered to be one of the most influential social movements in Latin America. They have been at the centre of the ongoing occupations with 180,000 landless families currently living in MST encampments.

Thus, the Brazilian land reform has been largely a product of pressure from below as revealed by the centrality of the role played by the MST. Questions regarding property rights and violence have also been raised from various quarters on the Brazilian land reform just like in the Zimbabwean land reform case. However, there is a glaring deficiency of research on the social capital influences of the Brazilian land reform as researchers and scholars concentrate on the approach pursued by MST. Researchers on the Brazilian land reform seem to concentrate on the merit or lack thereof of the approach hence, overshadowing the social capital implications. This is despite the glaring role of social capital in the MST's collective action and cooperation approach which thrives on social networks to mobilize the masses for land occupation. Literature reviewed shows a negation of the implications of the land reform on education in Brazil to a great extent, hence the need to interrogate and offer a perspective on land reform which takes due cognisance of the social capital influences of the land reform beneficiaries on satellite schools in this study.

An example of land reform that received academic attention is that of India. The law has largely guided the Indian land reform. It has been steered by four main legislation categories "tenancy reform, abolition of intermediaries, land ceiling, and land consolidation." (Ghatak & Roy, 2007, p. 252). Khanna (2008, p. 208) revealed, "The Kerala Land Reforms Act (1963) provides a legal foundation for imposition of the ceiling on land holdings. Actually, it was inserted as Item 39 in the 9th Schedule to the Constitution of India." Furthermore, Trivedi (2010, p. 214) revealed the advantages, "The World Bank, based on a nation–wide panel survey of about 5,000 Indian rural households who were interviewed by the National Council for Applied Economic Research (NCAER) in both 1982 and 1999, admits positive influences of land reform in India." Thus, there is empirical evidence to the effect that land reform can

have positive influences. Jayadev and Ha (2015, p. 19) recently elaborated on one particular area of India,

> Kerala aims to (i) weaken the control and power of landlords and ensure security of land tenure to the landless and poor farmers, (ii) stimulate the growth of the agricultural sector via increasing productivity and output by eliminating feudal and semi-feudal systems of land control, (iii) develop rural markets via redistributing factors of production, such as land, and increase in public investment in rural farming, (iv) improve human development through greater investment in education and healthcare and (v) empower the minority, such as Dalits, women and tribal people, in order to address caste and gender oppression.

However, despite these land reform successes in some provinces such as West Bengal and Kerala (Ghatak & Roy, 2007), land reform in India has not been acknowledged as a success in some quarters. Jayadev and Ha (2015, p. 22) revealed,

> Even though there were factual data available regarding the emancipation brought about by enactment of land reforms in Kerala, there were a lot of stumbles towards ensuring a sustainable socio-economic, agricultural and environmental development in this state.

Hence, it can therefore be argued that land reform in Kerala despite utilising legislations has encountered challenges in its endeavour for sustainable development. Therefore, it can be revealed that negative perceptions of land reform are not new and confined to Zimbabwe but have been witnessed elsewhere, as in India. These NCAER surveys in India, however, overlook making assessments on the social capital of land reform beneficiaries to a greater extent due to their concentration on human capital accumulation and asset accumulation. In addition, the literature on Indian land reform fails to take due cognisance of the influences of the social capital of land reform beneficiaries on education in general, and new schools in particular.

Largely, similar to the Indian approach in relying on legal instruments to transfer land from the land owners to the landless, the Namibian government has also approached land reform through the use of various legal instruments. Shigwedha (2004, p.1) summarises the legal instruments as,

> The legislative and regulatory bases for the process of acquisition and distribution of land in the commercial farming areas are provided for in the Agricultural (Commercial) Land Reform Act (Act No. 6 of 1995). On the other hand, the guidelines and regulations for the acquisition and distribution of land in the communal areas are provided for in the Communal Land Reform Acts.

Werner and Kruger (2007, p. 31) argued that in Namibia, "the pace of redistributing freehold land is regarded as too slow by many people." Therefore, land reform in Namibia has been markedly slow despite the government's efforts as shown in the passing of various policies. Due to its reliance on law, researchers have often analyzed Namibian land reform from a legal perspective, hence it can be argued that this leaves a research gap pertaining to the social capital of the land reform beneficiaries.

Land reform in Ghana has been both incremental and radical. Narh et al (2016, p. 6) stated, "Two approaches to land reforms in Ghana are discernible, namely incremental (piecemeal) and radical reforms." Kasanga and Kotey (2000) argue that the incremental approach in Ghana is embedded in the customary ownership arrangement. Thus, it follows within the incremental land reform in Ghana, the aim is to make the customary ownership arrangement more efficient. The approach is not concerned with equitable distribution of land in Ghana as it views the system as already equitable but has efficiency constraints. Whereas, the radical land reform entails and advocates for state control of land. Thus, Narh et al (2016, p. 5) revealed, "Numerous reforms in the land sector in Ghana have been initiated by successive governments with the view to making the sector efficient through land tenure security and increased investment in agriculture." Resultantly, literature on land reform in Ghana has largely been confined to questioning the effectiveness of the two approaches of land reform. Moreover, literature has pursued comparative studies to assess the success of successive governments in implementing the two approaches to great extent. Hence, there is an apparent negation of studying the nexus between land reform and education as well as the social capital perspective to land reform.

In South Africa, land reform involves land restitution, tenure and land redistribution. Hall et al (2003, p. 1) stated,

> The land reform Programme of the South African government is conventionally described as having three legs: restitution, tenure reform and redistribution. While restitution deals specifically with historical rights in land, and tenure reform with forms of land holding, redistribution is specifically aimed at transforming the racial pattern of land ownership.

Mostert, Pienaar and Van Wyk (2010, paragraph 108) concurred on the chosen path by South Africa, "The land reform Programme rests on three pillars, namely land restitution, land tenure reform and land redistribution." Manjengwa (2006, p. 12) stated that, "South Africa's land reform is based on a World Bank model and redistribution of land is market-assisted, based on buying land with the help of settlement and land acquisition grants from the government." However, it has been noted that, "redistribution Programmes based on the market-led agrarian reform model have failed to date to address the injustices of apartheid" (Fortin, 2005 in Manjengwa, 2006, p. 12). The African Research Institute (2013, p. 1) stated, "The 1994 pledge by the African National Congress (ANC) to transfer 30% of white-owned agricultural land to black farmers…" These aims were premised on the disparities in the land ownership and situation across the provinces of South Africa. The Minister of Rural Development and Land Reform, Gugile Nkwinti in a "Policy Speech", in May 2012 cited in the African Research Institute (2013) states, "ownership of 7.95 million hectares of land had been transferred under the Programme about one third of the original target of 24.6 million hectares."

Obeng-Odoom (2012, p. 166) also argued that "overall, the land reforms in South Africa have not been as effective as promised." The African Research Institute (2013, p. 1) stated that, "the South African government has been criticised for the slow progress of the land redistribution and high cost of land restitution." In addition, The African Research Institute (2013, p. 1) reveals that, "both the slow progress of the land redistribution and high cost of land restitution are attributed to the now abandoned 'willing seller, willing buyer' (WSWB) principle." Lahiff (2008, p. 1) noted the "slow pace of land redistribution in South Africa." Land reform in South Africa has been relatively slow when analyzed in relation to the government targets and expectations from the landless masses. Thus, research on South African land reform has largely been confined to a critique of the quantity of land transferred in comparison with the South African government's set targets. In addition, contemporary

literature has largely been comparative, whereby South Africa's land reform is compared against the land reform 'disaster' in Zimbabwe. Land reform in Zimbabwe has been viewed as a disaster due to the perceived decline in agricultural yields which accompanied its implementation. Utilising a comparative approach, Derman (2006, p. 3) added, "The Namibian, South African and Zimbabwean governments are proceeding with land reform for various reasons but all in the name of historical injustice that saw the rightful owners of land dispossessed by colonialism." However, research on the land reform in South Africa also overlooks the social capital aspects of the land reform beneficiaries and any links to education in general.

2.3 A BACKGROUND TO ZIMBABWE'S LAND REFORM

Mabhena (2010, p. iii) explained that, "land reform has been going on in Zimbabwe since the state attained independence from Britain in 1980 as a way of enhancing agrarian livelihoods for the formerly marginalised people." The narrative on land reform in Zimbabwe has been punctuated by emotional contributions from various scholars over the past 15 years, among these are Mamdani (2008), Moyo (2011), Raftopolous (2003), Sachikonye (2005) and Zikhali (2010). Land reform in Zimbabwe has traversed over more than three decades and has morphed in its approach over the years that is from the initial "willing seller, willing buyer" approach to the controversial and radical land reform. Whereas, the land question has unfolded over a century (Palmer, 1990; Moyo, 1986). Sachikonye (2004, p. 3) argued that, "the land question essentially centred on the patterns that land distribution assumed through expropriation …" Therefore, there is a need to separate from the onset, the background to land reform from the background to the land question. The land question entails a century old struggle over land rights in Zimbabwe. The land question began with the European colonialism of 1890 which involved, "land alienation and deliberate restructuring of customary land tenure system of the indigenous people." (Tshuma, 1997 as cited in Sachikonye, 2004, p. 7). Sibanda and Maposa (2014, p. 54) revealed,

> The land question has a long history in Zimbabwe, and has always been an issue at the heart of Zimbabwe's struggles for national liberation (*Chimurenga*). Stretching from the colonial era to the present, there have been three milestone *Chimurenga* wars, notably in 1896-1897, 1965-1980 and 2000-2008.

The land question then evolved into a uniting grievance that spurred two armed struggles for liberation within Zimbabwe. Marongwe (2009, p. 2) explained the genesis,

> Over a period spanning almost 30 years, the country's land reform Programme has undergone many changes in its objectives and its key implementation characteristics, including methods of land acquisition, the quality of land acquired, the scale of land reform, types of resettlement models, settler selection criteria, types of beneficiaries, and provision of support services, amongst other issues.

Hence, utilizing these changes in objectives and approach the researcher divided the discussion on land reform in Zimbabwe into two phases: the period from 1980 to 1999 and the period from 2000 to present (2016) (also known as the Fast Track Land Reform Programme).

2.3.1 THE PERIOD FROM 1980 TO 1999 - UNCHANGED LAND SITUATION IN ZIMBABWE

The period from 1980 to 1990 can be argued to have been a period of no change in the land situation when studied comparatively with the later period (2000 to 2016). This period was premised on what has been termed the "Lancaster House Agreement" among scholars (Moyo, 1995). Raftopolous and Mlambo (2009) stated that the Lancaster House Agreement put in place a framework for land redistribution and resettlement in Zimbabwe and it further availed new guidelines for land ownership. The focus of this earlier period was on settling people on land on "willing seller, willing buyer" basis (Sachikonye, 2005; Shava, 2010). In addition, according to the Lancaster House Agreement - the willing seller, willing buyer mechanism meant that there were no impediments for white farmers wishing to continue their farming activities. (Chitsike, 2003; Dabale et al 2014; Lebert, 2003). During talks to end the war in Zimbabwe, a compromise constitution was negotiated by the liberation movement, the colonial government as well as the British government and it had restrictions in terms of land reform and constitutional amendments. The Lancaster House Agreement[3] was an obstacle on land reform throughout the first decade of independence. Law (2009, p. 56) has argued that, "Mugabe was keen to encourage the white population to remain in Zimbabwe, this meant that

[3] The Lancaster House Agreement was the agreement that marked the independence of Zimbabwe. It had clauses which forbade compulsory acquisition of land from the white farmers for ten years immediately after independence.

radical land distribution was necessarily put on hold, being deferred for at least ten years until the Lancaster House Agreement expired."

The new government, maintained Law (2009), was keen on encouraging whites to remain in Zimbabwe. In addition, this position is further buttressed in the policy of reconciliation which the government of Zimbabwe pursued. There were constitutional restrictions on land through "willing seller, willing buyer" provisions. This was aptly revealed by one leading nationalist quoted by Sachikonye (2003, p. 21): "to buy areas adequate for resettling the many land-hungry African farmers, who had been confined to the former tribal trust lands, would be beyond the financial ability of the new state." In addition, Moyo (1986, p. 172) from empirical evidence argued "this[4] in turn sets limits to the quantity, quality and location of land to be redistributed." While, Palmer (1990, p. 164) posited that, "the issue of land reform [was] so high on the political agenda a decade ago, but … a curious silence fell for much of the 1980s." Hanlon, Manjengwa and Smart (2013, p. 57) also added,

> Land may have been at the forefront for the guerrillas and in political speeches, but the new government did not give top priority to land reform; ... [and] did not take options available to it ... resettlement accounted to only 3% of the investment funds requested at the March 1981 Zimcord.

Hence, questions have been posed on the sincerity of the independent Zimbabwean government in efforts to address the land question. Moreover, scholars have critiqued the government over accountabilities issues in connection with donor funds meant for land reform in the early 1980s. Thus, essentially there was marginal progress in addressing the land question during this period. Juana (2006, p. 296) states, "in 1980, the targeted number of households for resettlement was 18000 on 1,5 million hectares of land over five years."

Due to the restrictions on land due to the Lancaster House Constitution, "by 1989 only about 48 000 households against a target of 162 000 households had been resettled from the overcrowded communal lands onto new land" (Sachikonye, 2005, p. 7). This was largely due to resource constraints to adhere to the constitutional stipulation of 'willing seller, willing

[4] The willing seller-willing buyer

buyer'. However, it should be noted that this period, despite yielding poor results in terms of total land transferred, was generally non-violent and organised in character. Overseas Development Administration (1996, p. 11) stated that on, "the whole, land reform during this period made impressive strides towards its principal objectives." The majority of the land beneficiaries during this period as Sachikonye (2003, p. 229) revealed were supported, "through the provision of increased opportunities for income generation, and the availability of services such as health and education." Statistics in Sachikonye (2005, p. 8) also revealed that, "by 1997, the total number of resettled households now amounted to 71 000 on 3,6 million hectares of land." Hence, it can be argued that the period between 1980 and 1999 failed to achieve its objective of transferring 162 000 households. In addition, it can further be argued comparatively that the Zimbabwean government failure to redistribute land to 162 000 households is analogous to the failure by the South African government to reach its target. Thus, over 50% of the most prime land in Zimbabwe in 2000 was in the hand of less than 1% minority white farmers (Mabaye, 2005). Hence, characterisation of this period as the unchanged land situation in Zimbabwe. Sachikonye (2004, p.1) added that, "if land, cattle and labour had been issues of the 1890s, only the first of these remained to be settled in the 1990s." The radical change in land situation in Zimbabwe which followed the period that has been discussed is presented in the next section.

2.3.2 THE PERIOD FROM 2000 TO PRESENT (2016) - RADICAL CHANGE IN THE LAND SITUATION IN ZIMBABWE

The period after the Year 2000 marked a change in the approach that was evident in the first phase of land reform. Dabale et al (2014, p. 38) revealed that, "The FTLRP primary objective was to accelerate both land acquisition and redistribution." The Chief Svosve people invasion of white-owned commercial farms in Marondera (Mashonaland East) marked the onset of the radical change in the land situation (Scoones, 2014). Chara (2013) explained,

> Some called them "looters" while others elected to give them such derogatory names as "land grabbers, land invaders or even murderers". With the passage of time, many people understood and joined in their cause. Government officials soon realised that this revolution could not be ignored. … These people hail from Svosve Communal Lands in Mashonaland East Province and were the first to move into formerly white-owned farms where they claimed the land of their ancestors.

Magosvongwe (2013, p. 202) added that,

> the first farm invasions by Svosve villagers, Marondera District, in early 2000 who repossessed farms they had been displaced from as recent as 1947 to create new farms for whites who had fought on behalf of the British Crown against Germans in the Second World War. These peasant-led occupations opened the floodgates of War-veterans led farm invasions under the late ex-combatant and medical doctor Chenjerai Hunzvi.

Thus, the centrality of the role played by Chief Svosve and his people can be utilised to argue that land reform in Zimbabwe was initiated by land-hungry peasants. In addition, it should be noted that some of the Svosve people who were actually dispossessed participated in the invasions as compared to other areas whereby ancestors had been dispossessed. Various names have been used to refer to land reform in this period including the Third Chimurenga[5], the Third Revolution, *Hondo yeminda*, J*ambanja* among others. Among these the Third Chimurenga is one of the most prominent name. Sibanda and Maposa (2014, p. 55) reported, "The land reform programme (third Chimurenga) is a monumental agrarian revolution in Zimbabwe, and its repercussions have been largely paradoxical to the extent that they have sent shockwaves in Africa and beyond." This name was made popular because of its historical connotations within the country which were used to justify the land reform. Magosvongwe (2013, p. 11) also averred,

> Land redistribution has been variously termed 'land repossessions', 'land restitution', 'land invasions', 'land grab', 'land seizures' or 'land expropriation', 'Third Chimurenga' or 'Jambanja'. Jambanja remains the popular term used for the post-2000 land occupations that constitute the background to the narratives and period under review.

However, officially it was known as the "Fast Track Land Resettlement Programme"[6]. "The Fast Track Land Resettlement Programme' was launched on 15 July 2000 and designed to be undertaken in an accelerated manner with reliance on domestic resources." (Utete, 2003, p. 18).

[5] Third Chimurenga and Hondo yeminda meaning the war for land in the Shona language.
[6] Utete (2003, p. 18)

In addition, Dabale et al (2014, p. 39) revealed, "the Programme can be argued to have essentially departed from the previous philosophy, practices and procedures of acquiring land and resettling people." This entailed that during this period that there was a significant change procedurally (Hanlon et al, 2013; Utete, 2003). Adebajo and Paterson (2011, p. 3) have revealed that, "the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP), which targeted about 3,000 farms for resettlement by black beneficiaries, reflected a radical shift from the more gradualist approach that had been adopted by the government between 1980 and 1996." Thus, the Fast Track Resettlement Programme departed from the 'willing seller, willing buyer' approach which was pursued in conformity with the Lancaster House Agreement. Murisa (2010, p. 8) argued, "The Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) has led to radical changes in the size, composition and number of participants in agricultural production."

Beginning in 2000, led by the war veterans, dispossessed blacks began to invade and grab white owned land (Hanlon et al, 2013; Mabaye, 2005). The government did not stop the land invasions but supported the landless people and allegedly hijacked the initiative of the war veterans (The Herald, 25 June, 1998). Some analysts suggest that growing internal political dissatisfaction particularly from the former guerrillas as well as the amplification of economic woes led to haphazard land invasions (Nyatsanza, 2015; Raftopoulos, 2013; Tendi 2013). The government gave in to pressure not only by sanctioning monetary compensation for guerrillas but also facilitating the invasion of white-occupied farmland (Raftopolous & Mlambo, 2009; Sachikonye, 2003). The government did not have time or financial means to provide either a legal framework or resettlement social services such as schools and clinics. It was only in 2002 that the government enacted the Land Acquisition Amendment Act (6 of 2002) retrospectively to give a lawfulness veneer and regulatory framework to the current fast track land reform. Thus, it can be argued that the Zimbabwean government capitalised on the demands for land from below to institute land reform. Zimbabwe's land reform has been argued to have been pushed by demands from land-hungry peasants as revealed by the role played by Chief Svosve's people in initiating the land invasions that culminated in widespread land reform. Mabhena (2010, p. 91) revealed "the land occupations by Svosve people in Mashonaland East province in early 1998 was indicative that rural people had lost patience with the slow pace in which the government was dealing with the land question."

Scholars have availed varying statistics on the quantity of land transferred in Zimbabwe through the two resettlement models and the number of household beneficiaries. Fontein (2009, p. 25) explained,

> Fast track resettlement involves two models: A1 and A2. The former focuses on small holder farming, on a villagised basis with communal grazing, or within self-contained plots, while the latter, involving medium and large-scale farming, is aimed at those with access to more financial resources.

Moyo (2011, p. 3) added, "across the country, the formal land re-allocation since 2000 has resulted in the transfer of land to nearly 170,000 households by 2010" (Moyo, 2011, p. 3). Murisa (2013, p. 251) noted the changes in that, "The Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) has led to significant social change, with approximately 160,000 families now settled in areas previously inhabited by approximately 4,000 large-scale farmers." Rukuni (2011, p. 147) stated that "the Fast Track Land Reform Programme, which begun in 2000, allocated to new farmers over 4,500 farms making up 7.6 million hectares, 20% of the total land area of the country (according to admittedly rough official figures)." Whereas, Scoones (2014, p. 2) stated, "around 150,000 households were settled in smallholder areas (called A1 schemes in Zimbabwe), plus a further 30,000 households were allocated medium-scale so-called A2 farms." While, Bratton and Masunungure (2011, p. 23) pointed to the transfer of property along racial lines, "between 2000 and 2002, some 11 million hectares were confiscated from 4,000 white farmers and redistributed to an estimated 127,000 small families and 7,200 black commercial farmers." However, Scoones (2014, p. 2) goes further to concede that,

> the numbers remain rough, as a full audit has yet to be undertaken, but the scale is significant, representing well over a million people moving to new land, along with many labourers and other family members who have joined over time.

Although, there is no consensus on the statistics amongst academics, it is widely accepted that the Fast Track Land Reform Programme has resulted in transfer of 90% of land formerly owned by white commercial famers to the landless. Hawkins (2013, no pagination) critiqued that, "success or otherwise of land resettlement in Zimbabwe cannot be judged by how many people are on the land now, but by what is produced, what incomes are earned and whether the economy as a whole benefited." It can therefore be argued that the statistics are inadequate in analysing the impact of the land reform and there is need for a study on social

capital influences on satellite schools. This, as has already been highlighted earlier, has not been previously explored in the literature.

2.4 PERSPECTIVES ON THE LAND REFORM IN ZIMBABWE

The discourse on Zimbabwe's land reform has drawn attention from different fields of study and therefore it follows that varying and often conflicting perspectives are bound to be proffered in the literature. Due to the socio-political debacles that accompanied land reform, the Fast Track Land Reform Programme has generated divergent opinions about the process and outcomes (Chamunogwa, 2012; Hentze & Menz, 2015; Musemwa & Mushunje, 2011). Southall (2011, p. 83) postulated,

> the debate on Zimbabwean land reform is polarized between a minority position that argues that the radical restructuring of agrarian capital has served as a progressive tendency that has opened up opportunities for black small-scale farmers, and a majority position that insists that land redistribution has dramatically undercut agricultural production, thereby severely compromising food security for most Zimbabweans.

Tellingly, the polarized discourse whereby debate revolves around the minority position versus the majority position has not only been confined to academic literature, as this has also been evident in the media. The media has seemingly pursued the polarised discourse in its coverage of land reform with the state media in Zimbabwe hailing the land reform as a great success whereas independent media diagnosed it as a disaster. State media applaud the land reform as a great success whereas private and independent media such as The Standard, The Independent and The Newsday argue that the land reform was catastrophic. Hence, it can be argued that land reform in Zimbabwe is polarised to a larger extent.

This section on perspectives on the land reform in Zimbabwe goes further and interrogates the Zimbabwean land reform from a multiplicity of perspectives instead of confining itself to the polarised discourse which pitches the minority versus majority position. Therefore, various perspectives on land reform emerge. Land reform in Zimbabwe has been studied from an agricultural productivity perspective (Hawkins, 2013; Zikhali, 2010), a human rights perspective, (Research and Advocacy Unit, 2008; Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum,

2010), a livelihoods perspective (Mabhena, 2010; Scoones et al, 2010; Scoones, 2014) and a political perspective (Chiweshe, 2013; Raftopolous, 2003; Rukuni, 2011; Sachikonye, 2005). Therefore, it can be revealed that the discourse on Zimbabwean land reform has been presented in a multiplicity of perspectives, which however neglected the social capital perspective in general, and the social capital influences of the land reform beneficiaries in particular. Thus, this study on Zimbabwe's land reform was guided by the social capital perspective, which the researcher hopes will add a new viewpoint on the land reform phenomenon. The next section discusses the perspectives on land reform in Zimbabwe in detail.

2.4.1 THE HUMAN RIGHTS PERSPECTIVE TO LAND REFORM

The human rights perspective to land reform has largely been proffered by NGOs and opposition political parties purporting to represent the victims of the land reform Programme. The Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum[7] can be argued to be the main benefactor of the human rights perspective to land reform in Zimbabwe. This perspective narrates property rights desecration during land reform in Zimbabwe (Research and Advocacy Unit, 2008; Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum, 2010). Magosvongwe (2013, p. 9) argues,

> Land redistribution has also generated controversies concerning conceptions of human dignity, human worth, human rights, victim/victimhood, social in/justice and the rule of law in colonial and post-independence Zimbabwe. For instance, there are inconsistencies regarding the conception of human rights and human worth applied in examining violations, violence, land dispossessions displacements and redistribution in the era in question. Human rights based on whiteness or blackness, political correctness, affluence, class, level of education, gender and ethnicity, raise questions concerning the significance of human worth in colonial and post-independence Zimbabwe. For these reasons, the Zimbabwean land question has courted controversy locally and internationally.

Moreover, it can be argued that issues of racism were introduced to the discourse on human rights as well as political correctness became pronounced during the land reform period. In addition, within this narrative, the executive's interference in the judiciary is also discussed

[7] The Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum is a coalition of NGOs comprising of 19 member organisations.

as revealed, in "the sacking of a number of judges and replacing them with others more sympathetic to land reform and an enactment of pro-squatter legislation" (Mamdani, 2008, p. 17). The perspective further voiced that some of these sympathetic judges were compromised land reform beneficiaries such as Judge President Chiweshe. According to the human rights discourse, white commercial farmers were pugnaciously removed by ZANU-PF hoodlums. The human rights perspective "brings to the fore violent state action in instigating land occupations and in thwarting political opposition to fast track" (Southall, 2011, p. 84).

In addition, the human rights perspective further articulated that domestic, regional and international instruments on property rights were sacrificed by the 'land invaders' to a greater extent. The human rights perspective can also be buttressed by the contempt that met the ground-breaking ruling by SADC Tribunal to halt the farm confiscations in Zimbabwe (SADC, 2008). The government of Zimbabwe was contemptuous to both local courts and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Tribunal. According to the Human Rights Watch (2008, p. 25), "on 17 March 2000, Justice Paddington Garwe declared that the 'invasion' of a number of farms by squatters, claiming to be veterans of Zimbabwe's liberation war, was unlawful." The Human Rights Watch (2008, no pagination) contended

> Justice Garwe ordered all squatters to vacate the farms within 24 hours, and directed the Police Commissioner-General Augustine Chihuri to enforce the order. On 21 December 2000, the Supreme Court ruled that the Government's land reform Programme was unconstitutional and violated article 16 of the Constitution, which guarantees property rights.

However, all these rulings were ignored with contempt as the police and government revealed. Richardson (2005, p. 541) argued,

> Despite a ruling from Zimbabwe's Supreme Court that the action was illegal, the Mugabe-led government continued with the land takings. These land reforms marked an important turning point for Zimbabwe. It was the first time in its 20-year history that laws regarding property rights were no longer respected or defended. Property titles, which once served as a key insurance mechanism for guaranteeing bank lending, no longer were recognized by the Mugabe government.

The Police Commissioner refused to implement court orders as he is apparently a land reform beneficiary. In addition, the contempt of court wass further aptly revealed when Robert Mugabe in Justice for Agriculture Zimbabwe (2008, p. 2) revealed,

> The courts can do whatever they want, but no judicial decision will stand in our way ... My own position is that we should not even be defending our position in the courts. We cannot brook interference by court impediment to the land acquisition Programme.

Consequently, government allegations that the Chief Justice was siding with white commercial farmers forced him into resignation. Therefore, according to this narrative white commercial farmers failed even to be accorded legal protection both within and outside Zimbabwe.

The human rights perspective further revealed the utilization of physical violence and the violation of property rights. The pinnacle of physical violence in the course of Zimbabwean land reform was glaringly revealed when the former Chief Justice Anthony Gubbay became a victim as the war invaded the Supreme Court. Former Chief Justice Anthony Gubbay cited in the Human Rights Watch (2008, no pagination), stated, "on 24 November 2000, 'war veterans' forcibly entered the Supreme Court building shouting ZANU-PF political slogans and calling for judges to be killed." Hence, it can be argued that if the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court could be threatened with physical violence, who can be spared from the violence. In addition, Dabale et al (2014, p. 40) explained the predicament,

> … that it has interfered with judicial independence, in particular by forcing resignations from the Supreme Court, after the court ruled the FTLRP unconstitutional, and replacing judges with individuals perceived to be loyal to the ruling party. The new court accepted the government's arguments that the rule of law had been restored to land reform by legislation attempting to retroactively validate occupations carried out in violation of legal procedures

Furthermore, President Robert Mugabe can be argued to have supported the use of violence by war veterans when he stated, "It is perfectly justifiable to use necessary force to overcome resistance to the transformation of the economy in favour of the black majority to achieve economic justice" (Justice for Agriculture Zimbabwe, 2008, p. 2). Thus, it can be argued that

the approach to Zimbabwe's land reform as evident by threats to the judiciary was a gross contempt of the courts. Moyo (2006, p. 345) explained that, "the main controversy in the land reform debate today is over the physical violence and the violation of property rights of land owners and of farm workers, which the militant and state-led approach pursued, having suspended certain land- related laws and 'rights' in order to reverse past injustices." Mabhena (2010, p. 91) added that, "the politicization of the land reform Programme has seen property rights on land being violated."

In addition, the human rights perspective argues that property rights for the previous landowners were violated and at the same time were not extended to the new land occupiers (Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum, 2010). Makumbe (2009, p. 8) aptly noted,

> … the police and the army, far from trying to protect the rights of the farm workers are often part of the problem, standing to the side when violence erupts on the farm, and continuing to harass the displaced farm workers, once they have left for the urban centres and refuge.

Therefore, according to the human rights perspective, the police and army failed to protect white commercial farmers together with their farm labourers. Accordingly, the human rights perspective widens the bracket of victims of the land reform to include white commercial farmers and the farm workers.

This human rights perspective can be criticised for confining itself to the violation of property rights while negating other rights such as the right to education. In addition, the human rights perspective has largely confined itself to the approach to the land reform process without delving into the intricacies of what transpired with the land reform beneficiaries thereafter. The human rights perspective to land reform in Zimbabwe is usually substantiated with gross pictures of assaulted or murdered farmers. Surprisingly, the human rights perspective lacks appreciation of the implications of land reform on education despite the appreciation of various legal instruments and Section 75 of the Zimbabwean constitution that education is a right. Thus, tellingly, the human rights perspective prioritises property rights resultantly overshadowing the children's right to education to the background. Human rights should be accorded the same respect whether right to education, property right among others. However,

it can be argued that the human rights perspective is preoccupied with human rights transgressions in general, and property rights in particular.

The social capital perspective adopted in this study, revealed later in detail, interrogates social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries. Stanton-Salazar (2004, p. 18) delineates social capital as "those 'connections' to individuals and to networks that can provide access to resources and forms of support that facilitate the accomplishment of goals." Sampson et al (1999, p. 921) argued that "social capital for poor communities must be understood as closely linked to collective efficacy, and calls for the linkage of mutual trust and the shared willingness to intervene for the common good." Social networks are a product of mutual trust amongst members in a community, whereby the group survival is given precedence. Ansari (2013, p. 76) stated, "collective efficacy is defined as a form of social organization that combines social cohesion and shared expectations for social control." Whereas de Souza Briggs (1998, p. 177) suggested that "all individuals require social capital to navigate life for two reasons; to access social support to get by and cope, and as social leverage to get ahead and achieve upward mobility." Carpiano (2006, p. 166) advances that "social support is a form of social capital individuals use to cope with daily or frequent problems." In addition, Carpiano (2006, p. 168) states, "social leverage is a form of social capital that allows community members to access information and advance socioeconomically." Therefore, the social capital perspective seeks to assess how the social capital of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers impacts on education in Zimbabwe. In seeking to understand the various perspectives on land reform in Zimbabwe, the succeeding section unravels the livelihoods perspectives.

2.4.2 THE LIVELIHOODS PERSPECTIVE TO LAND REFORM

There is an apparent discord and lack of consensus within the livelihoods perspective to Zimbabwe's land reform among its proponents (Cliffe, Gaidzanwa, Alexander & Cousins, 2011; Mabhena, 2010; Matondi 2012). Chambers and Conway (1992, p. 9), stated, "a livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets and activities required for a living." Thus, the

livelihoods approach delves into impact of land reform on capabilities, assets and activities necessary for a living.

The livelihoods perspective emanates from the questions posed in an empirical study in Masvingo province, "what happened to people's livelihoods once they got land through the 'fast-track' programme from 2000?" (Scoones et al, 2010, p. 1). Mabhena (2010, p. iii) argued, "there is an increase in hectares but vanishing livelihoods among the land reform beneficiaries." He further contended that the "the Land Reform Programme in Southern Matabeleland rather than enhancing agrarian livelihoods, well established livelihoods have actually been drastically reduced." (Mabhena, 2010, p.iii). Whereas, also within the livelihoods perspective Scoones et al (2011, p. 1) argued, "the story is not simply one of collapse and catastrophe; it is much more nuanced and complex, with successes as well as failures." Moyo (2013, p. 30) added,

> While not all beneficiaries of Zimbabwe's fast track land reform programme are utilising land productively, there is emerging evidence that some urban based A1 smallholder farmers have capacity and are productive despite persistent economic, financial, operational and climatic obstacles.

Therefore, it can be argued that within the livelihoods perspectives there is empirical evidence of A1 farmers being productive despite various obstacles. However, it should be noted that the livelihoods perspective to land reform in Zimbabwe is complicated because within the same province an assessment of productivity produces varying results. Moyo (2013, p.30) concedes, "Admittedly, it's not all rosy in A1 resettlements, many farmers – including some urban-based ones – are struggling to produce with no inputs, finance, equipment, assets and agricultural technical know-how." Therefore, this perspective reveals that there are indeed both negative and positive impacts on the livelihoods of the land reform beneficiaries as put forward from empirical data reviewed.

Another aspect within the livelihoods perspective entails an analysing the impact of land reform on farm workers. According to Mamdani (2008, p. 2), "the second casualty of the land reform in Zimbabwe after the white farmers were the farm labourers." There were about 300,000 farm labourers, most of them migrant labour, were displaced. Therefore, it can be

reasoned that livelihoods of the farm workers who were displaced by the land reform process were negatively affected to a greater extent. Sachikonye (2003, p. 2) concluded, "thus the outcome of the programme has been the loss of jobs and livelihoods by farm workers on the one hand, and the acquisition of land as a resource by several hundred thousand small farmers, and black commercial farmers." Hence, it can be reasoned within the livelihoods perspective of Zimbabwe's land reform that whereas the farm workers lost their livelihoods, several hundred thousand A1 and A2 farmers' livelihoods were enhanced by the land reform. Therefore, this perspective reveals that there are indeed both negative and positive impacts on livelihoods of land reform beneficiaries as put forwarded by empirical data reviewed. Hence, it follows within this perspective that farm workers were collateral damage while white farmers can be viewed as the victims of the land reform to a greater extent. However, it should be noted that again the livelihoods perspective negates the social capital angle of land reform and therefore it buttresses the notion that there is indeed a research gap on social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries.

2.4.3 THE AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIVITY PERSPECTIVE

The other contradictory perspective to the livelihoods approach that has been proffered on Zimbabwe's land reform revolves around agricultural productivity issues. The agricultural productivity perspective can be argued to be largely grounded in economics. This perspective thrives mainly on assessments and comparisons of agricultural output prior to the land reform and post-land reform. Zikhali (2008) pursue the agricultural productivity discourse using micro-evidence to a greater extent. Zikhali (2008, p. 5) utilises an "econometric framework and estimation strategy to argue that the productivity of Fast Track Land Resettlement Programme beneficiaries fell short of the levels demonstrated by the commercial farming sector prior to the land reform." However, "this approach of using micro-evidence on the impact of the Programme on productivity requires comparing household productivity before and after the Programme" (Zikhali, 2008, p. 3). In addition, Chisango and Obi (2010, p. 6) argued, "at one level, the FTLRP is blamed for directly leading to a 30% drop in agricultural production, a hyper-inflationary situation, and a 15% contraction of the economy that culminated in 2008 to an unemployment rate estimated to exceed 80%." While, Derman (2006, p. 6) stated that "the leading export crop, tobacco yielded 55 tons for the international

market in 2005 compared to 240 prior to fast track." This approach can be perceived to be less suitable for analysing Zimbabwe's land reform due to scarcity of data on agricultural productivity before and even after the Programme as required when utilising micro-evidence. The agricultural productivity perspective finds credit in the inability of the Zimbabwean government to carry out a land audit of the actual number of land reform beneficiaries. Data limitations on the implications of land reform were also witnessed in the Chinese land reform of 1947-1952. Bramall (2004, p. 109) argues, "it is difficult to delineate the precise impact of land reform on Chinese income distribution because of data limitations." It can be reasoned that the agricultural productivity perspective to the Zimbabwean land reform is curtailed by data limitations to a certain extent.

Scholars within the agricultural productivity perspective also utilize statistics to buttress their argument. Chisango and Obi (2010, p. 2) stated, "not long after the launch of the Fast Track Land Resettlement Programme (FTLRP), it became clear that the expectations had been exuberant as production declined dramatically and only about 30-55% of the arable land was being cultivated." Whereas, Hawkins (2013, no pagination) argued that, in "2000[8], Zimbabwean farms produced 3, 7 million tonnes of output (excluding estate-grown sugar)." In 2012, the Ministry of Finance acknowledged harvest of less than 1, 7 million tonnes. Matereke (2009, p. 94) diagnosed that, "after the ZANU-PF chaotic land reform in which productive land was grabbed from the white farmers, Zimbabweans began to experience an endemic food crisis." Mushita and Mpande (2006) in Murisa (2010, p. 8) argue that the "FTLRP has extended food insecurity beyond the normal effects of drought and broadened the base of food insecurity and vulnerability." Therefore, according to the agricultural productivity perspective these statistics reveal that there was a significant decline in agricultural production due to the land reform. In addition, it can further be argued that the continued dependence on the government for input and food handouts by the land reform beneficiaries buttresses the argument that agricultural productive has declined to a certain extent.

The agricultural productivity perspective can be critiqued for passing premature assessments of the viability of agriculture in Zimbabwe. Rukuni (2011, p. 149) explained that, "it took

[8]CFU (2014) "2000 is the year in which the Fast Track Land Resettlement Programme took off".

about 40 years to establish viable large scale agriculture in Zimbabwe (1910-1950).” The establishment of a viable agriculture sector was created through immense state support ranging from money, research and development, information and farmer training, subsidies related to energy, irrigation development and water development. In addition, Hanlon (2012, p. 2) elucidates,

> In November 2012 the African Development Bank issued a report "Infrastructure and Growth in Zimbabwe: An Action Plan for Strengthened Recovery”[1] which noted that Zimbabwe's agricultural production had almost returned to the average of the 1990s the decade before the land reform.

Furthermore, Matondi (2012) revealed from studies in Mazowe and Mangwe that land reform beneficiaries were actually investing in schools using proceeds from their farms. While, Scoones et al (2010) add that land reform beneficiaries were accumulating assets and investing in both on the farm and off the farm. Thus it follows that if the land reform beneficiaries were actually investing, it can be construed that there was agricultural productivity to support these investments to a greater extent. Therefore, it can be argued that Zimbabwe’s land reform required time to be fully viable and productive and there was a need for extensive state support.

Derman (2006, p. 6) acknowledges the importance of tobacco yields by Zimbabwean farmers to the economy but however casts doubt on the phrase, “Zimbabwe formerly the bread basket of Africa ...” In as much as Zimbabwe had impressive tobacco yields it only exported maize in good times. Therefore, it tellingly casts doubt that tobacco exports can be adequate to warrant the breadbasket metaphor. In addition, in as much as the above statistics and arguments might reveal a decline in agricultural productivity they can be criticized as flawed in that they failed to take due cognisance of the fact that it is difficult to ascertain agricultural productivity of the land reform beneficiaries. Land reform beneficiaries due to their communal background, mainly follow a subsistence approach to agriculture and most of their outputs are absorbed by social networks such as extended family and friends before produce can be sold externally. Unlike the commercial farmers prior to the land reform who sold all their produce into the formal marketing system, the land reform beneficiaries use informal markets as well as social networks to sell their farm produce. Thus, it can therefore be reasoned that not selling externally does not necessarily translate into poor agricultural

productivity. Furthermore, the agricultural productivity analysis has been critiqued utilising the argument in Cousins (2009, p. 45):

> As pointed out by Mamdani and as is evident in our research sites, drought has played a key role in constraining crop output from land reform farms in recent years, and is undoubtedly a key factor in the current food crisis. Other factors include the completely inadequate supply of inputs such as seed and fertilizer, partly as a result of the wider economic crisis, and exacerbated by corruption in the allocation of these inputs as well as a dire shortage of foreign exchange.

Prior to the FTLRP, Zimbabwe used to get support for its agricultural sector. However, there was allegedly a donor boycott in protest over purported human rights abuses during land invasions. Marongwe (2009, p.10) conceded, "The frequency of droughts has been intense in the post-2000 period and a combination of these has seen food aid emerging as a strong intervention aimed at fighting poverty." Therefore, it can be argued that there are deficiencies within this perspective as revealed by the impact of drought and the donor boycott on agricultural production. Hence, it can be concluded that statistics and the econometric framework can be critiqued for relegating poverty and social capital in its analysis of any land reform in general, and Zimbabwe in particular.

The agricultural productivity perspective can also be critiqued for relying heavily on economics which negates social capital. Bourdieu (1986, p. 244) argues, "it is in fact impossible to account for the structure and functioning of the social world unless one reintroduces capital in all its forms and not solely in the one form recognized by economic theory." Bourdieu (1986, p. 244) further identifies, "capital as economic capital, cultural capital, symbolic capital and social capital." Therefore, the agricultural perspective relating to Bourdieu's argument is inadequate since it confines itself to economic capital without considering other forms of capital. Thus, there is therefore a need to reintroduce social capital into the Zimbabwean land reform discourse to unlock the structure and functioning of the social world. The subsequent section of this discussion of the perspectives to land reform in Zimbabwe is seized with discussing the political perspective to land reform.

2.4.4 THE POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE TO LAND REFORM

The last and what is often viewed as the most controversial perspective on land reform in Zimbabwe but which has arguably gained most prominence in the discourse is the political perspective. The political perspective has often been peppered with a critical debate among scholars. Scoones et al (2011, p. 17) conceded, "land and politics are deeply intertwined in Zimbabwe." Therefore, from the onset within the political perspective it has to be acknowledged that the land has historically occupied a central position in political discourse. The political perspective is revealed in Chiweshe (2013, p. 3) articulation as he argues that, "much of this literature on Zimbabwe tends to focus on the broader political economy of the country." However, it should be noted that the political perspective is highly polarised as revealed by the emergence of two conflicting narratives. Hammer and Raftopoulos (2003, p. 17) have contended that, "these shifting polarities are based upon core discursive divides which posit an anti-colonial, historicised and racialized assertion of land restitution and justice against a historical, universalist and technocratic insistence on liberal notions of private property, development, and good governance." Therefore, such conflicting and contradicting positions are the very, "sustenance of both the ruling party's hegemonic control, and of the 'counter-hegemonic moves of various opposition actors', and they state clearly that the aim of their volume is to undermine the 'misplaced concreteness' of these common sense notions" (Hammer and Raftopoulos, 2003, p. 17). Thus, it can be argued that the political perspective on Zimbabwe's land reform is largely influenced by positions scholars take.

The most vocal narrative within the political perspective argues that land reform was pursued for the ruling party's political mileage. Rukuni (2011, p. 147) argues that, "the land issue was brought back to the centre stage by the growing political opposition to ZANU-PF, which eventually saw the formation of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), disgruntled communities in Matebeleland, white farmers and other opposition groups." Sachikonye (2005, p. 9) contends, "the land issue became an issue of political survival in an election year. Therefore, according to the political perspective, land appetite could have been skilfully handled to spruce electoral prosperities of Zimbabwe African Nationalist Union Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF)[9]. Makumbe (2003, p. 225) concurs, "The nationalist party[10] therefore

[9] Zimbabwe African Nationalist Union Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) is the ruling party in Zimbabwe since independence and it is led by Robert Mugabe.
[10] ZANU-PF

turned to the unfinished business of the liberation era – the land issue – as a crafty way of salvaging popular support in the run up to the general elections of June 2000." Hammer and Raftopoulos (2003) proffered a variant of this perspective which recognises that the land question has been manipulated as a political resource. Whereas, Mapuva and Muyengwa-Mapuva (2014, p. 16) argued that, "the Land Reform Programme though a noble idea, did not actually benefit the landless masses, but only the ruling elite or those sympathetic to the ruling party." This trajectory has also been widely covered through journals and academic reports. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2002, p. 100) argued that, "the economic salvation of Zimbabwe and other crucial facets of development have been reduced to the politicised, violent, and partisan land reform Programme." This argument analyses the land reform as being largely politicised and partisan, and thus benefiting politically connected people. Makumbe (2009, p. 5) also stated, "the so-called Third Chimurenga (Third Revolution) that began in 2000 was propagated by the Mugabe regime as a logical sequel to the first and second revolutions to liberate Zimbabwe from colonial forces and injustices." Makumbe (2009, p. 7) further argued that, "stung by the public rejection of the government-sponsored draft constitution in February 2000, the Mugabe regime mobilised thousands of war veterans, unemployed young people and rural peasants to invade white-owned commercial farms throughout the country." Thus, the political perspective to a greater extent views the land reform as a strategy to gain political mileage by the ruling ZANU-PF government.

Scholars within the political perspective also contend that land reform was to chastise white farmers for supporting the opposition political party, the MDC. Mlambo and Raftopoulos (2010, p. 2) contend, "convinced that the MDC was a front for white, particularly white farmers' interests, ZANU-PF hit back with the fast-track land reform exercise under the banner of the Third Chimurenga economic war." Williams, Williams, Joubert and Hill (2016, p. 21) aver, "while some observers portrayed this as a grassroots movement, many others contended that this was organised by the government in order to destabilise the perceived support base for the opposition." In addition, Mlambo (2005, p. 7) elaborated "the land reform programme was a feasible strategy for hitting back at political opponents and mobilising the populace behind ZANU-PF due to the fact that the land question had remained unresolved since independence in 1980." Kriger (2003, p. 146) argued that when

> the Supreme Court, ruling unanimously on the unconstitutionality of fast-track resettlement in December 2000, found no coherent programme of land reform, the court also argued that it was primarily ZANU (PF) supporters who were beneficiaries and suspected or acknowledged it was MDC farmers whose land was acquired.

Kriger (2003, p. 146) further reveals, "under the cover of land reform, thousands of farm workers lost their jobs and white farmers lost their land for the benefit of chiefly ZANU (PF) supporters, regardless of whether they were even interested in farming." Thus, it can be argued based on the Supreme Court that land reform was but indeed a clash between two antagonistic political parties. There is both historical and contemporary evidence that ZANU-PF can use land acquisition to spite perceived political opponents. The acquisition of farms belonging to opposition political figures such as Rev Ndabaningi Sithole's Churu Farm and James Chikerema under the auspices of the law aptly buttresses this argument. Hence, using this historical evidence it can be revealed that in 2000 ZANU-PF resorted to the same strategy and pursued the FTLRP in order to punish the perceived supporters of the MDC. The political perspective has further been compounded by the recent threats to repossess[11] farms previously allocated during the FTLRP to former ZANU-PF MPs and stalwarts, Didymus Mutasa, Kudakwashe Bhasikiti and Temba Mliswa after their expulsion from ZANU-PF in 2014. Mapuva and Muyengwa-Mapuva (2014, p. 16) similarly noted, "the land issue has also been used as a retributive measure to punish those who did not support the ruling party." Hence, it can be reasoned from historical and contemporary evidence that the ZANU-PF government has always manipulated the land to spite perceived opponents and to curb dissent both within and outside the ruling party. It is against such a background of the land being used in Zimbabwe as a weapon of retribution that it is argued within this perspective that the land reform was a way of punishing white commercial farmers for their support of the opposition. Consequently, it can be argued according to this narrative that the land reform was utilized in the ruling party to penalize and frustrate funding for the MDC from white farmers.

Moyo (2006, p. 3) suggested that, "contemporary comparative political analyses of land reform have also tended to treat Zimbabwe's fast track land reform experience as an 'odd aberration' (Bernstein, 2002), contrived for narrow political or electoral hegemonic interests,

[11] In 2014/2015 ZANU-PF MPs perceived to plotting to topple President Mugabe were expelled from both the party and government. Thereafter their farms were invaded or reallocated to other beneficiaries.

and which subordinated the required 'good governance' (Raftopoulos, 2005), under the present globalizing hierarchical order." Bratton and Masungure (2011, p. 25) revealed, "FTLRP was justified on political grounds as a return of land to its rightful owner; implying that all commercial farmers were illegal occupants, even those who had bought farms after independence, sometimes from the government itself." Thus, this perspective critiques land reform as being a deviation which negates the dictates of good governance which was crafted for political gain in the Zimbabwean government to prop up its diminishing support base. In addition, the political perspective utilizes Mugabe's rhetoric which raises suspicions that the approach to the land reform was a survival stratagem in an election year.

Another interesting insight within the political perspective to the Zimbabwean land reform is premised in the "instrumentalization of disorder" thesis. Chabal and Daloz (1999, p. 10) argued that, "the instrumentalization of disorder is when the state is utilised as the instrument of primitive accumulation which is achieved through the monopoly seizure of the means of production by political elites." Therefore, the "instrumentalization of disorder" can be utilised to explain allegations of multiple farm ownership which has not spared even the first family among other government officials. The media has been awash with allegations that ZANU-PF elites have accumulated many farms across the country. Bratton and Masunungure (2011, p. 23) exposed another agenda that, "while some landless individuals received plots of land under the so-called 'fast track' land reform Programme, other land invaders were later ejected to make way for ZANU-PF chefs[12], some of whom now own several farms." In addition, Chabal and Daloz (1999, p. 77) elaborated that, "systematic and organised violence is usually marshalled towards sections of society which can be used to meet economic aims." Therefore, the violence that was meted on white commercial farmers and farm workers (Sachikonye, 2003) can be viewed within the "instrumentalization of disorder" discourse. Moreover, Chamunogwa (2012, p. 12) added that, "the inclusion of land beneficiaries was merely tokenistic to provide a veneer of legitimization of 'state-sanctioned violence and state-managed disorder'." However, the central notion of the "instrumentalization of disorder" political perspective to Zimbabwe's land reform can be critiqued in the empirical evidence from a study in Scoones et al (2010). This revealed that only ten percent of the land beneficiaries in Masvingo province could be said to be 'political cronies' while the vast majority, about two-thirds were ordinary people, mostly rural and poor people. Another study

[12] Chefs -senior members in ZANU-PF are informal referred to using this title.

in Marongwe (2008, p. 211) revealed that, "top government officials and other prominent figures constituted only 10% of the beneficiaries …" Therefore, this variant insight within the political perspective can be critiqued to a larger extent in empirical findings which reveal otherwise.

An event after the July 2013 Zimbabwean election can be utilised to provide additional insight within the political perspective which is emerging in Scoones (2014). This thought-provoking insight argues that, "the reconfiguration and economic accumulation following Zimbabwe's land reform from 2000 has resulted in new politics of the countryside" (Scoones, 2014, p. 219). This has also led to major modifications in "production, marketing and livelihoods" (Scoones et al. 2010, p. 12). Therefore, these reorganisations in production, marketing and livelihoods have been revealed to have influence on rural politics and thus, creating new political dynamics in the countryside. Scoones (2014, p. 218) elaborated,

> The victory of the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) in the July 2013 elections gives some credibility to the story, as, despite considerable irregularities, many commentators now agree that the ruling party and the backer of the land reform, won, and a new era is emerging.

This is slightly different to prior submissions on the political perspective which argued that land reform was orchestrated in reaction to waning political support of ZANU-PF (Bernstein, 2002; Makumbe, 2009; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2002; Raftopoulos, 2005; Zamchiya, 2013).

A study in Chari (2013, p. 293) concluded that the political perspective has inadequacies, "in the sense that both academics and journalists have exhibited a tendency to engage in emotive debates that centre on personalities rather than issues, thereby missing opportunities to critically evaluate Zimbabwe's radical land reform Programme." Thus, the discourse can be argued to have been reduced to personalities and Mugabe to be specific while trivializing the real issues to the background. Additionally, Mkodzongi sums up this argument by declaring:

> An analysis of the arguments against radical land reform reveals a chronic failure by both journalists and academics to provide a balanced view of the Zimbabwean land issue; the causal factors of landlessness steeped in the country's history are often ignored. There is a tendency to confuse the land issue with Mugabe's political

> expediency and in the process the baby is thrown away with the bath water. The genuine need for land, which is reflected in many rural areas across the country, is simply dismissed as Mugabe's political posturing. What is often forgotten is that not very long ago millions of Africans were deliberately disenfranchised by a system of state managed repression, segregation and violence (Mkodzongi, 2010, p. 2).

Thus, it can be argued that the political perspective is guilty of missing real issues such as evident landlessness of the black majority due to Zimbabwe's colonial history while amplifying Mugabe's political posturing. Moreover, from an empirical study, Marongwe (2003, p. 165) argues, "although the 2000 land occupations were instigated as part of ZANU-PF's official campaign strategy this does not negate the sense of empowerment that some occupiers experienced during the process." Thus, it can be reasoned that even if the political narrative is conceded it becomes pertinent that the implications of the land reform on the beneficiaries be pursued. In addition, the political approach to an analysis of Zimbabwe's land reform opts to be a-historical, hence missing the fact that the same land was alienated through repression, segregation and violence. One of the earlier contributors to the political narrative of Zimbabwe's land reform, Scoones (2014, p. 12) concedes from an empirical study, "the simple narratives that have dominated the discussion of the politics of land reform in Zimbabwe to date are insufficient." Thus, there is need for new insight, not only within the political perspective but across the scope of research on land reform as hoped to be availed in this current social capital perspective to the land reform.

In as much as the political approach has gained prominence it does not delve into the social capital of the land reform beneficiaries. The approach is confined to elucidating the circumstances and probably offering reasons for the land reform. This study seeks to occupy this apparent vacuum in literature pertaining to the implications of land reform from a social capital perspective. Therefore, this researcher argues that the social capital perspective to land reform in Zimbabwe, is an approach that has not been explored previously. The next section of the discussion on the perspective to land reform pursues the sociological perspective to land reform.

2.4.5 THE SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE TO LAND REFORM

The social capital theory guided the sociological perspective to Zimbabwe's land reform. Chamunogwa (2012, p. 1) posits that, "the FTLRP has been accompanied by the emergence of new social dynamics and relations." Therefore, due to the emergence of new social dynamics it is imperative that a sociological perspective be pursued pertaining to Zimbabwe's land reform. Various scholars in contemporary literature have given emphasis to, "the prominence of mutual trust, norms of co-operation and previous experiences of collective endeavours within societies to explain higher incomes" (Narayan and Pritchett, 1997), "economic growth" (Knack and Keefer, 1997) and "institutional performance" (Putnam 1995). Thus, this study adopts a sociological perspective to give prominence to social capital in the analysis of land reform in Masvingo district. This sociological perspective is entrenched in social capital as espoused by contributions from Bourdieu (1985, 1986); Coleman (1988) and Putnam (2000). Siisiäinen (2000, p. 3) stated, "the concept of social capital expresses the sociological essence of communal vitality." Therefore, the sociological perspective can be argued to emphasis the eminence of the community due to land reform.

In addition, this sociological perspective takes cognisance of group membership implications on the beneficiaries of the land reform. Siisiäinen (2000, p. 5) stated, "membership in groups, and involvement in the social networks developing within these and in the social relations arising from the membership can be utilized in efforts to improve the social position of the actors in a variety of different fields." Therefore, the sociological perspective argues that the land reform in Zimbabwe has ramifications on group membership and social networks. Moreover, "group memberships creating social capital have a multiplication effect on the influence of other forms of capital." (Siisiäinen, 2000, p. 12) Consequently, social capital due to its "multiplication effect" can be argued to affect cultural capital, economic capital and human capital of the land reform beneficiaries. It can therefore be argued that it follows that in pursuance of this school of thought, social capital thus must assume centrality in the land reform discourse.

The sociological perspective also examines the land reform beneficiaries' possession of social capital. Bourdieu (1986, p. 249) posits, "the volume of social capital possessed by a given agent ... depends on the size of the network of connections that he can effectively

mobilize." Hence, it can be argued according to this perspective that the land reform elucidated the size of the network of connections that land reform beneficiaries can accumulate benefits wise. Woolcock (1998) attests that the notion of social organisation and levels of trust within groups has a long history in sociology. Therefore, due to the precedence the sociological perspective overcomes the inadequacies of the earlier perspectives to Zimbabwe's land reform to a greater extent. The preceding section delved on the perspective to land reform as a build-up to discussion on implications of land reform on education. Accordingly, the next section discusses the relationship between land reform and education in Zimbabwe.

2.5 LAND REFORM AND EDUCATION

Kapingidza (2014, p. 1) states, "Zimbabwe is a signatory of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (AFRWC). Both instruments stipulate the right of the child to education." Hence, ratification of the international conventions coupled in the Government of Zimbabwe's investment in education especially in the decade just after independence can be largely viewed as a commitment itself to the Millennium Development Goals. Goal 2 of the Millennium Development Goals underlines the achievement of Universal Primary Education by 2015. Mupa (2012, p. 3) chronicles

> Education for All (EFA) is a historic commitment to basic education taken on by the International Community in Jomtien, Thailand, in 1990 and reaffirmed at the World Education Forum in Dakar, Senegal, in April 2000 (World Bank, 2002); and at the UN Conference in New York.

In addition, Mupa (2012, p. 13) reported, "the commitment reflects a vision that all children, young people, and adults have the human right to benefit from an education that would meet their basic learning needs in the best and fullest sense of the term." Thus, the establishment of satellite schools in resettled farms can be viewed in the light of affirming to the Government of Zimbabwe's commitment to both quantity and quality of education in the country.

The land reform in Zimbabwe has given birth to a new phenomenon in the education system in the form of satellite schools. Mutema (2012, p. 102) averred, "previously there were no schools around commercial farms as white farmers had very small families and they either drove their children to schools far away from their farms or sent them to boarding schools." Thus, the advent of land reform gave birth to the mushrooming of satellite schools in and around the former commercial farms. Tarisayi (2015, p 303) revealed, "that the advent of land reform in Zimbabwe since the year 2000 has had a profound impact across the socio-political landscapes including education." The satellite schools were a product of the realisation that there was a need to provide education to the children of land reform beneficiaries on the new farms. In addition, the emergency provisioning of satellite schools can be linked to the recommendations in the Commission of Inquiry into Education and Training (Nziramasanga, 1999). According to Nziramasanga (1999, p.123), "The education system needs to provide all children, particularly for those children who find themselves in especially difficult circumstances …" Thus, children on the resettlement farms can be viewed as being in difficult circumstances as Kabayanjiri (2012) reveals that children had to walk long distances prior to the establishment of satellite schools. Mavundutse, Munetsi, Mamvuto, Mavhunga, Kangai and Gatsi (2012) argued that land reform resuscitated some of the problems and challenges experienced at independence such as the problem of access to education in children in these resettlement areas. The Nziramasanga Report points out that, in many cases, education in the resettlement area was not planned for when people were in former commercial farms and this became a source of problems (Nziramasanga, 1999). These new schools are mainly in the new farms to cater for the educational needs and the right to education of children of the land reform beneficiaries.

Mavundutse et al (2012, p. 299) assert, "They were also referred to as 'satellite' schools as they were attached to or regarded as extensions of already established nearby schools for administrative purposes." Various views have been extended on the concept of a satellite school although it is a relatively new phenomenon. The advent of new resettlement communities due to the FTLRP has come together with the fast track establishment of social services. Matondi (2012, p. 169) explained, "The schools were termed satellite schools because they were linked to the main established centres, but they had inadequate resources (teachers and equipment)." In addition, Hlupo and Tsikira (2012, p. 604) explain, "a satellite school as a budding school operating under the auspices of a well-established mother school."

Whereas, Munjanganja and Machavira (2014, p. 22) aver, “A satellite school is one that is not registered but is attached to a registered school commonly referred to as the mother school.” While Langa, cited in Hlupo and Tsikira (2012, p. 604) stated that, “the birth of satellite schools was a stop-gap measure since the schools do not meet the expectations of conventional schools.” Matondi (2012, p. 168) concurred, “schools in the newly resettled areas were, therefore, set up with only minimum requirements being met, such as sanitation and qualified staff.” The Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education (2015, p. 1) revealed that “there are 803 secondary satellite schools from a total of 2,719 secondary schools as well as 993 satellite primary schools from a total of 4,912”. However, it should be noted that despite the satellite school phenomena being a product of the land reform it was extended to communal areas. Communal areas that did not have schools imitated developments in education in the land reform areas and established their own satellite schools. The establishment and role played in the communities appear from the outside to be uniform but this study reveals otherwise as shall be elaborated later in this study. Therefore, this study is informed in the realisation that satellite schools have mushroomed both among land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers.

The establishment of satellite schools on resettlement farms can be viewed in the light of affirming the Government of Zimbabwe’s commitment to both quantity and quality of education in the country. According to Mutema (2012), education is an essential component of sustainable development. Therefore, satellite schools should be viewed as an investment in the sustainability of land reform as a development initiative. In addition, it can be argued that satellite schools are a new phenomenon in education and in the Zimbabwean education system. There is ostensibly, a dearth of literature pertaining to satellite schools as has already been revealed that this type of school is a new phenomenon and hence it is imperative that it be studied.

Plate 2.1 A thatched classroom at a satellite school in Masvingo Province (Field data: 2015)

The state, it was argued, left the communities to build their own schools among other social amenities in the new resettlement areas (Hlupo & Tsikira, 2012). Tarisayi (2015, p. 306) states, "the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education expects resettled communities to take up the initiative of constructing schools but such communities are scratching for a living." Thus, the land reform has led to a new trend whereby the community has to unite (bridging social capital) and pull resources together to construct buildings for satellite schools. The Parliament of Zimbabwe (2012, p. 5) states, "the state of the infrastructure, that is classrooms, teachers' accommodation and ablution facilities in satellite schools ranges from non-existent; huts made of pole, mud and thatch; dilapidated old farm houses or tobacco barns to two classroom blocks and two houses and ablution facilities."

Plate 2.2 A classroom without furniture at a satellite school in Masvingo Province (Field data: 2015)

Plates 2.1 and 2.2 show the state of some satellite schools in Masvingo province. Plate 2.1 shows learners learning while sitting on the ground. The infrastructure at the satellite schools is deplorable as revealed by the above pictures. The next section discusses communal areas and communal farmers in Zimbabwe. This study sought to understand the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers on satellite, thus it is imperative that the literature on communal farmers be discussed.

2.6 COMMUNAL AREAS AND COMMUNAL FARMERS

Studies of agriculture in Zimbabwe before the land reform were mainly confined to commercial farming while negating communal farmers. The negation of communal farmers has also been witnessed in recent times after the land reform as scholars and literature have been seized with interrogating land reform beneficiaries. Literature that has been dedicated to the study of land reform beneficiaries is voluminous and dwarfs research that has been

devoted to communal farmers despite the later having being in existence for more than a century as compared to land reform beneficiaries who are recent phenomena.

Communal areas in Zimbabwe can be traced to the creation of the Gwai and Shangani reserves. Kwashirai (2006, p. 544) reveals, "The 1894 and 1898 Land Ordinances legislated for a reserve creation policy ended up demarcating and assigning infertile areas for Africans, starting with the waterless Gwai and Shangani Reserves in Matebeleland." Therefore, reserve creation policy marked the genesis of what are now termed 'communal areas' as well as 'communal farmers'. The Zimbabwe Institute (2005, p. 6) averred that communal areas, "are the former Native Reserves / Tribal Trust Lands of the colonial era." Communal farmers can be said to be farmers in communal areas. The communal farmers are largely subsistence farmers who practice mixed farming on their small plots (Rukuni, 1994). The land in communal areas is largely inherited from the communal farmers' forefathers. There are strong kinship links among the communal farmers because family ties and neighbours have shared pastures, water points and survived calamities together for generations. Therefore, it can be argued that both communal farmers and land reform beneficiaries are by and large products of colonialism in Zimbabwe in the sense that communal farmers were created during the colonial regime while land reform beneficiaries were created in trying to redress the colonial legacy. In addition, Rukuni (1994, p. 108) stated that,

> "The communal lands were created as reserves not meant to be agriculturally or economically viable and sustainable then or now, but rather a labour pool for the modern sector dominated by [white] settlers. This area had the lowest degree of needs satisfaction related to increasing land shortage as land use pressure increased over time."

Hence, it can be argued that communal areas were created and sustained by successive colonial governments as a pool of labour and were never meant to be productive areas. Scoones (2014, no pagination) elaborated,

> "The communal areas are crowded places. The population density in Chivi district was for example 46 people per km squared in 2012. In a dryland environment (average rainfall in Chivi is about 550mm), land areas are not sufficient for extensive cropping and grazing areas are limited. Given their histories as 'labour reserves' – sources of labour for the mines and farms of the Rhodesian settler economy and

> dumping grounds for the retired, unemployed or inform – it is not surprising that their productive potential is limited."

In terms of demographics, Moyo (2000, p. 7) revealed that, "by the end of 1999, over 6 million Zimbabweans lived in the communal areas." While, the Zimbabwe Institute (2005, p. 6) adds, "Communal areas comprise 42% of Zimbabwe's land area, with as much as 75% of it located in drought prone agro-ecological regions. Before the disturbances of 2000 onwards, 60% of Zimbabweans were reportedly living and eking out their meagre livelihoods from communal smallholdings." It is against this background on the genesis and ultimately the contribution of the communal areas to the economy of Zimbabwe before and after independence is interrogated revealing challenges faced by communal farmers. Muchinapaya (2012, p. 10) elaborately opined,

> "The main cause of the frequent food insecurity of most communal households is their highly vulnerable subsistence based agriculture, which is extremely susceptible to external factors. Generally, yield levels are below food requirements and farming activities are characterized by very low management and unsustainable land use. Farmers faced with this situation usually try to expand cropping areas to compensate for poor yields, sometimes growing crops inappropriate to the area; however, this stretches their already limited resources including labour, implementation management and fertilizers."

Hence, it can be noted that communal households and communal farmers due to colonial legacy are faced with numerous challenges. Anseeuw, Kapuya and Saruchera (2012, p. 56) provide statistics that, "An estimated 40% of the inhabitants of communal areas are food insecure (7% chronically and 33% transitory)." Hence, due to the challenges already enumerated communal farmers in Zimbabwe can be viewed as being food insecure.

The land reform in Zimbabwe can also be viewed as necessitated by the challenges faced by communal farmers as the Zimbabwean was trying to address these challenges in the communal areas. However, Scoones (2014, no pagination) is of the opinion that the land reform has actually exacerbated the plight of communal farmers through what he terms the "magnet effect". Scoones (2014, no pagination) reveal, "Another factor that explains the larger household sizes in the resettlement areas, is what Bill Kinsey and colleagues termed the 'magnet effect'. Successful households in resettlement areas attract others, particularly

relatives from poorer settings in the communal areas." The magnet effect entails that communal areas are losing the able-bodied to the new farms thus depleting the much needed labour in the communal areas. However, it is difficult to generalize on the livelihoods and contribution of communal farmers in Zimbabwe because there are variations from one region to another. Barrett (1991, p. 5) explained, "the communal lands of Zimbabwe are very diverse in character. Agroecology varies considerably between the semi-arid low-veld and the eastern highlands, affecting the relative contributions of cropping and livestock in the farming system." Thus, the contribution of cropping and livestock in communal areas are bound to vary according to the location of the communal area among other factors. These disparities between communal areas and resettlement farms are of interest to this study on the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers.

Furthermore, with regards to the land tenure system the land in the communal areas in Zimbabwe is owned by the state through the Communal Land Act of 1983, amended in 2002. Anseeuw et al (2012, p. 156) explained,

> "The Act states that all communal land vests in the President, who holds it in trust for the people. It shifted authority over these lands from traditional rulers to local authorities and changed the designation from Tribal Trust Lands into Communal Areas. Communal land consists of land that, immediately before 1 February 1983, was Tribal Trust Land in terms of the Tribal Trust Act of 1979. All those with vested rights are entitled to continue to exercise their rights on customary land."

Thus, the land ownership in communal areas entails that the farmers do not have title deeds as the land is regarded as customary land. This scenario can be argued to be another source of the challenges that are faced by communal farmers as they cannot use their land as security when applying for loans. Investment in the land is also curtailed by the land tenure system in communal areas. However, these studies on communal farmers have negated the social capital influences of communal farmers on satellite school and neither has there been a comparison of the social capital influences of communal farmers and land reform beneficiaries on satellite schools.

2.7 CONCLUSION

From the foregoing chapter it can be summed up that there a numerous definitions of land reform. Definitions have been sourced from agriculturalists, social scientists, historians, academics among others. The background to land reform in Zimbabwe reveal that land reform has been ongoing since Zimbabwe's attainment of independence up to now (2016). However, the period can be divided and discussed under two epochs, the unchanged land situation in Zimbabwe (1980-1999) and the radical change in the land situation in Zimbabwe (2000-2016). The attention that has been given land reform in Zimbabwe has led to the emergence of perspectives ranging from human rights perspective, agricultural productivity perspective, livelihoods perspective and political perspectives. These perspectives were interrogated in this chapter revealing that discourse on land reform in Zimbabwe is contested and moreover polarised. The discussion of the various perspectives revealed a research gap which warranted a study pursuing a sociological perspective guided by the social capital theory. The next chapter focusses on the social capital theoretical framework which in it utilised in this study to understand the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers on satellite schools in Zimbabwe.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines the theoretical framework which guided this study. The study on the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers on satellite schools is grounded in the social capital theory. The social capital theoretical framework is a product of authors, Bourdieu, Putnam and Coleman. The chapter also reviewed conceptualization of social capital as located within the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach. The chapter interrogates these three scholars' social capital theory as well as its applications and limitations. Mertens (2005, p. 3) reveals, "the theoretical framework has implications for every decision made in the research process." For that reason, it follows the social capital theoretical framework had implications on the decisions made in the study on social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries on satellite schools.

3.1 DEFINING SOCIAL CAPITAL

Social capital is a creation of various disciplines which has resulted in the propagation of numerous definitions (Baron, Field & Schuller, 2001; Castiglione, Van Deth & Wolleb, 2008; Scrivens & Smith, 2013). Social capital has also been associated with a multiplicity of words in numerous disciplines. Dill (2015, p. 2) elaborated,

> "despite its almost logical distinction from financial capital and human capital, social capital cuts across with a couple of societal, economic and political issues such as civil society, social cohesion, voluntarism, philanthropy, public goods, social development, social entrepreneurship, social networks and solidarity."

Thus, the concept has been muddled with being associated with many societal, economic and political issues. Rogosic and Baranovic (2016, p. 83) stated,

> Social capital is researched within the framework of different approaches, thus resulting in the emergence of numerous conceptual and methodological issues: the coherence and uniqueness of concepts, its analytical validity and heuristic usefulness, operational issues with respect to issues of social confrontations and social exclusion, its political and social implications.

Due to proliferation and application of social capital in many disciplines, many definitions have also emerged. OECD (2001, p.2) contended, "there is no single definition of social capital." In addition, Narayan and Pritchett (1997) argued there are almost as many definitions of the concept as the authors writing on it. Robinson, Schmid and Siles (2002) stated that, "there is no commonly agreed definition of social capital and the definition adopted by any given study seems to depend on the discipline and level of investigation." Horvart, Weininger and Lareau (2003, p. 321) argued, "the definition of social capital has been plagued by conceptual murkiness." This conceptual murkiness is attributable to the association of the concept with capital, as understood in business and economics. Spillane, Hallett and Diamond (2003, p. 3) stated that, "broadly speaking capital can be defined as resources that are acquired, accumulate and are of value in certain situations or, to use the parlance of economists, are of worth in particular markets." Akcomak (2011, p. 3) argued,

> Despite this interest, there has not been an agreement on what social capital actually is. The concept is widely used both at the macro and micro level without really specifying the sources of it which makes the concept rather vague. It has been used as a catch-all term encompassing all social explanations to various socio-economic phenomena.

Social capital has not only been applied and associated with numerous concepts it has also been used at both macro and micro levels thus compound any endeavour to unlock the concept to larger extent. However, Knowles (2005, p. 5) explained, "although everyone has their own favourite definition of social capital, most researchers would not object too strongly to a definition that incorporated the notions of trust, networks (or group memberships) and cooperative norms." Addis and Joxhe (2016, p. 1) further stated,

> … we find that definitions of "social capital" are abundant, somewhat dissimilar for different authors, and sometimes quite fuzzy. Some confusion remains as to what exactly constitutes social capital, and what is its relation to human capital. Nonetheless, two elements stand out in almost all definitions: a) The existence of networks of relationships other than market exchange (a.k.a. structural social capital) and b) The existence of norms shared by people in the network, which create the conditions for reciprocal trust (a.k.a. cultural social capital).

A simple definition is availed in Woolcock (2001, p. 2) that, "social capital refers to the norms and networks that facilitate collective action." While, Coleman (1990, p. 302) averred,

> social capital is defined by its function, it is not a single entity, but a variety of different entities having two characteristics in common. They all consist of some aspect of social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure.

While the another prominent contributor to the social capital discourse, Putnam views social capital as, "features of social organisation such as networks, norms and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation of mutual benefit" (Putnam, 1995, p. 67). Whereas, Inglehart (1997, p. 188) views social capital as, "a culture of trust and tolerance, in which extensive networks of voluntary associations emerge." Thus, this study views social capital as entailing those networks between individuals and/or communities which facilitate cooperation, trust and reciprocity. The OECD (2001, p. 39) explained,

> The concept of 'social capital' is different from human and physical capital in a number of respects since it is relational rather than being the exclusive property of any one individual; is mainly a public good in that it is shared by a group; and is produced by societal investment of time and effort, but in a less direct fashion than is human or physical capital.

Thus, in this social capital influence study, social capital is regarded through the lens of the OECD (2001, p. 41) which defines it as, "networks together with shared norms, values and understandings that facilitate co-operation within or among groups." Vermaak (2006, p. iii) also avers that, "social capital, in broad terms, refers to norms, networks, trust and forms of social connections in societies that allows people to gain access to resources." This view is concurred in Field (2008, p. 1) who added that the concept of social capital offers a potentially fruitful way of conceptualizing the "intangible resources of community, shared values and trust." Other definitions that have been offered on social capital include; "An individual's personal social network, and all the resources he or she is in a position to mobilize through this network ..." (Flap & De Graaf, 1986, p. 145). Burt (1992, p. 9) states "... social capital refers to friends, colleagues, and more general contacts through whom you receive opportunities to use your financial and human capital ..."

Whereas, Sprengers, Tazelaar and Flap (1988, p. 98) opined,

> ... someone's network and all the resources a person gets access to through this network can be interpreted more specifically as his "social capital" ... someone's social capital is a function of the number of people from whom one can expect support, and the resources those people have at their disposal.

Therefore, it can be revealed that there are numerous definitions of social capital that have been proffered by scholars around the world. Social capital importance in discourse has also received attention from scholars. Rogosic and Baranovic (2016, p. 83) stated,

> The popularity of the concept of social capital is a result of attempts to accentuate the value of social relations in political debates, to re-establish the normative dimension as a subject of social analyses, and to create concepts that reflect the complexity and interrelatedness of appearances in the real world.

Social capital can also be discussed utilising its dimensions. Savioli and Patueli (2016, p. 3) elaborated,

> Social capital has different dimensions affecting economics and society: cognitive processes of individuals shape the relationships between them and produce the structure of the community. First, social capital refers to the cognitive domain, which involves mental processes, concepts and ideas. Indeed, social groups have shared mental processes embedded in their language, stories and culture. Second, the relational aspect of social capital pertains to trust, norms and identity. These dimensions deeply impact on relational ties, resulting in socially complex communities composed by strictly idiosyncratic characteristics. Third, the structural domain of social capital is important for the understanding of organisations, institutions and leadership, since it profoundly shapes social relations.

Therefore, it can be revealed that social capital has cognitive, relational and structural domains. The next segment focusses on the social capital theory in detail.

3.2 THE SOCIAL CAPITAL THEORY

There is no consensus on the origins of the concept social capital. Rogosic and Baranovic (2016, p. 83) aver, "The theory of social capital is one of the most influential and most

popular theories to emerge in social sciences over the last two decades." Gauntlett (2011, p. 131) revealed, "In the past two or three decades, scholars have taken an interest in three different perspectives on social capital in particular. These are based on the ideas of Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman, and Robert Putnam." Amongst the scholars who have taken an interest in social capital are Evans (1996), Emmett (2000), Fukuyama (2002), Schafft and Brown (2000), Skidmore (2001), Woolcock (1998). A conceptual origin of social capital proffered in Farr (2004) brings out that 'social capital' was originally utilised in its current clarity by Hanifan in 1916. According to Hanifan social capital entails, "goodwill, fellowship, mutual sympathy and social intercourse among a group of individuals and families." (Farr, 2004, p. 11). However, Woolcock (1998) disputes the origins of the concept social capital by linking the concept to the work of Jacobs:

> the following passage from Jacobs seems to be the earliest: 'Networks are a city's irreplaceable social capital. Whenever the capital is lost, from whatever cause, the income from it disappears, never to return until and unless new capital is slowly and chancily accumulated" (Jacobs (1961) as cited in Woolcock 1998, p. 192).

On the other hand, social capital can be viewed as an antonym to the doctrine of atomic individualism as espoused by Maxwell. Chiwenga (2014, p. 37) elucidates;

> the doctrine of atomic individualism is based on the idea that the individual is endowed with existential properties that are inviolable or impenetrable. This doctrine upholds the belief in individual absoluteness, meaning that the individual exists in such a way that s/he does not depend on other members of the community for his or her own wellbeing. Individuals, according to this doctrine, are presumed to exist independently from others.

Thus, accordingly, this principle of atomic individualism presumes the existence of an individual independently. As opposed to the doctrine of atomic individualism, the theory of social capital gives pre-eminence to social networks in the existence of individuals or communities.

Field (2008, p. 15) argued, "although earlier writers made some use of the term, there is broad consensus that its contemporary significance derives from the 1980s and 1990s." Therefore, the 1980s and 1990s as noted in Field (2008) fall within the era of the

contributions from Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam. Therefore, this study was guided by the contemporary conceptualization of social capital by this triad of social scientists to a greater extent.

In contemporary discourse social capital has become one of the greatest prevalent disseminates from sociology theory into ordinary exchange of ideas and literature. Tzanakis (2013, p. 1) revealed, "social capital like cultural capital enjoys great currency in multi-disciplinary research." Thus, further buttressing the notion that social capital is a product of various disciplines which has led to the proliferation of numerous definitions. Robinson et al (2002, p. 5) statde that, "there is no universally established definition of social capital and the definition adopted by any given study seems to depend on the discipline and level of investigation." It is loosely delineated "the social glue that helps people, organisations and communities work together towards shared goals." (North East Social Capital Forum, 2006, p. 3). Vermaak (2006; 2009) views social capital as the cement that keeps the social fabric intact. Thus, in this study social capital is viewed as the social glue that helps land reform beneficiaries to work towards the establishment and construction of satellite schools. Bourdieu's conceptualization of social capital is discussed in the next section.

3.2.1 BOURDIEU'S PERSPECTIVE ON SOCIAL CAPITAL

French sociologist Bourdieu (1980) has been credited for the growth of social capital into a theory while American sociologist Coleman also contributed to the social capital theory growth. Later on Putnam (1995) expanded the concept. Weininger (2005, p. 119) stated, "at the time of his death in January 2002, Bourdieu was perhaps the most prominent sociologist in the world."

Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992, p. 119) stated, "the sum of resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by the virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition." Kibblewhite (2009, p. 6) elaborated;

> For Bourdieu, social capital is a well thought-out tool which is embedded in an extensive thematic Programme … Perhaps most significantly, the concept of social capital emerged in response to a clear rejection of homo economicus and the hegemonic order that is used to legitimise. Bourdieu's antidote is the introduction of the social world into analysis through the inclusion of all forms of capital (cultural, social, economic, and symbolic).

Bourdieu argued that analysis should not be confined to economic theory but should analyse 'reality' through empirical descriptions of the social world and the actions that take place in that world (Bourdieu, 1986). Therefore, for Bourdieu social relations enable the participants to accumulate resources available in a field of practice. Kibblewhite (2009, p. 73) argued, "the construction and maintenance of these networks of social relations are seen as a strategy for gaining access to resources, which, in combination with other forms of capital, enable the entrenchment or alleviation of an individual's social position." Consequently, social capital is in essence, "the grease that enables the machine of opportunity to operate." (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 248-255). Bourdieu (1985, p 252) uses, "The Forms of Capital to differentiate between three forms of capital: economic, cultural and social." Bourdieu (1985, p. 252) pronounces, "the relation among the different forms of capital as follows: economic is at the root of all other types of capital." Bourdieu defined the concept "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition." (Bourdieu, 1985, p. 248). According to this definition, people are urged to build and invest in relations for the benefits that they would bring later in their lives. Therefore,

> according to Bourdieu social capital can be condensed to two components; (1) the social relation itself; social capital is a resource linked with social networks and group membership: the volume of social capital possessed by a given agent depends on the size of the network of connections that he can effectively mobilize (2) the quality shaped by the total amount of the relationship between actors. (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 249).

Thus, for Bourdieu, social capital has two aspects: quantity and quality in order for an agent or individual to advance his or her goals. In addition, Boeck (2011, p. 13) stated,

> For Bourdieu … the amount of social capital which an individual possesses depends not only on the size of the network of connections, but also on the volume of the

> capital (economic, cultural or symbolic) possessed by each of those people to which he or she is connected. Thus the amount and weight people draw from these different capitals determines their positions within society.

An individual's position in society is largely hinged on their possession of capital in its various forms according to the Bourdieu perspective of social capital to a greater extent. Rogosic and Baranovic (2016, p. 89) opined,

> This theory is therefore far more pessimistic in character than that of Coleman, where the power of the individual and his/her action is significantly conditioned by social factors, and social capital mostly serves in the transfer of cultural and economic capital from generation to generation, thus contributing to the reproduction of the existing social order.

Bourdieu approaches social capital analysis as part and parcel of a wider analysis of the diverse foundations of the social order. Thus, using Bourdieu's view this treatise interrogated the significance of the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries on satellite schools in Zimbabwe. This study incorporated Bourdieu's conceptualisation of social networks as a source of resources facilitated by non-family networks within the context of the land reform and satellite schools, as well as the benefits or lack thereof derived from these social networks. In addition, the researcher sought to understand the social networks of land reform beneficiaries as a source of resources for the establishment and construction of satellite schools. The next section widens the debate on social capital introducing Coleman's perspective on social capital.

3.2.2 COLEMAN'S PERSPECTIVE

The other theorist within the social capital theoretical framework is Coleman who can be perceived to have pursued an approach that can be termed a communitarian slant to the social capital conceptualisation. Coleman explained,

> that social capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity, but a variety of different entities having two characteristics in common: they all consist of some

> aspect of social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure (Myeong & Seo, 2016, p. 2)

Rogosic and Baranovic (2016, p. 85) stated,

> Followers of Coleman's tradition operationalise social capital by highlighting the social capital available within the family (which implies the quality of family relationships and the family structure), as well as the social capital of the community (the quality of relationships between members of the community; in some cases, authors also take structure into consideration).

De La Pena (2008, p. 223) averred, "the communitarian approach, social capital is comparable to a public good, an intangible tradition that lives in the collective ethos of societies." In addition, the communitarian view according to De La Pena (2014, p. 224) stated that, "participation, and the way local values such as trust, cooperation, and solidarity, influence the participatory practices of individuals". Therefore, in this study the communitarian approach as espoused in Coleman entails the role of local values in the participation of land reform beneficiaries in satellite schools. In addition, "Coleman's work has been highly influential in the revival of social capital, and it is his impression that has become the Americanising legacy for social capital." (Portes, 1998, p. 6).

Within the communitarian approach as embraced in Coleman social relations are a resource. Ferlander (2003, p. 70),

> explores relations between social capital and human capital arguing that they tend to be complementary. Like Bourdieu (1985), and Coleman (1988), he regards social capital as a source of educational advantage.

Therefore, from current literature Coleman can be viewed as not treating social capital in isolation but in search of understanding of its nexus with human capital. Coleman defines social capital as:

> the set of resources that inhere in family relations and in community social organisations and that are useful of the cognitive or social development of a child or young person. These resources differ for different persons and can constitute an

> important advantage for children and adolescents in the development of their human capital (Coleman 1994, p. 300).

According to Coleman, social capital is important as a resource not only to acquire status or credentials (as seen in Bourdieu), but also in the enhancement of people's human capital. For Coleman, this is facilitated within the family and as such the family becomes the "archetypal cradle of social capital" (Field 2008, p. 29). Rogosic and Baranovic (2016, p. 86) revealed,

> Coleman's concept of social capital became one of the most frequently used concepts in the area of social sciences, but it was also a target of fierce criticism. His arguments were considered tautological and circular: it seemed that social capital existed solely if it had a positive effect on outcomes on the community level.

Community ties were important for the benefits they yielded to individuals according to Coleman. Oztok, Zingaro, Makos, Brett and Hewitt (2015, p. 20) argues, "for Coleman (1988), social capital is an attribute of any given community and is inherent in the structure of relations between and among actors." Hence, Coleman's interpretation of social capital is relevant to education in general and to this study in particular as it was utilised to explain the structure of relations amongst land reform beneficiaries and their contributions to satellite schools. Furthermore, Coleman's understanding of social capital as a community endowment has theoretical underpinnings in this study as it can be utilized to shed light on the implications of the social capital of land reform beneficiaries. Therefore, guided by Coleman's contribution, this study interrogated the social capital influences of the land reform beneficiaries on the establishment and construction of satellite schools. The researcher widens the discourse on social capital in the next section of the chapter.

3.2.3 PUTNAM'S PERSPECTIVE ON SOCIAL CAPITAL

The other conceptualization of social capital is put forward in Putnam. Putnam is also regarded as the other contributor to the communitarian approach to the social capital conceptualisation. Putnam defines social capital as the "connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (Putnam 2000, p. 19). Putnam (2000) widens the discourse on social capital by arguing there is bonding social capital as well as bridging social capital. "Bonding occurs when you are

socializing with people who are like you; same age, same race, same religion and so on. Bridging is what you do when you make friends with people who are not like you." Mago (2013) summed up Putnam's conceptualization of social capital as referring to links within and between social networks. Therefore, Putnam (2000) sees social capital as a concept to explain what makes societies both efficient and cohesive. This perspective of social capital by Putnam (2000) becomes relevant as it can be used to explain efficiency and cohesiveness of the community of land reform beneficiaries in relation to satellite schools.

Ilic and Leinarte (2011, p. 75) state, "that Putman contemplates the difference between bridging and bonding to be of critical importance, referring to bridging as exclusive networks and bonding as inclusive networks." It is within this dissimilarity where he argues that social capital aids access to resources. Therefore, this study sought to interrogate the social capital influences on satellite schools. Putnam's conceptualization is further buttressed in Bullen and Onyx's (1998, p. 3) argument that "social capital is not located within the individual person or within the social structure, but in the space between people." Thus, this study incorporated the Putnam's notions of bridging and bonding social capitals. The land reform's impact on bridging and bonding was studied with the view of establishing their role in making societies both efficient and cohesive through the provision of satellite schools as revealed in Putnam. In this study, efficiency and cohesiveness of societies are understood in relation to its contribution to education in general, and the satellite schools in particular. Thus, Putnam's theorization becomes relevant in addressing this study's second and third research questions; why are the land reform beneficiaries engaging with the satellite schools? and why are the communal farmers engaging with the satellite schools? Another perspective on social capital is located within the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach and this perspective is discussed in the following section.

3.2.4 SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS APPROACH

The last perspective of social capital is located within the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) as propounded in Scoones (1998). According to the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework social capital constitutes one of the five forms of livelihood assets (along with

natural, physical, financial, and human capitals) (Scoones 1998). Krantz (2001, p. 1) explained,

> Leading proponent Ian Scoones of IDS proposed a modified definition of SL: A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, while not undermining the natural resource base.

In the context of the SLA it is taken to mean the social resources upon which people draw in seeking for their livelihood outcomes, such as networks and connectedness, that increase people's trust and ability to cooperate or membership in more formalised groups and their systems of rules, norms and sanctions (Kollmair & Juli, 2002). In addition, according to the SLA for the most deprived people, social capital often represents a place of refuge in mitigating the effects of shocks or lacks in other capitals through informal networks. Therefore, in this study interrogated the implications of the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers on satellite schools from a sustainable livelihoods approach, however emphasis will be confined to one component of the livelihoods assets, which is social capital. Social capital as revealed in the SLA is utilised to explain that social capital is a refuge for both land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers to overcome educational needs of their children and dependents. In addition, the SLA is utilised in this study to aptly explain the disparities between the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers on satellite schools. The next component of the chapter discusses the levels of social capital which are essential in understanding social capital influences.

3.3 LEVELS OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

Baum and Zierch (2003) maintain that there are several distinctive levels of social capital. This study confined itself to social bonding (family ties) and social bridging (community ties). Whereas, Harper (2002) argue that innumerable definitions reflect the conception of vertical and horizontal constructs of social capital, whereby vertical social capital exists in relationships between different levels of society, and horizontal social capital is exhibited in relationships between individuals or groups of similar background and context.

3.3.1 SOCIAL BONDING

Social bonding entails, “characterised by strong bonds e.g. among family members or among members of an ethnic group; good for getting by" (Harper, 2002, p. 3). Harper (2002) view social bonding as entailing the horizontal ties and social cohesion between individuals, groups and neighbours sharing similar characteristics within a community group structure. Myeong and Seo (2016, p. 3) revealed,

> “Bonding” is a network among people who have homogeneous social backgrounds, socio-demographic characteristics, and so on. It focuses on the quality, rather than the quantity of relationships. The bonding type has strong ties inside their own groups, but they exclude other groups.

Thus, this level of social capital increases the probability that individuals will move beyond their own diverse self-interests, towards social action that will benefit all involved (Larsen, Harlan, Bolin, Hackett, Hope, Kirby, Nelson, Rex & Wolf, 2004). Hence, bonding social capital can be viewed as inward-looking bonds, focusing on relationships and networks of trust and reciprocity that reinforce ties within a community. Social bonding functions to deliver resources for poorer, homogenous communities, and is constrained to simply empowering people to “get by”, or in other words, provision of sustenance for daily living, while allowing richer communities to consolidate their economic advantages relative to less advantaged communities (Edwards, Franklin & Holland, 2003).

3.3.2 SOCIAL BRIDGING

Social bridging has been argued to be the second level of social capital. Social bridging, “characterised by weaker, less dense but more cross-cutting ties e.g. with business associates, acquaintances, friends from different ethnic groups, friends of friends, etc; good for getting ahead” (Harper, 2002, p. 3). Harper (2002) opines social capital as the horizontal trust and reciprocal connections between different communities/groups/individuals, who do not share common identity traits/ideals. Putnam (2000) argues that social bridging is more all-encompassing than social bonding, and may integrate individuals across numerous social divides, spawning broader social identities and reciprocity. Myeong and Seo (2016, p. 3) state,

> The external group, or bridging views, focuses primarily on social capital as a resource that inheres in the social network, tying a focal actor to other actors. In this view, social capital can help explain the differential success of individuals and firms in their competitive rivalry: the actions of individuals and groups can be greatly facilitated by their direct and indirect links to other actors in social networks.

In addition, Edwards et al, (2003) concur that this level is more valuable than bonding social capital as its purpose is more for the benefit of the public as a whole. Larsen et al (2004) add that social bridging involves local residents' efforts to extend contact beyond members of their own neighbourhood. Consequently, bridging social capital can be argued to be concerned with outward-looking connections amongst heterogeneous groups.

3.4 APPLICATIONS OF THE SOCIAL CAPITAL THEORY

The concept of social capital has been applied in a multiplicity of studies. Portes (1998, p 23) sums the literature available as, "applications of the concept as a predictor of, among others, school attrition and academic performance, children's intellectual development, sources of employment and occupational attainment, juvenile delinquency and its prevention, and immigrant and ethnic enterprise." Brewer (2003, p. 7) avers, "abundant stock of social capital appears to be related to economic performance, effective political institutions, low rates of crime and the absence of a range of other social ills." Scholars have confined their research to associating social capital with consequences as miscellaneous as crime rates (Sampson et al, 1999), political development (Putnam, 1995), and economic development (Grootaert & van Bastelaer, 2002; Narayan & Pritchett, 1997). A considerable quantity of work has been conducted predominantly by the World Bank on social capital in sustainable development in low income countries (Grootaert & van Bastelaer, 2001; 2002; Krishna & Uphoff, 1999).

In addition, the concept social capital has drawn consideration of many researchers in different fields, such as political scientists (Putnam, 1995), sociologists (Coleman, 1988) and economists (Beugelsdijk & van Schaik, 2005; Knack & Keefer, 1997). However, there is an apparent dearth of literature pertaining to the influences of the social capital of land reform beneficiaries on satellite schools. In addition, scholars have seemingly spurned researching

Zimbabwe's land reform from a social capital perspective and thus, this study seeks to address that vacuum in literature. Moreover, there is a notable absence of social capital literature with special emphasis on the context of Zimbabwe.

The amount and nature of social capital has also been linked to a range of children's outcomes, including health and education (Martin, 2005). Oztok et al (2015, p. 20) aver, "social capital has been employed by sociologists to study connections within and between social networks." There are twofold foremost disseminations of social capital into the educational arena according to a claim by Dika and Singh (2002). The first exportation of Bourdieu's theory pertains to the discernment of social capital as another clarification for uneven academic accomplishment. While, the other exportation points out that the Coleman (1988) approach indicates that greater amounts of social capital reduces the incidence of learners' dropping out of school. Thus, it is imperative that another viewpoint, in the form of social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries on satellite schools in Zimbabwe be propounded from this study.

Hunter (2002, no pagination) argued that the "educational value of social capital lies in its ability to provide opportunities for members to establish common ground where a relatively coherent sense of community can be created." Resultantly, Nahapiet and Ghoshai (1998, p. 258) reveal, "after the establishment of a strong sense of community, norms of reciprocity can be cultivated though which individuals can share understanding and negotiate meaning." A study in Ho Sui-Chu (1997) revealed social capital as the most powerful determinant of students' self-esteem (Ho Sui-Chu, 1997). Oztok et al (2015) studied social presence and community changing aspects using a social capital theoretical grounding. Catts and Ozga (2005) studied the role of social capital in Scottish schools. The social capital has also been applied to understand the Post-Baccalaureate students' decision to enter and Complete Graduate School by Alig (2014). Alig (2014) argues that significant measures of social capital determine degree completion among graduate students. In another study in the USA, Acar (2011) links social capital to academic success of pupils in K-12 education. In addition, Acar (2011, p. 460) reveals, "different studies, as mentioned previously support this presupposition since researchers positively correlate social capital and academic success even in different educational systems and across cultures." Dika and Singh (2002) cited in Acar

(2011, p. 458), "concluded that social capital and school attainment and school achievement are positively linked and most relationships were significant in the expected direction." Thus, it can therefore be expatiated that social capital in educational research has mainly been utilised to explain academic success (Acar, 2011; Dika & Singh, 2002) and students' self-esteem (Ho Sui-Chu, 1997) while negating social capital influences in the actual provision of infrastructure by parents and the community to the schools. Therefore, these studies do not capture the notion of communities actually building schools especially satellite schools. Moreover, the Acar's (2011) study was carried out in the British Columbia, an area with social relations different from those in Zimbabwe.

A study in Sullivan (2002) interrogates Bourdieu's theory on education utilising cultural reproduction through a cultural capital lens. According to Bourdieu, "the education systems of industrialised societies function in such a way as to legitimate class inequalities." (Sullivan, 2002, p. 144). While, Tzanakis (2011, p. 76) stated, "Bourdieu's social reproduction thesis (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) has focused research on the relation between education, family, and social class." Hence, according to these studies education is central in sustaining the prolongation of social inequity and social marginalisation. However, these studies negate to pursue other capitals as espoused in Bourdieu such as human capital and social capital. Sullivan (2002) and Tzanakis (2011) can be critiqued by utilising Bourdieu's argument that, "it is in fact impossible to account for the structure and functioning of the social world unless one reintroduces capital in all its forms …" (Bourdieu, 1986:244).

The social capital theory has been critiqued for a number of limitations in its application in various disciplines. There is a tendency to naïvely treat social capital as a "good thing", largely ignoring Bourdieu's exploration of how social capital may allow some individuals to access resources and power, but exclude others (Bourdieu, 1985). Therefore, it is imperative that this negative implication of social capital be explored in the context of Zimbabwe's land reform. Furthermore, Takahashi and Magalong (2008) argued that social capital focuses largely on expanding trust, reciprocity and empowerment. These alone are not enough to overcome social ills such as social inequalities, health disparities and poor access to resources to a larger extent. There is therefore the need to desist from the notion that social capital is a panacea or silver bullet for all of society's ills. Social capital has also been critiqued for its

failure to address gender incongruences and the way in which women negotiate social interactions and form social networks (Smith, 2007).

From the foregoing review it can be concluded that it was imperative to interrogate the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries on Zimbabwean satellite schools. This entails an analysis of land reform using elements from Bourdieu (social capital as a source of resources); Coleman and Putnam (communitarian approach) by way of understanding the connection between the social capital of the land reform beneficiaries and satellite schools. Therefore, the theoretical underpinnings of social capital theory utilized in this study are derived from the works of Coleman, Bourdieu and Putnam which entails a framework from the contributions by these three perspectives. The following section provides a conclusion to the discussion on the social capital theoretical framework provided in this chapter.

3.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter provided an analysis of the theoretical framework on social capital, guiding this study. Contributions from Bourdieu, Putnam and Coleman as well as the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach were interrogated as well as applications of the social capital theory. Social capital was revealed by this chapter to be a product of various disciplines and it cuts permeates issues such as civil society, social cohesion, voluntarism, philanthropy among others. Social capital can also be viewed as an antonym to the doctrine of atomic individualism. In addition, social capital has two levels as revealed by this study, bridging and bonding social capital. Social capital was argued to be a resource that is essential in a community. The importance of social capital to a community is essential in the development of this thesis on the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers on satellite schools. The ensuing chapter provides the methodology utilised to study the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers on satellite schools.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

4.0 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter presented social capital theory as the theoretical framework guiding this study. This chapter delineates the methodology, the research paradigm, research tools and their justification as well as the context of the study.

The study aimed to examine the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers on satellite schools in Zimbabwe. In unpacking the aim of this study, the researcher was guided by three critical questions; How does the social capital of the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmer influence satellite schools? Why are the land reform beneficiaries engaged with the satellite schools? Why are the communal farmers engaged with the satellite schools?

4.1 METHODOLOGY

Sarantakos (1998, p. 465) views research methodology as "the theory of methods; it is the way in which one makes sense of the object of enquiry." Robson (2002, p. 549) describes it as, "theoretical, political and philosophical backgrounds to social research and their implications for research practice and for the use of particular research methods." Bulmer (1984, p. 4) views research methodology as the, "systematic and logical study of the principles guiding the investigation concerned with the questions of how the research established social knowledge and how such knowledge can convince others that the knowledge is correct." In this study the research methodology entailed the procedural logic followed by the researcher in addressing the next research questions: How does the social capital of the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmer influence satellite schools? Why are the land reform beneficiaries engaged with the satellite schools? Why are the communal farmers engaged with the satellite schools?

This study was principally qualitative in nature employing semi-structured in-depth interviews as well as focus group discussions as the fundamental data generation techniques.

Qualitative methodology enabled the generation of rich descriptive data that facilitated an understanding of the social capital aspects of the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers when they engaged with the satellite schools. McMillan and Schumacher (2006, p. 479) affirm "qualitative research as primarily an inductive process of organizing data into categories and identifying patterns among categories." In addition, White (2005, p. 127) argues, "qualitative research is more concerned with understanding social phenomena from the perspectives of the participant." This study sought to understand the social capital of the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers, thus this resonates with qualitative research. While, Ibrahim (2006, p. 64) adds, "qualitative methods are used to give more detailed insights into interpreting the situation in order to allow the researcher to see things, as they really are." McMillan and Schumacher (2006, p. 395) further reveals that "qualitative studies are used for theory generation, policy development, improvement of educational practice, explanation of social issues and action stimulus." Hence, in this study, qualitative studies are utilized to explain social issues that is the social capital of land reform beneficiaries in a particular context. Leedy and Omrod (2005, p. 133) add,

> To answer research questions, we cannot skim across the surface. We must dig deep to get a complete understanding of the phenomena we are studying. In qualitative research, we do indeed dig deep: we collect numerous forms of data and examine them from various angles to construct a rich and meaningful picture of a complex, multifaceted situation.

Furthermore, Abawi (2008, p. 10) aver, "the aim of qualitative research is to achieve an in-depth understanding of a situation and is ideal in extracting feelings, emotions, motivations, perceptions, attitudes and experiences." Kitchin and Tate (2000) state that informants need to freely express their opinions, emotional state and share their practises which are some of the advantages and goals qualitative methodology attempts to achieve. Consequently, Borg and Gall (1989, p. 386) elaborate that,

> In a qualitative inquiry, the investigator starts with a very tentative design (or in some cases none at all) and develops the design as the inquiry progresses. This permits adapting the design to include variables that were not anticipated prior to the start of the empirical research. The rationale for an emergent design was that it was impossible for enough to be known ahead of time to develop an adequate research design.

Also of importance is the research paradigm. A paradigm is, “a world view, a general perspective, and a way of breaking down the complexity of the real world.” (Patton, 1990, p. 479). Creswell (2007, p. 5) avers that, “paradigms are sets of assumptions, values or beliefs about fundamental aspects of reality which give rise to a particular world view and serve as the lenses or organising principles through which researchers perceive and interpret reality, hence they represent what we think about the world.” While, Guba and Lincoln (1994) and Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004, p. 25) state that “a research paradigm is a set of beliefs, values and assumptions that a community of researchers has in common regarding the nature and conduct of research.” In addition, Denzin and Lincoln (2003) pronounce a research paradigm as “an interpretive framework” while also deriving from Guba (1990, p. 17), as “a basic set of beliefs that guides action.” Therefore, it can be argued that a research paradigm entails a general world view guiding a researcher’s interpretation of reality.

This research situates itself in the interpretive (naturalistic/constructivist) paradigm. This entailed a “study (of) things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008, p. 3). Neuman (2011, p. 102) defines the interpretive approach as, “the systematic analysis of socially meaningful action through the direct detailed observation of people in natural settings in order to arrive at understandings and interpretations of how people create and maintain their social worlds.” Thus, this approach resonates well with the phenomenon under study which requires observation of the A1 farmers and communal farmers in their communities. While, Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007, p. 19) argue that “within the interpretivist paradigm, the role of the researcher (scientist) is to understand, explain, and demystify social reality through the eyes of different participants.” Thus, the researcher in this study sought to understand and explain the phenomenon under study as postulated in the interpretivist paradigm. In this study, a scrutiny of the social capital influences of the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers on the new phenomenon of satellite schools in particular locations in Zimbabwe is proffered through the eyes of the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers. In addition, in pursuance of the interpretivist paradigm, the researcher interacted with the data obtaining from the school heads, village heads, land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers from the perspective of these participants. The interpretivist paradigm ensured that the researcher did not yield an alien and outside interpretation of the engagement of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers with

satellite schools. The next section of the chapter discusses the case study research approach that was adopted in this study.

4.2 A CASE STUDY RESEARCH APPROACH

There are numerous definitions in literature on the case study research approach. Among these definitions, Smith et al (1990, p. 129) elucidate that, "the case study method is an approach to research which utilizes ethnographic research methods to obtain and portray a 'rich' descriptive account of meanings and experiences of people in an identified social setting." Zainal (2007, p. 1) elaborates,

> Case study research, through reports of past studies, allows the exploration and understanding of complex issues. It can be considered a robust research method particularly when a holistic, in-depth investigation is required. Recognised as a tool in many social science studies, the role of case study method in research becomes more prominent when issues with regard to education (Gulsecen & Kubat, 2006), sociology (Grassel & Schirmer, 2006) and community based problems (Johnson, 2006), such as poverty, unemployment, drug addiction, illiteracy, etc. were raised.

Therefore, complex issues such as social capital influences and reasons for the engagement of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers with satellite schools wereexplored and understood using the case study approach. Another conceptualization of a case study is proffered by Sturman (1997, p. 61) who defines the concept as a, "generic term for the investigation of an individual, group or phenomenon." Starkey (2010, 63) reveals, "case study is a methodological approach that involves systematically gathering enough information about a particular person or group and situation to permit the researcher to effectively understand how the subject operates or functions." Thus, the case study approach is viewed in numerous ways by scholars. In this study, the case study approach is viewed as a study aimed at obtaining a wealth of data about a topic of interest using a particular person(s), group or community. Thus, guided by this conceptualisation, this study is interested in farmers (land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers).

Furthermore, McMillan and Schumacher (2006, p. 395) aver that, "a case study design focuses on one phenomenon, which the researcher chooses to understand in-depth regardless of the number of sites or participants for the study." Whereas, Gerring (2004, p. 342) states case study research involves, "intensive study of a single unit for the purpose of understanding a larger class of (similar) units … observed at a single point in time or over some delimited period of time." Therefore, "case studies provide an opportunity for the researcher to gain a deep holistic view of the research problem, and may facilitate describing, understanding and explaining a research problem or situation" (Baxter and Jack, 2008, p. 545).

In addition, Thompson (2010, p. 40) states, "case studies are good for describing and expanding the understanding of a phenomenon and are often used to study people and Programmes particularly in education. A case study can offer a refinement of understanding…" Therefore, this study's adoption of the case study approach was intended to understand the social capital of land reform beneficiaries and communal famers on satellite schools. Furthermore, Stake (1995, p. 8) elaborates, "We take a particular case and come to know it well, not primarily as to how it is different from others but what it is, what it does." Thus, a case study approach has a strength of allowing the researcher to know a particular case intimately to a larger extent.

In this study the researcher chose the case study method because it involves the assemblage of all-embracing data in order to produce an in-depth understanding of the unit being analysed (Borg & Gall, 1989). Yin (1994, p. 31) further argues, "… the major rationale for using this (case study design) is when your investigation must cover both a particular phenomenon and the context within which the phenomenon is occurring." Hence, a case study was considered appropriate for this study as the researcher sought to interrogate the phenomenon of social capital in the perspective of land reform in Zimbabwe. The researcher wanted to study the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers in their natural setting and therefore the case study resonates with his desire to do so (Babbie, 2008; Corbetta, 2011). Furthermore, Yin (2003, p. 1) states, "in general, case studies are the preferred strategy when 'how' or 'why' questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events

and when the focus is a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context." Hence, since the critical questions in this study on the social capital of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers were 'how' and 'why' the researcher elected to employ a case study research approach. In addition, Rossman and Rallis (2003, p. 105) state, "the strength of case studies is their complexity, and their use of multiple sources to obtain multiple perspectives." Thus, in this study the researcher utilized multiple sources to generate multiple perspectives at grass roots level, that is from farmers, village heads and school heads.

In addition, there are different case study typologies. Yin (2014) reveals that there is the single case design as well as the multiple case design. Yin (2004, p. 6) explains "The term "case study" can refer to either single-or multiple-case studies. They represent two types of case study designs." Furthermore, Yin (2014, p. 11) states,

> "The single case design is appropriate when the case: is critical to test a specific theory with a clear set of propositions; represents an extreme or unusual case; is representative of a situation; reveals a situation; is longitudinal. A multiple case design is particularly relevant for testing the conclusions, avoiding extraneous variation, providing a larger picture of a complex phenomenon, comparing different studies."

This study in its endeavour to compare the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers on satellite schools utilised a multiple case study design according to Yin (2004). However, Creswell (2013) terms the same design, a bounded multisite case study. Creswell (2013, p. 97) avers a

> "case study is a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a real life, contemporary bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information…, the unit of analysis in a case study might be multiple cases (multisite study) or a single case (a within site study)."

Therefore, this study -guided by this conceptualization of the case study approach by Creswell (2013) adopted a multisite study involving two communities and their respective satellite schools. Yin (2004, p. 6) argues, "having multiple cases might help you to strengthen

the findings from your entire study—because the multiple cases might have been chosen as: replications of each other, deliberate and contrasting comparisons, or hypothesized variations." In this study, the two case were chosen as deliberate and contrasting comparisons to reveal disparities in the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers on satellite schools. Furthermore, Yin (2004, p. 25) reveals,

> The motive underlying the selection of multiple-cases is not different from that used by scientists initially defining a series of experiments. As with multiple experiments, multiple-case studies are not selected to represent some universe but instead to pursue a logical framework of inquiry.

Thus, it follows in this study that the researcher utilised Tiro and Sambo case studies to follow a rational outline of inquiry.

A multisite case study approach was used to study the social capital influences on two satellite schools and their respective communities namely Tiro (Ward 6) and Sambo (Ward 18) which are both located in the Masvingo district. These two communities wereselected by the researcher because of their participation in the construction of satellite schools. These two communities were used as case studies due to the researcher's discernment that they were going to bring to the fore the phenomena under study through a social capital lens. The phenomenon under study pertains to a comparison of social capital influences of two different communities therefore, each type of community is represented. The study compared two communities of land reform beneficiaries (Tiro) and communal farmers (Sambo). Tiro and Sambo were both included in this study due to their differences in the structure of land ownership. Sambo: by virtue of being a communal area the land is owned by the state through the Communal Land Act of 1983, as amended in 2002. Whereas, Tiro community is composed of land reform beneficiaries and the land is owned individually through offer letters received by the individual farmers. In addition, the disparities in land ownership between the two communities are also accompanied by differences in the size of the farms or land owned by the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers. The Tiro land reform beneficiaries own larger farms as compared to their counterparts in communal areas such as Sambo. Disparities between the two cases is also extended to wealth, as has already been alluded in this thesis (under Section 2.6) communal farmers are food insecure. It is against

this background of disparities in these two communities that the researcher revealed the differences in the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers on satellite schools. However, Yin (2004, p. 8) advises, "none of the cases should be considered "controls" for each other, in the same sense of the term "control group," because in case study research you do not manipulate "treatments" or control any real-life events." Hence, in this study neither Tiro community nor Sambo community were regarded as a control group. The studying of Tiro and Sambo communities as part of a multiple case study helped the researcher,

> to respond to a common criticism of single-case studies—that they are somehow unique and idiosyncratic and therefore have limited value beyond the circumstances of the single case…have a modest amount of comparative data, even if the cases were chosen to be confirmatory cases….(Yin, 2004, p.8).

Therefore, the selection of two cases can be reasoned to have allowed the researcher to address the major shortcoming of single-case studies and thus enhance the strength of the research design to a larger extent. The next section of the methodology chapter unravels the study sites used in this research.

4.3 STUDY SITES

The case study sites are both in the Masvingo district in Masvingo province, Zimbabwe, as captured in Figure 4.1 (not drawn to scale). The study sites have been given pseudonyms, Sambo and Tiro communities. In addition, Figure 4.1 shows the location of the two study sites, Tiro and Sambo. The study sites are located in Natural Region IV where most of the communal areas and Fast Track Land Resettlement (FTLRP) areas in Masvingo district lie. The Masvingo district is a dry area found in South-Central Zimbabwe (Kamanga, Shamudzarira & Vaughan, 2003). The study areas receive a unimodal rainfall pattern (Kamanga et al, 2003). Unimodal entails that there is only one rainfall season in the area. The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (2016) states, "This region experiences fairly low total rainfall (450 - 650 mm) and is subject to periodic seasonal droughts and severe dry spells during the rainy season."

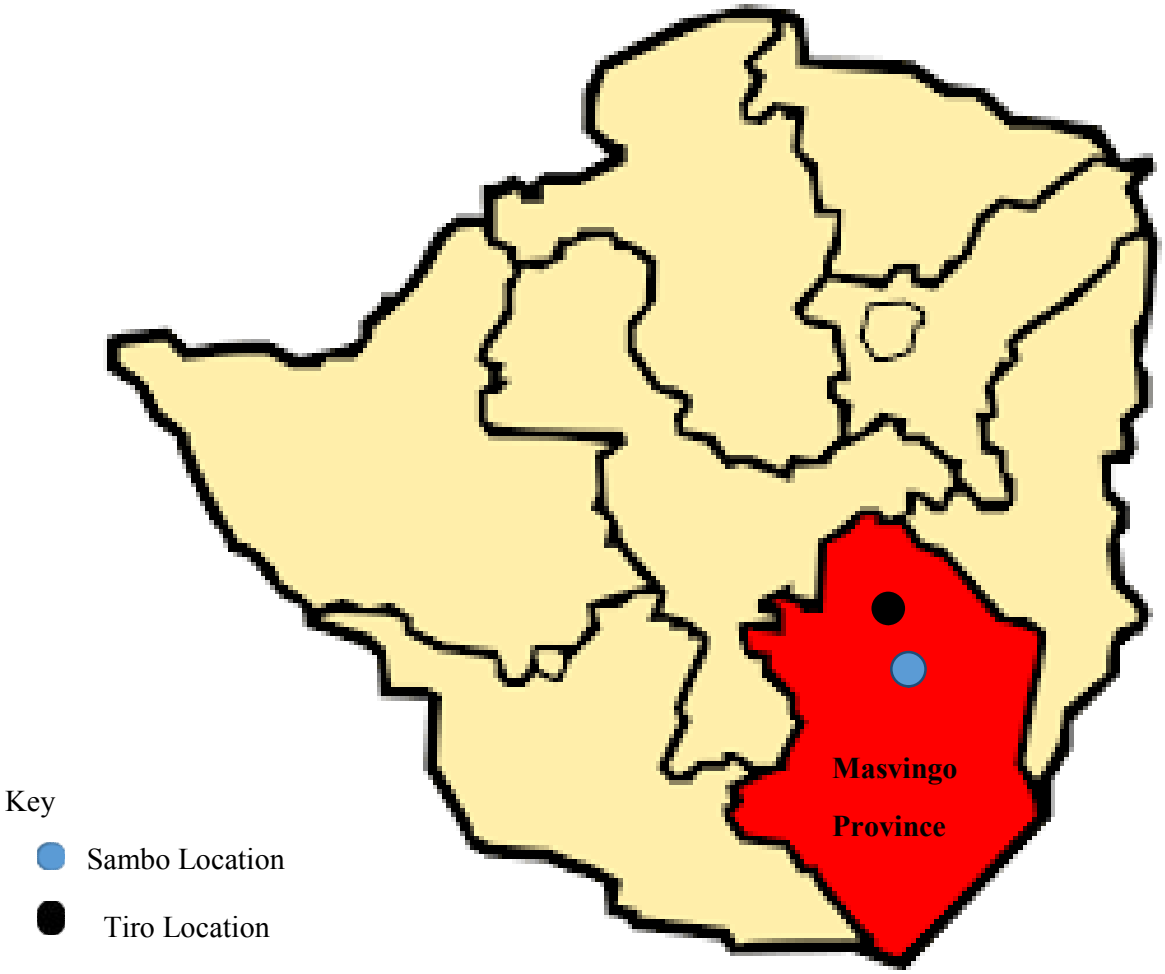

Figure 4.1 Zimbabwe showing Masvingo province (Source: adapted from Wikipedia, 2017)[13]

Land tenure in the Sambo communal area is under customary tenure system. Hence, it can be noted that individuals in the Sambo communal areas have land rights to small arable and residential plots and have access to communal resources such as grazing lands, mountains and forests. Tiro resettlement area lies within the A1 farms allocated during the FTLRP. Tiro community is composed of land reform beneficiaries drawn from the nearby city of Masvingo. People from the city occupied farms in the ward (Ward Six) due to its proximity and accessibility thus the community is heterogeneous and reflective of urban settlements. Sambo community is composed of communal farmers[14]. Scoones et al (2010) reveal that about two-thirds of people who were given land in Masvingo were ordinary low-income while the remaining quarter who composed of civili servants, former farm workers, business

[13] Map of Zimbabwe not drawn to scale

[14] Communal farmers are villagers who practise subsistence farming on their small plots of land which is around 5 acres. The land is normal passed onto them by their parents/ relatives.

people and members of the security services. The ordinary low-income were made up of former communal farmers and people from the City of Masvingo. Most of the Ward six residents were people from urban Masvingo who wanted places of settlement as opposed to those in Ward 18 who were mainly communal farmers who wanted land for agriculture. Masvingo district has 35 rural wards which fall under communal areas. Derman (2006, p. 14) reveals that "communal areas in Zimbabwe defined as sites of underdevelopment which required sustained government attention to overcome the dual legacy of colonial rule and underdevelopment." The Sambo community thus can largely be viewed as homogeneous as opposed to the Tiro community. The researcher hopes to utilize the disparities of the two communities to understand the relationship that the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers have with the newly constructed satellite schools from a social capital perspective in the aftermath of the land reform process in Zimbabwe.

In Masvingo district under study, 76,62 % of the people have occupations in agriculture (ZIMSTAT, 2012, p. 97). Marongwe (2009, p. 29) states that of this, "about 40% was allocated to the A1 smallholder farmers while 60% had gone to A2 (commercial farmers). About 156 farms with a total of 199 886.5604 hectares were allocated through the A2 model, creating about 1062 commercial plots". According to Scoones et al (2011, p. 2), "two main 'models' have been at the centre of the process - one focused on smallholder production (so-called A1 schemes) and one focused on commercial production at a slightly larger scale (so-called A2 farms)." Fontein (2009) states that the land reform process has affected the area under study. Fontein (2009, p. 6) adds, "in terms of the land scenario there have been changes, mainly the partitioning of the commercial farms into A1 and A2 models." This study was confined to the social capital of land reform beneficiaries within the A1 farm model, sometimes referred to as the villagised farm model as well as communal farmers in villages. The term 'village' was initially utilised to refer to communal areas but after land reform has been extended to land reform areas. The extension of the village concept is aptly revealed by the the phrase 'villagised farm model', which entails a former commercial farm that has been converted into villages. The A1 model can be viewed as ressembling the villages in communal areas although the land reform beneficiaries have more land when compared with communal farmers. Disparities between the two study sites, Tiro and Sambo also extend to soil fertility as the land in communal areas has been rendered infertile by

decades of poor farming methods and scarcity of resources. Rukuni (1994, p. 108) reveals, "This area (communal areas) had the lowest degree of needs satisfaction related to increasing land shortage as land use pressure increased over time." Moreover, the infertility and overcrowdedness of communal areas can be used to argue for the land reform in Zimbabwe. It can further be argued that some of the land reform beneficiaries are in fact former communal farmers as Scoones et al (2010) reveal that some land reform beneficiaries were drawn from the overcrowded surrounding communal areas. The movement of communal farmers from the communal areas into the newly acquired commercial farms during land reform transformed some communal farmers into land reform beneficiaries. Therefore, it can be argued that some land reform beneficiaries were formerly communal farmers as people from diverse backgrounds received land during land reform. Thus, these differences and connections between land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers warranted the inclusion of both Tiro and Sambo in this study on the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers on satellite schools in Zimbabwe.

4.4 POPULATION

Moyo, Ncube, Chikoko, Mtwzo, Chiso, Gombe, Madzinyire, Mhlanga and Kangai (2002, p. 26) aver that population in research entails, "the total number of elements or cases that one can investigate." However, Dale (2006, no pagination) notes that "a population must be specific enough to provide readers a clear understanding of the applicability of your study to their particular situation and their understanding of that same population." For this study, the target population are A1 farmers and communal farmers as well as satellite school heads in the Masvingo district who are participating in the construction and supporting of satellite schools. According to Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education (2015) there are ten satellite secondary schools as well as nine satellite primary schools in Masvingo district. Ward Six where Tiro is located has only two secondary schools including Tiro as well as three primary schools. Whereas, Ward 18, where Sambo is located has three secondary schools including Sambo as well as four primary schools. The satellite schools in Masvingo district are located in areas with both land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers.

4.5 SAMPLING

Siririka (2007, p. 34) views sampling as, "the procedure a researcher uses to select people, places, or things to study." Bless and Higson-Smith (2010, p. 85) view, "a sample as a subset of the whole population which is actually investigated by a researcher, and whose characteristics are generalised to the entire population." Cardwell (1999, p. 202) explains the need for a sample population and argues that, "as an entire population tends to be too large to work with, a smaller group of participants must act as a representative sample." Whereas, O'Leary (2004, p. 102) adds, "Our inability to access every element of a population does little to suppress our desire to understand and speak for it." The study on the social capital influences of land beneficiaries and communal farmers made use of purposive convenience sampling as it was not possible to study the whole population and moreover, cover all areas which participated in the land reform process in Zimbabwe and constructing satellite schools. Thus, this study was conducted within one purposively selected district namely that of Masvingo in Masvingo province. Masvingo district was selected because it has more satellite schools than any other district in Masvingo province (Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education, 2015). Within this district the researcher further purposively selected two communities; the Tiro community (Ward 6) and the Sambo community (Ward 18). These communities were selected because of their contribution to education through participation in the construction of satellite schools. In addition, the two communities were suitable for the phenomenon understudy because they avail communities of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers respectively. This selection resonates with the point raised by Johnson and Christensen (2004, p. 175) that, "purposive sampling constitutes the selection of information-rich cases." In addition, Kurebwa (2013, p. 177) views purposive sampling as,

> a set of procedures where the research manipulates its analysis, theory and sampling activities interactively during the research process. It is intended to facilitate a process whereby research generates and tests theory from the analysis of data rather than using data to test out or to falsify a pre-existing theory.

Fraenkel, Wallen and Hyun (2012:100) discern, "that qualitative researchers prefer purposive sampling since it allows them to use their personal judgments to select participants that they believe will provide the data they need." Furthermore, Patton (1990, p. 478) adds that, "purposive sampling seeks information-rich cases which can be studied in-depth." Thus, purposive sampling entails the identification and utilization of information-rich cases a

researcher can study thoroughly which resonated with this present study. Purposive sampling is defined by Bernard (2012), Bless and Higson-Smith (2010), Bryman (2010) and Teddie and Fen (2007) as a process when a researcher selects precise people within the population to use for a specific study. Hence, it entailed the researcher concentrating on people with particular characteristics who were able to assist with the relevant information.

Furthermore, Leedy and Ormrod (2005) aver that a purposive sampling technique ensures that participants with desired information about the topic are selected. Therefore, as revealed in Simuchimba and Luangala (2007, p. 11) , "purposive sampling rich information rather than the number of participants is important." Therefore, these two communities can be argued to be information-rich cases in terms of the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers on satellite schools. In addition, the researcher selected cases that can deliver rich information on a precise feature or features and this augments profound comprehension of social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers.

There is no consensus in the literature on the number of participants adequate for research purposes. Various recommendations have been forwarded on the number of participants sufficient to reach saturation, among these two to ten participants in total (Porta & Keating, 2008; Punch, 2011) whereas Creswell (2008) endorses ten people in a research study. Therefore, it can be extrapolated that a sample should be large enough to allow data saturation. In addition, a sample has to be manageable in order for the researcher to analyse thoroughly the findings. Hence, bearing in mind of this background, a sample of eighteen participants were considered sufficient to reach data saturation for this study.

4.6 RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

The researcher in this study utilised two research instruments: semi-structured interviews with satellite school heads, village heads, communal farmers and land reform beneficiaries as well as focus group discussions with communal farmers and land reform beneficiaries. The research instruments used in this study are discussed in detail below.

4.6.1 SEMI STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

Interviews are frequently used techniques to gather qualitative and descriptive data that are difficult or time-consuming to reveal. Interviews can be generally viewed as a face-to-face interaction between the respondent and researcher. Palys (1997, p. 144) states that interviews involve, "an on-going question and answer dialogue between the researcher and respondent." Furthermore, semi structured interviews are a deliberate method of comprehending people's opinions (Borg & Gall, 2009; Cohen et al, 2011; Dunnie, Pryor & Yates, 2010; McBurney & White, 2004).

In this study, semi-structured interviews were utilised to generate data on the social capital influences on satellite schools. Gill and Johnson (2002, p. 290) state, "that semi-structured interviews involve numerous crucial questions that make it easier to discover the parts that give meaning to the research and it also allows the interviewer to chase an impression of the interviewee or get them to explain a response more thoroughly." Gill and Johnson (2002, p. 291) state, "semi-structured interviews consist of several key questions that help to define the areas to be explored, but also allows the interviewer or interviewee to diverge in order to pursue an idea or response in more detail." In addition, it can be argued that there is flexibility in this method which allows for the expansion of data that is valuable to the participants but it may not have been considered beforehand as relevant by the researcher (Gill & Johnson, 2002). An advantage of the face-to-face interview is that it "allows the researcher control over the process and the interviewee the freedom to express his or her thoughts" (O'Leary, 2014, p. 218). Thus, semi-structured face- to- face interviews allowed the researcher to add new aspects that might not have been included in themes to be covered during the interviews. Interviews enabled the researcher to find out from a social capital perspective how the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers engaged with the satellite schools and the reasons for their engagement.

The semi-structured interviews were all carried out at the premises of the participating schools. The researcher interviewed the heads of Sambo and Tiro schools in their respective offices at their schools. While for the other participants, that is four village heads and six farmers, the interviews were conducted in other office spaces allocated by the schools. Each community had six participants in the same-structured interviews, that is Sambo had one

satellite school head, two village heads and three communal farmers and Tiro had one satellite school head, two village heads and three land reform beneficiaries. The satellite schools were helpful as they provided comfortable furniture for the interviews. The interviews were conducted from 2 November 2015 to 13 November 2015 at both study sites. Willig and Rogers (2008) aver that the interviewees should be availed with comfortable sitting places and a relaxed environment. Each of the twelve semi-structured interviews conducted in this study lasted for an hour. Borg and Gall (2009) as well as Willig and Rogers (2008) posit that interviews should be well paced in order for them to have significant discussions. The researcher and interviewees agreed to have the interviews in the morning as the study was carried out during the hot summer period. The afternoons would have been uncomfortable for any meaningful discussions. In addition, the discussions were well paced to ensure that all aspects were adequately addressed within the hour long discussion.

The researcher utilised an all-inclusive stakeholder methodology to the study by conducting twelve interviews with key informants in the community who are au fait with the land reform in the specific locations that form the case studies: two village heads, one satellite school head and three farmers[15] from each community. A holistic stakeholder approach for this study entailed obtaining representative views from all sections of a community at grass roots level. Therefore, the total number of interviewees for the study were four village heads, two satellite school heads and six farmers. Key participants are,

> individuals whose role or experiences result in them having relevant information or knowledge they are willing to share with a researcher. They can be instrumental in giving you access to a world you might have otherwise tried to understand while being locked on the outside (O'Leary, 2014, p. 191).

Esterberg (2002) and Yin (1994) further posit that the merits of key participant interviews in data collection is that they are easy and less costly since they involve only one participant at a time plus they offer tractability as some questions and themes can be added or left out in the course of the interview. Siisiäinen (2000, p. 1) argues, "Bourdieu's concept of social capital puts the emphasis on conflicts and the power function (social relations that increase the ability of an actor to advance her/his interests)." Therefore, the researcher hoped by including these key participants in the study to bring to the fore the notion of the power function

[15] Farmers-For Tiro it was A1 farmer while for Sambo it was communal farmers.

(Bourdieu) and trust of authority and governments. Village heads were selected because they represent authority and government within the areas that underwent the land reform in Masvingo district. Furthermore, with the exception of the two satellite school heads, all the other key informants were also farmers and land reform beneficiaries, and were thus in a position to share insights on family and community ties and their engagement with satellite schools. The researcher also interviewed the farmers as they were critical to this study as they availed further insight into the social capital of the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers.

The researcher asked the key participants questions on their social capital influences in the two communities. The researcher utilized a schedule as a guide and not "a prescriptive device" (Berg, 2001, p. 70). Theoretically, Figueroa, Kincaid, Rani and Lewis (2003) identify six related dimensions to social capital, namely trust, sense of belonging, feelings of high morale, goal consensus (many voices are involved in decision making), and reciprocity (favours are done with confidence of favours being returned) and network cohesion (sharing between families, communities). The researcher was therefore steered in these six dimensions of social capital during the semi-structured interviews. Thus, the researcher asked questions that produced data pertaining to these dimensions to social capital in the two communities. Consequently, the researcher anticipated generating data from these key informants pertaining to the participation of the beneficiaries in voluntary associations within their respective communities, volunteering and community action and interdependence and reciprocity in relation to satellite schools. In addition, Siisiäinen (2000, p. 4) argues, "Voluntary association is the most important form of horizontal interaction and reciprocity." Thus, the inclusion of these key informants helped interrogate horizontal interaction and reciprocity among the land reform beneficiaries.

The researcher made use of an iPad to capture detailed sets of notes during interviews of participants who consented to be recorded. The researcher sought permission from the participants in the study to record interview proceedings (Cohen et al, 2011). This was further augmented by note making of non-verbal signs which cannot be logged by the digital voice recorder, hence, enhancing the accuracy and trustworthiness of data collected. This approach took heed of Deem's (2002, p. 840) advice that, "in interviews, it is important for the

researcher to record as much detail as possible." A recording device facilitated, "in capturing all the nuances of wording and framing that are important in the interpretation and analysis of data" (Scott and Garner, 2013:283). In addition, Pile (1990, p. 217) argues,

> Any analysis of language can only be carried out with confidence if there is an entire record of a conversation. Hastily scribed notes … are not accurate enough to be used in this way. Tape recorded sessions provide the only viable data for this kind of analysis.

The semi-structured interviews were carried out in the farmers' mother language, Shona. Peu, Van Wyk and Botha (2008) recommend the use of the participants' mother language. Moreover, the researcher had the advantage of being fluent in Shona and being familiar with Shona expressions.

Interviews as research tools provide three key advantages (Patton, 2002), first, it allows the researcher flexible pursuance of information in any way well-thought-out to be relevant in direct answer to an explicit scenario, thus access an extensive coverage of information. Secondly, the extemporaneity and relaxed attitude in these conversations facilitate the generation of suitable rapport with the local residents. Thirdly, this research tool permitted the researcher to approach other sources of information to a greater extent. In addition, Seidman (2006, p. 10) states another, "advantage is interviewing provides access to the context of people's behaviour and thereby provides a way for researchers to understand meaning of that behaviour." Seidman further reveals that, "the primary way a researcher can investigate an educational organisation, institution, or process is through experience of the individual people, the others who make up the organization or carry out the process is by interviewing" (Seidman, 2006, p. 10). Furthermore, Thomas (1998, p. 81) argues that interviews have the, "advantage of lending themselves to rephrasing of questions if the need arises." This is critical and Miller and Glassner (1998, p. 103) concur that, "this flexibility in question formulation makes interviews reliable and effective meaning-making occasions for the interviewer as he is able to probe horizontally and vertically…." Semi-structured interviews were used together with another research tool, namely focus group discussions which are discussed in the following section of the chapter.

4.6.2 FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION

The researcher utilized focus group discussions in this study to gather data from the participants. Mack, Woodsong, MacQueen, Guest and Namey (2005, p. 51) state that "a focus group is a qualitative data collection method in which one or two researchers and several participants meet as a group to discuss a given research topic." Krugger and Casey (2014, p. 5) define focus group discussions as, "carefully planned series of discussions designed to obtain perceptions in a permissive, non-threatening environment." Furthermore, Johnson and Christensen (2004, p. 185) aver, "a focus group is a type of group interview in which a moderator leads a discussion with a small group of individuals to examine in detail, how the group members think and feel about a topic." De Vos, Strydom, Fouche, Poggenpoel and Delport (2002) and Willig and Rogers (2008) highlight that focus group interviews are an avenue to comprehend how people perceive an issue, in this case the construction of the satellite schools.

Breen (2006) argues that since opinions are socially constructed, focus group discussions are conducive for the articulation of these opinions in addition to providing a social environment in which to articulate them, and provide a comprehensive interrogation of the phenomenon in a relatively short period. While, Johnson and Christensen (2004) state that a focus group could be useful for exploring ideas and concepts, availing a window into participants' internal thinking, obtaining in-depth information, examining how participants react to each other, allowing probing, tapping and a quick turnaround. Thus, focus groups permitted the researcher to obtain in-depth information about differences in the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers on satellite schools.

Table 4. 1 Research Imperatives and stratagems used in the Study

CRITICAL QUESTIONS	REASON FOR DATA COLLECTION	RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS	DATA SOURCE	SITE OF DATA SOURCE
HOW DOES THE SOCIAL CAPITAL OF THE LAND REFORM BENEFICIARIES AND COMMUNAL FARMER INFLUENCE SATELLITE SCHOOLS?	To establish the disparities in the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers on satellite schools.	Semi structured interviews Focused Group Discussion	School heads Village Heads	Tiro Sambo
WHY ARE THE LAND REFORM BENEFICIARIES ENGAGING WITH THE SATELLITE SCHOOLS?	To explain the reasons for the engagement of land reform beneficiaries with satellite schools.	Semi structured interviews Focused Group Discussion	School heads Village Heads Land reform beneficiaries	Tiro
WHY ARE THE COMMUNAL FARMERS ENGAGING WITH THE SATELLITE SCHOOLS?	To explain the reasons for the engagement of communal farmers with satellite schools.	Semi structured interviews Focused Group Discussion	School heads Village Heads Communal Framers	Sambo

The researcher utilized two focus group discussions: one in Tiro and another in the Sambo area. Three participants made up each focus group discussion in each area and thus a total of six participants was utilised. Various recommendations have been availed in literature on the size of focus group discussions, ranging from six (6) to nine (9) participants (Leedy, 2010; Morgan, 2010; Sandelowski, 2007), as well as six (6) to twelve (12) participants (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011). However, Krueger (1994, p. 17) has recommended the usage of very small focus groups, what he terms "mini-focus groups", which consist of three (Morgan, 1997) or four (Krueger, 1994) contributors, when participants are experts in a certain area. A smaller focus group can be viewed as enabling participants to freely express their views. The researcher followed the guiding principles suggested by Morgan and Krueger (1998, p. 4) of namely "being interested in the participants and showing positive regard; be a facilitator, not a participant; and be ready to hear unpleasant views."

One focus group discussion was carried out at each of the two participant satellite schools with three participants at the satellite schools' premises. The focus group discussion at Tiro was carried out on the 2nd of November 2015 while at Sambo was conducted on the 13th of November 2015. Due to the high temperatures in the hot summer season, the participants requested that the discussions be carried out in the morning and also under a tree. Thus, the focus group discussions were carried out under trees. However, the participants were provided with comfortable furniture courtesy of the satellite schools. The researcher ensured that the discussions were well-paced and all discussions lasted one hour and thirty minutes. Willig and Rogers (2008) suggest that interviews and discussions be timetabled to ensure they are fruitful. The researcher made use of follow-ups after initial interviews and probing questions to seek further clarification. Gray (2011, p. 217) avers that, "probing is a way for the interviewer to explore new paths which were not initially considered."

Kruger and Casey (2014, p. 11) reveal that, "focus group discussions avail a more natural environment than that of the individual interviews because participants are influencing and influenced by others just as they are in real life." Thus, the aspects of influencing and being influenced by others are suitable with the social capital theoretical framework guiding this study. In addition, Dudwick, Kuehnast, Jonas and Woolcock, (2006, p. 10) argue that, "qualitative methods such as focus groups, institution mapping and priority rankings are

particularly suitable for social capital research because social capital comes into play and can be observed during these exercises." Therefore, focus groups were utilised in this study due to their ability to expose the social capital among the participants which resonates with this study. Bloor, Frankland, Thomas and Robson (2001, p. 57) further argue that, "focus groups are naturalistic rather than natural events and cannot and should not be left to chance and circumstance; their naturalism has to be carefully contrived by the researchers."

As Krueger (1998) states, the purpose of the focus group is to expand and provide more depth on common themes from the interviews that provide discernments into the insights and sentiments of participants. Despite the focus group discussion being 'focused' on a collaborative activity (Kitzinger, 1994; Punch, 2011; Reed & Payton, 1997; Silverman, 2000), there is also the prospect to utilise the focus group discussion to consider the views of the participants in the group. The researcher aimed to understand the social capital influences particularly from the farmers' point of view, thus the focus group discussion allowed for the participants to produce rich deep qualitative data. The researcher utilised focus groups because of numerous advantages which are associated with their use in research. Thomas and Nelson (2001, p. 36) opine that focus group discussion, "can be an efficient data collection technique because the researcher can gather information about several people in one session." Moreover, focus group discussions can be argued, "to provide controls because participants tend to provide checks and balances on one another and can serve to curb false or extreme views." (Thomas & Nelson, 2001, p. 337). The researcher also selected focus group discussions because they are a cost-effective and well-organized method for gaining data from numerous participants (Krueger & Casey, 2000). Furthermore, Hancock and Algozzine (2006) argue that, "focus group interviews were preferred because they are less time-consuming and capitalise on sharing and the creation of new ideas that sometimes do not occur if participants are interviewed individually." In addition, focus groups avail an atmosphere which is socially oriented (Krueger, 2000). However, on the other hand, this can entail a major disadvantage of focus group discussions which is, "some may be reluctant to state their views in public or there may be power struggles in the group and this may spoil the discussion" (Thomas & Nelson, 2001, p. 337).

The researcher in the focus group discussion sessions asked questions pertaining to land reform beneficiaries' and communal farmers' voluntary contributions towards Tiro and Sambo satellite schools' construction and infrastructural development. The themes discussed in the focus group discussion also covered the nature and extent of the influences of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers in the development of satellite schools. The focus group discussion also probed the reasons for this voluntary participation and the sanctions (or incentives) imposed by the community for non-participation if any. The focus groups relied on collaboration among group members on topics that were provided by the researcher (Morgan 1997, p. 12). "Techniques such as probing, clarification, paraphrasing and minimal verbal and non-verbal responses were adopted to explore and uncover" social capital influences on Tiro and Sambo satellite schools (Silverman, 2000, p. 272).

The researcher also probed the informal sociability of the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers. Putnam (2000, p. 93) states, "informal connections, generally do not build civic skills in the ways that involvement in a club, a political group, a union or church can, but informal social connections are very important in sustaining social networks." Thus, the researcher utilised measuring informal sociability to establish the contribution of social networks to voluntary participation in satellite schools. In addition, the researcher asked questions on social trust amongst the farmers. Hadenius (1997, p. 54) states, "Eric Ulsaner has shown that people who are trusting are more optimistic about the future, more altruistic, more likely to contribute to charity, to volunteer their time, to work on community problems…" Additionally, Putnam (2000, p. 116) argues that, "altruism, volunteering and philanthropy, our readiness to help others, is by some interpretations a central measure of social capital." Therefore, through the focus group discussions, the researcher sought to understand the farmers' social trust and its role in enabling volunteering towards Tiro and Sambo satellite schools. The next section reveals the data analysis procedure used after the semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions.

4.7 DATA ANALYSIS PROCEDURE

Babbie (2008, p. 415) states that, "qualitative analysis is the non-numerical examination and interpretation of observations, for the purpose of discovering underlying meanings and patterns of relationships." Whereas, Kothari (2005) and Mitchell (2012) aver that data

analysis involves scrutinising through the data in a methodical way so that conclusions may be reached about the issue under investigation. Thus, in this study the researcher sought to discover the fundamental meanings and arrays of social networks and the relationship with satellite schools. In this study, "the data analysis process involved bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of the data" (De Vos, Strydom, Fouche, Poggenpoel & Delport, 2005, p. 338) as well as "constructing a framework for communicating the essence of what the data reveal" (De Vos, Strydom, Fouche, Poggenpoel & Delport, 2011, p. 397). O'Leary (2004, p. 269) sums qualitative analysis as "often involving; moving through cycles of inductive and deductive reasoning; thematic exploration (based on world, concepts, literary devices and non-verbal cues); and exploration of the interconnections among themes." Kothari (2005, p.122) statesthat it also entails, "editing, coding, classification and tabulation of collected data so that they are amenable to analysis and interpretation" which was utilised in the study.

Data analysis in this study was done simultaneously with data generation in the two communities of Tiro and Sambo. Therefore, in this study data, analysis commenced when the first data were collected, which in turn steered judgements towards more data collection (Burns & Grove, 2005). LeCompte and Schensul (1999, p. 6) concur that, "qualitative data analysis begins almost as soon as the researcher enters the field site until the final page of the last written report." Strauss and Corbin (1990) also concur that there is simultaneous data collection and analysis during the inquiry. This study utilized thematic analysis, which entails an elementary method used for analysing as well as interpreting data (Taylor-Powell & Renner, 2003). Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 4) reveal that, "thematic analysis is a poorly demarcated and rarely-acknowledged, yet widely-used qualitative analytic method with and beyond psychology." In addition, Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 6) state that, "thematic analysis is a method of identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data." Kumar (1999) avers that thematic analysis traditionally consists of sifting data to detect recurring patterns. Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 10) further reveal, "a theme captures something important about data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set." Lack of previous exposure to the topic can be argued to improve the fact-finding power of this approach. The researcher utilized six main stages as suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006) which are to, "familiarise oneself with data, generate initial codes, comb for themes, review themes, define and narrate themes and

finally produce the report." Similar categories finally formed themes in the study (Merriam, 2009; Basit, 2003; White, 2005). The themes that were used in this study were resource mobilisation and information sharing as well as reasons for the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries.

In this study, the researcher utilized the transcript-based analysis for data collected during focus group discussions. Onwegbuzie, Dickinson, Leachand Zoran (2009, p. 4) state, "transcript-based analysis presents the most rigorous and time-intensive mode of analysing data." Krueger (2000) states this approach entails a researcher listening to the recording of the focus group discussion plus creating a shortened transcript. In addition, Onwuegbuzie et al (2009, p. 5) avers "focus group data can arise from one of the following three types: individual data, group data, and /or group interaction data." Thus, in this study the researcher combined units of analysis (individual, group and interaction) due to lack of consensus on the appropriate unit of analysis for focus group discussion among focus group theorists (Onwuegbuzie et al, 2009, p. 5). All semi-structured interviews as well as focus group discussions with farmers (both A1 and communal farmers) were conducted in the Shona language, as it was their preferred home language (Peu, van Wyk & Botha, 2008). Semi-structured interviews with the two satellite school heads used the English language. Thus, the researcher invested considerable time in translating the focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews into English. The researcher conducted a pilot study before carrying out the actual research and the pilot study is detailed in the following section.

4.8 PILOT STUDY

In order to test the proposed research design, the researcher carried out a pilot study. Denzin and Lincoln (1994, p. 201) view pilot studies as, "an essential aspect of the overall research process since qualitative research design decisions parallel the warm-up exercise and cool down periods of dance." Yin (2014, p. 37) avers pilot studies as aiming to, "help test and refine one or more aspects of a final study - for example, its design, fieldwork procedures, data collection instruments or analysis plans." Hence, in this study the semi-structured interview guide and focus group discussion guide were applied to another satellite school in Masvingo district which was not part of the study. The researcher interviewed the head and two village heads at the satellite school that was piloted for this study. The pilot study was

conducted to validate that all questions and guidelines were flawless. The researcher through the pilot study realised that it was imperative that he makes use of an iPad in addition to note taking. Yin (2014) adds that pilot studies contribute to the training of post-graduate students in research skills as is the case in this PhD study. The following section discusses how validity and reliability were addressed in this study.

4.9 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

Drost (2015, p. 105) states, "concepts of reliability and validity in social science research are introduced and major methods to assess reliability and validity reviewed with examples from the literature." Patton cited in Golafshani (2003, p. 601) states, "that validity and reliability are two factors which any qualitative researcher should be concerned about while designing a study, analysing results and judging the quality of the study." Struwig and Stead (2001, p. 136) have stated that, "validity is the extent to which a research design is scientifically sound or appropriately conducted." Validity is also "concerned with the integrity of the conclusions that are generated from a piece of research" (McCaig, 2010). Reinharz (1992, p. 240) upholds that, "validity is the consistency of a measure with some outside criterion or standard by which to judge the test." Therefore, validity also entails establishing whether an investigation accurately measures that which it purports to study to a larger extent.

Another concept which is closely related to validity is reliability. Reliability is a "multiple set of mental and social, context-specific constructions." (Wiersma, 2000, p.198). Joppe (2000, p. 1) defines reliability as, "the extent to which results are consistent over time and an accurate representation of the total population under study is referred to as reliability and if the results of a study can be reproduced under a similar method, then the research instrument is considered to be reliable." Whilst Palys (1997, p. 4) avers that reliability implies that, "repeated observations of the same phenomena should yield similar results, and different observers following the same [research methodology] or procedures should arrive at the same conclusions." Kurebwa (2013, p. 188) concurs that reliability is, "the extent to which independent administrations of the same instrument yield the same results under comparable conditions and it is synonymous with dependability, stability, consistency, predictability and generalisability." Stenbacka, (2001, p. 552) notes that, "the concept of reliability is even misleading in qualitative research. If a qualitative study is discussed with reliability as a

criterion, the consequence is rather that the study is no good." Therefore, in order to obtain the reliability and validity of data to be collected in the community setting, in this study the researcher followed what De Vos, Strydom, Fouche, Poggenpoel and Delport (2011, p. 5) term, "trustworthiness of a study which includes credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability." Polit and Beck (2008, p. 539) maintain that, "credibility is the assurance in the truth of data and the interpretation thereof." Thus, the researcher utilized an iPad to ensure that no data were missed and thereafter interpreted the data from the perspective of the participants. Credibility entails the findings of the study are being insightful of authenticity in addition to the environment of the study is carried out (Creswell, 2007). Lastly, De Vos et al (2005, p. 347) states, "confirmability refers to the degree to which the findings are the result of the participants' responses and conditions of research only, not biases, motivation and perceptions of the researcher."

Tarisayi (2015, p. 304) states that, "there are numerous methods a researcher can use to address validity and reliability in qualitative studies, the most popular include: triangulation of information among different sources of data, receiving feedback from informants (member checking), and expert review." In this study, the researcher triangulated sources of data as data were obtained from school heads, village heads and farmers. In addition, the use of two or more methods of collecting data, such as semi-structured interviews and focus group discussion in this research on the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries boosted validity and reliability since deductions from diverse data sources are convincing as compared to one individual. Makoni (2015, p. 172) further explains, "that looking at the same phenomenon from different angles will ensure a more balanced approach to the objectives of the study and assists in creating new insights." Therefore, through the employment of triangulation in this research a well-adjusted methodology was made possible. The utilization of more than one data generating methodology is called "triangulation" (Kellett, 2005). Makoni (2015, p. 198) reveals, "triangulation or the use of different methods of data collection and sources contributes to the production of data that represents multiple views of social reality." In addition, case study validity can be enhanced through triangulation (Johnson, 2003). While, Denzin (1978, p. 291) in Shamu (2013, p.28) "argued that one can triangulate data sources, theory, investigators or methodologies, either (or both) "within-methods" (e.g., using multiple quantitative approaches) and "between-methods" (combining both quantitative and qualitative approaches)." Whereas, Creswell and Miller

(2001 Patton (2011) and Cohen et al, (2007) state that utilising more than one research instrument to study one occurrence is triangulation.

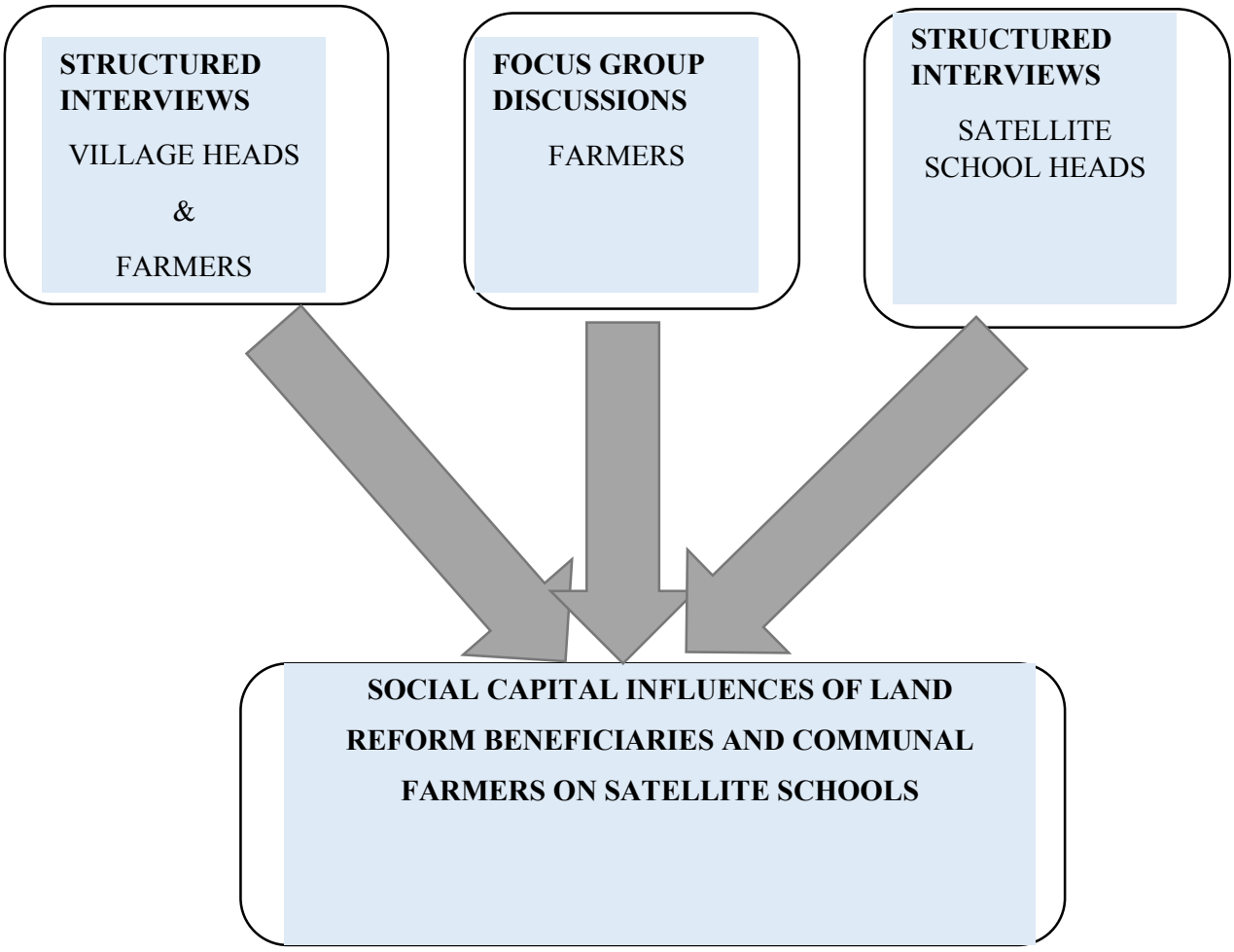

Figure 4.2: Triangulation of data sources on the social capital influences on satellite schools –Adapted from Marshall & Rossman, 2011, p. 66.

Triangulation of methods (encompassing gathering data from multiple sources such as farmers, community leaders using different methods: focus group discussions, interviews) was also utilised to augment the validity plus reliability of the results of this study. Creswell and Miller (2001, p. 126) opine triangulation as "… a validity procedure where researchers search for convergence among multiple and different sources of information to form themes or categories in a study." Focus group discussions together with semi-structured interviews were utilised to demonstrate that data results are not a one-time occurrence (Bernard, 2012; Corbetta, 2011; Kumar, 1999; McMillan & Schumacher, 2010). Johnson and Christensen

(2007, p. 114) add that, "triangulation helps to increase confidence in a researcher's findings as it approaches a phenomenon from different perspectives to increase validity and reliability." The following section unravels the ethical issues considered in this study.

4.10 ETHICS

Several ethical issues were considered in the collection of data in this study because data collection always costs someone something. Mugweni (2012, p. 149) states ethics entail, "… a moral philosophy that deals with making judgements, good or bad, proper or improper, approval or disapproval, right or wrong." Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007, p. 49) reveal that "development in social science research in recent years have placed emphasis on moral issues where researchers have an obligation to respect and protect those involved of affected by their studies."

The researcher had the following considerations:

4.10.1 PERMISSION TO STUDY

Kombo and Tromp (2006, p. 98) contends that "a researcher requires a research permit before embarking on a study." The researcher ensured that, "aims of the research and what is expected of the potential participants was clearly communicated to them" (Marshall & Rossman, 2011, p. 47-48). The researcher sought permission to carry out the study from the gatekeepers before engaging the participants. Approval was granted for the study by the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education (Appendix G). The researcher also liaised with the Provincial Education Director (PED) and District Education Officer during the research as per requirement of the approval granted. The Permanent Secretary was given a copy of the research proposal and research instruments as well as all the relevant details pertaining to the study. The researcher was also given permission to take pictures as long as they did not lead to the identification of the learners, farmers and school heads as well as satellite schools that participated in this study. The researcher had Ethics Clearance (HSS/1221/015D) from the University of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa to carry out the study (Appendix F). after obtaining permission to study, the researcher ensured that there was informed consent of the participants. Informed consent is discussed in detail below.

4.10.2 INFORMED CONSENT

Mack et al (2005, p. 9) state, "informed consent is a mechanism for ensuring that people understand what it means to participate in a particular research study so they can decide in a conscious, deliberate way whether they want to participate." O'Leary (2014, p. 53) argues, "participants can only give informed consent if they have a full understanding of their requested involvement in a research project, including the time commitment, type of activity, topics that will be covered, and all physical and emotional risks potentially involved." Thus, the researcher ensured that participants in the focus group discussions as well as semi-structured interviews the implications of their participation in the study on the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries on satellite schools. Polit and Beck (2008) concur that every researcher should give accurate and relevant information to all participants about the research process for them to be able to make informed consent. The researcher elaborated on the purpose of the study to would be participants in their mother language, Shona. Participants signed informed consent forms after the researcher's clarification of the study and the research process. In addition, also related to informed consent there was the issue of voluntary participation which is discussed in the following section.

4.10.3 VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

Borg and Gall (1989, p. 411) state, "participation in all research should be voluntary and there should be no compulsion or dishonesty." The researcher ensured that all participants voluntarily contributed to this study without coercion or deception. "Deception involves withholding information or offering incorrect information in order to ensure participation of subjects who otherwise might have refused." (Strydom in De Vos et al, 2011, p. 66-67). The researcher elucidated the aims of the study to all the participants. The researcher did not withhold any information in order to elicit data unethically. After voluntary participation in this study, the researcher also adhered to the ethic on confidentiality. Confidentiality is elaborated in the ensuing section.

4.10.4 CONFIDENTIALITY

O'Leary (2004, p. 54) contends, "confidentiality involves protecting the identity of those providing data." The researcher discussed the guarantee of confidentiality with the participants before their participation in the study. O'Leary (2004, p. 54) elaborates, "protection of confidentiality may involve secure storage of data; restricting access to raw data; obtaining permission for subsequent use of data; publication of research findings in a manner that does not allow for ready identification of subjects; and eventual destruction of raw data." Therefore, in the final thesis report, the researcher used pseudonyms for participants, places and schools where the study was carried out. Land reform beneficiaries, is a highly emotive and politicised field in Zimbabwe, hence, it is crucial that the researcher ensured privacy of the participants as well as their participation in the study. The next unit of this chapter deals with feedback to participants.

4.10.5 FEEDBACK TO PARTICIPANTS

Schulz, Riddle, Valdimirsdottir, Abramson and Sklar (2003) argue that the principle of respect for persons is understood by numerous researchers to incorporate a moral commitment to offer research outcome to research participants upon the conclusion of a study. While, Fernandez, Kodish and Weijer (2003, p. 12) states that, "offering results acknowledges the ethical principle of respect for persons, avoids treating research participants as a means to an end and may have direct positive consequences for the participant and indirect benefits to research as a whole." Hence, in observing the ethical principle of respect for persons, the researcher upon completion of this study, conducted two workshops, one at Tiro and another at Sambo in order to give the participants feedback on the research findings. In addition, copies of the final thesis will be made available to the two heads of the two satellite schools as well as the gatekeepers as undertaken when the permission was granted. All the participants will also be provided with a link to the university's electronic database where a copy of the thesis will be available. The section on ethics is followed by a discussion of the limitations of this study.

4.11 LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

The research had limitations pertaining to willingness to participate in the study. The land reform is highly politicised in Zimbabwe and hence any research on the subject is treated with suspicion. However, the researcher sought support and permission from the relevant authorities which enhanced the willingness of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers to participate in the study.

This study was also constrained by limited financial resources at the disposal of the researcher. All the costs of travel, accommodation, generating data were met by the researcher's personal financial resources. The researcher utilised his 'social capital' to raise financial resources for the study.

The sample size and purposive sampling may perhaps not ensure representativeness. However, the researcher is guided by O' Leary (2014, p. 186) who states, "the core principle of qualitative research is not representativeness but rich understanding that may come from the few rather than the many. Such studies are reliant on the ability of the researcher to argue the 'relativeness' of any sample (even a single case) to a broader context" (O'Leary, 2014, p. 186). In addition, the study has the limitation of generalizability. Guba and Lincoln (1994, p. 124) advised against generalizing findings of qualitative studies as, "…the existence of local conditions makes it impossible to generalize." While, Cronbach (1975, p. 125) adds, "… when we give proper weight to local conditions, any generalization is a working hypothesis not a conclusion." The presentation on the limitations of the research precedes the conclusion to this chapter.

4.12 CONCLUSION

This chapter has delineated how the study was conducted. It focused on the methodology utilised in conducting this study. It described and justified the specific research design that was used by indicating how the sample was chosen; the methods and instruments that were used for collecting data and describing the analysis techniques used. The chapter outlined the focus group discussion and semi-structured interviews data generation instruments used in

this study. The methodology also revealed that the data in this study was generated from two school heads, four village heads and twelve (12) farmers. The chapter also discussed triangulation of data collection methods as well as data sources. This enhanced the strength of the research findings, as each method was supplemented and checked by the others.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA PRESENTATION AND RESULTS ANALYSIS

5. 0 INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapter discussed the methodology utilized in this study and its justification. This current chapter presents the data (on the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers on satellite schools in Zimbabwe) generated using twelve semi-structured interviews and two focus group discussions at the two research sites. This chapter accordingly responds to three critical questions: How does the social capital of the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmer influence satellite schools? Why are the land reform beneficiaries engaging with the satellite schools? Why are the communal farmers engaging with the satellite schools? This chapter utilises four sections to unpack these three critical questions. Section 5.1 of this chapter presents the codes used to aid data presentation and analysis, Section 5.2 discusses the demographic data of the participants while Section 5.3 and Section 5.4 presents the findings from the case study. The findings are presented as themes and supporting sub-themes that emerged during data generation and subsequent analysis.

The study made use of eighteen (18) participants from two communities in Zimbabwe, which have been given the pseudonyms: Sambo communal farming community and Tiro land reform beneficiaries communities. The participants for this study were composed of two satellite school heads, four village heads and twelve (12) farmers. Semi-structured interviews were used to generate data from the twelve participants at the two research sites. The participants for the semi-structured interviews were two satellite school heads, four village heads and six farmers. Two mini focus group discussions were held, each composed of three farmers, respectively, to generate data for this study. One focus group discussion was conducted in each community, respectively, with three farmers.

The researcher made use of English as the medium of communication with the school heads of the two satellite schools that participated in this study while the vernacular language,

Shona[16] was used for both semi-structured interviews as well as focus group discussions with farmers and village heads. The researcher utilized the local vernacular language for semi-structured interviews as well as focus group discussions as recommended by Peu, van Wyk and Botha (2008), that participants should use their preferred home language when data are being generated. The researcher grew up in the province where the study was carried out and Shona is his mother language and hence there was no language barrier. The researcher enlisted the help of two colleagues at Foundation Training Institute to validate his translations. The researcher assigned codes to the participants in the semi-structured interviews at both Tiro and Sambo. The codes are presented in the next section.

5.1 CODES UTILIZED IN THIS STUDY

Table 5.1 reveals the codes that were assigned to participants in the semi-structured interviews in this study.

Table 5.1 Codes assigned to interview participants at Tiro and Sambo (Field data: 2015)

Codes	**Explanation**
TH	Tiro Head
TVH1	Tiro Village Head 1
TVH2	Tiro Village Head 2
TF1	Tiro Farmer 1
TF2	Tiro Farmer 2
TF3	Tiro Farmer 3
SH	Sambo Head
SVH1	Sambo Village Head 1
SVH2	Sambo Village Head 2
SF1	Sambo Farmer 1
SF2	Sambo Farmer 2
SF3	Sambo Farmer 3

[16] Zimbabwean local language spoken by people in the research area in Masvingo

The codes utilised in this study can be classified as setting/ context codes (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). The codes captured the participant's community as well as their occupation, for example, the code TH means the head of a satellite school which is located among land reform beneficiaries (pseudonym Tiro) while SH means the head of a satellite school among communal farmers (pseudonym Sambo). In addition, TVH1 means a village head in Tiro community while SVH1 means village head in Sambo community. Furthermore, the researcher assigned the codes TF1 to mean a farmer in Tiro community whereas SF1 means a farmer in Sambo community. These codes were used consistently throughout the data presentation and analysis in line with the view of Nachimias and Nachimias (1996, p. 335) that assigned codes, "should be consistent across cases or units of analysis when the same condition exists."

Table 5.2 Codes used for participants in Focus group discussion (Field data: 2015)

Codes	**Explanation**
FGDT1	Tiro Community Focus Group Discussion Participant 1
FGDT2	Tiro Community Focus Group Discussion Participant 2
FGDT3	Tiro Community Focus Group Discussion Participant 3
FGDS1	Sambo Community Focus Group Discussion Participant 1
FGDS2	Sambo Community Focus Group Discussion Participant 2
FGDS3	Sambo Community Focus Group Discussion Participant 3

Table 5.2 shows the codes for the participants in the two focus group discussions. As revealed in Table 5.2 above FGDT1 means Focus Group Discussion Tiro Community Participant 1 while FGDS1 means Focus Group Discussion Sambo Community Participant 1. Each focus group discussion had three farmers thus each participant was give codes 1, 2 and 3, respectively. The next section presents a gender break down of the participants in this study.

5.2 GENDER CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PARTICIPANTS AT TIRO AND SAMBO

Table 5.3 Gender characteristics of the participants at Tiro and Sambo (Field data: 2015)

PARTICIPANT	GENDER	NUMBER
Heads	Female Male	1 1
Village Heads	Female Male	0 4
Farmers	Female Male	6 6
TOTAL		**18**

Table 5.3 shows the gender characteristics of the participants in this study. The study had eleven (11) male participants and seven (7) female participants. There was a gender balance in the school heads who participated in this study as revealed by Table 5.3, Sambo satellite school had a female head, coded SH while Tiro satellite school had a male head, coded TH. Among the other participants at Sambo community, there were three females, Sambo farmer 1 coded SF1; Sambo farmer 2 coded SF2 as well as one focus group discussion participant 1, coded FGDS1.

In addition, in Tiro community there were also, three female participants, Tiro farmer 1 coded TF1 as well as focus group participants 1 and 2, coded FGDT1 and FGDT2 respectively. There were six male participants, which were Sambo farmer 3, coded SF3 as well as focus group participants 2 and 3, coded FGDS2 and FGDS3 respectively, at Sambo community. While, at Tiro community, male participants were Tiro farmers 2 and 3, coded TF2 and TF3 respectively as well as focus group participant 3, coded FGD3. Thus, this finding on the balanced gender representation among the farmers who participated in this

study concurs with the findings in Njaya (2013) that women enjoy the same land rights as men in the A1 schemes. In addition, Table 5.3 reveals that all village heads that participated in this study were males at both research sites. The village headship at Sambo are hereditary while at Tiro, village headship is elected. However, it should be noted that once elected, the Tiro village headship takes the form of communal area headship of being hereditary. This finding contradicts the findings in Mpofu (2008) that Zimbabwe is transcending the gender imbalance in the traditional set-up by installing female traditional leaders as there were no female village heads among the communal farmers as well as amongst the land reform beneficiaries. However, this finding is consistent with trends in traditional leadership in other parts of Africa as revealed in Mpofu (2008). The findings of the study are presented in the next section.

5.3 FINDINGS FROM THE STUDY

This section analyses the primary data generated in the semi-structured interviews as well as focus group discussions conducted at the two research sites. The findings of this study on the social capital influences of the land reform beneficiaries at Tiro and communal farmers at Sambo on satellite schools are presented using themes and supporting sub-themes that arose from this research in an endeavour to unpack the critical questions. The researcher identified significant ideas and these in-turn were arranged into themes. Braun and Clarke (2006), Creswell (2009) and Guba and Lincoln (1994) reveal that each theme that emerges captures something important about the data. Therefore, in this study each theme captures something important pertaining to the social capital of land reform beneficiaries and satellite schools in Zimbabwe.

The data analysis in this study followed the stages identified by scholars such as Basit (2003), Braun and Clarke (2006), De Vos et al (2002), Le Compte and Schensul (1999) and Merriam (2009). These scholars explain these stages as follows, as the researcher becomes familiar with the data, initial codes are generated, there is the search for themes, a review of the themes, defining and narrating the themes and then finally producing the report.

The researcher evaluated each theme mainly against the literature reviewed in Chapter 2 and 3 and the conceptualizations of critical aspects of the social capital theories by Bourdieu, Coleman as well as Putnam, in particular. The emerging themes are supported through evidence of actual spoken words by the participants during the semi-structured interviews as well as focus group discussions as suggested by Ely, Vinz, Downing and Anzul (1997). The use of the participants' actual spoken words helped the researcher to reveal their social capital influences on satellite schools. The researcher utilised italics for actual words captured during semi-structured interviews as well as focus group discussions. Thus, the researcher utilised the actual words spoken by the participants to present and analyse the emerging themes and sub-themes in this section. The critical questions for this study that were unpacked using the emerging themes were:

i) How does the social capital of the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmer influence satellite schools?

ii) Why are the land reform beneficiaries engaging with the satellite schools?

iii) Why are the communal farmers engaging with the satellite schools?

5.3.0 EMERGING THEMES

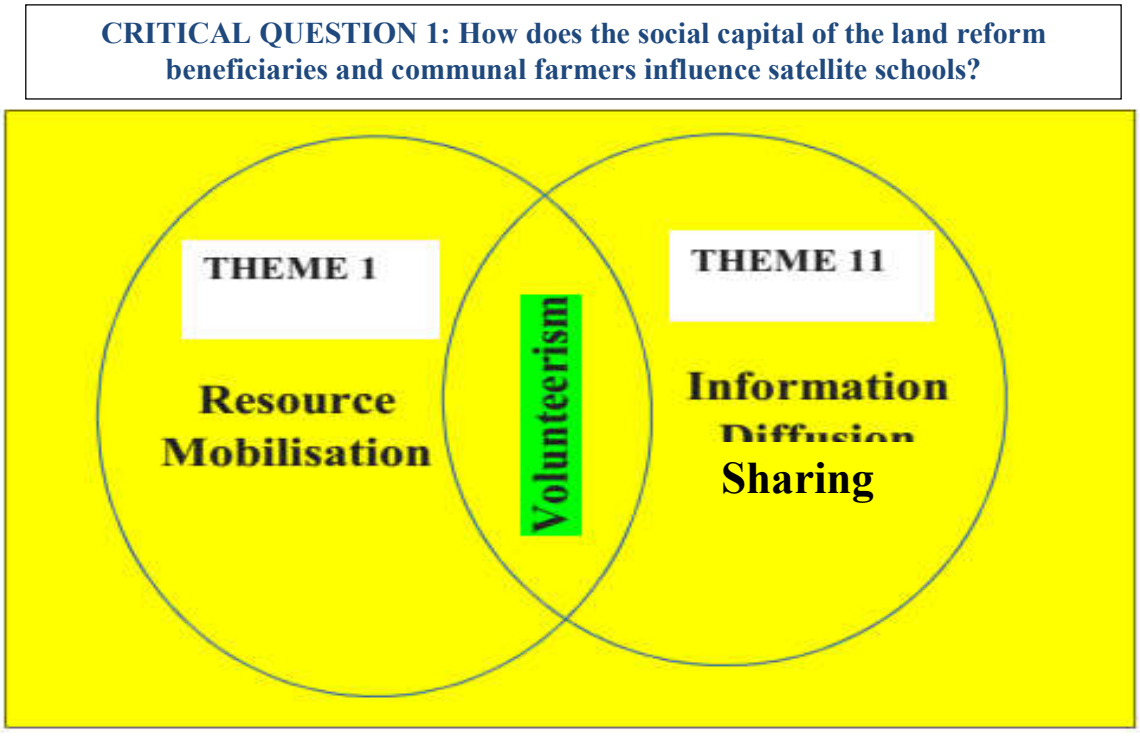

Figure 5.1 Emerging themes from the findings at Tiro and Sambo (Field data: 2015)

Participants in the semi-structured interviews as well as in the focus group discussions were asked to elaborate on the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers on satellite schools and their responses are captured as emerging themes. The findings in this study as captured in Figure 5.1 reveal that two main themes emerged on the influences of the social capital of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers on satellite schools. The two major themes that emerged in this study were resource mobilisation and information sharing. The study revealed that the social capital of land reform beneficiaries at Tiro and communal farmers at Sambo was influential on satellite schools through voluntary resource mobilisation and voluntary information sharing. Thus, as depicted in Figure 5.1 volunteerism permeates the two major emerging themes and their sub-themes as elaborated in the succeeding sections.

The study revealed that the major social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers on Tiro and Sambo satellite schools respectively involves resource mobilisation. Participants in both semi-structured interviews as well as focus group discussions agreed on the role of social networks in the resource mobilisation of satellite schools. Within the main theme of resource mobilisation there were sub-themes which are the provision of accommodation to teachers, the provision of labour, the provision of building materials and the contribution of money. The other theme as revealed from the findings in this study, was on information sharing. The sub-themes under the information sharing theme are lobbying the government for the establishment of a satellite school, linking the school with donors, participation in stakeholder meetings and supporting the school through enrolling their children at the school. However, from this study it must be understood that the themes that emerged are linked, such that resource mobilisation was made possible through information sharing. The study revealed that the land reform beneficiaries mobilised resources and diffused information voluntarily. This study revealed that volunteerism pervaded the two main themes of resource mobilisation and information sharing to a larger extent. Thus, in this study it can be argued that the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers on satellite schools is underpinned by the quality of volunteerism.

It was noted from this study that the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers voluntarily influenced satellite schools. Therefore, volunteerism permeates all social influences that the land reform beneficiaries had on Tiro satellite school as revealed in Figure 5.1. The findings revealed that volunteerism cuts across not only the two themes of resource mobilisation and information sharing as well as the sub-themes. The land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers played an important role in the provision of accommodation, labour, building materials, time and money. While under the information sharing theme, it was established that the land reform beneficiaries were responsible for linking the school with donors, they also lobbied the government for a school, participated in stakeholder meetings as well as enrolling their children at the school. The study established that all these social capital influences of the land reform beneficiaries in terms of resource mobilisation and information sharing were voluntarily undertaken. The aspect of volunteering by the land reform beneficiaries was appositely revealed when a farmer during a semi-structured interview. TF3 stated, "The work we do here at our school and the contributions we make are all for free. It's all voluntary, from our hearts as parents and we don't expect the head or school to pay us. This is our school, no outsider can come and build the school for us." (Interviewee TF3, Personal communication, November 2, 2015). The head of Tiro School also stated,

> The farmers volunteer to participate in the construction and development of the school. There is an understanding among the farmers that the satellite school is an extension of their farms. Thus, they don't expect payment for labour they provide on their farms. (Interviewee TH, Personal communication, November 2, 2015)

The above statement by the farmer in the Tiro community resonates well with the definition of volunteerism proffered by Baum and Ziersch (2003). Baum and Ziersch (2003, p. 321) state, "Volunteering refers to activities in which people donate their time and effort." Thus, the stock of social capital of the land reform beneficiaries has allowed them to donate time and effort through resource mobilisation and information sharing for the satellite schools in Zimbabwe. Therefore, this study established that the social capital influences of Tiro land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers at Sambo on satellite schools were voluntary. Consequently, it can be reasoned that the study's findings are in agreement with Baum, Modra, Bush, Cox, Cooke and Potter (1999) whose findings show that social capital supports volunteerism in a community. Powell and Guerin (1997) have also argued social capital is interconnected to volunteerism. In the study, the social capital of the land reform

beneficiaries can be argued to be promoting volunteerism which has been beneficial and influential to education in general via the building of satellite schools in particular. Volunteerism amongst the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers permeated the theme on resource mobilisation at Tiro and Sambo research sites as revealed in the next section of data presentation.

5.3.1 THEME 1: RESOURCE MOBILISATION BY LAND REFORM BENEFICARIES AND COMMUNAL FARMERS

There was consensus among the village heads, school heads and farmers that the main the social capital influence of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers on Tiro and Sambo satellite schools was in terms of their resource mobilisation. Land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers, in this study, were playing an essential role in resource mobilization for the development of satellite schools. The role of the social capital of the land reform beneficiaries is aptly seen in the statement by the head of Tiro school, TH who stated in the semi-structured interview, "For Tiro to be where it is today, we are grateful of the social networks of the farmers. Through their interaction as farmers the school has received quite a lot." (Interviewee TH, Personal communication, November 2, 2015). While, the head of Sambo school, SH concurred, "The government has left the school's construction to the farmers. The farming community is now responsible for all the needs of the school." (Interviewee SH, Personal communication, November 9, 2015). In addition, the views of the two school heads, that is Sambo head and Tiro head were also echoed by the village head, TVH1 who stated, "This school (Tiro) is a product of our efforts and inputs. Without us community leaders and our relations with the farmers in our village they would not be any school here today" (Interviewee TVH1, Personal communication, November 3, 2015).

Thus, it can be revealed from the above statements that the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers through their social capital influences mobilised resources in building Tiro and Sambo satellite schools. The participants among land reform beneficiaries at Tiro and communal farmers at Sambo indicated that the government had left the construction of Tiro and Sambo satellite schools respectively, to the communities. Murisa (2010) argues that the government failure to provide schools was due to the economic crisis. This finding on the role of the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers on resource mobilisation coincides with that of the Parliament of Zimbabwe (2012) that the Ministry of Education

presumes resettlement communities to take up the ingenuity of building schools. Consequently, it can be revealed that due to this expectation by the government that communities take the initiative in the construction of Tiro and Sambo satellite schools; the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers had to rely on their own social capital. However, this study exposed that the government expectation was not only confined to land reform beneficiaries but even communal farmers who were expected to construct their own satellite schools in rural areas. It can further be reasoned from the findings in this study that the government of Zimbabwe, due to resource constraints, expected both Tiro land reform beneficiaries as well as Sambo communal farmers to construct the satellite schools. This government expectation is aptly revealed by this study as the heads of both satellite schools under study, Sambo and Tiro exposed the centrality of the farmers in resource mobilisation. Accordingly, it can be argued from this study that the social capital of both land reform beneficiaries at Tiro and communal farmers at Sambo influenced satellite schools by mobilising resources.

This finding resonates with submissions by Muller (2010, p.117) that, "Social capital is also an important element of community capacity, and it is a resource on which community development work can build." The construction of a satellite school can be viewed as community development work as education plays a significant role in poverty alleviation. This is also supported by De la Pena (2008). De la Pena (2008) states that social capital is important for community development. The role of social capital in resource mobilisation is further supported by the former Vice-President of the World Bank, Ismail Serageldin in a foreword in Grootaert and van Bastelaer (2001, p. iii) who states that, "there is growing empirical evidence that social capital contributes significantly to sustainable development." In addition, Grootaert (1998, p. 1) supports this finding by stating that, "social capital is the missing link in development." Kassahun (2010) views social capital as, 'the catalyst' for community development. Hence, it can be added that there is consensus between this study and other studies (De la Pena, 2008; Groortaert, 1998; Kassahun, 2010) on the import of social capital in community development. In this case study there is mutual interest shown in the provision of education through the building of Tiro and Sambo satellite schools. Hence, the land reform beneficiaries have been instrumental in community development as shown by their role in resource mobilisation for Tiro and Sambo satellite schools. Furthermore, the study established that through their social capital, the land reform beneficiaries and

communal farmers overcame the government's failure to provide schools and promote welfare in the absence of public service provision as also established from a study by Rose (2000).

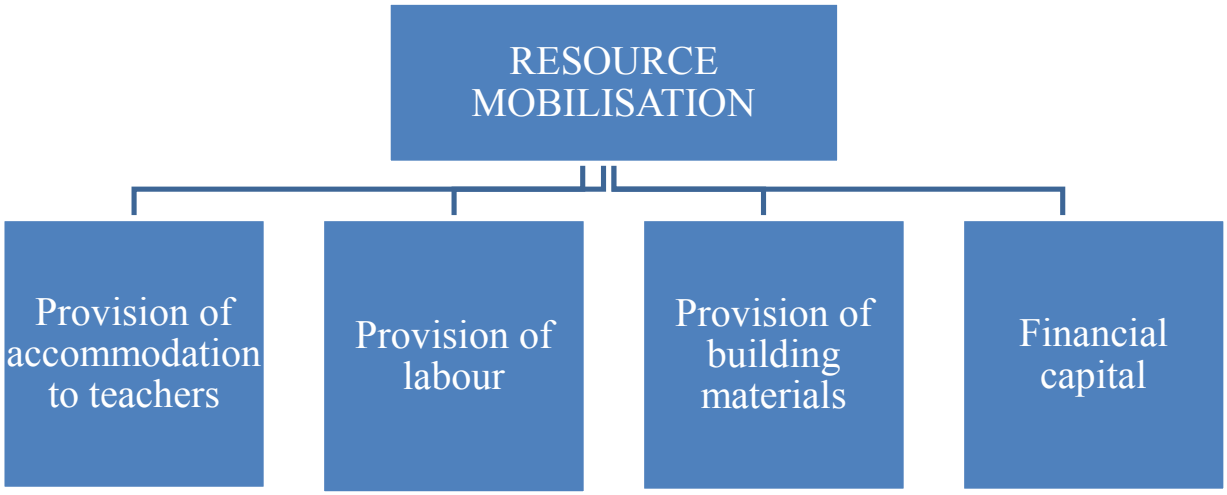

Figure 5.2 Resource Mobilisation Sub-themes at Tiro and Sambo (Field data: 2015)

Figure 5.2 shows the sub-themes of the resource mobilisation (as the main theme) which emerged in this study. The themes that emerged under resources mobilisation were: the provision of accommodation to teachers, the provision of labour, the provision of building materials and financial capital. They are presented below and analysed in the following section.

5.3.1.1 PROVISION OF BUILDING MATERIALS

This study established under the resource mobilisation theme that the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers through their social capital have influenced Tiro and Sambo satellite schools through supplying building materials for the schools. It was unanimous (at both Tiro and Sambo schools) that farmers were providing building materials in the form of river sand, pit sand, bricks, water and quarry stones for the construction of Tiro and Sambo satellite schools.

The participants in the focus group discussion at Tiro school identified various building materials that they provided towards the construction of their satellite school. One participant,

FGDT2 indicated, “As farmers in this community we have provided our school with a lot. The classroom blocks that you see here are products of the river and pit sand, bricks and stones that we contributed as households.” (Focus Group Discussion participant FGDT2, Personal communication, November 4, 2015). In addition, FGDT2 further revealed, “Farmers in this community contributed river sand from the nearby river. We also moulded bricks for the construction of our school. Each household was given a quota to contribute.” (Focus Group Discussion participant FGDT2, Personal communication, November 4, 2015).

From the above statement, it can be revealed that the land reform beneficiaries made their contributions of building materials as households. The participation of the farmers was per household and not individually. Moreover, the study revealed that due to the resource mobilisation influence of the land reform beneficiaries at Tiro, the learning conditions and the future of the children is not as gloomy as painted in a study by Matondi (2012). Matondi (2012, p. 175) argues that the major finding from the fieldwork in the district of Mazowe and Mangwe is that, “the children in the newly resettled areas face an uncertain future because of the sorry state of education in the districts.” Therefore, this study contradicts these negative conclusions in other districts of Zimbabwe studied by Matondi (2012) on education, and revealed by the findings of this study as the land reform beneficiaries are actually utilizing their social capital to positively influence and develop education through Tiro satellite school. Moreover, from this study it can be revealed that the land reform beneficiaries are utilizing their social capital to overcome the challenges that have been revealed by earlier studies such as in the one carried out by Matondi (2012). Thus, it can be argued that this study’s findings on the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries concurs with Fukuyama (2002). Fukuyama (2002, p. 26) avers, “Social capital is what permits individuals to band together to defend their interests and organise to support collective needs …” Accordingly, the land reform beneficiaries in this study realised that there was a collective need to build a school and banded together to provide the necessary building materials for satellite schools.

In addition, the participants identified the types of building materials that they provided through their social capital towards the construction of their satellite school. Plate 5.1 shows the three classroom blocks at Tiro school which were constructed courtesy of the land reform

beneficiaries' provision of sand, quarry stones and bricks according to the participants in this study. In addition, another participant in the study who was interviewed, TVH2, stated,

> We sat down as village heads and farmers and it was agreed that each household contribute sand, stones and water towards the construction of our first classroom block. Each household was tasked to deliver a certain amount of sand and stones. We were actually surprised by the overwhelming response we got from our community. (Interviewee TVH2, Personal communication, November 4, 2015)

Plate 5.1 Classroom blocks at Tiro constructed by resources mobilized by land reform beneficiaries (Field data: 2015)

Thus, this study exposed that the Tiro land reform beneficiaries through their social networks were able to provide their satellite school, Tiro school with building material. It can further be argued that the farmers contributed building materials on an ad hoc basis, that is, whenever a construction project was underway. At Tiro satellite school, construction of the three classroom blocks has stretched over ten years. Therefore, whenever a building project was underway the farmers contributed building materials. In addition, when probed in the semi-structured interviews, the farmers who participated in this study failed to quantify the resources they have contributed to the satellite school. As revealed by TF3 that,

> It is not possible to say how many wheelbarrows or scotch carts of sand and stones we contributed in the construction of our school. Whenever there was a need we were

> called upon to deliver more building material and we were always ready to help. (Interviewee TF3, Personal communication, November 4, 2015)

Therefore, it can be reasoned that the land reform beneficiaries contributed building materials as and when the school needed them to contribute.

In addition, the role played by the land reform beneficiaries was further revealed by the head of Tiro school. TH revealed that,

> A good example of the farmers' contribution of building materials to the school was witnessed in the recent construction of toilets donated by CARE International (an NGO). Each school was supplied with cement and reinforcing materials and the community was supposed to supply quarry stones and sand as well as provide labour. The community was very forthcoming and all required materials came on time. (Interviewee TH, Personal communication, November 2, 2015)

Plate 5.2 shows the block of toilets constructed at Tiro school with the sand and stones supplied by the land reform beneficiaries.

Plate 5.2 Toilets at Tiro constructed by resources mobilized by land reform beneficiaries (Field data: 2015)

Therefore, these findings corroborate observations by Dale and Newman (2010, p. 17) that networks provide the means for a community to access the resources within. Accordingly, it can be argued that the Tiro community was able to access building materials such as river

sand and pit sand as well as quarry stones which are available in the school's environment. Therefore, these building materials can be viewed as resources which were available within the community itself that is from land reform beneficiaries who reside within the community. In addition, this finding is consistent with findings by Matondi (2012) in both the Mazowe and Mangwe Districts of Zimbabwe that the schools were built by A1 settlers who pooled their resources together after identifying a real need within their communities. It can further be argued that despite the findings of this study concurring with Matondi (2012) on the pooling of resources by land reform beneficiaries towards satellite schools, this study goes further to attribute their contribution to their social capital. Hence, from the findings of this study it can be reasoned that Matondi (2012) omitted the crucial role of social capital in the construction of satellite schools.

At the other research site among the communal farmers at Sambo School, the participants revealed that they were not so eager to supply building materials to the local school. The head of Sambo School, SH stated,

> Initially we tried to ask the local farmers to supply the school with things like sand and stones, which are generally readily available in their environment. However, we realised that the parents were not prepared to supply these for free. In fact, I was actually embarrassed when my school failed to complete the construction of toilets which were donated by an NGO on time. The NGO had been specific about sand, stones among others coming from the community but we ended up paying for the supply of all these building materials. (Interviewee SH, Personal communication, November 9, 2015).

The position of the farmers in the Sambo community on the provision of building materials was revealed by SF3, "We resisted efforts to have us as farmers supply building materials to the new school. What has changed now, since independence the government has always built schools for us." (Interviewee SF3, Personal communication, November 9, 2015). SF3 on further probing stated, "As farmers we expect the government to provide building materials and build new schools. That's why we resisted efforts to have us as farmers supply building materials for the new school. (Interviewee SF3, Personal communication, November 9, 2015).

Findings from the study reveal that Tiro land reform beneficiaries provided building materials in the form of sand and stones among others, while Sambo communal farmers were reluctant to provide these building materials. SF3's contribution reveals that communal farmers regard the construction of schools as a responsibility of the government. Hence, there is resistance from the communal farmers who have witnessed the government expand the education system since independence. Kapingidza (2014), Nziramasanga (1999) and Zvobgo (1986) revealed that the responsibility for building schools has been on the government since independence, hence the resistance by communal farmers.

Plate 5.3 Pupils already learning in an uncompleted classroom at Sambo (Field data: 2015)

The failure of communal farmers to provide building materials for the construction of Sambo School can be used to explain the state of infrastructural development at the school. Plate 5.3 shows the only classroom block at Sambo School which is still to be completed after ten years of construction (2005-2015). Thus, it can therefore be argued that evidence from this study suggests that there are disparities in social capital contributions between the Tiro and Sambo communities. Accordingly, this study revealed that there are disparities between land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers at Sambo in terms of their social capital influences on satellite schools. Furthermore, it can further be argued that the amount of social capital varies with each community. This finding on the disparities in the amounts of social capital supports findings in Narayan and Cassidy (2001) that there are variations in social

capital contributions in Ghana and Uganda. The study established that the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries at Tiro were more effective in the provision of building materials to satellite schools when compared to that of communal farmers at Sambo. However, this study argues further that disparities in the amounts of social capital can also occur within the same country as revealed by differences in the amount of social capital contributed in Tiro and Sambo communities. Tiro and Sambo communities are located on the North and South of Masvingo city respectively and there are about eighty kilometres separating the two communities. This finding resonates with findings in Katungi (2007) that the amount of social capital in Uganda's rural areas is not equal. Moreover, these disparities in the amounts of social capital can be argued to buttress Coleman's conceptualisation that social capital is a resource (Coleman, 1988; 1994). It can be reasoned from this study that the extent of social capital is not equally volunteered by citizens in respect of the development of these two satellite schools in Zimbabwe. Fukuyama (2002, p. 29) had added another dimension when he stated, "not all societies have equal stocks of social capital" (Fukuyama, 2002). Therefore, it follows from this study that whilst there may have been equal levels of social capital among communal farmers and land reform beneficiaries in Zimbabwe, each group did not volunteer the same amount of social capital due to how they perceived the role of the government of Zimbabwe in the provision of resources. The social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers on satellite schools that emerged from this study were not limited to building materials but were extended to financial capital as revealed in the next section below.

5.3.1.2 FINANCIAL CAPITAL

The school heads, village heads and farmers who participated in this study also revealed that the social capital of the land reform beneficiaries influenced Tiro satellite school through financial capital. The study established that the Tiro land reform beneficiaries were not only using their social capital to mobilise building materials which were readily available in the environment such as river and pit sand, quarry stones among others but they were also making financial contributions towards the satellite schools in their communities. It emerged from the semi-structured interviews as well as focus group discussions that the land reform beneficiaries provided funding towards the construction of their satellite school. The head of Tiro School, TH indicated,

> Parents in this community have been very supportive of developments at our school. Besides paying levies for their children they have made substantial financial contributions to the school. The money for the roofing of two of our classroom blocks came from the farmers. The school could not raise the money from the levies collected, so the farmers chipped in with the help from the local leadership, they collected quotations and the cost was shared per household. (Interviewee TH, Personal communication, November 2, 2015).

TVH1 concurred, "The collection of financial contributions was made through the local traditional leadership. We liaised with famers in our villages and as village heads we collected the money. The money was channelled towards the school construction. (Interviewee TVH1, Personal communication, November 3, 2015).

Therefore, it can be revealed from the semi-structured interview that the Tiro land reform beneficiaries funded the development of their school. Their contributions as revealed by the school head managed to provide financial resources for the roofing of the school. This was also concurred by a village head, TVH2 who stated:

> As farmers we have made financial contributions to our school. Those two blocks (classroom blocks) over there were roofed by us farmers. We shared the cost among ourselves. We told the school head that this is our school and we are prepared to make financial sacrifices for it. I personally collected the money in my village, just like other village heads. (Interviewee TVH2, Personal communication, November 3, 2015).

From the aforementioned, the study established that the land reform beneficiaries' social capital influenced the satellite school in Tiro community financially. This was further supported by the participants (FGDT1, FGDT2 & FGDT3) in the focus group discussion. In the focus group discussion at Tiro, another dimension of financial support was revealed by the farmers. The participants indicated that at one point that they collected grain which was later sold and the proceeds were channelled towards the construction of Tiro satellite school. FGDT1 narrated, "During a good harvest we decided to contribute our grain instead of cash. The grain was collected and was sold in Masvingo town and the money was given to the school." (Focus Group Discussion participant FGDT1, Personal communication, November

3, 2015). The land reform beneficiaries' contribution of grain was also confirmed by the head of the recipient school, Tiro school. The researcher established from the participants that social capital was converted into financial capital. It was noted that the land reform beneficiaries grain contribution was later sold and the money was used for the development of the school. The school head, village heads and farmers revealed that each household had contributed five (5) bags of maize. The grain collected translated into a financial contribution as it was easily sold and thus converted into money.

Findings in this study on the convertibility of social capital into financial capital are supported by Bourdieu (1986), Collier (1998), Manik (2005). Manik (2005, p. 26) observes, "a particular trait of social capital is its convertibility most often to money …" Bourdieu (1986) argued that one form of capital can be transformed into another. Collier (1998) reveals that social capital is economically beneficial to individuals within a community. The study, however, widens the value of social capital and argues that it is economically beneficial to the individual as espoused by Collier's findings (Collier, 1998). Thus, it follows that the land reform beneficiaries in the Tiro community have managed to transform their social capital into another form of capital, namely financial. By contrast, the situation at Sambo School was different on the issue of financial influence on the school. The head of Sambo School, SH stated, "Suggestions that the farmers make financial contributions were not well received. The farmers objected arguing that they could not afford to give the school money. We voted for the MP[17] he should build the school for us." (Interviewee SH, Personal communication, November 9, 2015). One of the farmers who participated in the study, SF3 explicitly argued, "Giving money to the new school was like returning coal to Hwange[18]. We will be giving the money to government instead of the government giving us money." (Interviewee SF3, Personal communication, November 9, 2015).

The contribution of Sambo farmer, SF3, revealed that communal farmers perceive financial contributions to the satellite schools as giving money to the government. They believe that it is the government's responsibility to fund development in schools. While, the head of Sambo School, SH, also reveals that the communal farmers' reluctance to make financial

[17] MP-Member of Parliament. The participant expected the MP to source funds to construct the school
[18] Hwange is the biggest coal mine in Zimbabwe

contributions may be steeped in incapacity. Communal farmers in the Sambo area are mainly subsistence farmers (ZIMSTAT, 2012) who are struggling to eke out a living. Thus, it can be argued that this study supports the finding by Scoones et al (2012) and ZIMSTAT (2012) that land reform beneficiaries have a better economic status as compared to communal farmers. The communal farmers can barely afford to send their children to school. Scoones et al (2010) acknowledge the economic status of the communal farmers in Zimbabwe and this further explains the participation of some communal farmers in the land occupations at the onset of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme. Land reform beneficiaries in Zimbabwe were drawn from all social classes. Ordinary low-income people invaded commercial farms in their vicinity. Due to financial constraints communal farmers did not venture into them commercial farms but restricted themselves to commercial farms close to their communal areas. Resultantly, these communal farmers who invaded commercial farms changed their status to land reform beneficiaries. In addition, this change to land reform beneficiaries brought with it large plots and better yields. A failure to make financial contributions by the communal farmers to satellite schools according to the researcher should rather be viewed as an inability rather than resistance per se as the communal farmers cannot afford to make financial contributions when compared to the land reform beneficiaries. However, this finding that social capital is convertible into economic capital in the Tiro community is disputed by Musoba and Baez (2009). Musoba and Baez (2009, p. 157) argue,

> We think social capital has much appeal in the United States because social capital is not reducible to economic capital. In other words, the United States collectively holds a belief that even if one is not born wealthy, one can still somehow be successful if one simply has the right connections; Bourdieu's conception of social capital would support this view, at least in theory.

This argument stems from the realisation that an individual or a community can be successful despite originally being poor. Therefore, this argument when applied to this study would provide an antithesis and argue that communal farmers at Sambo despite being historically poor and food insecure can be successful together with their satellite school. In addition, the argument effectively reasons that background is not important in the success of an individual to a larger extent.

From the above findings it can be established that not all satellite school communities are influenced their schools through financial means. In addition, not all communities managed to transform their social capital as espoused by Bourdieu (1986) into other forms of capital because of their economic status. Social networks in Sambo according to this study seldom yield economic returns in terms of financial contributions as revealed by the Sambo satellite school.

From the aforementioned, it was established that the Tiro community has greater cooperation as revealed by the financial support as well as grain contribution towards the satellite school's development. This disparity between the Tiro community and Sambo community in contributing financial capital can be linked to the food insecurity in communal areas in Zimbabwe as revealed earlier on in this study by Anseeuw et al (2012). This finding is supported by Muller (2010, p. 117) who states, "social capital may facilitate greater cooperation in the provision of services that benefit all members of the community." While, Chamlee-Wright and Storr (2011, p. 4) support this finding by stating that, "the bulk of the studies on social capital view it as facilitating social cooperation …" This finding is also similar to that by Knowles (2005) and the World Bank's (1997) report on Sustainable Development. Findings in the Tiro community concur with various studies (Chamlee-Wright & Storr, 2011; Grootaert & Van Bastalaer, 2001; Knowles, 2005; World Bank, 1997) that greater cooperation facilitates the provision of beneficial services to all members of the community. Instead of Tiro land reform beneficiaries moaning that they had been resettled in areas without support services as established by Marongwe (2009), in this study, they are cooperating amongst themselves in the construction of satellite schools when it is possible. In addition, the findings in this study revealed that there was a higher level of solidarity among land reform beneficiaries which facilitated their influence on satellite schools. The role of solidarity in the Tiro community and its contribution to satellite schools supports findings by various scholars (Knack & Keefer 1997; Miguel, Gertler & Levine 2006; Narayan & Pritchett 1999; Putnam 2001; Woolcock & Narayan 2000). From the foregoing it can thus be argued that the social capital of the land reform beneficiaries has variable influences on the provision of education as a services in the community. The social capital influences of the Tiro land reform beneficiaries was extended to provision of accommodation to Tiro teachers.

5.3.1.3 PROVISION OF ACCOMMODATION TO TEACHERS

The study further revealed that the social capital of the land reform beneficiaries was beneficial to teachers at the satellite school who were provided with interim accommodation with the local farmers. The participants in this study revealed that they provided the founding staff of the satellite school with accommodation. One participant, a farmer TF2 specified,

> Mhofu (pseudonym of the founding school head of Tiro) stayed in my house while other teachers stayed with other farmers when our school was started. The teachers only came with their bags but there were no houses at the school site. We volunteered to accommodate them. (Interviewee TF2, Personal communication, November 3, 2015).

Thus, as revealed in the above statement by the participant when satellite schools started there was no infrastructure at the school sites and the farmers had to accommodate the teachers who taught at Tiro school. The current head of Tiro school echoed the sentiments expressed by the farmer. TH added, "The staff at Tiro were treated as part of the community when the school was established. The head and teachers, for example, were provided with accommodation among the farmers in the villages." (Interviewee TH, Personal communication, November 2, 2015). In addition, a village head, TVH2 revealed,

> When the government gave us children to come and educate our community we welcomed them with open arms. We gave them places to stay amongst ourselves. As community leaders we asked farmers with good houses to accommodate our teachers while we were building their houses. (Interviewee TVH2, Personal communication, November 3, 2015).

This study revealed that prior to the land reform, the Tiro area was composed of a large scale farm which did not have a school. Thus, when the area underwent land reform, the land reform beneficiaries through their volition (social capital) initiated the construction of a satellite school. When the government deployed teachers to the school, they lived amongst the farmers in their homesteads. Rural schools in Zimbabwe are expected to provide accommodation to teachers on the school premises. Therefore, since the Tito satellite school were still budding schools, the teachers were accommodated by the land reform beneficiaries in their houses.

From the preceding paragraphs, it can also be established that there was consensus among the participants at the Tiro research site that through the social capital influence of the land reform beneficiaries, teachers at the Tiro satellite school were provided with accommodation among the farmers and later given their own accommodation. Therefore, it can be argued that through the social capital of the land reform beneficiaries at Tiro, teachers were welcomed and absorbed into the community. Furthermore, it can be revealed that the land reform beneficiaries valued the government provision of human resources to teach their children. In addition, the scenario whereby teachers were provided with accommodation by land reform beneficiaries reveals that there was no adequate planning by the government for support services during the land reform programme.

The issue of the provision of accommodation to teachers in the local community did not emerge among the participants at Sambo school as the teachers were provided with accommodation by another primary school 4,5 km away from the satellite site. It was noted that instead of accommodating the teachers in the community, the teachers had to walk 4,5 km every day to school. This was further compounded by the fact that the teachers carried a satchel with their meals and teaching materials. This finding is consistent with findings in Tarisayi (2015) on the challenges faced by satellite schools whereby teachers have to walk long distances to and from work in some communities. Consequently, due to walking long distances the teachers always arrived late for work and they also had to leave early impacting on a reduction of the notional hours spent teaching. It can also be reasoned that this also affects their work output as they would be tired from walking. In addition, the teachers electing to leave early from work can be viewed as revealing teachers reduced commitment to the Sambo community. Therefore, this present study revealed that there was reduced commitment from the teachers at Sambo school due to the community's failure to provide them with accommodation.

The study therefore established that teachers were provided with accommodation among the land reform beneficiaries at Tiro school. Hence, it can be reasoned from the evidence in this context that land reform beneficiaries could, through their stock of social capital provide teachers with accommodation if they desired to do so. Accordingly, it can further be revealed that this finding on the provision of accommodation to teachers at Tiro, corroborates with the

literature. Findings by Dale and Newman (2010, p. 17) reveal that, "social networks provide the means for a community to access resources within." This study buttresses literature by two of the most influential contemporary scholars on social capital: Bourdieu (1986) and Coleman (1988) who stated that social capital provides access to resources within a community. In addition, the study's finding that land reform beneficiaries volunteered their accommodation to the teachers at Tiro school when the school was established is consistent with Coleman's conceptualization of social capital as "facilitating certain actions of actors." (Coleman, 1988, p. 598). The Tiro community efforts resonate with the observation in the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education (2015, p. 1) that, "teachers constitute the backbone of any education system, and their standards make an immense contribution to the delivery of good quality education." However, it was established that among the communal farmers at Sambo social capital did not provide access to resources within the community as since wre not provided with accommodation. It also emerged from this study that land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers influenced Tiro and Sambo satellite schools through provision of labour as revealed in the following section.

5.3.1.4 PROVISION OF LABOUR

The researcher further established from this study that the social capital of the land reform beneficiaries also influenced Tiro and Sambo satellite schools through the provision of labour during the construction of classroom blocks, toilets and teachers' houses. There was consensus among the school heads, village heads and farmers at both Tiro and Sambo schools that the farmers voluntarily provided labour at the satellite schools. TVH2, a village head in the Tiro community revealed that,

> Each household in our community voluntarily contributed to the construction of the classroom blocks and teachers' houses. The farmers came together to clear the site; it was a bush when the school was pegged by the authorities. We used our own tools to clear the area before foundations could be dug. (Interviewee TVH2, Personal communication, November 3, 2015).

The same occurred at Sambo School, as SVH1, a village head, stated during the semi-structured interview that,

> We called the villagers to come and work at our school. They participated without any payment. The surrounding villages took turns to come and assist with labour when the school was started. People used to come to help clear the land, mould bricks and fetch water. (Interviewee SVH1, Personal communication, November 10, 2015).

The contribution of the farmers to the building of Sambo school was endorsed by farmer SF3 who stated,

> Village heads organised our households to come and provide labour at our school. We worked at the school for at least three hours per week. Due to our large numbers this meant that we could do a lot of work every time we were called to assist. (Interviewee SF3, Personal communication, November 3, 2015).

Thus, the study recognized that when the two satellite schools were established, the surrounding communities voluntarily provided their labour (sweat equity). The school heads corroborated the findings on the participation of farmers in the construction of satellite schools in the semi-structured interviews. TH elaborated that,

> The construction of our satellite school relied heavily on the voluntary participation of the farmers. The farmers provided labour starting from the clearing of the land. As a school we did not have money for most of the construction work, ferrying of sand and stones among others, so we called upon the community to assist and they did. (Interviewee TH, Personal communication, November 2, 2015).

While the head of the Sambo school, SH said, "They engaged the local leadership to facilitate the farmers' participation in the construction of our classroom block when we started. Initially the response was overwhelming but now the farmers are not as willing and supportive." (Interviewee SH, Personal communication, November 9, 2015).

The researcher probed the participants in the focus group discussion at Sambo on the issue raised by the Sambo head, SH, that the farmers were now less willing and supportive. One participant, FGDS2, revealed,

> As farmers we did not anticipate the school construction taking many years. Some of the farmers have become weary as the school is taking forever to complete. In addition, the government is not supporting us with resources. This has been made worse by the poor yields which are forcing us to use our time and energy towards

other pursuits to bring food on our table. (Focus Group Discussion participant FGDS2, Personal communication, November 10, 2015).

Findings from the focus group discussion at Sambo reveal that the amount of social capital of communal farmers fluctuated. The participants in the focus group discussion showed that their social capital influence on Tiro and Sambo satellite schools was later affected by the yields from their farms, a time period for providing assistance and the view that government needed to invest resources as well. In addition, the voluntary participation by the farmers through the provision of manual labour was reiterated by the focus group discussion participants. In the focus group discussion, the participants went further and listed the jobs that were carried out by the communities voluntarily at the schools.

Plate 5.4 Land reform beneficiaries at Tiro School in Masvingo province and the duties carried out in inserted to the right (Field data:2015)

Plate 5.4 reveals the jobs that the farmers participated in at the Tiro satellite school. The participants stated that they cleared the land, moulded bricks, ferried river and pit sand, fetched water, erected fences and crushed quarry stones in order to provide school infrastructure.

From the preceding empirical evidence, it was established that both communal farmers and land reform beneficiaries provided labour to Tiro and Sambo satellite schools in Zimbabwe.

The provision of labour as revealed by the participants in this study shows that there was coordination and cooperation amongst the farmers. Thus, this finding resonates with the conceptualization of social capital proffered by Putnam (1995) that it expedites harmonisation and collaboration for the common benefit of the community. A thriving school like Tiro school as observed in this study is of mutual benefit to the whole Tiro community and surrounding communities. Therefore, it was further recognized that due to the land reform beneficiaries' stock of social capital, Tiro satellite school received labour for construction and development to a larger extent. Woolcock (2001) concurs that social networks facilitate collective action. The Tiro land reform beneficiaries provision of voluntary labour can be viewed as a collective action. The study established that there was no difference between Sambo communal farmers and Tiro land reform beneficiaries in terms of their social capital ability to facilitate coordination and cooperation at this satellite school. However, it was noted from this study that the social capital of the communal farmers was less enduring when compared to that of the land reform beneficiaries as the farmers were no longer as participative as they were at the beginning of the construction of the school. The diminishing social capital of the communal farmers in facilitating coordination and cooperation is supported by earlier presented evidence (5.3.1.1) which revealed that Sambo School failed to complete the construction of donated toilets on schedule. Consequently, it can be argued from this study that the social capital of the Sambo communal farmers is less enduring as compared to that of Tiro land reform beneficiaries due to a number of reasons. Moreover, it can also be reasoned that social capital is like financial, human and natural capital which gets depleted as revealed by the diminishing social capital in the Sambo community. Among the reasons revealed in this study as captured and expounded in Section 5.4 on the reasons for the land reform beneficiaries' prolonged engagement with satellite schools are: the proximity of land reform beneficiaries' homestead to each other as well as the school, homage and feelings of indebtedness to the government for giving the farmers the land, *nhimbe* social networks of the land reform beneficiaries at Tiro, shared meaning or goals, a sense of belonging and the land reform beneficiaries' resource base. The next section interrogates the information sharing theme which emerged from this study.

5.3.2 THEME 2: INFORMATION SHARING AMONG LAND REFORM BENEFICIARIES AND COMMUNAL FARMERS

The study established that the other main theme that emerged from the semi-structured interviews as well as focus group discussions was the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries at Tiro and communal farmers at Sambo on satellite schools through information sharing. The village heads, farmers and school heads were in agreement concerning the significance of social networks in the sharing and sharing of information from the school into the community. Findings from this study revealed in Section 5.3.1 can be utilised to concretise the role played by the farmers' social capital in influencing satellite schools.

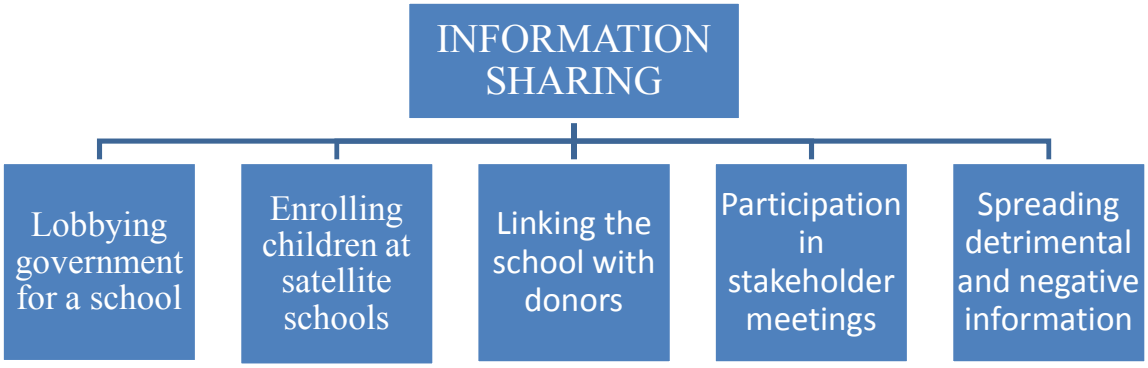

Figure 5.3 Information Sharing Sub-themes at Tiro and Sambo (Field data: 2015)

Figure 5.3 reveals that the theme on information sharing has five (5) sub-themes: lobbying government for a school, enrolling children at the satellite school, linking the school with donors, spreading detrimental and negative information, and participation in stakeholder meetings. These sub-themes which emerged can be linked to different phases of the building of the satellite schools, which are namely pre-building phase, building phase and post-building phase. Lobbying the government for a school was done during the pre-building phase. During the building phase the theme of linking the school with donors emerged. Enrolling children at the satellite school, spreading detrimental and negative information and participation in stakeholder meetings can be argued to have cut across all the three phases in the building of the satellite school. These sub-themes are outlined in detail in the following section.

It can be argued from this study that the other two themes (influences) established in this study, resource mobilisation and volunteerism are largely hinged on the information sharing theme. For instance, as revealed already in Section 5.3.1 by Tiro Head, TH, that through farmers' interaction the school received resources. Therefore, from the onset under the information sharing influence it was revealed that participants were unanimous on the significance of social networks to information sharing on the construction of the satellite school. This finding coincided with the argument in Bardhan (1995) that social capital provides an informal structure to organize information sharing. Manik (2005) observes in a study of teacher migration that social networks are important for the transmission of information. The study can be argued to have buttressed the notion that social capital provides an informal framework to organize information sharing. In this study, the Tiro land reform beneficiaries shared information on the need to make financial contributions to the satellite school and provide labour for the construction of the satellite school. In addition, Fafchamps and Minten (1999) in a study of agricultural traders in Madagascar also established that social capital plays a significant role in information sharing. The sub-themes emerging under the information sharing theme in this present study reveal the centrality of the informal framework. Thus, social capital through information sharing influences satellite schools as exposed in this study through facilitating social cooperation among the farmers. The importance of social capital in information sharing was also highlighted in numerous studies (Alder & Kwon, 2002; Coleman, 1988; Fukuyama, 1995; Hazleton & Kennan, 2000) as a driver of information sharing. Dundon, Diggins and Exton (2012, p. 3) explicitly state "people who have an innate sense of community spirit are intrinsically motivated to share knowledge for the good of the community drawing satisfaction from helping others and a feeling of belonging to a community." Unequivocally, the social capital of the farmers facilitates social cooperation which is revealed by their lobbying of the government for schools, encouraging each other to send their children to satellite schools, linking the school with donors and participation in stakeholder meetings, all of which is discussed in detail below.

5.3.2.1 LAND REFORM BENEFICIARIES AND COMMUNAL FARNERS LOBBYING THE GOVERNMENT FOR A SCHOOL

There was consensus among the farmers, village heads and school heads on the role played by the farmers in the establishment of the satellite schools. At both research sites the participants revealed that their initial participation in satellite schools involved lobbying the government for a school. TF1 summed up this initial participation of the farmers as revealed by the farmers (TF2, TF3 as well as SF1, SF2 & SF3) interviewed in this study by stating:

> For Tiro school to be located here we sat down as neighbours, then as villages and lobbied the local leadership for a school. We approached Makwarimba (former Chief Executive Officer of Masvingo Rural District Council) as well as Chikumbu (former District Education Officer) to give us a school. (Interviewee TF1, Personal communication, November 3, 2015).

This was concurred by a participant in the focus group discussions, FGDS1,

> After realising that our children walked long distances to school and they had to cross Nyaukaka River during the rainy season, a meeting was called by the local leadership. At the meeting someone suggested that we liaise with the chief in lobbying for a school. We had to compete with a neighbouring community for the school but eventually we won the school. (Focus Group Discussion participant FGDS1, Personal communication, November 3, 2015).

Thus, from the above statements by the participants in this study it can be revealed that information sharing is important to land reform beneficiaries which can be traced to the lobbying activities that were carried out by the farmers. In both communities, that is the Tiro community, composed of land reform beneficiaries, and Sambo community, composed of communal farmers, the farmers lobbied for satellite schools. However, it can be noted that despite the similarities revealed in the participants pertaining to meeting for the lobbying for satellite schools, an apparent difference emerged from this study. In the Tiro community, the participants revealed that it was the farmers that approached the local leadership with the idea of a school while at Sambo it was the local leadership that took the initiative. Therefore, it can be argued from this study that land reform beneficiaries took collective action which gave birth to Tiro satellite school. These findings are given credence by Fukuyama (2002:23) who states, “Social capital is what permits individuals to band together to defend their interests

and organise to support collective order …" Hence, it can be reasoned further that due to the forms of social capital of the land reform beneficiaries at Tiro, they have united to promote their specific interest in building of Tiro satellite school.

The participation of the farmers (land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers) in lobbying the government for satellite schools was revealed by the satellite school heads in the semi-structured interviews. The head of Tiro school, TH, revealed, "Satellite schools are a new thing whereby parents, in our case farmers request the government for a school. In the past the government took the initiative and brought schools to the community." (Interviewee TH, Personal communication, November 2, 2015).

While, on the other hand the head of Sambo School, SH, stated,

> Satellite schools were born out of the demands of the community for more schools. In most cases the existing schools were far from the communities. So I would say their most important form of participation in satellite schools was asking for a school. We wouldn't be here without the farmers' request. (Interviewee SH, Personal communication, November 9, 2015).

From the aforementioned, the study revealed that satellite schools are arguably a product of the farmers' social capital efforts to a greater extent. The farmers, both communal and land reform beneficiaries, utilised their social networks to lobby the government through the relevant authorities for the establishment of Tiro and Sambo satellite schools. The study further revealed the disparities in terms of the role played by the local leadership in the lobbying. The study glaringly revealed the centrality of the social capital of the farmers in the lobbying for Tiro and Sambo satellite schools. The next discusses findings from the study on the land reform beneficiaries' and communal farmers' participation in stakeholder meetings.

5.3.2.2 LAND REFORM BENEFICIARIES' AND COMMUNAL FARMERS' PARTICIPATION IN MEETINGS

The focus group participants at both Tiro School and Sambo School stressed that they influenced satellite schools through their participation in stakeholder meetings. The

sentiments of the farmers who participated in the focus group at Tiro (FGDT1, FGDT2 & FGDT3) and at Sambo (FGDS1, FGDS2 & FGDS3) were summed up by FGDS3 who stated:

> Our major participation in our school should be coming for meetings. We convene meetings very often to check on the progress of our school. The school normally sends a message to the village heads and the message is spread through the community from one farmer to the other. We encourage each other to come and share ideas on the development of our school and community. Other community announcements are also made at these school meetings, so you don't want to be left out. **(**Focus Group Discussion participant FGDS3, Personal communication, November 10, 2015).

FGDS3 revealed that stakeholder meetings were important for the sharing of ideas on the development of the school. Therefore, it follows that the farmers used stakeholder meetings to influence decision-making at the school and the development of the school. This was also confirmed by the school heads who participated in this study. The school heads, SH, and TH, were unanimous that the farmers' social capital influenced the satellite schools through their attendance, presence and participation at stakeholder meetings. Attendance and presence at stakeholder meetings can be viewed as a form of political participation by the land reform beneficiaries to a greater extent. Tiro land reform beneficiaries and Sambo communal farmers contributed to the development of their community through participation in stakeholder meetings.

On the importance of stakeholder meetings in political participation FGDT1 stated:

> Meetings are important in our community because that's where we select our leaders. We have to select people who have the capacity to mobilise us to construct our school. We also use the meetings to make suggestions on how to overcome any challenges faced by our school. Challenges that have been addressed at our meetings include shortage of building materials among others. **(**Focus Group Discussion participant FGDT1, Personal communication, November 3, 2015).

Therefore, it follows that this study established that the social capital of the land reform beneficiaries enhanced stakeholder meeting participation, which can be argued to be local level political participation. This finding is underscored by Krishna (2002, p. 25) who elaborates, "… high social capital villages also tend to have significantly higher levels of

political participation …" Section 5.3.1 stated that farmers influenced satellite schools through resource mobilisation, it should be added that this was made possible through participation in stakeholder meetings. It can therefore be said from the findings in this study that farmers' participation in stakeholder meetings is the bedrock of all forms of influence that the farmers have on satellite schools. Moreover, a village head, TVH2, argued, "The participation of farmers in our community in school meetings has helped 'cement' the relations between the parents and the school." **(**Interviewee TVH2, Personal communication, November 3, 2015).

In addition, Tiro Head, TH, stated:

> My relationship with the community is enhanced by regular meetings. The meetings allow us to clarify any issues coming from the farmers. This is helping a lot in maintaining very cordial relations between the school and the parents. **(**Interviewee TH, Personal communication, November 2, 2015).

Tiro village head, TVH2 and Tiro Head, TH reveal, that the participation of land reform beneficiaries in school meetings has fostered trust between the school and parents. Kassahun (2010) from a study in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia reveals that social capital is a catalyst for community development through fostering trust. Tiro head, TH, further stated, "Stakeholder meetings cemented my relationship with the community. Any rumours and suspicions are quickly addressed before the situation deteriorates." **(**Interviewee TH, Personal communication, November 2, 2015).

Thus, from this study it can be reasoned that participation in stakeholder meetings by land reform beneficiaries' influences satellite schools through dispelling suspicion and animosity and fostering trust. Thus, these findings in this study resonate with findings in Chindanya (2011) in Zaka district of Zimbabwe that interaction between parents and school staff help dispel any suspicion or animosity between the school and parents. Consequently, it can be argued that the social capital of the farmers influenced Tiro and Sambo satellite schools through facilitating harmonious relationships between the school and the community. The next section discusses the enrolling of children by farmers at satellite schools.

5.3.2.3 ENROLLING CHILDREN AT THE SATELLITE SCHOOL

Another sub-theme on the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries at Tiro on satellite schools that emerged from the study was on enrolment. The study revealed that land reform beneficiaries were supporting satellite schools through enrolling their children at these schools despite the glaring challenges at these schools. This form of influence was revealed by a village head, TVH2,

> We are participating, although not directly but I think giving the school our children were the greatest support we are giving to the school. When the school started our children had to learn under trees but still we insisted that they go to our school and today we don't have any regrets. **(**Interviewee TVH2, Personal communication, November 3, 2015).

The land reform beneficiaries after lobbying the government for schools agreed to enrol their children at the school despite the challenges these children encountered at the satellite schools. Children in satellite schools face challenges such as lack of resources, poor infrastructure, poor water and sanitation facilities, among others. The head of Tiro school, TH supported this by stating that all secondary school going children in the community have been enrolled at the school. TH, revealed that,

> As you can see from our enrolment statistics we have an impressive enrolment. In fact, our school is now competing with well-established schools in terms of enrolment. The farmers are definitely giving us support through enrolling their children at our school.

Therefore, it can be revealed that at Tiro school, the social capital of land reform beneficiaries influenced the satellite school through enrolling their children. The land reform beneficiaries due to their social capital resolved that all children in their community should be enrolled at the satellite school despite the apparent challenges. Hence, as revealed by the TVH2 and TH above, enrolling of the land reform beneficiaries' children at the satellite school has been one of the great influences of the farmers to the satellite school.

The same sub-theme emerged at Sambo School but however it was apparent that this influence on Sambo satellite school was not shared by all farmers as revealed by the participants in this study. The head of Sambo School, SH, narrated,

> Most of the communal farmers are shunning the school by sending their children to well-established schools. They are even prepared to make their children walk longer distances instead of sending them to our school which is closer to their homes. **(**Interviewee SH, Personal communication, November 9, 2015).

This was also expressed by the focus group participants at Sambo (FGDS1, FGDS2 & FGDS3). The participants in the focus group discussion revealed that parents opted to continue sending their children to distant schools because of the apparent challenges faced by satellite schools. This study showed that satellite schools faced several challenges as compared to well-established schools in Zimbabwe. These challenges include poor infrastructure (teachers' accommodation and classroom shortages), lack of resources (textbooks; desks and chairs), high staff turnover (teachers transfer from satellite schools at the earliest opportunity due to challenges revealed in this paragraph), and water and sanitation problems (non-availability of clean and protected water sources). These challenges can be viewed as emanating from satellite school budding status and have further been compounded by the economic challenges facing Zimbabwe. Murisa (2010) also acknowledges the challenges posed on the education section by the country's declining economy. This finding is consistent with previous findings by Tarisayi (2015) that parents shun satellite schools owing to their resource deficit. Hence, accordingly the study revealed that there was a disparity between the social capital influences of the communal farmers and land reform beneficiaries in terms of showing their support by enrolling their children at satellite schools. The land reform beneficiaries in this study broadenedd the resource base of the satellite school by using their social networks to encourage parents to enrol their children at the school despite the obvious challenges they were facing.

The head of Tiro revealed that the parents influenced the school through buying uniforms for their children. The researcher observed that learners at Tiro were in complete uniforms despite the school being in the rural areas. Thus, in addition to enrolling their children at the school the land reform beneficiaries ensured that they went to school in proper attire as

learners, in complete school uniform. Linking of Tiro and Sambo satellite schools with donors is discussed in the next section.

5.3.2.4 LINKING TIRO AND SAMBO SATELLITE SCHOOLS WITH DONORS

The study further revealed that the social capital of land reform beneficiaries is influencing satellite schools through forging linkages with donors. The participants in this study exposed that through their social networks, Tiro and Sambo satellite schools benefitted from linkages with donors, both individual donors and organisations. The head of Tiro school, TH, explained,

> The farming community has taken it upon itself to share the plight of the school with their working children and relatives in towns and in the diaspora, churches and political parties. As a result the school is getting donations from quite a number of individuals. For example, the farmers linked the school to the Anglican Church and this resulted in the school receiving a substantial donation. So I can also add that the farmers are participating through connecting us with donors. **(**Interviewee TH, Personal communication, November 2, 2015).

The strength and value of the social capital of the land reform beneficiaries was also discussed in the focus group at Tiro, by FGDT2 who stated,

> The farmers in this community take every opportunity that comes their way to share the plight of our schools. We talk to church leaders, politicians as well as business and prominent people among others. We sometimes write letters seeking assistance for our school. **(**Focus Group Discussion participant FGDT2, Personal communication, November 3, 2015).

Therefore, as elaborated by the head of Tiro school and the focus group discussion participant, FGDT2, the land reform beneficiaries have taken it upon themselves to link the school with potential donors. They have a deep commitment to the growth and development of the school. The study further revealed that Tiro has actually benefited from these linkages through receiving a substantial donation from the Anglican Church. However, when probed further to substantiate the quantity or details of the donation received from the Anglican the head of Tiro School, TH was not forthcoming. Thus, the researcher could ascertain the

amount of funding or quantity that was received from the Anglican Church. Therefore, this study showed that religion is not only critical in building social capital among the land reform beneficiaries as established by Matondi (2005) but the Anglican church was also contributing to Tiro satellite school through financial contributions. In addition, the study showed that land reform beneficiaries linked Tiro satellite with donors. The linkage between Tiro satellite school and external donors can be viewed as bridging social capital as supported by Putnam (2000). This was also reiterated by a village head, TVH2 who stated:

> When our children and relatives come to visit us during holidays like the coming Christmas we talk about our school. Some of them give us advice and connections with organisations and churches. Like this year our girls' soccer team which had qualified for the national finals almost failed to travel to Harare but eventually everything was paid for by one of the sons of the community. The parents of the man who assisted the school are farmers in our community so they just shared with him our situation and he phoned the head and everything was arranged. **(**Interviewee TVH2, Personal communication, November 3, 2015).

The study thus established that Tiro school was not only linked to churches or organisations but also with individuals both in Zimbabwe and via diasporic links, in other countries. The diaspora contribution to the building of satellite schools was also discussed in the focus group at Tiro, by FGDT3 who stated, "People in the diaspora are also making contributions to our school. The village head's son working in Europe recently donated a water tank to our school." **(**Focus Group Discussion participant FGDT2, Personal communication, November 3, 2015).

Statistics by the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe governor, Mr Mangudya, estimate that "about 3 million of Zimbabwe's 13 million people live outside the country" (Bloomberg, 2015, No pagination). Thus, the land reform beneficiaries through their social capital networking are targeting the Zimbabweans in the diaspora and linking the satellite schools with donors. The land reform beneficiaries are using their stock of social capital to link the school with successful children and relatives in different parts of the country as well as those in the diaspora. Gomez-Limon, Vera-Toscano and Garridon-Fernandez (2012) and Nardone, Sisto and Lopolito (2010) reveal that rural communities gifted with a rich stock of social capital are in a stronger position to share beneficial information and implement development projects. Hence, it can be argued that the social capital of the land reform beneficiaries is influencing

the development at satellite schools through linking the school with donors. In addition, similar influences of the farmers on satellite schools were also revealed by the focus group discussion participants at Sambo School. The participants (FGDS1, FGDS2 & FGDS3) stated that they had linked their school as farmers to aspiring candidates for parliamentary and local government elections. FGDS2 stated, "*An aspiring candidate in the last elections was told about our school at a rally and he donated a bundle of barbed wire. The barbed wire was used to fence the school agriculture plot."* **(**Focus Group Discussion participant FGDS2, Personal communication, November 10, 2015).

From the above it was established that there were similarities between communal farmers and land reform beneficiaries in linking the school to donors. However, a disparity was also exposed in this study that the Sambo community mainly confined its linkages to politicians while the Tiro community was linking its school to religious organisations like churches and their successful children. Thus, the study argues that through information sharing satellite schools were linked with an array of donors. These donors proved to be essential in the development of satellite schools in Zimbabwe as these schools thrives mostly without government funding. Hence, it can be argued that this aspect of information sharing has implications on rallying for support for the growth and development of satellite schools. Therefore, it can further be reasoned that information sharing among farmers plays a crucial role in rallying for support. From this study it can further be contended that beneficiaries of the land reform play an instrumental role in satellite schools through information sharing. The next section discusses land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers spreading of detrimental and negative information on satellite schools.

5.3.2.5 LAND REFORM BENEFICIARIES AND COMMUNAL FARMERS AND DETRIMENTAL INFORMATION

The participants both at Tiro and Sambo revealed during the study that there were some negative repercussions to their social capital influences on satellite school. The heads of the two schools bemoaned the negative repercussions of social capital as emanating from both communal farmers and land reform beneficiaries. The head of Sambo School, SH, revealed that social networks were responsible for misinformation and spreading falsehoods about the school in general and the head of each school. SH (during the semi-structured interviews) revealed:

> My predecessor fell victim to the rumours that were spread by the detractors within the community. He clashed with one member of staff who in-turn engaged the local traditional leadership to have him[19] expelled. Allegations of financial mismanagement were circulated and this led to Mr Makandaenzou (pseudonym) leaving. These allegations were later proved untrue by the district audit team. **(**Interviewee SH, Personal communication, November 9, 2015).

This was confirmed by the head of Tiro School, TH, who explained what happens,

> There are times during stakeholder meetings that as an administrator that I feel our agenda had already been discussed. The farmers and local traditional leadership before coming for a meeting at school they have their own meetings in the community. By the time they get to the school only their spokespersons will be airing their agreed positions. Even during SDC[20] elections the candidates are discussed and agreed upon at these 'other' meetings and they come to the school meeting for a formality. **(**Interviewee TH, Personal communication, November 2, 2015).

In addition, the head of Tiro school, TH, added:

> The challenge of the community convening their other meetings discussing the school is that wrong information being disseminated. These meetings may also exclude some farmers and villages. So there is need for the parents to only partake in sanctioned meetings on the school premises. **(**Interviewee TH, Personal communication, November 2, 2015).

Furthermore, the head of Sambo school, SH, stated, "The farmers due to their networks also manipulated SDC elections at the school. Preferred candidate can easily canvass for votes due to their close ties amongst themselves." **(**Interviewee SH, Personal communication, November 9, 2015).

From the foregoing submissions the two school heads revealed that the farmers' social capital is not only contributing positively but it also has negative effects. The information sharing

[19] Makandaenzou, the head of Sambo School was expelled from the school on allegations misappropriation of schools funds only for an audit report to exonerate him later. The audit report only came well after Makandaenzou had been ejected from the school.

[20] SDC-School Development Committees- Each school in Zimbabwe is run with the help of an elected board of parents of pupils

influence at times involves spreading negative and detrimental rumours about the school as revealed in aspersions that led to the expulsion of the head, Mr Makandaenzou, at Sambo School. This sub-theme also emerged during focus group discussions at Sambo School where the participants (FGDS1, FGDS2 & FGDS3) upon probing regret the unfortunate Mr Makandaenzou incident. The local traditional leadership was blamed by the participants for using the farmers to settle personal grudges with individuals at satellite schools. Thus, this study established that information sharing did not only have positive influences on the school but negative influences as well. Moreover, according to this study's findings, the social networking of farmers can be manipulated to the detriment of the satellite schools. Furthermore, the researcher argues that due to the deleterious ramifications of the social capital of the land reform beneficiaries at Tiro, the views and positions of individuals are often overshadowed by the views of the majority. SDC elections were influenced with ease due to the stock of social capital of the farmers in the areas under study as revealed by the Sambo head, SH in the interview. The fact that social capital has negative implications and externalities is underscored by scholars (Adler & Kwon, 1999, p. 30-31; Olson, 1982; Portes, 1998, p. 15-18; Quibria, 2003, p. 29). Portes (1998, p. 18) argues, "Sociability cuts both ways … it can also lead to public bads." The aspersions caused at Sambo School as revealed in this study and the manipulation of SDC elections can be classified as 'public bads' as espoused in submissions in Portes (1998).

The study established that disparities in the level of social capital between the Sambo and Tiro communities affect resource mobilisation influences of communal farmers and land reform beneficiaries, respectively. It was noted from this study that the communal farmers at Sambo School were no longer very eager to contribute and this was attributed to the negative effects of social networks. The head of Sambo School, SH, revealed, "The community used to support developments at the school but there were no longer as forthcoming. Their reluctance was due to discouragements by their neighbours." **(**Interviewee SH, Personal communication, November 9, 2015). In addition, SVH2 added:

> Accusations of financial mismanagement and fabrications can also be shared among the farmers. Farmers were discouraged from participating in the construction of satellite schools by rumours shared through their social networks. **(**Interviewee SH, Personal communication, November 9, 2015).

From the foregoing it can be contended that the farmers' social capital had led to the removal of a school head and thus interference in the administration of the school. The other detrimental implication of misinformation was evidently the change in the community's resource mobilization influence to a certain extent. Hence, it can therefore be said that the social capital of land reform beneficiaries negatively influenced satellite schools to a certain extent through the spreading detrimental information about the school which is often unsubstantiated. The next section interrogates the reasons for the land reform beneficiaries' and communal farmers' engagement with satellite schools.

5.4 REASONS FOR THE LAND REFORM BENEFICIARIES AND COMMUNAL FARMERS ENGAGEMENT

Seven most important themes materialised from this study in unpacking the second critical question: Why are the land reform beneficiaries engaging with satellite schools in these particular ways? The major themes are the proximity of land reform beneficiaries' homesteads, a feeling of indebtedness to the government, social networks, shared meaning or goals, a sense of belonging, and resource base. These themes are shown in Figure 5.4.

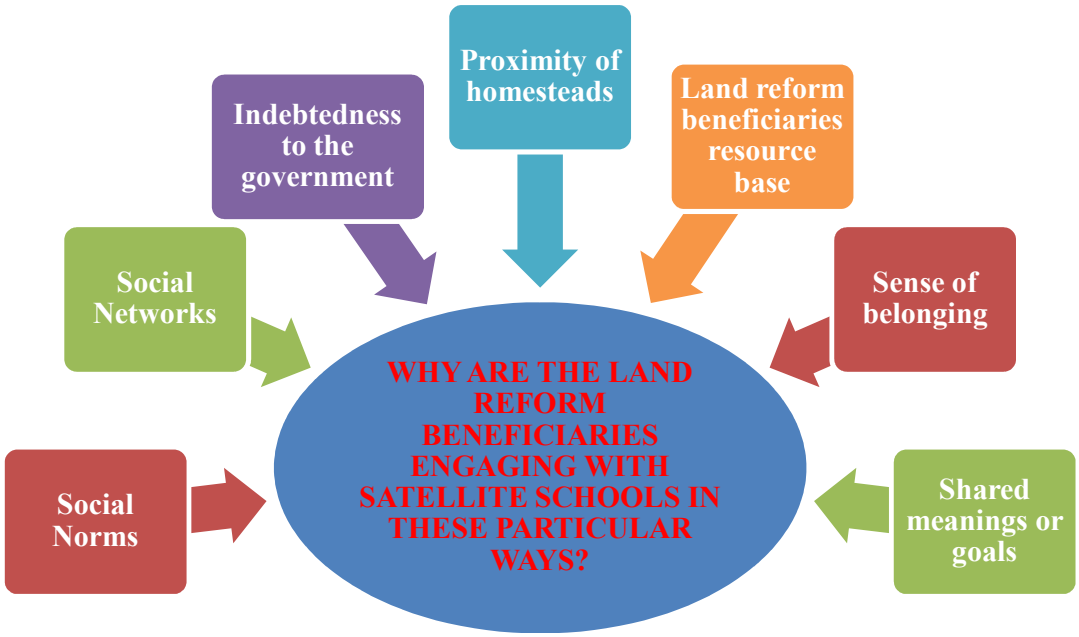

Figure 5.4 Reasons for the land reform beneficiaries' and communal farmers' engagement with Tiro and Sambo satellite schools (Field data: 2015)

5.4.1 SOCIAL NETWORKS

This study indicated that land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers are engaged with Tiro and Sambo satellite schools mainly due to their social networks. Throughout the generation of data for this study, the role of social networks was raised in farmers, village heads as well as the school head contributions at Tiro and Sambo. Participants in both semi-structured interviews as well as focus group discussions were in agreement on the role of social networks in the resource mobilisation and information sharing of satellite schools.

Social networks can be credited for the particular ways in which land reform beneficiaries influence satellite schools in Zimbabwe. The importance of social networks is captured by the head of Tiro school, TH, who stated in the semi-structured interviews that,

> For Tiro to be where it is today, we are grateful of the social networks of the farmers especially their *nhimbe*[21]. The local farmers engage in *nhimbe* during planting, weeding and harvesting. *Nhimbe* allows them to share ideas and encourages cooperation amongst the farmers' households. **(**Interviewee TH, Personal communication, November 2, 2015).

The researcher was able to elicit more details on the concept of *nhimbe* from the focus group participants at Tiro, and FGDT1 revealed,

> *Nhimbe* is when neighbours take turns to provide labour on each other's plots. For example Mr Shumba, Mr Hungwe and Mr Moyo bring their families to assist Mr Garwe and his family harvest his maize crop. Mr Garwe provides food and refreshments to his neighbours assisting him. The neighbours take turns and this cultivates good relations and neighbourliness. **(**Focus Group Discussion participant FGDT1, Personal communication, November 3, 2015).

Furthermore, FGDT2 elaborated, "The *nhimbe* concept has been harnessed and extended to provide labour for the construction of our school. The farmers applied the *nhimbe* structures already in place to organise and mobilise labour for the construction of the school." **(**Focus Group Discussion participant FGDT2, Personal communication, November 3, 2015).

FGDT1 further stated, "*Nhimbe* was used to clear the land, mould bricks, ferry river and pit sand, fetch water, fence and crush quarry stones at our school." **(**Focus Group Discussion participant FGDT1, Personal communication, November 3, 2015).

Submissions by FGDT1 and FGDT2 reveal that *nhimbe* played a crucial role in the construction of Tiro School. Hence, it can be argued that land reform beneficiaries engaged with satellite schools in the creation of social networks which were being engaged through resource mobilization and information sharing where volunteerism plays a critical role. The

[21] Nhimbe-work party whereby farmers rotate working on each other's plots. At times as many as ten households come together to work on each other's plot on a rotational basis.

significance of social networks of the land reform beneficiaries was glaringly revealed through *nhimbe*. The concept *of nhimbe* refers to community work collectively undertaken through which households help each other with extra labour, normally during the farming seasons (Tavuyanago, Mutami & Mbenene, 2010; Shutt, 2002). The concept of *nhimbe* revealed in this study is similar to practices such as the *Chilimba* in Zambia, *Harambee* in Kenya, *Milipa* in Mexico and Study Circle in Sweden (Sithole, 2014). Adjargo (2012, p. 219) reveals a similar practice to the concept of *nhimbe* in Ghana, which is called *Nnobia Kuo* enabling farmers to get access to a shared labour pool at no monetary cost during the main farming season. The concept of *nhimbe* involves homesteads planning, interacting and working together and thus this concept was extended to households' engagement with satellite schools. The land reform beneficiaries were able to build on their associations of *nhimbe* and invest in satellite schools. However, at Sambo the role of was not as significant as it was at Tiro. Tiro land reform beneficiaries have varying origins as revealed by various studies discussed in this study and thus have weak kingship. Hence, the researcher's argument that *nhimbe* takes more significance in a community that consists of people of different origin were inhabitants assumingly are low on kinship relations. Communities with low kinship have to rely on the benefits accrued from *nhimbe.* Whereas, amongst the communal farmers in the Sambo community kinship is very high as family ties are strong as people are still living in their traditional areas. The role played Tiro land reform beneficiaries through *nhimbe* can be viewed using as social bonding (Myeong and Seo, 2016).

The study exposed that social networks amongst the land reform beneficiaries at Tiro play an essential role in the community's engagement with satellite schools. These findings on the *nhimbe* concept are also revealed in Manona (2005, p. 136) who posits that "*nhimbe* is an organised labour party which occurs through a relationship of reciprocity within a community." Therefore, it can be revealed that the engagement of the land reform beneficiaries with satellite schools was due to the relationship of reciprocity emanating from the *nhimbe* concept. The households of farmers work together to contribute to building the Tiro satellite school and in turn the school reciprocates by providing education in their community. In addition, the farmers' contribution was reciprocated in a reduction of the distance walked by children of the farmers. Hence, the results of this study coincided with Bourdieu's argument. Bourdieu (1985, p. 249) states that social capital is, "a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition." This

durable existing network amongst the land reform beneficiaries at Tiro was utilised to develop their engagement with satellite schools in particular and community initiatives in general. Furthermore, the study established that the social networks of the land reform beneficiaries allowed them to solve collective problems more easily. The importance of social networks in the engagement of land reform beneficiaries on the need for a satellite school is captured by TF1, "For Tiro school to be located here we sat down as neighbours. There were consultations amongst us as farmers and we realised that there was consensus that we needed a school." **(**Interviewee TF1, Personal communication, November 3, 2015).

This was also FGDT1 elaborated:

> Our social networks were incorporated into harnessing ideas and resources for the construction of our school. It was easier to mobilise because people were already interacting in their networks prior to the establishment of our satellite school. **(**Focus Group Discussion participant FGDT1, Personal communication, November 3, 2015).

The land reform beneficiaries realised that they had a collective problem (need for a school) and individually they were not going to succeed in addressing it. Therefore, the land reform beneficiaries came together through their social networks and lobbied government for a school. Putnam (2000) concurs that social capital expediting easier collective problem solving. This entails people in a community benefitting when they cooperate to solve collective problems as in the case of the land reform beneficiaries under study. Hence, the engagement of the land reform beneficiaries with satellite schools can be seen as a product of their social networks.

This study argues that social networks are not only a means for a community to access resources within (Bourdieu, 1986, Coleman, 1988; Dale & Newman, 2010) but facilitate collective action (Woolcock, 2001). In this study, the engagement of a community led to the development of Tiro and Sambo satellite schools. Moreover, this study broadens the role of social networks in reasoning that resource mobilization and information sharing underpinned levels of volunteerism by land reform beneficiaries are rooted in firm social networks. The import of the social networks was evident in the lobbying of government for satellite schools, and contributions in many forms to the construction of the satellite schools. Consequently, the land reform beneficiaries in Tiro community and communal farmers in Sambo provided

building materials, financial capital, labour and accommodation to teachers due to the role of social networks amongst themselves. However, the empirical evidence on the thriving of social capital among the land reform beneficiaries contradicts findings in Matondi (2012) that social capital is constrained when people have divergent backgrounds. This study that Tiro which had land reform beneficiaries from divergent backgrounds had stronger networks as compared to Sambo communal farmers who had similar backgrounds. Scoones et al (2010) add that some A1 farmers who were from urban areas (civil servants, pensioners, politicians, business people) as well as from neighbouring communal areas. Thus despite these diverse origins, this study showed that the land reform beneficiaries have managed to establish social networks which are essential for their engagement with satellite schools. The next section provides a discussion of social norms.

5.4.2 SOCIAL NORMS

The engagement of land reform beneficiaries through resource mobilisation and information sharing can be attributed to the existing social norms of the community with the collective need of the community for a school being a priority. The participants in the focus group discussions at Tiro revealed that the community had expectations from each and every household in terms of their participation in community development. TVH2, revealed, "Provision of labour at our school by every household is an expectation of our community. Who are you to go against what has been agreed by all other farmers" **(**Interviewee TVH2, Personal communication, November 3, 2015).

TVH2 revealed that amongst the Tiro land reform beneficiaries there were social norms on the provision of labour to satellite schools. Thus, land reform beneficiaries are engaging with satellite schools in voluntary mobilisation of resources and voluntary information sharing due to the existing social norms in their community.

The land reform beneficiaries at Tiro, due to the social norms developed amongst themselves, are obliged to fulfil commitments and pledges made to the school when it was established. In addition, TVH2 further stated, "It doesn't matter whether you are new to the community. Even new farmers who recently joined the community are expected to conform and participate in community development.

Thus, as TVH2 revealed even new farmers who joined the community also adhered to these community norms and this is proving beneficial to the satellite schools in the fast track resettlement areas. These findings on the role of social norms support conclusions in Barnard (2014). Barnard (2014) in a study among Brazilian farmers demonstrates the importance of social norms in farming communities. Consequently, the social norms of the Tiro land reform beneficiaries in Zimbabwe were a positive influence in overcoming obstacles that would hinder community development such as in the construction of the satellite schools.

Differences in social capital between communal farmers at Sambo and land reform beneficiaries at Tiro were explained in social norms. The study findings revealed that there are differences in the social norms of different communities which influence their engagement with satellite schools in different ways. Differences in social norms between Sambo and Tiro communities confirms findings in Fukuyama (2002). Fukuyama (2002, p. 27) argues, "Not all norms and values, and hence not all cultures, are equally equipped to foster … growth." The variations in social norms as revealed in this study between the Sambo community and Tiro community have important implications on the farmers' engagement with satellite schools to a greater extent. Therefore, due to differences in social norms as revealed in this study, the Tiro community managed to provide adequate building materials, financial capital, labour and accommodation for teachers. Moreover, the social capital influences in the Tiro community have facilitated the completion of construction at their satellite school. However, on the other hand, the Sambo community due to weakness in social norms has failed to a great extent to match the pace of construction of the school that was revealed at Tiro school. In the next section proximity of homesteads to one another land reform beneficiaries' and communal farmers' homesteads is utilised to explain their engagement with satellite schools.

5.4.3 PROXIMITY OF HOMESTEADS TO ONE ANOTHER

Participants in the study revealed that their interaction with satellite schools was largely born-out of the proximity of their homesteads and their neighbours. It emerged from the village heads at Tiro (TVH1 & TVH2) that homesteads were in close proximity which enabled them to interact regularly and with the satellite school. TVH2 appositely revealed,

> Our homesteads are arranged very close together such that we see each and other daily. Information is easily shared because we talk together daily. Our fields are delineated separately from our homesteads. Information on activities at our school was easily shared due to closeness of our homesteads. **(**Interviewee TVH2, Personal communication, November 3, 2015).

TVH2 reveals that the short distance between the homesteads of land reform beneficiaries facilitated easy information sharing as there was more interaction amongst the land reform beneficiaries at Tiro. Therefore, the proximity of the households of land reform beneficiaries increased their daily interactions which also has the positive impact of sharing of information. This finding revealed that there was easy information sharing among the land reform beneficiaries. Due to the proximity of the land reform beneficiaries' homesteads, information on stakeholder meetings is easily shared amongst the farmers to a greater extent. The proximity of homesteads is essential in the influence of the land reform beneficiaries on satellite schools.

The study showed that the land reform beneficiaries influenced satellite schools through resource mobilisation and information sharing because of the proximity of their homesteads to each other. The village heads and land reform beneficiaries were in agreement in respect of the impact of the proximity of their homesteads on their sharing of information about their school. Various studies (Fontein, 2009; Marongwe, 2009; ZIMSTAT, 2012) acknowledge that the A1 model which has been termed the villagized model was composed of land reform beneficiaries' households which were in close proximity to one another. The households were located within a radius of 30 metres of each other. Thus, there are repeated happenstances amongst the community members on a daily basis. This close proximity was further enhanced in shared water sources and grazing lands among the land reform beneficiaries. The households in the A1 model were clustered together while their fields and grazing lands were located away from the compounds. Hence, due to the proximity of the land reform's homesteads to one another. there was the ripple effect of co-ordination: the decisions being made and in the work undertaken at the satellite schools. Proximity of the land reform beneficiaries' households increased daily interactions in the Tiro community. These daily resultantly strengthened the bonds between the households which facilitated increased engagement with the Tiro satellite schools. Edwards and Foley (1998) concurs that

geographic distance constitutes a regulator of social capital availability in a community. Gossling (2004) argues that spatial proximity facilitates repetitive interaction among individuals within a community.

This study revealed that the proximity of Tiro homesteads to one another increased associations between neighbours and in turn as observed from an empirical study in Dasgupta (2000). Dasgupta (2000, p. 58) stated, "associations reduce opportunistic behaviour by creating repeated interaction among individuals." This finding is also analogous with the findings in Kassahun (2010, p. 130) in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia that "increased frequency of interaction promotes strong customs of trade-off and social trust." Consequently, it can be argued that the close proximity of the dwellings increased interaction between the land reform beneficiaries, and ultimately their influence on satellite schools. In addition, it can be revealed further that increased interaction between the land reform beneficiaries due to the closeness of homesteads in the A1 model was central to their positive influence on Tiro satellite schools. Thus, the data presented in this study, correspond with other studies of social capital (Kassahun, 2010; Rutten et al, 2010; Seabright, 1993; Gossling, 2004) which show that the spatial proximity of dwellings increases interaction between individuals and households which is beneficial to development initiatives such as the building of schools. In addition, closeness of homesteads can be argued to be an enhancer of bonding social capital. Putnam (1993) revealed that geographic proximity increases bonding social capital. Thus, this study revealed that Tiro land reform beneficiaries due to proximity of their homesteads from one another there was an increase in bonding social capital. Hence, the villagised A1 model increased interaction among households thereby helped Tiro satellite school through information sharing. The next section provides a discussion on the communal farmers' and land reform beneficiaries' resource base which worked together with proximity to explain engagement with Sambo and Tiro satellite school.

5.4.4 LAND REFORM BENEFICIARIES' RESOURCE BASE

This study highlighted that the influence of the land reform beneficiaries at Tiro on satellite schools was largely premised on the composition of their resource base. This study revealed that the land reform beneficiaries have resources that can be accessed and shared through

their interactions. Section 5.3.1.1 of this study under resource mobilisation revealed that land reform beneficiaries in the Tiro community contributed financially as well as in kind towards the development of their school. However, in the Sambo community, which is composed of communal farmers, proposals that the farmers make contributions were not well received. Moreover, it can also be revealed that proposals that farmers make contributions at Tiro came from the farmers themselves while at Sambo, proposals came from the village heads. Thus, this apparent difference in the influence of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers can be explained by differences in farm produce yields and assets between the farmers at Tiro and Sambo. FGDT1 summed, "*We are supporting our school because we are getting good yields. Our harvests allow us to sell our surplus, educate our children as well as support development. Schools are development."* **(**Focus Group Discussion participant FGDT1, Personal communication, November 3, 2015).

FGDT1's statement which summed contributions of other participants in the focus group discussion at Tiro revealed that the land reform beneficiaries influenced satellite schools through resource mobilisation, information sharing and volunteerism because they have adequate resources due to the good yields when compared to communal farmers in the year the study was conducted. This finding on the yields of land reform beneficiaries was consistent with empirical findings in Scoones et al (2010) in Masvingo province that the land reform beneficiaries were producing and accumulating assets. The school in Tiro community is an asset. Various studies (Cliffe et al. 2011; Moyo et al. 2009; Scoones, 2016) also support this finding that the land reform beneficiaries are getting good yields. However, the above mentioned studies do not elaborate on the dimensions revealed in this study that the land reform beneficiaries utilized their individual and collective resources to influence satellite schools as revealed by the Tiro community in this study. The Tiro community due to their resource base provided accommodation to teachers, labour, building materials (from near the river) and financial support to their satellite school. In addition, the study also revealed that the land reform beneficiaries converted their farm produce such as maize into cash which was donated to the satellite school for further development. Scoones (2016) elaborated on the booming of Mvurwi, from a dormitory town of 2,000 residents before the land reform to a population of 7,500 residents after 2012. The expansion of Mvurwi town in terms of population and business activities has been attributed to the tobacco boom as a result of the land reform from the year 2014 (Scoones, 2016). Whereas, comparatively the communal farmers have been revealed to be food insecure (Anseeuw et al, 2012) and therefore have a

weak resource base as compared with the land reform beneficiaries. Hence, this study's argument that communal farmers cannot spare their produce towards satellite schools because they are food insecure. This argument can be extended to explain why communal farmers spend less time and effort in volunteering labour at the satellite school because they will be trying to supplement their income to cushion against food insecurity. Matondi (2012, p. 175) concurs in Mazowe and Magwe districts that, "capital investment took place not only at farm level but also at the community level, as proceeds from farming were channelled to public infrastructure such as schools." Therefore, this study argues that social capital influences were largely dependent on the possession of resources amongst members within social networks such as farm produce converted into financial resources among others. In addition, according to this study the land reform beneficiaries due to their land ownership are investing in education through the conversion of their farm produce such as maize. Therefore, this finding concurs with the conclusion in the World Bank (2006) that land ownership leads to higher investment in education.

5.4.5 LAND REFORM BENEFICIARIES' INDEBTEDNESS TO THE ZIMBABWEAN GOVERNMENT

The study further revealed that the land reform beneficiaries engaged with the Tiro satellite school through resource mobilisation and information sharing because they felt indebted to the government for giving them land. The land reform beneficiaries' indebtedness to the government in general and to the President of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe, in particular was evident during both semi-structured and focus group discussions with participants in this study. One village head, TVH2, explained,

> Cde Mugabe gave us land and we have to support him. One way of supporting him is through participating and contributing to the development of schools. Schools are close to our president's heart, so we are paying him back by building Tiro school. **(**Interviewee TVH2, Personal communication, November 3, 2015).

In addition, one farmer TF3 elaborated on the building of the school which is a contribution to public infrastructure, "We got land from the government without paying even a cent. Now it is our turn to help the government to develop our area." Interviewee TF3, Personal communication, November 4, 2015).

Therefore, the Tiro land reform beneficiaries are showed their gratitude to the government through influencing the construction and development of Tiro satellite school in Zimbabwe. This finding contradicts Makumbe (2003) and Rukuni (2011) who confine the land reform beneficiaries' gratitude to political participation and voting for the ZANU-PF. The land reform programme was initiated by ZANU-PF led by President Robert Mugabe. Thus, according to the political discourse on the land reform beneficiaries in Zimbabwe are ZANU-PF supporters. However, this study established that the gratitude of land reform beneficiaries is not confined to ZANU-PF membership as shown in the 2002, 2008 and 2013 elections (Raftopoulos, 2013; Scoones, 2014; Tendi 2013;) but it also extended to Tiro satellite school development. In addition, the Tiro land reform beneficiaries revealed diverse political affiliations. One farmer, TF3, elaborated on political affiliation,

> Most outsiders think all farmers in this area are ZANU-PF supporters but that is not the case. Opposition candidates in the last election managed to get votes in this area meaning that there are people from other political parties other than the ruling ZANU-PF party. (Interviewee TF3, Personal communication, November 3, 2015).

Thus, it can be reasoned that the Tiro land reform beneficiaries are not only showing their gratitude to Robert Mugabe's ruling party as espoused by the political perspective to the land reform in Section 2.4.4 of this study but influenced Tiro community development through the building of Tiro satellite school as revealed by this study. The next section compares the sense of belonging between land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers at Tiro and Sambo satellite schools.

5.4.6 A SENSE OF BELONGING AND OWNERSHIP

This research further revealed that the land reform beneficiaries are influencing satellite schools because of their sense of belonging and ownership of the satellite school. Both land reform beneficiaries and village heads in this study showed a sense of ownership of the satellite school through consistently calling Tiro school, 'our school'. This notion of identifying with the school illuminated the land reform beneficiaries' engagement with the satellite schools through resource mobilization together with information sharing. In addition, it can be contended that the land reform beneficiaries mobilized resources, disseminated information and volunteered because they felt ownership of Tiro school. For example, as

revealed by one farmer, TF3, who states, “Tiro school is our school and no one can build it for us. This school is like our own home so we have to develop it. We have asked the head to put sign posts which identify our school.” (Interviewee TF3, Personal communication, November 3, 2015).

TVH1 concurred, “This school is part of our village. So we have to take it as our own homesteads. Do you expect outsiders to build your own home for you? No. That’s why it is important for us farmers to participate in the construction of satellite schools” (Interviewee TVH1, Personal communication, November 3, 2015).

This study, as revealed by the land reform beneficiaries’ articulations, shows a strong sense of belonging and ownership of the Tiro satellite school and influenced on the ways that the Tiro land reform beneficiaries interacted with the Tiro satellite school. Therefore, it can be maintained that the land reform beneficiaries influenced Tiro satellite school through resource mobilization and information sharing (grounded in volunteerism) because of their sense of belonging and ownership of the local satellite school, Tiro satellite. In addition, it can be reasoned that the social capital of the land reform beneficiaries has facilitated their sense of belonging and ownership of the development process in the Tiro community that have experienced the Fast Track Land Programme in Zimbabwe. However, at the other research site the communal did reflect a sense of ownership of Sambo satellite. Thus, the association of the land reform beneficiaries sense of belonging and ownership with the land reform to a certain extent. The following section elucidates shared meaning or goals among land reform beneficiaries at Tiro.

5.4.7 SHARED MEANING OR GOALS

The study further revealed that the land reform beneficiaries were engaging with Tiro satellite school through resource mobilisation and information sharing because they have shared meanings/ goals. Shared meaning as revealed in this study refers to a community viewing its problems in the same way and mutually arriving at a solution. Land reform beneficiaries at Tiro had shared meaning in terms of the need to establish Tiro satellite school and make it successful. The land reform beneficiaries who participated in the focus group discussion at Tiro (FGDT1, FGDT2 and FGDT3) revealed the importance of the provision of education in the future of their children. There was unanimity on the role of the Tiro satellite school in the

education of the children of the land reform beneficiaries. The importance of shared meaning was exposed by contrasting these findings from participants at Tiro with those at Sambo. At Sambo the study revealed that some members of the community were shunning the satellite school for well-established schools which are far from their homesteads. The head of Tiro stated (as also revealed in Section 5.3.2.3) that all secondary school going children in the Tiro community were enrolled at Tiro satellite school. The participants in the focus group discussion at Tiro (FGDT1, FGDT2 and FGDT3) further stated that there was an understanding amongst themselves that no children from their community should go to any other school except Tiro satellite school. Thus, this position taken by the Tiro community shaped their engagement with the satellite school as they have a shared goal. The Tiro community goals are captured in the semi-structured interview when one village head, TVH 2, revealed,

> We want Tiro to grow and be popular. This school has to be a shining beacon and right now we feel we are heading in that direction. We were happy this year when the whole district came here for a sports tournament. That is how big names are made. (Interviewee TVH2, Personal communication, November 3, 2015).

Tiro head, TH added:

> The community takes pride in the school. There is always tremendous support from the community when we host sports tournament or any other function. This was witnessed when we hosted a district sports tournament earlier this year (2015). The farmers' support was overwhelming to say the least. (Interviewee TH, Personal communication, November 2, 2015).

The Tiro land reform beneficiaries are engaged with Tiro satellite school because they have shared meanings or goals and this generated community pride. The goals as revealed above include the importance of education in their children's future. Thus, this finding is aligned to the discourse propounded by Adler and Kwon (1999, p. 30) that "social capital is unlikely to arise among people who do not understand each other". Furthermore, this finding supports findings in McMillan and Chavis (1986). McMillan and Chavis (1986, p. 9) argued, "a feeling that members have of belonging, a feeling that members matter to one another and to the group, and a shared faith that members' needs will be met through their commitment to be together." Therefore, it follows that the land reform beneficiaries collaborate through resource mobilization and information sharing due to their shared meanings or goals which in

turn fosters community pride. The next section provides a conclusion to the chapter on data presentation analysis of findings.

5.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented findings to answer the question on the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers satellite schools in Zimbabwe. The study was guided by three critical questions: How does the social capital of the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmer influence satellite schools? Why are the land reform beneficiaries engaging with the satellite schools? Why are the communal farmers engaging with the satellite schools? The analysis of empirical data on the social capital of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers yielded two emerging main themes; resource mobilisation and information sharing and their supporting sub-themes. The chapter also revealed that the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers engaged with Tiro and Sambo satellite schools because of their social networks, the close proximity of their dwellings, a sense of belonging and ownership of the school, the existing social norms, an indebtedness to the government which introduced the land reform and communities' existing resource base. The next chapter provides theorizations from the findings on the social capital influences of the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers on Tiro and Sambo satellite schools.

CHAPTER SIX

THEORY BUILDING

6. 0 INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapter presented and analysed data on the social capital of the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers on Tiro and Sambo satellite schools in Zimbabwe. The data were generated from the Tiro and Sambo communities using semi-structured interviews as well as focus group discussions. This current chapter is on theorizations based on the findings presented in this study and guided by the three critical questions this study pursued to answer. The study attempted to answer the following critical questions,

- How does the social capital of the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmer influence satellite schools?
- Why are the land reform beneficiaries engaging with the satellite schools?
- Why are the communal farmers engaging with the satellite schools?

6.1 THE SPECTRUM OF SOCIAL CAPITAL INFLUENCES

This study established that the social capital of land reform beneficiaries is influencing Tiro satellite school in positive ways to a great extent, although there are some negative influences. The social capital of communal farmers at Sambo was also influencing Sambo satellite school although the influence was less when compared to that of land reform beneficiaries at Tiro. The study established that the social resources of the land reform beneficiaries at Tiro and communal farmers at Sambo are influencing satellite schools through voluntary resource mobilisation and voluntary information sharing. It was noted from this study that the positive influences of the social capital of the Tiro land reform beneficiaries outweigh the negative influences as buttressed by the growth of Tiro satellite school when compared to Sambo satellite school in a communal area. The next section discusses the notion that social capital is a resource as revealed by findings at Tiro and Sambo satellite schools in Zimbabwe.

6.1.1 SOCIAL CAPITAL IS A RESOURCE TO A COMMUNITY

The study confirmed that Bourdieu's conceptualization of social capital as a resource is revealed by the social capital of land reform beneficiaries at Tiro in this study. The responsibility to construct Tiro and Sambo satellite schools was abdicated by the government and it slid to the respective communities and thus, the communities had to rely on their stock of social capital to provide for their own infrastructural needs, namely schools. The government abdicated its role of constructing Tiro and Sambo satellite schools because of resource constraints as there were many other schools that needed to be constructed after the execution of land reform.

The provision of teachers' accommodation, building materials and financial support, among others shows that the social capital of the Tiro land reform beneficiaries is actually a robust resource that can be garnered for the benefit of the community and its development. In addition, the study confirmed the argument by Putnam (2000) that social capital makes societies both efficient and cohesive as the land reform beneficiaries managed to construct satellite schools. However, the study established that the social capital of land reform beneficiaries is not an infinite resource. More so, social capital was revealed to be similar to other forms of capital like economic and human capital which fluctuates and depletes. This is shown by the fluctuations in the stocks of social capital, when yields are poor there was no surplus to convert into cash. Equally when the yields are good, farmers have surplus to sell and they give the proceeds to satellite schools. In addition, poor yields in the Sambo communal areas meant that the communal farmers could not engage with Sambo satellite school in the same way that land reform beneficiaries at Tiro engaged with Tiro satellite school. Subsequently, the study can be argued to have reaffirmed the significance of social capital as a resource as espoused by Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1980; 1985; 1986). However, it was noted at both Tiro and Sambo that social capital can be an impediment to a community and this is theorized below.

6.1.2 SOCIAL CAPITAL IS AN IMPEDIMENT TO A COMMUNITY

The study on the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries at Tiro and communal farmers at Sambo revealed that social capital can also be an impediment to a community. The study noted that the social capital of the land reform beneficiaries at Tiro and communal farmers at Sambo also had negative influences on satellite schools. The researcher revealed that the social capital of land reform beneficiaries at Tiro and communal farmers at Tiro was responsible for the spreading of detrimental and negative information about satellite schools. The participants revealed that the land reform beneficiaries at Tiro through their social capital sometimes convened community meetings to influence the outcome of SDC elections and the running of the school. Whereas, at Sambo the study revealed that a school head lost his job because of false accusations spread through the communal farmers' social capital. The negative influences revealed at Tiro and Sambo despite disparities in their magnitude are the price that satellite schools have to pay for the other positive influences. It can be reasoned that the aspect of social capital being an impediment in Tiro and Sambo is apparently collateral damage when compared to resource mobilisation and information sharing benefits. Therefore, it can be argued that negative implications, which are termed 'public bads of social capital' by Alder and Kwon (2002), Oslon (1982), Portes (1998) and Quibria (2003) are also felt by satellite schools. Hence, this study also established that social capital has both positive and negative influences on the Tiro and Sambo communities. The study also established that social capital was converted to economic capital at Tiro and this is presented in the next section of this chapter.

6.1.3 'CROPS INTO CASH': SOCIAL CAPITAL CONVERSION INTO ECONOMIC CAPITAL

This study on the social capital influences of the land reform beneficiaries on satellite schools also established that social capital of Tiro land reform beneficiaries as a resource could be converted into economic capital. Social capital as revealed in this study was converted into economic capital through the conversion of 'crops into cash'. Tiro land reform beneficiaries transformed their social capital into monetary capital by converting their 'crops into cash'. Therefore, the social capital of the land reform beneficiaries at Tiro aptly show that social capital is in fact a resource. The communal farmers did not convert their crops into cash in order to donate to their satellite school as revealed by land reform beneficiaries. The

communal farmers and land reform beneficiaries in this study had to build satellite schools from the social capital, which can be argued to be a resource. Moreover, social capital as revealed at Tiro was converted to economic capital and human capital just like any other resources that can be converted to other forms of capital. A portion of the cash was donated towards the construction of Tiro satellite school.

6.1.4 *NHIMBE:* SOCIAL CAPITAL CONVERSION INTO HUMAN CAPITAL

The land reform beneficiaries in this study were also able to convert their social capital into human capital through the concept of *nhimbe.* The concept of *nhimbe* can be viewed as a work party whereby farmers rotate working on one another's plots. Central to the concept of *nhimbe* is the provision of labour, which is human capital. Hence, this study revealed the influence of the concept of *nhimbe* on satellite schools. The differences in the impact of *nhimbe* between Tiro and Sambo can be explained using the strength of kinship argument that is to say in areas with low kinship such as Tiro the concept of *nhimbe* is bound to be strong. Kinship is weak in land reform areas because people have different origins, as has already be discussed elsewhere in this thesis. The people of Tiro are heterogeneous which further weakens their kinship thus resorting to building on the benefits of *nhimbe.* While, in areas like communal areas were kinship is strong *nhimbe* has less impact. Kinship is strong in communal areas because communal areas are composed of people who related and or people who have been neighbours for generations. Thus, instead of relying on *nhimbe,* communal farmers relied on their relatives instead unlike the land reform beneficiaries who had to rely on *nhimbe.* This study conforms to the argument submitted in Coleman that social capital can be converted into human capital (Coleman, 1988; 1990; 1994). Moreover, it can also be argued from this study that since social capital is transformable into other forms of capital such as financial capital, human capital as well as educational capital, it is influential in developing and growing Tiro and Sambo satellite schools to a great extent. The next section widens theorization on *nhimbe* to argue its role in the construction of Tiro and Sambo satellite schools.

6.1.5 *NHIMBE* IN PROMOTING SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION

This study established that benefits from the concept of *nhimbe* accrue to the individual households and the community. On the individual domiciliary level, the study established that land reform beneficiaries tap into the pool of labour through the concept of *nhimbe*. Moreover, land reform beneficiaries according to this study utilised *nhimbe* to also share information and make decisions on Tiro and Sambo satellite schools which is essential for them as individuals.

At the community level, land reform beneficiaries are clearing land, fetching river and pit sand and water for school construction through the concept of *nhimbe.* Hence, the children and dependents of land reform beneficiaries no longer walked many kilometres to school owing to the construction of Tiro and Sambo satellite schools courtesy of their social capital. It can further be argued that collective problems such as the provision of education in new resettlement areas require collective solutions which are hinged on the social capital of the community. The study revealed that the land reform beneficiaries at Tiro had a collective problem which individually could not be solved. Therefore, it follows that collective problems call for collective solutions as shown by the Tiro land reform beneficiaries in this study. However, the communal farmers at Sambo despite their collective problem they could not reap the benefits of *nhimbe* on the same magnitude as experienced at Tiro. Hence, this study's argument that social capital benefits accrue both to the individual and community varying with community concurs with Bourdieu's, Coleman's and Putnam's views. Therefore, it can be conjectured that social capital has benefits at both individual (sharing of information) and community level (building of satellite schools) as revealed by this study on the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries on satellite schools. Oztok et al (2015) and Gomez-Limon et al (2012) aver that for both Bourdieu's as well as Coleman's conceptualisations accentuate the individual's gains inside the community whereas Putnam's conceptualisation concentrates on the community. However, this study also established that social capital benefits accrue both at individual and community level among Tiro land reform beneficiaries in Zimbabwe. Land reform beneficiaries at Tiro and communal farmers at Sambo tapped distant social capital for the benefit of their respective satellite school as revealed in the next section.

6.1.6 TAPPING DISTANT SOCIAL CAPITAL

This thesis on the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries established that through information sharing land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers linked Tiro and Sambo satellite schools with external donors that were not in close physical proximity to Tiro and Sambo communities. Thus, this research established that land reform beneficiaries, through linking with external donors outside their community and country, were utilising distant social capital. Tiro land reform beneficiaries according to this study linked their social networks to donors outside their communities and to some outside the country. Accessing resources from outside the community and country can be viewed as accessing distant social capital which entails exclusive social networks as advocated in Putnam (1995; 2000). Thus, this study revealed a widened source of benefits accruing to a community due to its social capital to include other external communities. Bourdieu and Coleman confined their analysis of social capital to accessing resources within a community (Bourdieu, 1980; 1985; 1986; Coleman, 1988; 1990; 1993; 1994). This study revealed that the Tiro community due to its stock of social capital was accessed external resources from politicians, donors and churches. Therefore, it can be argued from this study that Tiro and Sambo satellite schools through the social capital of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers accessed transnational resources which exist outside the community and country. These transnational resources can be viewed as bridging social capital as espoused in Putnam (2000). The study due to its comparative nature established disparities in levels of social capital between land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers which are theorized in the ensuing segment below.

6.1.7 DISPARITIES IN LEVELS OF SOCIAL CAPITAL AMONG COMMUNITIES

This study also recognized that there are disparities in social capital even within the same country among different communities. Thus, it follows that social networks in poor communities seldom yield economic returns as revealed by disparities between Sambo community and Tiro community. The social capital of farmers is also affected by crop yields from their farms. Tiro land reform beneficiaries in this study were able to convert their yields into cash and support their satellite schools due to increased productivity on the farms whilst Sambo communal famers did not have any surplus to convert into cash. Tiro land reform beneficiaries had more social capital as revealed by their ability to accommodate the founding staff of Tiro satellite school. In addition, Tiro land reform beneficiaries' stockpile of

social capital was shown through converting crops into cash which was used to construct Tiro satellite school. Whereas, Sambo communal farmers due to their low stockpile of social capital failed to either to accommodate founding staff or convert crops into cash to fund the construction of Sambo satellite school. The difference in level of social capital between Tiro land reform beneficiaries and Sambo communal farmers was due to disparities in resource bases, distance between homesteads from one another according to this study. Therefore, this study established that indeed there are disparities between communities on their stockpile of social capital (Katungi, 2007; Narayan & Cassidy, 2001; Fukuyama, 1999; 2002) indicating that the extent of social capital resources varies amongst different communities. Hence, the ability of a community to grow is limited by its own stock of capital or what it is able to externally source. In addition to the discourse on disparities in levels of social capital among communities, the next section interrogates the argument that social norms prescribe behaviour.

6.1.8 SOCIAL NORMS PRESCRIBE BEHAVIOUR

This study also established that the social norms amongst land reform beneficiaries impacted on their social resource influences. Thus, the participation of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers through resource mobilisation and information sharing was due to their communities' existing social norms. The social norms among the Tiro land reform beneficiaries prescribed that it was unacceptable for them to enrol their children at other schools other than Tiro. The social norms further prescribed among the Tiro land reform beneficiaries to convert their surplus crops into cash for the construction of Tiro satellite school. Tiro land reform beneficiaries were further guided by their social norms to accommodate Tiro teachers in times of need like when the school was founded. Social norms among the Sambo communal farmers did not prescribe them to convert their crops into cash to facilitate the construction of Sambo satellite school. Furthermore, the study established that due to weak social norms among Sambo communal farmers, enrolling children in neighbouring schools was acceptable at the expense of Sambo. In addition, the results of this study on social norms conform to findings in Keefer and Knack (1997). Keefer and Knack (1997, p. 1254) conclude that, "substantial evidence demonstrates that social norms play an important role fostering interactions among members of a community." In addition, the study's findings on the participation of land reform beneficiaries resonate with Coleman's

communitarian view of social capital as captured in De La Pena (2014, p. 224) which has a heavy emphasis on participation. Therefore, in this study the communitarian approach as espoused in Coleman entails the role of local values in the participation of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers in Tiro and Sambo satellite schools respectively. Mixed implications of the land reform as revealed by this study are proffered following this section on social norms.

6.1.9 MIXED IMPLICATIONS OF THE LAND REFORM

This study established that implications of the land reform varied from one place to another. The findings from Tiro community revealed that the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries managed to contribute towards building of a satellite school. The land reform beneficiaries produced surplus that was donated to Tiro satellite school. Whereas, in Mabhena (2010) in another part of Zimbabwe in Matebeleland livelihoods were destroyed. From this finding, the researcher argues that converting "crops into cash" by Tiro land reform beneficiaries is evidence enough that there is surplus, thus livelihoods are sustained and not been destroyed as argued in Mabhena (2010). In the Tiro community it can be argued that livelihoods have not been destroyed by the land reform but have actually be rejuvenated. Findings by Mabhena (2010) that the land reform have been destroyed are not sustainable among the land reform beneficiaries in the Tiro community since there are producing surplus which they are converting into cash and constructing their satellite school. However, among the Sambo communal farmers did not convert their crops into cash, to assist in the construction of Sambo satellite school. The study established that the Sambo communal farmers' livelihoods did not allow for surplus to be converted into cash towards the construction Sambo satellite. The next aspect in this chapter deals with investment in schools by land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers.

6.1.10 LAND REFORM BENEFICIARIES AND COMMUNAL FARMERS INVESTMENT IN SCHOOLS

This study on the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries established that through resource mobilisation, land reform beneficiaries at Tiro are investing in schools, which is a contribution to public infrastructure. This finding supports findings in Mazowe and

Mangwe district in Zimbabwe in Matondi (2012) that land reform beneficiaries are investing in schools. Land reform beneficiaries in the Tiro community are investing labour, ideas, building materials, time among others in Tiro satellite school. Communal farmers are also investing in Sambo satellite school even though their investment appears little and insignificant when compared to land reform beneficiaries at Tiro. However, it can be argued from this study that what may appear as a little contribution coming from Sambo communal farmers is actually an enormous contribution when viewed in relation to their food insecurity among other crippling challenges endured in their community. Downing (2013, p. 199) argues, "vulnerability among communal farmers currently reflects social status and land quality ... food-secure communal farmers number almost 7.5 per cent of the population." Critical questions two and three of this study are theorized in following section which reveals reasons for engagement with satellite schools.

6.2 REASONS FOR THE COMMUNAL FARMERS AND LAND REFORM BENEFICIARIES ENGAGEMENT

This study established that the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers were influencing satellite schools through resource mobilisation and information sharing due to a number of reasons. The major reasons for the land reform beneficiaries' engagement were proximity of land reform beneficiaries, paying homage to the president and government, social networks, shared goals, a sense of belonging and the extent of the land reform beneficiaries' resource base. These reasons also explain the differences in engagement between communal farmers and land reform beneficiaries since they vary in their importance between Tiro and Sambo.

Homage and indebtedness of the land reform beneficiaries at Tiro to the president for giving them land for free plays a central role in their influence on Tiro satellite school. According to this study, land reform beneficiaries due to their homage and indebtedness, are influencing Tiro satellite school through resource mobilisation and information sharing. In addition, homage and indebtedness can further be used to explain disparities in social capital between land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers. Land reform beneficiaries due to their homage to the president feel obliged to construct Tiro satellite school while communal

farmers since they do not feel indebted to the president or government feel no obligation to support Sambo satellite school.

Resource mobilisation and the information sharing influences of the land reform beneficiaries can be explained utilizing their resource base. This study established that there are disparities between the influences of the Tiro land reform beneficiaries and those of Sambo communal farmers. In addition, this study explains this disparity as premised on the differences in their resource bases of land reform beneficiaries as compared to communal farmers. Scoones (2016) and Scoones et al (2011) revealed that land reform beneficiaries yielded impressive agricultural produce in Masvingo province. In addition, Scoones (2016) reveals that tobacco production has increased from a low of 48 million kgs in the mid-2000s to 216 million kgs in 2014. Therefore, Tiro land reform beneficiaries due to their increased agricultural productivity have surplus crops to donate. Unlike their counterparts in the Sambo communal lands who are struggling subsistence farmers, who rarely have surplus crops to donate towards community development. This chapter on theory building ends with a conclusion which is offered below.

6.3 CONCLUSION

This chapter offered critical notions that have emerged from the findings of this study. The chapter theorised that there are both positive and negative influences to the social capital of Tiro land reform beneficiaries and Sambo communal farmers on Tiro and Sambo satellite schools respectively. The chapter also discussed the reasons for the land reform beneficiaries' and communal farmers' engagement with Tiro and Sambo satellite schools. The next chapter which is the last chapter provides the summary, conclusions and the recommendations relative to the results, and it aims to answer the critical questions which guided this study. Recommendations for other scholars to pursue additional studies are also be suggested.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.0 INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapter engaged in a discussion of the findings of this study on the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers on Tiro and Sambo satellite schools in Zimbabwe. This current chapter confirms that the critical questions guiding this study have been answered as well as the research aim accomplished. The chapter mainly concentrates on presenting a summary of the study as covered in the preceding chapters, articulating the key conclusions drawn from the study as well as the recommendations anchored in the literature, the observed data presented and analysed in chapter five and theorisations in chapter six.

This study set out to investigate the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries on satellite schools in Zimbabwe. In conducting this study, the researcher was steered by the following critical questions;

- How does the social capital of the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmer influence satellite schools?
- Why are the land reform beneficiaries engaging with the satellite schools?
- Why are the communal farmers engaging with the satellite schools?

The next section presents the summary of the study. The summary is sub-divided according to the chapters in this thesis.

7.1 SUMMARY OF THE STUDY

The study on the social capital influences of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers on Tiro and Sambo satellite schools was presented in seven chapters. Each of the seven chapters provides detailed sections of the study that aimed to contribute to answering the critical questions. The researcher provides a brief statement of the contents of each of the

chapters in this study exposing the salient issues that were of significance in the study. Thus, the section highlights the framework of the study.

Chapter One of the study outlined the background to the study which also contained the research gaps. It also articulated the critical questions. In addition, the personal and conceptual rationale for the study were also explained. The important terms utilised in this thesis were defined.

Chapter Two availed various perspectives on land reform in Zimbabwe in general, and land reform and education in particular. The researcher analysed the political, economic, livelihoods and human rights perspectives to Zimbabwe's land reform discourse. These perspectives were discerned from the work of an assortment of scholars thus establishing the relationship between land reform and education.

Chapter Three of the study provided the models that steered this study. The study was followed the social capital theory as espoused in Bourdieu, Putnam and Coleman.

Chapter Four discoursed the research methodology, the instruments used to collect the data in this research plus the data analysis procedures. The chapter interrogated the semi-structured interviews as well as focus group discussions and the justification thereof. The study was carried out in Masvingo district and utilised eighteen (18) participants from two communities in Zimbabwe, which have been given the pseudonyms, Sambo and Tiro communities. The participants for this study were composed of two satellite school heads, four village heads and twelve (12) farmers.

Chapter Five presented and analysed data generated in this study. The findings were presented and analysed in line with the critical research questions. From the data analysis two themes emerged, namely voluntary resource mobilisation and voluntary information sharing. While, on the reasons for these particular engagements, the data yielded six themes which

were the proximity of land reform beneficiaries' homesteads, feeling of indebtedness to the government, social networks of land reform beneficiaries, shared meaning amongst land reform beneficiaries, a sense of belonging amongst land reform beneficiaries and a strong land reform beneficiaries resource base due to good yields. Findings were presented and analyzed utilising sub-headings representing the themes that emerged from the study.

Chapter Six offered theorizations linked to the findings from this study. The theorizations were guided by the critical questions and is built on the social capital ideas of Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam.

7.2 CONCLUSIONS FROM THE STUDY

This section contains some of the key conclusions that were made by this present study. The following conclusions were made by the researcher;

7.2.1 RESOURCE MOBILISATION

The study established that the social capital of the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers influenced Tiro and Sambo satellite schools through resource mobilisation. The outcomes from the research revealed that through the mobilising of their resources, the land reform beneficiaries provided accommodation to teachers, provided labour in the construction and development of the two schools, provided building materials as well as financial support for the Tiro and Sambo satellite schools. Tiro and Sambo satellite schools benefited from building materials in the form of river sand, pit sand, bricks, water and quarry stones for the construction due to the social assets of the land reform beneficiaries. In addition, it emerged from the study that the land reform beneficiaries are provided finances towards the construction of Tiro and Sambo satellite school. The study also revealed that the land reform beneficiaries through their social capital provided the founding staff of the satellite school with accommodation. Sambo satellite school teachers were not provided with accommodation. Sambo communal farmers due to weak social capital did influence their satellite school through provision of accommodation to Sambo satellite school staff. The resource mobilisation influence of the land reform beneficiaries also benefited the satellite schools through the provision of labour during the construction of classroom blocks, toilets

and teachers' houses. The other conclusion of the study pertains to information sharing which is discussed below.

7.2.2 INFORMATION SHARING

This study established that the social capital of the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers was also influencing Tiro and Sambo satellite schools through information sharing. However, there were disparities between the magnitude of the impact of information sharing among Tiro land reform beneficiaries and Sambo communal farmers. The village heads, farmers and school heads who participated in this study were in agreement on the role played by social networks in the sharing and sharing of information from the school into the community. The study revealed that the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers influenced Tiro and Sambo satellite schools through lobbying government for a school, enrolling their children in the satellite school, linking the school with donors and in their participation in stakeholder meetings. While, on the other hand, the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers through their social capital also influenced satellite schools negatively through spreading detrimental and negative information. In addition, it was established by this study that the other two themes (influences): resource mobilisation and volunteerism are largely hinged on the information sharing theme.

7.2.3 REASONS FOR ENGAGING WITH SATELLITE SCHOOLS

The study established that seven major reasons explain the land reform beneficiaries' and communal farmers' engagement with satellite schools through resources mobilisation, information sharing and volunteerism. The major reasons are proximity of land reform beneficiaries' homesteads, feelings of indebtedness to the government, social networks of land reform beneficiaries, shared meaning amongst land reform beneficiaries, a sense of belonging amongst land reform beneficiaries and a strong land reform beneficiaries resource base due to good yields. This study revealed that communal farmers and land reform beneficiaries are engaging with satellite schools mainly due to their social networks. The study further revealed that despite the land reform beneficiaries having diverse origins they have managed to establish social networks which are essential for their engagement with Tiro satellite schools. However, the study revealed that the social networks of Tiro land reform

beneficiaries were stronger than those of Sambo communal farmers as shown by their social capital influences on Tiro and Sambo satellite schools respectively. In addition, due to these social networks the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers have social norms which prescribe their engagement with Tiro and Sambo satellite schools. Therefore, this study concludes that social links as well as norms, which stand out as essential social capital elements played an important role in the engagement of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers with Tiro and Sambo satellite schools in Zimbabwe.

The engagement of the land reform beneficiaries was also due to the proximity of their homesteads and their neighbours. The proximity of the land reform beneficiaries as compared to communal farmers increased associations between neighbours and in turn augments trust. In addition, the study revealed that the land reform beneficiaries have more resources than communal farmers that can be accessed and shared through their interactions. The study further revealed that the land reform beneficiaries were engaged with the Tiro satellite school through resource mobilisation and information sharing because they felt indebted to the government for giving them land. This research established that the land reform beneficiaries influenced Tiro satellite school because of their sense of belonging and ownership of the satellite school. However, the communal farmers at Sambo do not have a stronger sense of belonging and ownership of the satellite school as compared to the Tiro satellite school. Sambo communal farmers due to their weak sense of ownership of Sambo satellite school enrolled their children at neighbouring well-established schools. The study also concludes that the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers engaged with Tiro and Sambo satellite schools through resource mobilisation and information sharing because they have shared interests. This study concludes that there were shared interests among the land reform beneficiaries as compared to communal farmers facilitated the construction of Tiro satellite school. The following section builds on the conclusions of the study to draw recommendations from the study.

7.3 RECOMMENDATIONS FROM THE STUDY

The study makes the following recommendations:

- The Government of Zimbabwe, prior to implementing land reform, should plan and invest in schools and not abdicate their responsibility to provide schools to communities.
- The satellite schools mentioned need to acknowledge and work towards strengthening the role played by the local leadership in harnessing the social capital benefits through facilitating their participation in school development. They also need to tap external funding through their networking to overcome local resources constraints.
- To increase the benefits of social capital, school staff and parents can work together to promote positive communication between the community and school.
- Satellite schools in the study need to organise ongoing community orientation and engagement programmes for members of the community so as to provide a platform for mitigating against the negative influences of social capital such as the dissemination of detrimental information.
- Policy makers need to examine the importance of social capital and harnessing the social capital of satellite schools as this may impact on enhancing school development.

The research goes further in this study by drawing recommendations for future research which are presented in the last section of this chapter.

7.4 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The study makes the following recommendations for future researchers:

- It may also be necessary to conduct more comparative studies to establish the influence of social capital in other communities especially in regards to well-established schools in Zimbabwe so that generalisations can be made.
- This study was principally a qualitative multiple case study on two satellite schools, and has its limitations in terms of generalisability and there is a need for a quantitative or mixed methods study to establish the extent of the observed phenomenon over a larger geographic region.

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APPENDIX A: SEMI STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR SCHOOL HEADS

INTRODUCTION:

My name is **KUDZAYI S. TARISAYI;** I am a Social Science PhD candidate studying at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Edgewood campus, South Africa. I am interested in learning about the relationship between the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers and satellite schools in Zimbabwe through a social capital lens. I am particularly interested in studying cases in Masvingo district. You are assured that the information you provide will be kept confidential and will only be utilized for research purposes. You must be honest in giving your views and feel free to ask questions if you do not understand any question.

TOPICS:

1. What is the nature of a household member's participation in various types of social organisations, community activities and informal networks?

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2. a) What is the nature of a household member's participation in satellite schools?

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   b) Which members of the community are responsible for initiating the participation of community members in satellite schools? And how are they chosen?

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3. Identify any local organisations contributing to the satellite school in your community. Is membership voluntary or compulsory?

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4. Due to the diversity of your community how is the leadership of community organisations selected, and how has your involvement changed over time?

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5. What are the consequences of violating community expectations regarding participation in the construction of satellite school?

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6. What are the incentives of participation in the construction of the satellite school?

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7. What resources have the community invested in the satellite school construction?

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8. How much time do farmers spend participating in the construction of the local satellite school?

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9. How important is the participation of farmers in the construction of the satellite school in your community?

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10. How important are social networks in the dissemination of information pertaining to calls for participation in work at the satellite school?

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11. Are there people in the village who are prevented from contributing to satellite schools? Why?

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12. Do you have any additional suggestions about how the relationship between land reform beneficiaries and satellite schools can be enhanced?

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APPENDIX B: SEMI STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR VILLAGE HEADS

INTRODUCTION:

My name is **KUDZAYI S. TARISAYI;** I am a Social Science PhD candidate studying at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Edgewood campus, South Africa. I am interested in learning about the relationship between the land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers and satellite schools in Zimbabwe through a social capital lens. I am particularly interested in studying cases in Masvingo district. You are assured that the information you provide will be kept confidential and will only be utilized for research purposes. You must be honest in giving your views and feel free to ask questions if you do not understand any question.

TOPICS:

1. What is the nature of a household member's participation in various types of social organisations, community activities and informal networks?

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2. a) What is the nature of a household member's participation in satellite schools?

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   b) Which members of the community are responsible for initiating the participation of community members in satellite schools? And how are they chosen?

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3. Identify any local organisations contributing to the satellite school in your community. Is membership voluntary or compulsory?

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4. Due to the diversity of your community how is the leadership of community organisations selected, and how has your involvement changed over time?

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5. What are the consequences of violating community expectations regarding participation in the construction of satellite school?

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6. What are the incentives of participation in the construction of the satellite school?

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7. What resources have the community invested in the satellite school construction?

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8. How much time do farmers spend participating in the construction of the local satellite school?

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9. How important is the participation of farmers in the construction of the satellite school in your community?

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10. How important are social networks in the dissemination of information pertaining to calls for participation in work at the satellite school?

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11. Are there people in the village who are prevented from contributing to satellite schools? Why?

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12. Do you have any additional suggestions about how the relationship between land reform beneficiaries and satellite schools can be enhanced?

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APPENDIX C: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION FOR FARMERS

Greetings. My name is Kudzayi Tarisayi. I am very pleased that you have agreed to join me today. We are here to talk about the relationship between land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers and satellite schools in Zimbabwe through a social capital lens. The discussion we are going to have is called a focus group. Please allow me to take this opportunity to explain a little bit about focus group discussions.

Focus groups are used to gather information informally from a small group of individuals who have a common interest in a particular subject, in this instance the relationship between land reform beneficiaries and satellite schools.

In focus groups, there are no right or wrong answers. I pleased you can be part of this group because I think you have important ideas regarding the influences of land reform beneficiaries on satellite schools. Don't hesitate to speak up when you have a point you would like to make.

I will be moderating the session and moving us along so that we touch on all of the key subjects on our agenda. My role today is to see that we have a productive discussion and to summarize the group's feelings. I will not refer to any participant by name in the reports I prepare. The information will be kept confidential and used only for research purposes.

QUESTION ONE: What is the nature of the participation by your family in satellite schools?

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QUESTION TWO: Why do you think it is important to participate in the construction of satellite schools?

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QUESTION THREE: Please explain any contributions that you have made to the satellite school in your community as an individual in the past 12 months?

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QUESTION FOUR: Please explain any contributions that you have made to the satellite school in your community as a group in the past 12 months?

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QUESTION FIVE: In your opinion, are all people contributing to the construction of the local satellite school? Please explain your answer.

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QUESTION SIX: If there was a water supply problem at the satellite school, how likely is it that people will cooperate to try to solve the problem?

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QUESTION SEVEN: There are often differences in characteristics among people living in the same village. For example, differences in wealth, income, social status, ethnic background, race, caste, or tribe. There can also be differences in religious or political beliefs, or age or sex. Do these difference have any influence in the community's participation in satellite schools?

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QUESTION EIGHT: Are there groups of people in the village who are prevented from contributing to satellite schools? Why?

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QUESTION NINE: Explain any sanctions (or incentives) that are imposed by the community on individuals or households for not participating in satellite school?

QUESTION TEN: Do you have any additional suggestions about how the relationship between land reform beneficiaries and satellite schools can be enhanced?

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Thank You

APPENDIX D: INFORMED CONSENT LETTER-SCHOOL HEAD

Social Sciences, College of Humanities,
University of KwaZulu-Natal,
Edgewood Campus,

Dear Participant

INFORMED CONSENT LETTER

My name is **KUDZAYI S. TARISAYI;** I am a Social Science PhD candidate studying at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Edgewood campus, South Africa. I am interested in learning the contribution of the social capital of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers to satellite schools in Zimbabwe. I am particularly interested in studying cases in Masvingo district. To gather the information, I am interested in asking you some questions.

The instruments I will be using to collect data are:

- Interviews
- Focus group discussion

Please note that:

- Your confidentiality is guaranteed as your inputs will not be attributed to you in person, but reported only as a participant's opinion.
- The interview may last for about 1 hour and may be split depending on your preference.
- Any information given by you cannot be used against you, and the collected data will be used for purposes of this research only.
- All documents will be stored securely at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in the Social Sciences archives of the School of Education for a period of five years and thereafter destroyed by shredding.
- You have a choice to participate, not participate or stop participating in the research. You will not be penalized for taking such an action.
- The research aims understanding the implications of the land reform on the family and community ties of land reform beneficiaries.

- Your involvement is purely for academic purposes only, and there are no financial benefits involved.

If you are willing to be interviewed, please indicate (by ticking as applicable) whether or not you are willing to allow the interview to be recorded by the following equipment:

Equipment used	**Willing**	**Not willing**
Audio equipment		
Photographic equipment		
Video equipment		

My address is: Foundation Training Institute, 16 Kirton Street, Masvingo. My email address is: kudzayit@gmail.com and my cell number: 0773 900 618

My supervisor is Dr S. Manik who is located at the School of Social Sciences, Edgewood campus of the University of KwaZulu-Natal.
Contact details: email: manik@ukzn.ac.za Phone number: 27312607587.

Alternatively; the research office of the university can be contacted. Their details are:
HSSREC, Research Office Govan Mbeki Building, Westville Campus; contacts: Ms Phumelele Ximba Tel. 031 260 3587, Email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za

Thank you for your contribution to this research.

DECLARATION

I…… (Full names of participant) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project.

I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire.

…… **……**

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT **DATE**

APPENDIX E: INFORMED CONSENT LETTER-VILLAGE HEAD

Social Sciences, College of Humanities,
University of KwaZulu-Natal,
Edgewood Campus,

Dear Participant

INFORMED CONSENT LETTER

My name is **KUDZAYI S. TARISAYI;** I am a Social Science PhD candidate studying at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Edgewood campus, South Africa. I am interested in learning the contribution of the social capital of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers to satellite schools in Zimbabwe. I am particularly interested in studying cases in Masvingo district. To gather the information, I am interested in asking you some questions.

The instruments I will be using to collect data are:

- Interviews
- Focus group discussion

Please note that:

- Your confidentiality is guaranteed as your inputs will not be attributed to you in person, but reported only as a participant's opinion.
- The interview may last for about an hour and may be split depending on your preference.
- Any information given by you cannot be used against you, and the collected data will be used for purposes of this research only.
- All documents will be stored securely at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in the Social Sciences archives of the School of Education for a period of five years and thereafter destroyed by shredding.
- You have a choice to participate, not participate or stop participating in the research. You will not be penalized for taking such an action.
- The research aims understanding the implications of the land reform on the family and community ties of land reform beneficiaries.
- Your involvement is purely for academic purposes only, and there are no financial benefits involved.

If you are willing to be interviewed, please indicate (by ticking as applicable) whether or not you are willing to allow the interview to be recorded by the following equipment:

Equipment used	Willing	Not willing
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Photographic equipment		
Video equipment		

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My supervisor is Dr S. Manik who is located at the School of Social Sciences, Edgewood campus of the University of KwaZulu-Natal.
Contact details: email: manik@ukzn.ac.za Phone number: 27312607587.

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HSSREC, Research Office Govan Mbeki Building, Westville Campus; contacts: Ms Phumelele Ximba Tel. 031 260 3587, Email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za

Thank you for your contribution to this research.

DECLARATION

I…… (Full names of participant) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project.

I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire.

…… **……**

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT **DATE**

APPENDIX F: INFORMED CONSENT LETTER-FARMER

Social Sciences, College of Humanities,
University of KwaZulu-Natal,
Edgewood Campus,

Dear Participant

INFORMED CONSENT LETTER

My name is **KUDZAYI S. TARISAYI;** I am a Social Science PhD candidate studying at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Edgewood campus, South Africa. I am interested in learning the contribution of the social capital of land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers to satellite schools in Zimbabwe. I am particularly interested in studying cases in Masvingo district. To gather the information, I am interested in asking you some questions.

The instruments I will be using to collect data are:

- Interviews
- Focus group discussion

Please note that:

- Your confidentiality is guaranteed as your inputs will not be attributed to you in person, but reported only as a participant's opinion.
- The interview may last for about an hour and may be split depending on your preference.
- Any information given by you cannot be used against you, and the collected data will be used for purposes of this research only.
- All documents will be stored securely at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in the Social Sciences archives of the School of Education for a period of 5 years and thereafter destroyed by shredding.
- You have a choice to participate, not participate or stop participating in the research. You will not be penalized for taking such an action.
- The research aims understanding the implications of the land reform on the family and community ties of land reform beneficiaries.
- Your involvement is purely for academic purposes only, and there are no financial benefits involved.

If you are willing to be interviewed, please indicate (by ticking as applicable) whether or not you are willing to allow the interview to be recorded by the following equipment:

Equipment used	Willing	Not willing
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Thank you for your contribution to this research.

DECLARATION

I…… (Full names of participant) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project.

I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire.

…… **……**

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT **DATE**

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL
INYUVESI YAKWAZULU-NATALI

03 September 2015

Mr Kudzayi Savious Tarisayi (214584214)
School of Education
Edgewood Campus

Dear Mr Tarisayi,

Protocol reference number: HSS/1221/015D
Project title: Social Capital of Land Reform beneficiaries and Satellite Schools in Zimbabwe

Full Approval – Expedited Application

With regards to your application received on 31 August 2015. The documents submitted have been accepted by the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee and **FULL APPROVAL** for the protocol has been granted.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

Please note: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

.....
Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)

/ms

Cc Supervisor: Dr Sadhana Manik
Cc Academic Leader Research: Professor P Morojele
Cc School Administrator: Ms Tyzer Khumalo

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)
Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building
Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000
Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 3587/8350/4557 **Facsimile:** +27 (0) 31 260 4609 **Email:** singhsh@ukzn.ac.za / snymanm@ukzn.ac.za / mohunp@ukzn.ac.za
Website: www.ukzn.ac.za

All communications should be addressed to
"The Secretary for Primary and Secondary Education"
Telephone: 799914 and 705153
Telegraphic address : "EDUCATION"
Fax: 791923

ZIMBABWE

Reference: C/426/3 Masvingo
Ministry of Primary and
Secondary Education
P.O Box CY 121
Causeway
Harare
Zimbabwe

26 October 2015

Kudzayi S. Tarisayi
School of Education
Edgewood Campus
P. Bag X03,
Ashwopod, 3602
South Africa

RE: PERMISSION TO CARRY OUT RESEARCH IN MASVINGO PROVINCE: MASVINGO DISTRICT: CHEVANHU AND CHIDZINIKWE SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Reference is made to your application to carry out a research at the above mentioned schools in Masvingo Province on the research title:

"SOCIAL CAPITAL OF LAND REFORM BENEFICIARIES AND SATELLITE SCHOOLS IN ZIMBABWE."

Permission is hereby granted. However, you are required to liaise with the Provincial Education Director Masvingo, who is responsible for the schools which you want to involve in your research. You should ensure that your research work does not disrupt the normal operations of the school.

You are required to provide a copy of your final report to the Secretary for Primary and Secondary Education by September 2016.

P. Muzawazi
Director: Policy Planning, Research and Development
For: **SECRETARY FOR PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION**
cc: PED – Masvingo Province

ALL communications should be addressed to
"The Provincial Education Director for Primary and Secondary Education"
Telephone: 263582/264331
Fax: 039-263261
mozasicmasvingo@gmail.com

Reference: C/426/3

Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education
P O Box 89
Masvingo

28 October 2015

Kudzayi S. Tarisayi
School of Education
Edgewood Campus
P. Bag X03,
Ashwood, 3602
South Africa

RE: PERMISSION TO CARRY OUT AN EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH IN MASVINGO DISTRICT: MASVINGO PROVINCE: CHEVANHU AND CHIDZIKWE SECONDARY SCHOOLS: KUDZAYI S.TARISAYI: UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL

Reference is made to your letter dated 28 October 2015 concerning the above matter.

Please be advised that the Secretary of Primary and Secondary Education has granted permission to carry out your research on;

"SOCIAL CAPITAL OF LAND REFORM BENEFICIARIES AND SATELLITE SCHOOL IN ZIMBABWE".

You are also advised to liaise with the District Education Officer who is responsible for the schools which are part of the sample for your research.

Z. M. Chiligo
Provincial Education Director
MASVINGO PROVINCE

MINISTRY OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION
PROVINCIAL EDUCATION DIRECTOR
MASVINGO
28 OCT 2015
P.O. BOX 89, MASVINGO
ZIMBABWE

Approved