

# The Intersection of Women, Land and Corruption in Zimbabwe: Case study of women in Chisumbanje and Chinyamukwakwa villages in Zimbabwe

*Mutondoro Farai<sup>1</sup>, Chiweshe Manase Kudzai<sup>2</sup> and Gaidzanwa Rudo<sup>3</sup>*

Transparency International Zimbabwe, 2016



## **Abstract**

In this paper we focus on the complex interplay of women, land and corruption in Zimbabwe. The paper is based on a qualitative case study in Chisumbanje and Chinyamukwakwa. It focuses on understanding how corruption influences and affects women's relationship to land in Zimbabwe. Land is an important social and economic asset with direct links to livelihoods especially for vulnerable groups such as women, and others, in society. Land corruption intersects and entrenches already existing gendered land inequalities and creates new inequalities. Ownership of land in Zimbabwe has traditionally been a male privilege. Women have historically found it difficult to own rural land in their own right, having only usufruct rights to land mainly through birth within specific patrilineages and through marriage. Inheritance of land, as with other property, has largely been confined to male heirs leaving daughters and wives at a disadvantage. This already contested relationship to land is further impacted by land corruption as shown in the case study discussed in this paper. Findings of the paper show that the impact of land dispossession was gendered with women of different social standing experiencing dispossession in varied ways. The findings also show that some women are carving out spaces in difficult circumstances, for survival through new activities or through subordination to those who have access to land.

<sup>1</sup> Farai Mutondoro is a Senior Researcher and Coordinator with Transparency International Zimbabwe

<sup>2</sup> Dr Manase Kudzai Chiweshe is a Senior Lecturer in the Centre for Development Studies, Chinhoyi University of Technology

<sup>3</sup> Professor Rudo Gaidzanwa is a Sociology Lecturer at the University of Zimbabwe

## 1.0 Introduction

This paper provides a nuanced understanding of how women experience the impacts of land corruption. It uses the case studies of Chisumbanje and Chinyamukwakwa to highlight that high level murky land deals have significant impacts on vulnerable groups at the grassroots. Whilst there is a lot of literature on land and land deals in Zimbabwe, our work builds on a conceptual framework of land corruption. Land corruption in this instance is understood as the use of political and economic power to subvert laid down rules for individual gain. The term 'land corruption' is relatively new in both policy and academic literature (Mutondoro *et al*, 2016). The newness of the term to both the academic and policy literature can therefore be attributed to the scant research on the relationship between land corruption and gender inequalities in land rights (*ibid*). Lascoumes (2009:264 as cited in Kakai 2012) argues that it is essential to think of land corruption as an operational concept reflecting the illicit acts and the abuses of power committed by those with the power (at different levels) when performing their duties in relation to different land operations

In the cases of Chisumbanje and Chinyamukwakwa, there is emergence of various political and economic actors from within and outside the existing communities, involved in dispossessing local communities of land. It is important to note that land corruption has gendered impacts. Due to the dependence that women have on land as their primary livelihood resource, it is likely that they are confronted by corruption more severely than men. Land corruption reduces women's access to and ownership of land. It entrenches already existent patriarchal norms that promote gender land inequalities in rural Zimbabwe. It is important to note that our work does not portray women as a monolithic group nor do we argue that all women experience land corruption in a similar manner. Using the intersectionality approach, we show that women's experiences are determined by various factors such as age, marital status, education level, access to resources and race. We also avoid portraying women as victims without agency. Our paper thus describes and discusses ways in which women act to create and negotiate ways and means to access land in difficult circumstances.

## 2.0 Background: Land Governance, Land Corruption and the Impact on Women

Generally, more men than women own land in Zimbabwe. Rugube *et al* (2003) show that land leases from the period 1986 to 2001 have mainly been issued to males. The majority of beneficiaries under the government public leasing program were males, accounting for 76 % of all transactions, while females, as sole owners were just fewer than 6 % (*ibid*). Chingarande (2004) argues that a gender-disaggregated analysis of land beneficiaries during the period 1987 to 1994 shows that not a single

female benefited from the public land leases market. Access to land is still heavily biased towards the males, both in terms of number of transactions, and the total area and market value of farmland redistributed (ibid). The Utete Commission of 2003 notes that on average only 18 % of women, obtained land through the Fast Track Land Reform Programme. Besides rural and or resettlement land, women in Zimbabwe also lack significant access to and ownership of urban residential and commercial land.

The skewed gender land ownership patterns in Zimbabwe have been attributed to key factors such as lack of capital by women, the patriarchal nature of land governance institutions, lack of education and information by women and the general culture which limits women's active interest in property ownership (Chiweshe 2015). At Independence in 1980, expectations of land reform were high. Women, an estimated 86% of whom work the land, have not had any individual access to land as gendered social discrimination underlines land issues in Zimbabwe. With the advent of the fast track land reform programme, in which the government sought to empower black Zimbabweans and introduce an indigenous farming system based mainly on small holder and medium scale farming, women-headed households who benefited under the A1<sup>4</sup> model constituted 18% of the total, while less than 12% of the beneficiaries under A2<sup>5</sup> were women. This number of women beneficiaries fell short of the 20% quota that had been the standing measure by government (Utete, 2003). It has also been argued that most of the beneficiaries are not rural women but rather politically powerful urban women who accessed land in A1 and A2 schemes (Aban et al. 2016). This demonstrates the disparities that exist in terms of individual women who are land beneficiaries in the agrarian revolution that Zimbabwe undertook.

In Zimbabwe land corruption has manifested in different forms. Scoones et al (2011) expresses concerns over the manifestation of political and bureaucratic corruption in the land sector. Previous studies by (Rukuni et al. 1994 and Shivji et al. 1998) have documented that land administration in Zimbabwe lacks transparency and accountability and that the institutional framework for land administration is fragmented, with overlapping responsibilities and poor co-ordination. Regarding the Land Resettlement program, for instance, Shana (2006) argues that the process was marked by low-level corruption since the 1980s with some households accessing more land hectares than others because they were connected to the ruling party. Sadomba (2008) and Zamuchiya (2011) have pointed out the prevalence of land corruption in the land reform programme in areas such as Chipinge and Goromonzi. Anecdotal evidence on the manifestation of land corruption includes the multiple farm ownership under the land reform programme in direct violation

<sup>4</sup> A1 Model each household is allocated 6 hectares of arable land. Common land such as grazing land, woodlots and water points are shared by the resettlement group.

<sup>5</sup> A2 Model scheme was meant to indigenize commercial farming through providing opportunities for previously disadvantaged black people.

#### 4 | The Intersection of Women, Land and Corruption in Zimbabwe: Case study of women in Chisumbanje and Chinyamukwakwa villages in Zimbabwe

of the one-man one farm policy. The Zimbabwe Independent Newspaper of 14 September 2012 reported that the Senate President, Edna Modzongwe owns six farms with one farm while Home Affairs Minister, Ignatius Chombo owns five farms and Local Government Minister Saviour Kasukuwere has two farms.

The land question in Zimbabwe has been a field of intense scholarly and policy debate especially on pertinent issues such as women and access to land (Gaidzanwa 1995, 2011; Bhatasara 2012; Mutopo 2011a, 2011b and 2012) have written extensively on land governance and tenure. However despite this proliferation of literature, the intersection of women, land and corruption has received limited empirical and theoretical attention and this is despite the momentous growth or increase in land corruption in Zimbabwe (Mutondoro et al, 2016). To date Zimbabwe has witnessed various forms of land corruption chief among them being the land dispossession of communities in Mazowe by the First Family<sup>6</sup>, multiple farm ownership under the Land Reform Programme<sup>7</sup>, emergence of land barons and illegal housing cooperatives and abuse of office by local land authorities in parcelling out residential stands in Harare, Mutare and Bulawayo.

### 3.0 Methodology

The complex relationship between women, land and corruption required a qualitative research methodology. A qualitative research approach comprises of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible and thus yields a wealth of data. Andvig et al (2001) argue that corruption is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon with multiple causes and effects, as it takes on various forms and functions in different contexts. Thus an in-depth analysis rooted in qualitative research provided profound insights into how women experience land corruption. To get key insights into the history of the area, its political and economic dynamics as well the coming in of Green Fuel, TI Z did review secondary data in the form of newspaper articles, parliamentary reports on Chisumbanje Ethanol Project, as well as previous studies on land governance, women's access to land and land corruption and Chisumbanje Ethanol project. To verify some of the emerging issues from literature, TI Z conducted a series of Key Informant Interviews (KII) with the village head, 2 community elders, 2 female farmers, 3 representatives of young people as well as 2 members of the disbanded District Ethanol Plant Implement Committee (DEPIC). 6 Focus Group Discussions were conducted afterwards in Chisumbanje and Chinyamukwakwa with different social groups in particular widows, married women as well as the young and elderly women. The research also gained key insights into impact of land corruption on women the through public testimonies during TI Z organized community meetings, validation workshop and documentary shooting

---

<sup>6</sup>Put the newspaper article (Google the newspaper article that had the list. It might be an online newspaper.)

#### 4.0 Description of the Area

Chisumbanje and Chinyamukwakwa are villages located in Manicaland Province under Chipinge District. Both villages are located in the Dowoyo Communal land and are closer to the Save River. While these 2 villages, have different village heads they all fall within the jurisdiction of Chief Garahwa. Chisumbanje and Chinyamukwakwa are mainly populated by people of the Ndaou tribe a minority group in Zimbabwe. It is important to mention from the onset that the Ndaou people have a long history of marginalization fuelled by their political support of opposition parties. The population size is about 300 000 people. The areas have been affected by the advent of the Chisumbanje ethanol project which has seen about 1008 farmers lose their land ranging from 2 hectares to 40 hectares. The land was a source of livelihood for farmers in these communities. Matondi and Nhliziyo (2015) notes that the community of Chipinge District from which Chisumbanje and Chinyamukwakwa are located, has a rich history of contestations over land and has been affected by forced land transfer and dispossession numerous times during the colonial era, from 1923 when then the Sabi Lundi Master Plan was designed until it was fully operationalized with the setting of the experimental station in the middle of the 1960. Villagers in Chisumbanje and Chinyamukwakwa lost huge tracts of land beginning of 2009 when the Government of Zimbabwe through the Agricultural Rural Development Authority (ARDA) ventured into a secret deal with Madcom Rating (Mutondoro *et al.* 2015). Makombe (2013) notes that when the deal was signed it was believed that ARDA would provide 40,000 hectares for the project, but it was later realized that the ARDA boundaries only had 5,112 hectares, hence the company's decision to immediately "acquire" additional land from the adjoining communal lands in a desperate bid to make up the deficit and in the process displacing thousands of villagers (*ibid*)

#### 5.0 Background to Chisumbanje Land Question

The Chisumbanje Ethanol Project is a public-private partnership between the Government of Zimbabwe (GoZ) through the Agriculture and Rural Development Authority ARDA, under the Ministry of Agriculture, Mechanization and Irrigation Development (MoAMID).<sup>8</sup> Around 2009, ARDA representing the GoZ signed a 20-year joint-venture agreement with two private Zimbabwean companies (Rating Investments Ltd and Macdom Investments Ltd, owned by local whites and blacks), to lease over 50,000 ha of ARDA's Middle Sabi and Chipinge estates, in a build, operate and transfer scheme, intended to establish 40,000 hectares of sugarcane and revive the irrigation

---

<sup>8</sup>Matondi and Nhliziyo (2015) Zimbabwe's new land crisis: Large-scale land investments at Chisumbanje



infrastructure within eight years, and later to develop 10,000 more hectares<sup>9</sup>. The main funder of these private firms is Billy Rautenbach, a controversial businessman, who is under EU and US targeted sanctions lists because of his close association with the ruling party, the Zimbabwe African National Union — Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF)<sup>10</sup>. In 2014, Temba Mliswa a former business associate of Billy Rautenbach and former legislator for Hurungwe alleged that: “*Billy Rautenbach bought a house for the ARDA Chairperson, Basil Nyabadza, gave brown envelopes to several politicians....*” In order to obtain the land in Chisumbanje among many other business deals<sup>11</sup>. While these allegations cannot be verified and can be easily dismissed as political infighting, the Chisumbanje land deal has been marked by contestations over land ownership and boundary disputes between the community, government and Green Fuel Company.

## 6.0 Findings and discussion

### 6.1 Women and the loss of land in Chisumbanje and Chinyamukwakwa

Findings from the study show that the Chisumbanje Ethanol Project negatively impacted rural women’s lives because of bio-fuel production. This is largely because the Chisumbanje Ethanol project resulted in widespread land dispossession of rural people. As a result, the study noted that the situation in Chisumbanje largely contravened many international laws that protect women as a marginalized group. These include the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the African Protocol on Women’s Rights and the Convention on Economic and Social Rights. These international statutes emphasize the need for states to ensure that women’s access to land, livelihoods, water and other natural resources are met. The conventions go further to establish that all state parties must ensure that discriminatory laws and cultural practices should not be the basis of violating women’s rights to land and livelihoods. In this vein, the paper discusses in detail the myriad challenges that women in Chisumbanje and Chinyamukwakwa faced as a result of the large land deal between the Government of Zimbabwe through Agriculture and Rural Development Authority (ARDA) and Rautenbach-linked companies, Rating Investments Ltd and Macdom Investments Ltd. Thondhlana (2014) reiterates that the bio-fuel project in Chisumbanje simply replaced food crops with fuel crops thereby undermining household food security and relegating the communities to poverty since they did not benefit from fuel crops the same way they did from food crops.

---

<sup>9</sup> The Herald 2010 as cited in Moyo, S. (2011) Land concentration and accumulation after redistributive reform in post-settler Zimbabwe

<sup>10</sup> (Hall 2011).

<sup>11</sup> <http://www.herald.co.zw/165m-saga-temba-mliswa-digs-in/> last accessed on the 29<sup>th</sup> of April 2016.

## **6.2 Loss of Gendered Livelihoods**

The study findings note that prior to development of the Chisumbanje Ethanol project, the community used to rely on farming crops that include cotton and maize for family consumption and commercial purposes. It was normal for women to access land through the marital system where marriage acted as a medium for women to access land for growing food and cash crops. For more than twenty-five years after the independence of Zimbabwe, this marital system smoothly enabled women to use the land to grow crops such as maize and cotton for family consumption and for commercial purposes. As a result this enabled women to effortlessly conduct gendered chores, among them utilizing farming proceeds to buy domestic goods and items. These include food, furniture and livestock, among other household necessities. Specifically, the Chisumbanje Ethanol project resulted in women losing their land-based livelihoods that included the right to grow food for family consumption and the right to grow cash crops for commercial purposes. Regarding the same case study, Mutopo et al (2015) argue that:

*Before the land losses to the large company, the women and men were involved in rain fed crop production and livestock rearing which enabled them to be involved in agricultural value chains that saw them permeating local and regional markets. This has however changed with the acquisition of the land by the large-scale companies; the people no longer have the land for ploughing and pastures for grazing livestock due to the land annexation.*

Such similarities in study findings reinforce the fact that Chisumbanje and Chinyamukwakwa rural women's futures were shattered immediately because of unscrupulous, large land bio-fuel deals.

## **6.3 Lack of compensation**

Large land deals and production of biofuels in Chisumbanje and Chinyamukwakwa resulted in the victims of land disposition being denied compensation. The small 0.5 hectare plots that a few Chisumbanje and Chinyamukwakwa communities received only benefited men. According to the Inter-Ministerial Committee chaired by Deputy Prime Minister Arthur Mutambara in 2012, a combined 1 754 households in Chisumbanje and Chinyamukwakwa lost their land with 1060 households located in Chisumbanje and 694 in Chinyamukwakwa communal lands. Only 516 households out of the total number of 1 754 households that were displaced, were compensated<sup>12</sup>.

Compensation was conducted on household and not on individual basis resulting in men as the only beneficiaries since they are considered to be the heads of households. The study noted that it is the culture of the Ndaу people in these communities for men to have polygynous marriages where one man marries two or more women. The study noted that when the Chisumbanje Ethanol Project

<sup>12</sup><http://business-humanrights.org/sites/default/files/PYD%20Policy%20Brief%20Chisumbanje.doc>

unceremoniously took land away from communities and compensated a few community members with the 0, 5 hectares, the majority of the land that was parcelled out landed in the hands of men. In this vein, considering the fact that women only accessed land through the marital system and the men they previously relied on were compensated only 0.5 hectares, it resulted on women emerging as the biggest losers in the land deal.

Prior studies carried out in the same community (Nawaigo 2012, Mutopo and Chiweshe 2014) also reiterate that women were completely left out in the allocation of the 0, 5 hectare plots that men received. Furthermore, it is important to note that compensation does not take into consideration the gendered household division of labour that requires women to use land for provisioning households and families with vegetables, grass, fruit, honey, small stock such as chickens, rabbits and other resources dependent on the land. In this regard, the study noted that usually citizens are compensated for land investments and planners usually consider investments, especially in rural areas, to have been undertaken solely by men. In actual fact, rural women contribute immensely to family investments and their contribution is normally not recognized since it may comprise domestic and agricultural labour, care work and affective domestic non-monetised contributions. In the case of women in Chisumbanje and Chinyamukwakwa, when compensation was effected, women lost more than men because of failure by responsible authorities to take into consideration the gendered contributions of men and women. An example is that of the Mashava family where the husband has 18 wives and over the years, through the family farming business model, the family managed to buy tractors, cotton machinery and trucks. Whilst the title of the property acquired and owned through the prosperous farming business was held by the man, the 18 wives contributed significantly to the business and should also have been compensated since the business model depended on each wife making some of the contributions through her hearth-hold and children. Women therefore lost out on their hard work and efforts in this family business model which the state and private actors ignored when acquiring land for bio-fuel production.

More so, the 0.5 hectares was transferred to Chisumbanje and Chinyamukwakwa communities on a non-transparent basis since demands for bribes by traditional leaders (*Mutape*) were recorded. A bribe<sup>13</sup> can be defined as the process of offering, promising, giving or solicitation of an advantage as an inducement for an action that is illegal, unethical or a breach of trust. Inducements include gifts, loans, fees, and rewards among other items. This aspect of demanding bribes by authorities who were responsible for compensating victims of land grabbing, disadvantaged women further since they do not have the financial muscle to compete with men in bribing the officials who controlled the compensation process. Inducements included gifts, loans, fees, and

---

<sup>13</sup><http://www.transparency.org/glossary/term/bribery>



rewards among other items. This forced the most vulnerable women to succumb to sexual exploitation and corruption to access the small patches of land that were parcelled out to villagers. From the above, it is evident that women become more vulnerable since bribery by its nature is bound to have gendered impact since most women do not have access to significant capital or resources with financial value in the two rural communities under discussion. This situation left the most vulnerable women with only one currency to use in a bribery transaction, namely, sexual services. Consequently, the use of their bodies became the only available resource that some of the most impoverished women could use to access land.

#### ***6.4 Feminization of Poverty***

The study noted that land loss in the areas resulted in the majority of men leaving the community to seek family livelihoods in countries such as Mozambique and South Africa. The plight of the villagers in the two areas culminated in the shifting of family responsibilities increasingly towards women. As a result, the majority of women are now forced to carry more family responsibilities through taking over tasks that were previously undertaken by men. In essence, women now have become the main providers of food for their families in addition to generating cash to pay for children school fees and basic social needs such as access to health and clean water. In this regard, a substantial number of women are forced to develop other livelihood alternatives outside the agriculture-related livelihoods they are accustomed to. Such alternatives include, cutting down trees and selling firewood as well as fetching water from the limited streams and selling the water for 50 cents a bucket. In a study by Nawaigo (2012) she argues that when men go elsewhere to seek alternatives to take care of their families, the burden of the role of head of the family in Chisumbanje and Chinyamukwakwa largely shifted to women who previously carried the burden of tilling the land. For instance, the 18 wives of the Mashava family are now forced to fetch water from Save River and sell it at a local clinic for a meagre price. All this indicates the increased burden that women are subjected to due to large-scale bio-fuel land deals and flawed land laws in their area.

#### ***6.5 Early Marriages and Children Dropping out of Schools***

The study findings note that women and girls continue to bear the brunt of land dispossession arising from murky and socially unjust land deals between the government and the investors. It is thus important to note that a growing number of children have dropped out of school since their parents cannot afford to pay school fees any more. Community members allege that a number of young girls have been forced into early marriages due to economic hardships. A typical example is that of a widow in Chinyamukwakwa community who, prior to land dispositions, managed to send her two

sons to school up to Ordinary Level and successfully built a three bedroomed house. With the land loss in 2008, she could not afford to pay school fees for her last-born daughter who has since fallen pregnant outside marriage. The plight of this widow is also cited in a study by Nawaigo (2012) who noted that a lot of children in these communities dropped out of school and young girls resorted to commercial sex work with employees of the ethanol plant whilst many teenage boys went off to South Africa to seek greener pastures.

### 6.6 Violence against Women

The study established that due to land loss, women were increasingly subjected to domestic and other forms of violence. Violence included physical violence and emotional abuse. Studies by Mutopo and Chiweshe (2015) and Nawaigo (2012) show that due to landlessness, women in Chisumbanje and Chinyamukwakwa are increasingly subjected to gendered domestic violence. In this regard, Nawaigo (2012: ii) notes that:

*Women find themselves the sole breadwinners of families plunged into debt and plagued by increasing levels of domestic violence involving growing numbers of children who stay at home having had to be withdrawn from school. As a result, many such women are forced to turn to prostitution causing a sharp rise in cases of HIV/AIDS in the area.*

This study notes that women have been subjected to various forms of violence besides physical violence. It is important to appreciate that women, due to gendered roles, have the primary responsibility to ensure that children are well taken care of and that their families and households have enough food. With the land loss, women are being forced to deal with the emotional stress arising from household food insecurity and failure to send and pay for children in school.

It was noted that in some instances, some of the women married to groups of men who openly oppose the Chisumbanje Ethanol project, have been further exposed to emotional and physical abuse. Such women have witnessed their husbands being taken by the police at night and flogged. An example is that of Ms Mbangaliza<sup>14</sup> from Chinyamukwakwa community whose husband was arrested several times for opposing land investments. Ms. Mbangaliza narrated to the research team that in one particular incident, “...the police invaded my house in the middle of the night at one particular time, caned and took away my husband.” She also narrated another incident when they were forced to plough down the crops in their field that had been declared undesirable, condemned and confiscated by the Chisumbanje Ethanol Project. She alleges that the police pounced on her husband, flogged and heavily assaulted him before her eyes. She resorted to stripping naked before the police officers, using the extreme but culturally approved gendered protest, in cases where there is inhuman

<sup>14</sup> This is a pseudo name. The real name of the woman is protected according to the requirements of research ethics.

treatment or injustice. She stripped naked to halt the physical abuse of her husband by the project staff. These examples show the extent of the nature of violence that women experienced as a result of murky and unscrupulous deals of the 21<sup>st</sup> century that are driven by the need for bio-fuel generation and development.

Other cases of violence against women involve the process of sextortion that was well documented during this research. Sextortion involves the demand for sexual favors by those in power in return for accessing a good or service. In the conduct of this research, it is male traditional leaders who use their power in allocating land to demand sex in lieu of access to land from vulnerable women (mainly divorced, single and widowed women). Women's loss of land due to large scale land deals thus often leaves them vulnerable to abuse and harassment as they seek alternative livelihood spaces. Stories of sextortion are often the hidden and untold aspects of large-scale land deals. One woman narrates her experience of sextortion below:

*When it was time to get compensation land, the Headman said, if I wanted to get a 0.5 hectares of land, I had to have sex with him. I had to agree because we are poor and landless. I only did it because I wanted land, but he wanted to continue having sex with me, indefinitely. When I refused to continue with the relationship, the headmen kicked me out of Bepe Village<sup>15</sup>.*

The lady also indicated that a number of women had traded sex in return for land, but they could not disclose this as this would ruin their marriages or the community would label them as prostitutes. This study noted that sextortion is a growing form of corruption that is least reported due to factors that are embedded in the social structure of the Zimbabwean communities. These factors include the fear of condemnation by and expulsion from the community and the fear of losing the land, the valuable asset that they would have sacrificed their health and morals to gain through sextortion.

### **6.7 Women and Agency: Findings Spaces in difficult Circumstances**

Whilst our study provided numerous negative impacts suffered by women due to land dispossession, there is evidence of positive benefits experienced by some women. They have noticed the existence of new opportunities with the increased volume of people in Chisumbanje because of the biofuel plant. Chiweshe and Mutopo (2014) argue that the capitalization of and the emergence of a bio fuel regime, has led to the opening up of new livelihood opportunities for women. Whilst these activities such as selling vegetables, illicit alcohol brewing and selling second hand clothes generate very low incomes for women, they show that women are actively working to create spaces to survive. Women with access to money and travel documents have also become involved in petty trading of different

---

<sup>15</sup>Source: Visual Documentary on the Case study:  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2EA7x4s7rMU&t=163s>

commodities such as second hand clothing from Mozambique. This is a marginally viable livelihood option since most people buy the used clothes, as they are much cheaper than the ones in large shops. Workers in the plant, particularly those in menial and temporary jobs, bought used clothes as way of saving their money. When the plant is fully operational with all the workers on site, illegal activities such as sex work and selling of illicit brew also provide income-generating activities for the women.

## **7.0 Conclusion**

This paper concludes by noting that while land corruption is a new phenomenon in our policy and academic narrative, its gendered impacts should never be underestimated. The case study of Chisumbanje and Chinyamukwakwa villagers and their relation to the Ethanol Project presents an opportunity to examine the cost of land corruption on gender dynamics. The Chisumbanje Ethanol Project as seen from the lenses of transparency and accountability shows the opaque nature of the land deal between the state and capital and also the abuse of power by land authorities resulting in land dispossession of land reliant communities. As shown by this paper land corruption has a more seemingly masculine as the perpetrators are usually male figures wielding political and capital power. The lack of transparency and accountability in the land deal and also the abuse of power by those with decision making power in granting land ownership and access rights has exposed women of different social standing suffer to various forms of abuse and violation. Most of these women have been denied access to land and their gendered land based livelihoods. The study brings to fore how the land corruption and dispossession surrounding the land deal has exposed some women in Chisumbanje and Chinyamukwakwa to sexual and physical abuse. Notwithstanding the potential benefits of the land deal, the study highlights that land deal is an example of political land corruption that has been supported by state policies and institutions with little regard to its gendered impact.

## 8.0 References

- Aban, F.G., Day, A., Du, L., Karki, S., Singh, S. and Solomon, A. 2016. *Women and Land in Africa: The Cost of Corruption*, Workshop in Development Practice: Report for Transparency International, [https://sipa.columbia.edu/sites/default/files/TI\\_FinalReport\\_NEW\\_FINAL%20\(002\).pdf](https://sipa.columbia.edu/sites/default/files/TI_FinalReport_NEW_FINAL%20(002).pdf)
- Andvig, J.C., Fjeldstad, O., Amundsen, I., Sissener, T. & Soreide, T. 2001. *Corruption. A Review of Contemporary Research*. Chr. Michelsen Institute Development Studies and Human Rights.
- Bhatasara, S. 2011. Women Land and Poverty in Zimbabwe: Deconstructing the impacts of the Fast Track Land Reform Program. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa* 13 (1): 316-330
- Chingarande, S.D. 2004. *Women and Access to Land in the Context of the Context of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme*: Policy Brief Prepared for the African Institute for Agrarian Studies.
- Chiweshe, M.K. 2011. *Farm level Institutes in Emergent Communities in Post- Fast track Zimbabwe: Case of Mazowe District*. Thesis (PhD). Rhodes University. South Africa.
- Chiweshe, M.K. 2015. Reproducing Patriarchy on Resettled Lands: A Lost Opportunity in Reconstituting Women's Land Rights in the Fast Track Land Reform Program in Zimbabwe. In C.S. Archambault and A. Zoomers, *Global Trends in Land Tenure Reform: Gender Impacts*, London: Routledge
- Chiweshe, M.K. and Mutopo, P. 2014. National and international actors in the orchestration of land deals in Zimbabwe: What is in it for small holder farmers? In P. Mihyo (ed) *International land deals in East and Southern Africa*, Addis Ababa: OSSREA
- Chiweshe, M.K., Chakaona, L., Helliker, K. 2015. Patriarchy, Women, Land and Livelihoods on A1 farms in Zimbabwe. *Journal of Asian African Studies* 50 (6): 716-731
- Gaidzanwa, R.B. 2011. *Women and Land in Zimbabwe*. In: Why Women Matter in Agriculture Conference, Sweden, 4–8 April 2011.
- Gaidzanwa, R.B. 1995. *Land and the Economic Empowerment of Women: A Gendered Analysis in SAFERE*, 1 (1): 1-12
- Kakai, S.H.F. 2012. *Government and Land Corruption in Benin*. Land Deal Politics Initiative Working Paper. The Land Deal Politics Initiative.
- Makombe, E. 2013. “I Would Rather Have My Land Back”: Subaltern Voices and Corporate/State Land Grab in the Save Valley, LDPI Working Paper 20,



[https://www.iss.nl/fileadmin/ASSETS/iss/Research\\_and\\_projects/Research\\_networks/LDPI/LDPI\\_WP\\_20.pdf](https://www.iss.nl/fileadmin/ASSETS/iss/Research_and_projects/Research_networks/LDPI/LDPI_WP_20.pdf)

- Manjengwa, J.M. and Mazhawidza, P. *A Passion for Land: Women Experiences in Zimbabwe's Fast Track Land Reform Programme*. Unpublished Paper
- Matondi, P. 2012. *Zimbabwe's Fast-track Land Reform*. London: Zed Books
- Matondi, P. and Nhiziyo, C. 2015. *Zimbabwe's New Land Crisis: Large-scale Land Investments at Chisumbanje*, Research Report 51, PLAAS, University of Western Cape.
- Moyo, S. and Matondi P.B., 2003. *Experiences with Market Based Land Reform in Zimbabwe*, Environmental Defense, Washington.
- Mutondoro, F., Ncube, M.J. and Addah, M.A. *An Analysis of the Impact of Land Related Corruption on Women: Case Studies from Ghana and Zimbabwe*, Paper prepared for presentation at the "2016 World Bank Conference on Land And Poverty" The World Bank - Washington DC, March 14-18, 2016
- Mutopo, P. 2011a. *Gendered Dimensions of Land and Rural Livelihoods: The Case of New Settler Farmer Displacement at Nuanetsi Ranch, Mwenezi District, Zimbabwe*. In: International Conference on Global Land Grabbing, 6–8 April 2011, University of Sussex, Falmer, UK.
- Mutopo, P. 2011b. Women's Struggles to Access and Control Land and Livelihoods after Fast Track Land Reform in Mwenezi District, Zimbabwe, *Journal of Peasant Studies* 38 (5), 1021–1046.
- Mutopo, P. 2012. *"The Granary is Never Empty." Female Agency, Land Access and Livelihood Security in the Face of Non-permanent Mobility after Fast Track Land Reform in Mwenezi District Zimbabwe*. PhD thesis. Cologne
- Mutopo, P. and Chiweshe, M.K. 2014. Large-scale Land Deals, Global Capital and The Politics of Livelihoods: Experiences of Women Small-holder Farmers in Chisumbanje, Zimbabwe, *International Journal of African Renaissance Studies - Multi-, Inter- and Transdisciplinarity*, 9 (1): 84-99.
- Mutopo, P., Chiweshe, M.K. and Mubaya, C.P. 2014. Large Scale Land Acquisitions, Livelihoods and Gender Configurations in Zimbabwe. In E. Osabuohien, *Handbook of Research on In-Country Determinants and Implications of Foreign Land Acquisitions*, Pennsylvania: IGI-Global
- Nawaigo, C. 2012. *Appropriation of Land for Agro-fuel Production and its effects on Women's rural livelihoods and access to land: A case study of the Ethanol Project in Chisumbanje Zimbabwe*. Southern and Eastern African Regional Centre for Women's Law, University of Zimbabwe

- Raftopoulos, B. 2009. *The Crisis in Zimbabwe. A History from the Pre-colonial Period to 2008: Becoming Zimbabwe*. Harare, Weaver Press.
- Rugube, L. et al. 2003. *Land Transactions Monitoring and Evaluation of Public and Private Land Markets in Redistributing Land in Zimbabwe*. A paper prepared for Land Tenure Centre. University of Wisconsin-Madison and Centre for Applied Social Sciences. University of Zimbabwe.
- Rukuni, M. et al. 1994. *Zimbabwe Report of the Commission of inquiry into Appropriate Land Tenure Systems*. Harare. Government Publishers.
- Sadomba, W. 2008. *War veterans in Zimbabwe: Complexities of a liberation movement in an African post-colonial settler society*. Thesis (PhD). Wageningen University, Netherlands.
- Shivji I.G; Moyo S; Gunby D and Ncube W. 1998. *National Land Policy Framework, Draft Discussion Paper, and Ministry of Lands and Agriculture Harare*. Zimbabwe
- Scoones, I., N. Marongwe, B. Mavedzenge, F. Murimbarimba, J. Mahenehene and C. Sukume, 2011. *Zimbabwe's Land reform: Myths and Realities*. Harare. Weaver Press.
- Shana, G. 2006. *The Birth of Corruption in Zimbabwe*, Paper Presented at the Mass Public Opinion Institute, Seminar Crown Plaza Hotel, Harare.
- Thondhlana, G. 2014. *The Local Livelihood Implications of Biofuel Development and land Acquisitions in Zimbabwe*. Discussion Paper Series, No. 11, Africa Initiative.
- Utete, C.M.B. 2003. *Report of Presidential Land Review Committee*, under the Chairmanship of Dr Charles M.B. Utete. Volumes 1 and 2: Main report to his Excellency. The President of the Republic of Zimbabwe, Presidential Review Committee. Harare.
- Zamchiya, P. 2011. A Synopsis of Land and Agrarian Change in Chipinge District, Zimbabwe, *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 38 (5): 1093-1122